

**Professional Faces:
Professionalisation as Strategy in New
Zealand Counselling 1974-1998**

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Abstract

This thesis examines the impact of government action on the professional organisation of New Zealand counselling. In the late 1980s the government opened up opportunities for counsellors to gain funding for a new client group: people who had experienced sexual abuse. This opportunity to expand the coverage of clients for some counsellors encouraged counsellors to use the rhetoric of professionalisation as a strategy to improve their status and credibility in the eyes of the public and government. The same rhetoric provided justification for government to endorse the counsellors' professionalisation project. The thesis provides an account of the ways in which both government and diverse groups of counsellors used the rhetoric of professionalisation as a strategy to enforce and negotiate claims over occupational jurisdiction.

Despite well documented sociological criticisms of linear or trait theories of professionalisation, their face validity is still widely accepted within professions. The thesis demonstrates how counsellors used a version of trait theories to guide their policies and actions. It shows how they combined this strategy with the active involvement of government in their professionalisation project. The combined strategy involved simultaneous competition and co-operation between and among counsellors and government personnel. The thesis suggests that counselling's professionalisation project in New Zealand would be better understood as a complex set of shifting arrangements between government and aspirant diverse professional groups.

My work is based on the analysis of documents from, and interviews with personnel in, the New Zealand Association of Counsellors, university-based counsellor education programmes and the government agency that provides funding for specific types of counselling (the Accident Rehabilitation and Compensation Insurance Company).

Chapter One

Introduction

Introduction

This thesis offers an interpretation of the ways in which counsellors¹ in New Zealand have used a professionalisation rhetoric as a strategy to negotiate their claims for recognition as a profession. I argue that the process of professionalisation as depicted in the literature on professions has been used as a resource, a guideline, for members of the occupational group, counsellors, when they have made strategic decisions about the ways in which they wish to be organised. Central to this interpretation is the relationship between counsellors and the New Zealand Government². The strategic decisions made by counsellors have been ever-changing in response to different priorities and policies of the Government. Professionalisation is therefore presented as a rhetoric³ that assists a set of strategic responses requiring competition, compromise and co-operation within the occupational group and between the group and government. I have therefore examined the intended and unintended consequences of government action on the organisation of counselling.

¹ In this thesis, I use the terms 'counselling' and 'counsellor' to refer, primarily, to members of an occupational group who have been trained or teach in a university-based counsellor-education programme and/or are members of the New Zealand Association of Counsellors.

² Many sociological writers are concerned with the position of the state in professionalisation. The state includes, for example, legislative bodies, government departments, local government, the police, the military and the judiciary (Norris, 1993). The narrower concept of government, however, which includes Parliament and government departments is more appropriate for discussion of the professionalisation of counselling in New Zealand. The reason for this is that counselling is strongly influenced by statutory arrangement and by government agencies that are established and regulated by such statutes. In taking this stance, I acknowledge the strong connection between government and governmentality defined by Johnson (1995:12) as *all those procedures, techniques, mechanisms, institutions and knowledges that, as an ensemble, empower political programmes*.

³ Rhetoric is defined here after Ball (1970:199) quoted in Kleinman and Fine (1979:272) as being 'a set of symbols functioning to communicate a particular set of meanings, directed and organized toward the representation of a specific image or impression'.

Why counselling?

Many studies of professionalisation are concerned with the development of well established occupations such as medicine and law. As a result, early theories of professionalisation were limited to such occupations. Some writers have widened this focus by studying other well established occupations such as American accountancy (Macdonald, 1995), British nursing (Witz, 1992) and American psychology (Abbott, 1988). A study of counselling in this context, has, however, not been conducted. Such a study allows me to interpret critically theoretical views of professionalisation from the perspective of a relatively new occupation. This is particularly relevant because there has been dramatic growth in the membership of the New Zealand Association of Counsellors and, at least in the popular media, counselling has been described as New Zealand's number one growth industry (Clark, 1993).

Another reason that the study of counselling in New Zealand is useful is that it highlights the ways in which the relationship between the government and professions alters over time especially in a small country such as New Zealand. The New Zealand Government's support for the statutory regulation of some professions was very strong from the 1930s to the 1980s. It has, however, weakened since 1984. Counselling in New Zealand has not been regulated by statute but has been influenced by government policies in a number of important ways. This has meant that the use of professionalisation rhetoric by counsellors has led to some unexpected outcomes. It has also meant that counsellors have had to direct their professionalisation rhetoric toward a range of interested parties. At times, the Executive of the Counselling Association has directed its rhetoric at government officials, at other times it has directed it at its members, and at other times it has directed it at the public. I argue that the way in which the rhetoric is directed dictates the use of a number of professional faces by the occupational group to advance its claims. This situation, where occupations alter their professionalisation strategies according to differences in the environments in which they operate, has allowed me

to explore the different competitive and co-operative strategies used by a new occupation, counselling, as it has attempted to negotiate claims for legitimacy.

Another feature of the change in the New Zealand Government's stance toward the regulation of professions has meant that occupations have needed to adopt market principles in their organisation. In the case of counselling this has not been straightforward. While the Government has opened up competition between occupations, to encourage market forces to operate, it has done this at the same time as maintaining strong influence over counsellor funding, credentials and education. This has meant that counsellors have had to adopt both market and welfare professionalisation strategies to communicate and interact with the different audiences of their claims for legitimate access to areas of work.

Finally, there is considerable interest in the pervasiveness of therapy and counselling in Western society (see, for example, Abbott, 1988; Rose, 1990, 1996 and Masson, 1988). Some critics have highlighted the power of psychologically-based industries to set the standards for normality in a society. Such power has allowed governments to use the selected knowledge of these industries to make decisions about support for education, retribution and rehabilitation. This situation highlights the pervasiveness of the myth that professions are trustworthy, stable, unified and altruistic. The adoption of the rhetoric of professionalisation reinforces the power of this myth.

My connection with counselling

I have been involved in counselling since 1969 at which time I began my university studies in Physical Education and Education at the University of Otago. From that year until 1975 I was a volunteer for six hours a week in telephone counselling and counsellor training for Youthline in Dunedin. In 1975, I taught physical education at a Dunedin secondary school and, because there was no counsellor, pupils often sought my counsel. From 1978 to 1983, and from 1987 to 1988, I was respectively a Vocational Guidance Counsellor and a senior Vocational Guidance Counsellor

(district support) in the New Zealand Department of Labour. In this work I counselled mainly young people who sought help with decisions about their occupational careers. I also supported the work of secondary school careers advisors. During 1981-1982 I completed a post-graduate counsellor training course at the University of Canterbury. From 1983 to 1986, I was in the U.S. at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill studying post-graduate sociology, and I was a volunteer rape crisis counsellor for one night a week. In 1988, I obtained a lecturing position in the Master of Education degree with Certificate in Counselling at the University of Canterbury. I have been a member of the New Zealand Association of Counsellors since 1987.

This long association with counselling obviously influences my understanding of the development of counselling in New Zealand. My recent interest in this development has been fuelled by the dramatic increase in the membership of the New Zealand Association of Counsellors (see chapter five). Reactions within counselling to this increase have highlighted differences and similarities between counsellors, counselling students, university-based counsellor educators and members of the executive of the New Zealand Association of Counsellors. They have also highlighted the complex and dynamic relationship between counselling and government. Because of my background, particularly in university-based counsellor education, and the changes that have occurred in counselling that have impinged on the New Zealand Association of Counsellors, university-based programmes and their graduates I have concentrated on these aspects of the development of counselling. My thesis, therefore, focuses most particularly on counselling in education and vocational guidance settings, the university-based training of counsellors and the development of the New Zealand Association of Counsellors and its forerunner the New Zealand Guidance and Counselling Association.

I am aware that conducting research on counselling puts me in a particular position. I am both a participant in and an observer of the development of predominantly

university-based counselling in New Zealand. Thus, I am both influencing and being influenced by the data being gathered in my investigation. There are definite advantages in this position in terms of this thesis. I have been able to participate in particular debates and discussions within the domain of counselling. I have been able to talk with counsellors, university-based counsellor-educators and government officials both as a researcher and as a counsellor-educator. I have been privileged to participate in events, such as debates about the name change for the New Zealand Association of Counsellors, that would have been less accessible to an outsider. This access has meant that the data for my thesis is very rich

Consistent with Lofland and Lofland's (1995: 3, 11-15) suggestion to *start where you are* and to *use your current situation or past involvement as a topic of research*, I have largely focused on areas of New Zealand counselling with which I am most closely associated. These areas have been sites for adjustment to changes in government policies and my thesis, therefore, has as a central theme, the complex relationship between counselling and government. Related to this, the other themes include the ways in which this relationship influences the development of counselling and the ways that the rhetoric of professionalisation has provided strategies for this development. I use a number of cases to support my thesis. These are: the New Zealand Association of Counsellors, the Accident Compensation Commission and a university-based counsellor education programme. Ragin and Becker (1992) argue that cases are particularly useful to link ideas and evidence and Abbott (1992) also states that detail provided in cases enables researchers to support new ways of understanding phenomena. Halliday (1987:xviii) further argues that:

case study of an organization is the only means by which core issues, such as collective professional action, internal professional politics and mobilization of professional knowledge for political purposes, can satisfactorily be addressed – at least in the first instance.

Throughout the research, I have been conscious of the potential for my multiple roles in the domain of counselling to influence the quality of my data. I took this into account when interviewing counselling students, supervisors and university-based counsellor educators. I attempted to act reflexively⁴ and constantly challenged my assumptions. Where possible, I also supplemented interview data with other sources of information. These include newsletters, professional journals and annual reports of counselling associations in New Zealand, Australia, Britain and the United States, and archival documents on the development of the *Accident Compensation Act 1972* including legal documents and commentaries made by politicians, academics, professional associations and the media (see Appendix A) for detail on the methods I used for data collection and analysis).

The organisation of the thesis

The main focus of this thesis is, therefore, to consider the ways in which relationships between university-based counsellor-educators, university-trained counsellors, particularly members and potential members of the New Zealand Association of Counsellors, and government in New Zealand have affected the development of New Zealand counselling. Related to this theme is the way in which the adoption of professionalisation rhetoric by the Association and its members expands *and* limits their work.

Before I can begin to explore these foci, however, the terms counselling and professionalisation require some explanation. In the next chapter I consider the term counselling and introduce the many players in the domain of counselling in New Zealand. I shall follow this description with a review of selected sociological literature on professions and professionalisation. This will enable me to discuss some

⁴ [Reflexivity implies a shift in our understanding of data and its collection ... the reflexive ethnographer does not simply report 'facts' and 'truths' but actively constructs interpretation of her experience in the field and then questions how those interpretations came about Hertz \(1993: viii\).](#)

of the ways that counselling in New Zealand can be interpreted in the context of professionalisation theory.

In the following chapters, I look at the ways in which the relationship between counselling and government is influenced by diversity within counselling and the policies of different parts of the New Zealand Government. In chapter four I will demonstrate that the Government's initial influence over university-based counsellor education and later, partial withdrawal of support, encouraged university-based counsellor-educators to adopt the rhetoric of professionalisation to establish their jurisdiction in counsellor-education. In chapter five, I look at attempts by the New Zealand Association of Counsellors to establish control over its members while increasing its reliance on the credentialing support of the Government. In chapter six, I use the case of the Accident Rehabilitation and Compensation Insurance Corporation (see Appendix B) to illustrate and interpret the ways in which the Government's fluctuating emphasis on welfare and the market has affected counsellors. Chapter seven comprises words of a group of university-based counselling students and their supervisors to illustrate the ways that they adapt to professionalisation rhetoric used by counsellors, university-based counsellor-educators and government officials. Finally, in the last chapter I examine the experience of New Zealand counselling against the sociological interpretation of professionalisation as a project of occupational groups.

Section One:

Counselling: The New Zealand Case

Chapter Two

The Ambiguous Domain of Counselling

There are many difficulties in writing on research into counselling. One is the difficulty of defining 'counselling'. The term may cover a whole range of helping methods, from psychotherapy through [to] behaviour modification, to befriending or advice-giving, and counsellors may use any or all of these methods (Bolger, 1989:385).

Introduction

Whenever I say to people that I am studying counselling, they invariably ask me 'which kind of counselling?' Herein lies one of the substantial difficulties associated with writing stories about New Zealand counselling: counselling in New Zealand does not have a single clear definition and does not describe the work of a single occupational group. Instead, a multitude of definitions exist alongside a range of activities that are described as counselling. Counsellors categorise themselves in a number of ways: according to work settings, client groups, training, and occupational associations. Counsellors therefore maintain diverse approaches to their work but also promote an image of being part of a unified occupational group. This attempt to attain both diversity and unity is an important professionalisation strategy that I shall discuss in the next chapter and is, I argue, essential for an occupation that is attempting to professionalise.

It is useful at this stage to examine further the ways counsellors categorise their work. Some counsellors categorise themselves by referring to their work centres. These include: medical centres, church-based agencies, social service rehabilitation centres, universities, other tertiary education institutions, schools, the courts, prisons, industrial institutions, private counselling centres, recreation centres, careers service

centres, community agencies (including telephone counselling services), funeral agencies, psychological services and hospitals.

Other counsellors categorise themselves by client groups. These include clients who: have eating disorders, are in crisis, are suicidal, have experienced any kind of abuse, have identified an addiction to gambling or drugs, seek careers counselling, seek anger management skills or are labelled 'street kids'.

A third group comprises counsellors who identify themselves according to their type of training. Titles they use may include: psychotherapist, gestalt therapist, brief solution-focused counsellor, narrative therapist, transactional analysis therapist, neurological linguistic programmer, systems therapist and eclectic or family therapist/counsellor. A further group identifies itself according to an occupational association for example, mental health counsellors, vocational guidance counsellors.

Finally, in New Zealand, there are several professional associations to which counsellors may be affiliated. Most people who call themselves counsellors belong to the New Zealand Association of Counsellors. Some also have affiliations to other organisations. These include: The Gestalt Institute of New Zealand; The New Zealand Psychological Society; The New Zealand Association of Psychotherapists; The New Zealand Association of Social Workers and, until 1991 when it was dissolved, the New Zealand Vocational Guidance Association. Counsellors working in institutions are often affiliated with industrial unions including the Public Service Association, the Association of University Staff and the Post Primary Teachers' Association.

Although this list of categories is not exhaustive, it does provide examples of the multiple criteria for counsellor identification. It demonstrates that the occupational group 'counsellor' is not one unified group but several interconnected and interacting networks, and, as I shall show in this thesis, this means that attempts by counsellors to professionalise are not linear or straightforward. Since the occupational network is

fragmented, each faction has developed differently. In addition, as the occupation has relied on government support, I shall show how the emergence of counselling in New Zealand can be explained as much by structural changes in education and labour markets as by the organisation within counselling.

The connection between counselling and psychology

Unlike counsellors and therapists in the U.K. and U.S., the great majority of New Zealand counsellors are not registered psychologists and do not have psychology credentials. They are, however, often trained by people with connections to psychology (see chapter four) and are not immune to the pervasiveness of psychology-based industries discussed by American writers. It is useful, therefore, to precede a description of the development of counselling in New Zealand with a description of the development of psychology overseas and in New Zealand.

Rose (1990), writing from a Foucauldian perspective, provides an interesting interpretation of the way in which psychology and therapy came to take a prominent place in the structural arrangements of education. He argued that because World War II was understood to have disrupted bonds between individuals, there emerged a new set of social psychologies, psychotherapies and psychiatries to document, interpret, and regulate social relationships. He also argued that, because the well-being of children in a society has been linked with the welfare of that society, psychology has provided a key role in establishing norms of desirable childhood development and behaviour. He stated that:

psychological norms and languages have been disseminated not only through the education of social workers and health visitors, but also through the terms of popular literature and debate in the mass media, in advertising and in culture generally (p. xii).

Furthermore, Rose (1990) notes the ways in which our supposedly private matters of personality and relationships are intensively governed. He documents the acceptance

of behavioural technologies to address specified human goals and concludes that *our selves are defined and constructed and governed in psychological terms, constantly subject to psychologically inspired techniques of self-inspection and self-examination* (p. xiii). Rose's argument that psychology is pervasive is useful because it provides some explanation for the ways in which counselling and therapy have become an accepted part of our social arrangements in New Zealand since the end of the Second World War. It also provides some explanation for my description, in chapter four, of attempts by school guidance counsellors to promote a view of their work as educative rather than vocational (Campbell, 1993).

Abbott (1988) provides a slightly different interpretation of the way in which psychology and therapy came to be accepted in American society. He described the way that a jurisdiction⁵ of 'personal problems' was created, contested and reconceptualised a number of times between 1860 and 1940. Such a description included the influence on people of such social changes as the emergence of large factories, the rise of large cities and the increase in physical and social problems in the 1890s. These changes, according to Abbott, created new problems, personal problems, for people. The jurisdiction of these personal problems was held at different times by clergy, neurologists and, by 1920, by psychiatrists. Elite training for psychiatrists, however, produced more graduates than existing work could absorb until the psychiatrists advocated prevention rather than cure of mental problems. The concept of prevention had tremendous public appeal and allowed psychiatry to claim what Abbott terms cultural jurisdiction for preventing juvenile delinquency. Cultural jurisdiction is embodied in the ability of an occupational group to diagnose, infer and treat a particular problem.

⁵ Abbott's (1988) definition of jurisdiction is the link between a profession and the work it claims. To claim full jurisdiction, a profession must have legal control of the work, academic control of the teaching of its members and public acceptance that it is a profession sufficiently worthy to do that work. In this thesis, I use the term jurisdiction to include a general area of work.

Furthermore, Abbott (1988) attributes psychiatry's success in establishing intellectual jurisdiction over juvenile delinquency to the failure of social work to provide an adequate theory of social treatment, the prominent role of psychiatry in dealing with shell shock and the compellingly brilliant ideas of Freud. As Abbott (1988:308) states:

Freudianism proved a resounding public as well as a workplace success...Freudian ideas fascinated American Culture. Their spread was hastened by Freud's own use of analysis as a general system of cultural interpretation.

Psychoanalysis was thus able to dominate popular psychology and general notions of ego and the unconscious became readily accepted by the American public. The problem was that there were now insufficient psychoanalysts to serve the enormous market it succeeded in claiming. It therefore allowed most psychotherapy to be done by non-analyst psychiatrists and psychologists and retained cultural jurisdiction by retaining supervision of practitioners.

Whether or not one accepts Rose's or Abbott's arguments about the reason for psychology's influence on the introduction of psychological instruments to education and on the solution to personal problems, the fact that psychological instruments proliferated both before and after World War II is indisputable. Many of these instruments were introduced to New Zealand⁶. They were promoted as enabling psychologists to assess the vocational aptitude of adults and to detect young people who were performing poorly at school (Beeby, 1979; Small, 1984). This promotion was in line with the Government's policy to address the needs of socially, educationally troubled adolescents.

⁶ [In 1929, C.Beeby, the director of Educational and Psychological laboratories at Canterbury College \(later the University of Canterbury\) returned from a visit to laboratories in the U.S.A. with instruments that were strongly influenced by scientific management popularised by F.W.Taylor \(Small, 1997\).](#)

At this time, the Government received submissions from the New Zealand Vocational Guidance Association and New Zealand Educational Institute to establish a comprehensive psychological service that included and extended the work of vocational guidance (Winterbourn, 1974). In the 1940s, therefore, the Psychological Service was established in the Department of Education to select and test students for special classes.

Within the environment of public support for the work of psychologists there emerged a desire by psychologists to establish academic jurisdiction of their work. This active pursuit by psychologists for recognition is consistent with Abbott's (1988) description of cultural work done by psychiatrists in America. The difference is, however, that in New Zealand where the numbers of psychiatrists and psychologists was very small, the focus for the occupational group was on building up numbers rather than making claims for particular work. In 1955, the 'professional standards' of New Zealand Psychology were still set by the British Psychological Society. The New Zealand branch of this society expressed grave concerns about the lack of professional training for educational psychologists. It proposed that an M.A. in Education or Psychology followed by professional training that led to a Diploma in Applied Psychology was appropriate. The Psychological Service was, however, *more concerned to build up the numerical strength...than to meet the training requirements acceptable to the British Psychological Society* (Winterbourn, 1974:129) and it therefore sought people with good academic qualifications and a good teaching record. Thus, while a post-graduate Diploma in Educational Psychology was established at the University of Auckland in 1960⁷ the Psychological Service continued to make appointments of M.A. graduates without psychological credentials. This allowed for the expansion of this service such that by the 1970s, the Psychological Service was described as a *professionally mature body*

⁷ The Diploma in Educational Psychology at the University of Auckland was written by three Auckland psychologists, one of whom worked in the University of Auckland. The first 5 students enrolled in 1960.

(Winterbourn, 1974:128). Its acceptance as such was demonstrated in 1971 when, with the assistance of the New Zealand Educational Institute, it obtained a substantial salary increase for its staff *commensurate with its standing as a professional body within the education service* (ibid: 128).

In 1969, the New Zealand Psychological Society became independent of the British Psychological Society. The New Zealand body's main role was as a learned society pursuing the development of psychology as a scholarly discipline (Webb, 1995). As such, its members pursued registration of psychologists and, in 1981 the *Psychologists' Act 1981* was passed. This legislation provides for the registration and discipline of psychologists in New Zealand. Registration is not, however, compulsory for all calling themselves psychologists or protection of the title 'psychologist'⁸. Registration is compulsory for those psychologists working in or for the public sector, either as full or part-time employees of government agencies and for those who currently contract their services to these agencies, e.g., the Family Court of New Zealand. This development allowed psychologists to set themselves up as private practitioners. The Psychological Society described registration as providing those working on their own account with status and public accountability. Gamby (1994:32) remarked that private practitioners, *hardly found before the early 1980s*, [were] *numerous in central urban and other affluent areas*.

It will be clear from this brief description of the development of psychology in New Zealand that the professionalisation of this occupational group was strongly influenced by the development of psychology in Britain, and the United States of America. It will become clear in the next section, and in later chapters, that this development was also separate from but influential in the development of counselling. The main point, in terms of my thesis, is that by the 1960s, the psychologists and government had established testing and assessment services

⁸ Important here is the fact that the main topic of my thesis is counsellors. Unlike psychologists, counsellors have no registration and there is no protection of the title 'counsellor'.

external to schools in which educational psychologists worked with children referred by schools. This left the way clear for teachers working in secondary schools to move into counselling roles when the Government became interested in establishing these positions in schools.

How has counselling developed in New Zealand?

a) Community-based guidance services

The history of counselling in New Zealand highlights the ways in which it has been organised and has organised itself according to both labour market issues and claims for a professional identity. At the beginning of the 20th century voluntary guidance services for employment were initiated by the YMCA and YWCA. These guidance services were intended to address an apparent rise in urban adolescent delinquency (Winterbourn, 1974). Similar to guidance services in Britain and the United States of America, the early New Zealand guidance services therefore had a remedial function (Webb, 1991). People who worked in guidance agencies were expected to solve the behavioural problems of clients and to help delinquents adjust to mainstream society.

In the 1930s, the first Labour Government's welfare policies included the expansion of Government-supported social services to address the perceived needs created by economic depression and an increase in the number of people unemployed. The government promoted full employment, adequate income maintenance, accessible health provision, housing opportunities and free education. As part of this initiative, the Minister of Education met with the Dunedin Chamber of Commerce who put forward a proposal for establishing a vocational guidance bureau. As a result of this meeting, the Dunedin Vocational Guidance Committee was formed with a city businessman as its president (Winterbourn, 1974). Local businesses put up the salary for one part-time vocational guidance officer who would visit all primary and secondary schools in Otago and Southland. This position became full-time in 1933 and by 1937, when the country was moving towards a full state-funded vocational guidance service, the Minister of Education agreed to retain the Dunedin Association's identity under the umbrella of government assistance. Winterbourn

(1974:37) wrote of this time as being *a new era in guidance history...unique in New Zealand, in which a voluntary association ran a state financed service.*

In the mid 1930s, in response to a number of submissions from the Post Primary Teachers' Association on the need for vocational guidance in schools, the Government introduced vocational guidance services in some secondary schools and established a Vocational Guidance Service. From 1938 to 1943, the service was administered by two government departments. The Labour Department provided offices and equipment, employment and clerical officers. The Education Department provided the vocational guidance officers (Winterbourn, 1974)⁹. The role of vocational guidance officers was to provide direct guidance services to secondary schools and to establish accurate information about careers. In 1938, these officers formed the New Zealand Vocational Guidance Association and by the 1950s the Vocational Guidance Service operated from numerous regional offices throughout the country.

In 1949 a National Government had been elected. It did not support all of Labour's initiatives, but it did support the rapid expansion in secondary education. In addition, the National Government supported the establishment of technical institutes to increase the skill level of future citizens. Both of these initiatives were complemented by the employment of vocational guidance officers who visited secondary schools to advise staff and students on possible training and employment opportunities. The role of these vocational guidance officers was considered important and their training was initially provided through an in-service course in the Department of Education. When training courses were established in the Universities in the 1970s for secondary school guidance counsellors (see chapter four), vocational guidance counsellors were eligible to attend these.

⁹ [In 1939 the Minister of Education asked the New Zealand Council for Educational Research to evaluate the vocational guidance and placement services. The resulting McQueen report recommended that vocational guidance be wholly in the Education Department and that Youth Centres be named Vocational Guidance Centres. These recommendations were upheld in 1943 \(see Winterbourn, 1974\)](#)

In 1976, as part of a government strategy to address rising unemployment figures, the Labour Government shifted the administrative control of Vocational Guidance to the Labour Department and greatly increased the number of vocational guidance counsellors (as they were then called) (Hesketh and Kennedy, 1991). An important outcome of this policy was that it increased the work of vocational guidance counsellors with members of the public – especially the people who were registered as unemployed with the Department of Labour. This meant that the involvement of vocational guidance counsellors in schools gradually lessened and the counselling portion of their work was reduced as they increasingly became job placement officers.

b) School-based guidance services

The historical examples described above demonstrate the way that government had an integral role to play in the early development, direction and definition of guidance and counselling. This relationship between government and counselling is further exemplified by policies that established sites for counselling in primary and secondary schools. In 1929, the Government appointed the first vocational guidance officers to four technical schools. These officers became known as careers advisors (Hesketh and Kennedy, 1991). This ability of the Government to influence the career decisions of young people was extended in 1938 when careers advisors were appointed to secondary schools in New Zealand's four major cities. These appointments kept being made until 1948 when most schools had careers advisors. Their guidance allowance time was one weekly teaching half day. The function of careers advisors was regarded as remedial, as they were expected to provide vocational information to school students who were at risk of becoming unemployed when they left school. Support for these initiatives continued in line with the first Labour Government's welfare policies to expand Government-supported social services and address the needs created by economic depression and growing numbers of unemployed people.

In the 1940s, appointments of visiting teachers were made in some primary schools. Their role was to deal with truancy and behaviourally difficult pupils (Manthei, 1996). Thus careers and guidance counselling were regarded as a means by which the Government could be seen to address both labour market issues and difficult behaviour issues in selected schools.

In the late 1950s, with the urbanisation of Maori, Maori youth became prominent as 'at risk'¹⁰ secondary school pupils. In 1960, therefore, the first two secondary school guidance counsellors were appointed at Tauranga Boys' College and Avonside Girls' High School, both schools with high Maori enrolment. The apparent success of these appointments encouraged the Government to appoint guidance counsellors in other secondary schools and by 1964 the Department of Education established a permanent guidance counsellor service. The role of school guidance counsellors was to help deal with increasing numbers of socially, educationally and 'behaviourally troubled' adolescents (Winterbourn, 1974). Training for these counsellors involved a twelve week induction course run by the Department of Education.

The roles and responsibilities of school careers advisors and guidance services in New Zealand were reviewed in 1970. The result of this review was the Renwick Report (1971) in which was written the first government-supported definition of counselling.

Counselling is both a process and a relationship. It is a process by which persons evaluate themselves, make choices, accept responsibility for those choices, and decide on courses of action that are consistent with those choices. This process brings counsellors and their clients into

¹⁰ 'At Risk' is a term used in the 1990s to include young people who are truant, high users of drugs and experiencing depression. The term is used to describe government-funded programmes, in schools or the community, which attempt to change the behaviour of these young people. While the term was not used in the 1950s, my use of it here helps to emphasise the fact that the Government has used education institutions to address social and behavioural issues for many years.

relationships requiring trust and understanding (Department of Education, 1971:5).

In 1972 the Labour Government accepted the recommendations of the Renwick Report. One outcome was that guidance counselling became thought of as a legitimate staffing role for all New Zealand secondary schools. School 'guidance teachers' were to be given adequate training and two university-based counsellor programmes were established. In January, 1973, the Education Department at the University of Canterbury began training counsellors and in 1974, Massey University followed suit. In the same year, the New Zealand Guidance and Counselling Association was formed.

Important in these accounts of the increase in the provision of guidance services in the community and education sectors is the fact that by the 1970s three distinct occupational groups were operating alongside each other. One was the Psychological Service, whose officers were employed by the Department of Education to assess and treat behaviourally difficult children referred to them by school principals. Some of these officers had psychological credentials. Another was the Vocational Guidance Service, whose officers were also public servants employed by the Department of Education to address the Government's labour market concerns. They had a great variety of educational backgrounds. The other was the school guidance service whose counsellors were senior teachers employed by secondary schools to help deal with increasing numbers of socially and educationally troubled adolescents at school. They were first and foremost classroom teachers who had moved into counselling. These three services were regarded by their members as being separate but complementary.

Until the late 1970s, much guidance counselling was, therefore government funded and was aimed at young people. It was administered in a few schools, vocational guidance offices and the psychological services. Similarly, therapeutic counselling,

which was aimed at a broader age range of people, was conducted in government or quasi-government environments: hospitals, community health agencies or marriage guidance agencies. Government also employed or financially supported social workers and a diverse group of lay helpers, such as marriage guidance counsellors, Samaritan telephone counsellors and church-based welfare workers (Webster and Hermansson, 1983). This situation continued until the 1980s when a new Government introduced policies with different social and economic priorities.

Further development: the shift from state to market?

The early 1980s heralded rapid political change in New Zealand. The changes have been encapsulated in terms such as 'user pays' and 'market' principles. Many 'helping occupations' have had to adopt such principles and change their mode of operation. In the case of counselling these changes have not been clear cut. While the funding for counselling appears superficially to have shifted from government to market, a clear analysis indicates that the shift has not actually occurred. Rather, there has been a shift in funding arrangements from one section of the Government to another. While some counselling is funded exclusively by clients or private sector agencies (e.g., in the case of companies who pay for the counselling of their staff whose work performance may be affected by personal problems (*see, for example, University of Canterbury, EAP brochure*)) most is paid for or subsidised by the Government.

The re-arranged funding has, nevertheless, dramatically affected the form and nature of counselling. Most new arrangements have highlighted the need for counsellors to find new ways to define themselves and their work. Since the mid-1980s, therefore, counsellors have increased their use of a rhetoric of professionalisation that promotes the need to find a single definition of counselling and a unitary organisational arrangement. In 1991, for example, immediately prior to her appointment as the President of the New Zealand Association of Counsellors, Anderson (1991:5) used this rhetoric when she wrote:

A meaningful explanation of counselling cannot of course be given to clients until such time as the counselling profession and those engaged in counselling research can arrive at a common definition of "counselling" This is easier said than done.

During Anderson's Presidency of the Association (from 1991-1993) members encouraged the adoption of a single definition of counselling (Remits for NZAC AGM, 1992). This professionalisation strategy was not ratified by the Association however, because, as I shall describe in a later chapter, the members of the Association wanted to maintain their specialties.

Changes in the voluntary sector

The change in government funding for counselling meant that the 'free' counselling previously offered within hospitals and church-based agencies is now very limited. The counselling agencies need to compete for charitable grants and community funding to maintain their services. Some church-based counselling agencies have successfully gained some funding from Lottery Board grants as have agencies supporting counselling for gamblers, men's violence programmes and other addiction programmes. Each of these funding arrangements is government controlled.

Changes in counselling for special client groups

Counsellors who defined themselves as addressing the needs of career-seeking clients had to adapt to cuts in government funding. Career counsellors in schools had their hours of service cut dramatically and vocational guidance counsellors reduced their contact time at schools as a result of several restructurings after 1988. By 1990 very few vocational guidance counsellors were eligible for university-based training and as a result of their changing conditions of work, the Vocational Guidance Association was dissolved in 1991. The re-named Vocational Guidance and Employment Service, 'QUEST: Career Development and Transition Education Service' was established in 1990 (Hesketh and Kennedy, 1991). This service has continued to be reviewed and restructured so that its 'free' community-role has ceased. It now operates on a 'user-pays' ethos.

Two things are important here. First, the reduction in the amount of careers counselling work has meant that a number of vocational guidance counsellors have left the Department of Labour and set up a career counselling service in private practice with mixed success (*ibid.*). Private careers counsellors are in competition with QUEST (now called the Careers Service) and are currently seeking a professional identity that I will discuss later in the thesis. Second, while some members of the public use the Careers Service, its largest client groups are different sections of the Government. Schools and the Accident Rehabilitation and Compensation Insurance Corporation (ACC)¹¹ are the biggest users of this new Service.

Government establishment of new client groups

New areas of counselling work have been established, especially in the private sector, as a result of government funding re-arrangements. Most of these new areas are associated with particular client types – people seeking career guidance, people who have been sexually-abused, people with eating disorders. Some of these ‘new’ client groups have created new opportunities for some counsellors to apply for government funding and much private counselling in these areas is subsidised by the Government. Good examples are the private counsellors who provide rehabilitation counselling for people who have been made redundant because of an accident. Their counselling is paid for by the Accident Rehabilitation and Compensation Insurance Corporation, a government agency.

The apparent growth in the number of private practitioners has also been influenced by changes in the Government's funding arrangements. Little is known about private practice counsellors in New Zealand (Manthei *et al.*, 1994; Paton, 1990, 1995; Fearnley, 1990; Pilalis, 1987). They often work from their own homes, in isolated offices, in medical centres and in church-based community institutions. In an investigation of the 61 counsellors who advertised themselves in Telecom Yellow

¹¹ Although the name of the Accident Compensation Commission, was changed to the Accident Compensation Corporation in 1980 and the Accident Rehabilitation and Compensation Insurance Corporation in 1992, the letters ACC have continued to be used by the agency for its title.

Pages as private practice counsellors in Christchurch in 1995, I found that 82% (50) were gaining some government subsidies for their work. Although there is an apparent increase in the number of counsellors working in the private sector, the availability of government subsidies allows the Government to keep influencing counselling by imposing its own definition of counselling on counsellors who seek subsidies. One recently established requirement has been that counsellors who want subsidies must belong to an approved professional association. This requirement has had particular implications for the professionalisation project of New Zealand counsellors.

I shall discuss the growth and development of the New Zealand Association of Counsellors as a case study in chapter five. It is worth noting at this stage, however, that as private practice counsellors have sought government subsidies, their membership of the New Zealand Association of Counsellors has risen dramatically (Miller, 1996).

Other newly-developed areas where subsidies are provided for counselling include the Family Courts, employee assistance programmes, the Accident Rehabilitation and Compensation Insurance Corporation and the Disability Allowance of the Department of Social Welfare (Manthei *et al.*, 1994). In the Family Courts, which were established in 1980 to deal constructively and sensitively with family matters (Moroney, 1990), couples seeking divorce can attend up to four fully subsidised counselling sessions with a specified counsellor. The Court pays the counsellor for this service on a fee-for-service basis.

Changes in government funding arrangements have also meant that counsellors who work with people who seek counselling for their experience of abuse, especially sexual abuse, have been required to adopt the Government's definition of appropriate counselling for these clients. What is interesting here is that in this particular sector of the counselling domain, the Government has actually created a market for a

special client group. I will develop this account in later chapters. Here, it is appropriate to note, however, that the Government, in the form of the Accident Rehabilitation and Compensation and Insurance Corporation of New Zealand, now controls the allocation of funding for sexual abuse counselling. This fee-for-service funding comes with conditions which influence the ways in which counsellors and their professional association handle their affairs, the nature of the counsellor training curriculum and even the public image of counselling.

The Department of Social Welfare also operates a disability allowance where beneficiaries can include counselling support as one of the subsidised services for which they apply. The allocation of this allowance is controlled by general medical practitioners who determine whether or not a client requires counselling for a disabling condition. The counselling, provided by specified counsellors, is then subsidised by the Department of Social Welfare for up to six months.

Changes in secondary school guidance counselling

In schools, recommendations contained in a series of policy reports (e.g., *Picot*, 1988; *Tomorrow's Schools*, 1988) were implemented to increase parent and community involvement in education, to promote efficient school-site management and to enhance the role of school principals and Boards of Trustees in school staff employment decisions. The impact of this has been that previous guidelines that were quite strict about the number and qualifications of counsellors employed in schools, have been relaxed.

School guidance counsellors anticipated this change and insured that counselling and guidance were identified as important areas for school development in school Charter documents. A kit was developed by a group of school counsellors (Pearson, Baker and Lloyd, 1989) to assist other counsellors in this action. Nevertheless, it is now possible for schools to withdraw support for guidance counselling and spend previously tagged funds in other areas. It is also possible for school Boards of Trustees to use their own criteria for the appointment of school guidance counsellors.

Thus, the criteria for appointing high school counsellors are no longer consistent. This change has influenced the curriculum of the university-based training programmes that were originally set up to train the school guidance counsellors. The extent of this influence is dealt with later in the thesis.

The professional associations' responses

The influence of these changes on the professional associations is ongoing. The New Zealand Psychological Society gained statutory registration for psychologists in 1981. Individual psychologists were able to retain their registration for a small fee. Recently, however, there has been a move to increase the cost of retaining a registration practising certificate. The subscription fee for membership of the Society has also risen. While some members have kept up dual affiliation with the Society and the New Zealand Association of Counsellors, some have now opted for the less expensive option of affiliation to only the New Zealand Association of Counsellors. This entitles them to be eligible for most of the counselling subsidies mentioned above.

The tagging of professional association membership with subsidised counselling has been one of the main ways in which the Government has continued to influence the development of counselling in New Zealand. The tagging has seen a rapid increase in the membership in the counselling Association and the Association, in turn has been required to change some of its policies to fit the requirements of the funding agencies. Some of these policy changes have challenged the Association's lack of occupational control and this, in part, has increased the rhetoric of professionalisation used by members of the Association. In a recent New Zealand Association of Counsellors Newsletter, for example, Hermansson (1996:7) encouraged the Association to take control of the definition of counselling by adopting the professionalisation strategies of counsellors in other countries, particularly in Britain. He wrote:

One thing that the Association in particular might want to pursue now ...to help refine the ill-used and often-abused term counselling, and in

doing so to help rationalise the field in more constructive ways than accreditation, etc., is to follow the lead of the British Association of Counselling.

At the same time, Hermansson attempted to challenge the Government's influence over a definition of counselling by offering his own definition. This definition, which Hermansson used in his oral submission on behalf of the New Zealand Association of Counsellors to the Government's Core Services Committee of the 'Guidelines for the Treatment and Management of Depression by Primary Healthcare Professionals', was printed in the Counsellors' Association newsletter:

Let me present you with an accepted definition of counselling. The definition comes from the 4th edition of a text called "Counselling Process" by Lewis Patterson and Elizabeth Welful (published [by Brooks/Cole] in 1994), which I use in one of the counselling papers that I teach at my own University. These authors state (p.21): Counseling¹² is an interactive process characterised by a unique relationship between counselor and client that leads to change in the client in one or more of the following areas: behaviour, beliefs, ability to cope with life situations, decision-making knowledge and skill and level of emotional distress (New Zealand Association of Counsellors Newsletter, 1996:55).

These attempts by a senior and influential member of the counselling Association to put forward a definition of counselling to focus the Association's activities have, in turn, created a dilemma for members who support an eclectic approach to their work. The New Zealand Association of Counsellors, for example, which was founded to provide a support network for school guidance counsellors (Hermansson and Webb, 1993) is caught in a situation where it is being challenged from outside and within to

¹² The spelling of 'counsellors' and 'counselling' as 'counselors' and 'counseling' is an American convention.

support a definition of counselling that will exclude some members from the Association.

The attempt by the Association to gain some control over the definition of counselling by appearing cohesive, autonomous and legitimate is constantly threatened by this internal struggle. It is also constantly threatened by the Government's control of funding and credentials. The strategies used by the Government to exert influence in this area include its insistence that access to its funding depends on the Association establishing codes of ethics and complaints procedures. On the surface the adoption of these codes by the Association appears to enhance occupational control but, in practice, it highlights the complex relationship between counselling and the Government. In the next chapter I shall discuss the ways other researchers have similarly argued that professionalisation involves a complex government-professions relationship (Johnson, 1982; Witz, 1992).

Chapter Three

Professionalisation and Counselling

I think there is a real tension between the needs of counsellors to earn a living and being middle-class members of society...and the need for people to get the help they need (Counselling Student, 1994 (I)).

Introduction

In the previous chapter I outlined the ways in which New Zealand counsellors describe their occupational identities. They do this by talking about their counselling roles and activities and by referring to their work centres, client groups, training specialisation and/or membership of one or more occupational associations. Counselling in New Zealand is not regulated by statute, and this too influences the way counsellors do their work and identify themselves. It also influences their work environments, client groups, training institutes, occupational associations and, as I shall show in this thesis, the way they are funded. Furthermore, these funding arrangements influence the ways counselling is conducted and ways that counsellors define their roles. These influences are not felt in the same way by all counsellors and this has meant that particular groups of counsellors have had to organise themselves differently. As the quotation above suggests, counsellors are aware of the tensions created by these different demands. They are also aware that each demand requires a different response, a different rhetoric, a different face. In this chapter, I shall introduce my argument that counsellors and their occupational association use a particular form of professionalisation rhetoric to legitimise their roles, activities and identities.

While my focus here is on professionalisation, I am not suggesting that the experience of counselling in New Zealand is best represented by existing sociological theories of professionalisation. Rather, I am arguing that interpretations

of these sociological theories by counsellors are being used to strengthen their rhetorical claims about counselling's legitimacy. It is for this reason that I shall focus my discussion of professionalisation on those studies where researchers have examined the ways in which occupational groups have used professionalisation rhetoric to pursue their claims to legitimacy. Good examples include Abbott's (1988) study in which competition between professions is of central importance and Witz's (1992) work in which she argues that professionalisation of nurses in the early 20th Century required a number of forms of state sponsorship. Similarly, Larson (1977) has argued that occupational groups use professionalisation to increase their opportunities to earn higher income.

Since the New Zealand Government has had an integral role to play in the development of counselling, I have also focused my discussion on work in which writers emphasise the importance of professional and government, or state, relations (Johnson, 1972; Larkin, 1983; Freidson, 1970, 1986 and 1994; Halliday, 1987; and Witz, 1992). Roth's (1974) work also informs my thesis as he criticises professionalisation theorists for not taking account of the ways in which they are implicated in the professionalisation strategies and rhetoric of occupational groups. These writings are particularly appropriate for a study of counselling in New Zealand where the rhetoric of professionalisation and the role of the government has had particular significance.

The sociology of professionalisation

In their chronologies of the sociological study of professions and professionalisation, both Freidson (1994) and Macdonald (1995) describe three periods of development. The early period was dominated by descriptive, functionalist approaches, in the second period sociologists focused on critical issues associated with professionalisation and in the third period sociologists began to compare the professionalisation of different occupational groups. Both Friedson (1994) and Macdonald (1995) contend that early attention to professions was dominated by a

functionalist approach and that Talcott Parsons should be credited for being the first sociologist to study professions in these terms. As early as 1939, Parsons focused on the key features necessary to determine whether or not an occupation was a profession (Parsons, 1939). This is called the 'trait' or 'attribute' approach to the study of professions. Features of a profession, in these terms, include such socially functional traits as: specialised and advanced education, collectivity of service orientation, high social prestige and autonomy in the conduct of professional affairs. Parsons' (1951) work encouraged other functionalists to isolate the core characteristics of professions that distinguished them from other occupations (Carr-Saunders, 1965; Greenwood 1962; Goode, 1957 and Hudson, 1978) and to develop a model of the stages through which occupations must pass in order to attain professional status. Wilensky (1964) identified specific steps toward autonomy (a key feature of professional status), Caplow (1954) identified a sequence of functions and Etzioni (1969) classified occupations into 'professions' and 'semi-professions'. Within this tradition, there was general agreement that professionalisation was best conceptualised as a linear model, a series of discrete, sequential, cumulative and definable steps. These steps included: forming a professional association, changing the professional association's name, promulgating a code of conduct and achieving a level of status sufficient to pursue legislative regulation (Abbott, 1988, 1991; Caplow, 1966).

There has been extensive criticism of these early models. They were considered to lack empirical substance and to ignore historical and cultural variation in the ways that professions are organised (Collins, 1990; Freidson, 1970 and 1975; Johnson, 1972; McKinlay, 1973; and Witz, 1992). Roth (1974) argued that the trait approach was too static, too narrow and too uncritical. Others (Abbott, 1988; Freidson, 1994; and Macdonald, 1995) considered that the professionalisation process was described as being too uniform, uni-directional, passive and self-perpetuating, one that 'just happened' to professionalising groups. While these criticisms are well documented,

and some are highlighted below, the simplicity and widespread lay knowledge of these early models has meant that aspiring professional groups still use them as guides against which to monitor the development of their professionalisation (Miller, 1994). I shall argue that because it makes sense to occupational members who aspire to be professional that professionalisation requires the achievement of particular traits in a linear, chronological sequence, occupational groups such as counselling in New Zealand, still use the early linear models to guide their decisions and policy-making. They take up the rhetoric of the 'traditional' ideas of professionalisation to persuade various interest groups of their legitimacy.

Critical approaches to the study of professions and professionalisation

In the 1970s there was a shift in focus from the trait approach. Writers began to take a more critical approach to the study of professions and professionalisation (Freidson, 1993 and 1994; Macdonald, 1995). Sociologists looked to other characteristics to understand professions. These, for example, included: control and autonomy over work and the motivation of occupations to professionalise. In the USA, Freidson (1970) took a lead in this new approach. He argued that a profession was a way of organising work rather than a special area of knowledge. He was concerned about professions' unjustified monopolistic privilege and the way organised professional institutions created and sustained authority over clients and, in the case of medicine, over other occupations. This concern was the basis of Freidson's criticism of functionalists for being too individualistic and for over-emphasising the importance of training as a determinant of professional behaviour. He argued that the claims made by professions about the essential need for extended periods of training and about the trustworthiness of their members were ideological. Freidson's concern was that in spite of this ideological quality, professional claims were generally accepted by the general public and it was this acceptance that allowed professions to gain autonomy from the state. Since I shall argue that attempts by

New Zealand counsellors to professionalise have involved claims-making about training and expertise, Freidson's work is useful.

Johnson (1972) also adopted a critical approach. His particular contribution was to point out that professions did not have a set of universal traits. He argued that professions should be regarded as only one form of occupational organisation through which occupations control their work. Johnson argued that the main influence on the way an occupation is organised is encapsulated in the relationship between producers and consumers of professional services. Thus, he noted that the most powerful occupational group is one that is able to define its consumers, their needs and how these will be met. Johnson (1972) provided a number of examples to support his model that different arrangements between producers and consumers produced different forms of occupational organisation. Since counselling is an occupation that provides a service to consumers, known by counsellors as clients, Johnson's work is important. Furthermore, because I shall argue that the New Zealand Government is also a consumer of counselling, in the way that it provides funding, this also influences the way that counselling is organised.

This position of the government as a consumer of services is highlighted in Johnson's discussion of caring professions. He used the term 'mediative professions' to describe professions that are dependent for their employment on public sector provision of their services. Specifically, his reference to the situation in which the state intervened as a third party to create a market for professional services is relevant to New Zealand counselling and I elaborate on this, in chapter five.

Freidson (1994) also wrote about third-party funding of health care. He was more critical of it than Johnson. He argued that it exposed the tension that is created between the need to provide affordable and conscientious service to others and the economic interest of those who provide it. He also considered that third-party funding complicated the view that one model can explain the organisation of an

occupational group. Thus, he argued that the free market model, where workers compete for clients, does not have relevance when third-party funding restricts the free choice of clients. Similarly, the professional model, where the occupation controls the market, is undermined by the influence of third-party funding. He also noted that the inclusion of third-party funding in a bureaucratic model, where rational-legal structures are used to control the market, reduces people in need of health services to *formally defined categories* and transactions related to those people are *routinized and organized, reducing uncertainty by establishing predictable and controllable costs* (Freidson, 1994:193). The effect of this on health service providers, and their clients is a significant reduction in their discretionary activity. Freidson's conclusion that the situation created by third-party funding is best made sense of as a mix of bureaucratic and professional models is useful in my analysis.

According to Freidson (1994), until the 1980s, another limitation of sociological studies of professions was the heavy focus on medicine and related occupations to formulate models for conceptualising professionalism. This created an impression that the development of the medical division of labour was the norm against which other occupations could be measured. Indeed, in Larkin's (1983) historical analysis of the establishment of health-related occupational groups, he showed how the medical model of professionalisation was seen by subordinate occupational groups as being worthy of copying. In Larkin's model of professionalisation, he demonstrated the tension and conflict that occurred when health workers were considered as auxiliary to, and initially under the control of, doctors. He also demonstrated the power of dominant professions to influence the strategies used by non-dominant professions to carve out some aspect of work over which they can have some control. While I do not consider that counsellors in New Zealand fit neatly into a dominant-subordinate system, I do argue that the rhetoric of the medical model of professionalisation provides counsellors with strategies that are seen worthy of copying (Everts, 1987; Miller, 1994). Larkin's (1983) ideas are, therefore, useful in my interpretation. Professionalisation as myth

As part of the shift in focus from a trait analysis of professions to a more critical approach, sociologists in the 1970s began to criticise other writers for their lack of reflexivity. Freidson (1970) asserted that professional claims were ideological and McKinlay (1973) argued that many of the characteristics ascribed to professions were false. He criticised sociologists for taking professional claims and traits at face value by stating that:

Because of the altruistic, self sacrificed mythology espoused by the dominant professions...sources of influence other than those manifestly presented to a gullible public tend to be overlooked (McKinlay 1973:74).

McKinlay wanted sociologists to be more critical of professionalisation rhetoric. Similarly, Roth (1974) criticised sociologists for failing to consider the implications of an uncritical acceptance of definitions of professions and professionalisation. Roth challenged students of professionalisation to look beyond definitions of professions and ways in which occupational groups sought professionalisation and to study the influence of their own studies on professionalisation. He was concerned that sociologists who focused on lists of professionalisation traits did not study the professionalisation process; rather, they reinforced it by endorsing the power and self-serving practices of the occupational groups:

They [theorists] have become the dupes of established professions, (helping them justify their dominant position and its payoff) and arbiters of occupations on the make, keeping score instead of observing and interpreting the behavior involved in the process of scoring (Roth, 1974:17).

Freidson (1994) extended this argument and suggested that rather than just being dupes of the established professions, sociologists were using the study of professionalisation to influence their own careers. He stated:

In their [sociologists'] way, serving in their special role of intellectual, sociologists accomplish profession as much as do the occupations they discuss. ...Perhaps most consequentially for the actual process of professionalization, some sociological formations are employed in part as rationale and justification for the creation of the official occupational categories by which modern governmental and corporate agencies sort

and classify occupations with an eye to justifying job requirements, prerequisites and wage differentials (Freidson, 1994:21).

Although it appears that Freidson and Roth emphasise different outcomes for the study of professionalisation, they both acknowledge the influence of sociological interpretations of professionalisation on occupational groups when they attempt to professionalise. Their point can be extended to include not only sociologists, but also other academics who use the rhetoric of professionalisation in their writing.

Bearing in mind these criticisms, it becomes possible to look at the case of New Zealand counselling, not by trait counting but, rather, by examining the ways in which counsellors and their occupational organisation have attempted to justify their actions, their professional project and accompanying strategies, by grounding them in the rhetoric of professionalisation. I argue that sociologists have provided a trait model of professionalisation that counsellors have interpreted as being useful in their attempts to achieve legitimacy and, as a consequence, counsellors have focused on legitimising their actions by using a rhetoric of professionalisation based on that model. This rhetoric is used in conjunction with a series of tactics designed to achieve a professional status and persuade occupational members, and others, of their importance and relevance. The problem with this rhetoric, however, is that it is based on an assumption that professionalisation, in trait approach terms, is an identifiable and real process rather than having mythical qualities. I also argue, therefore, that understanding professionalisation as a myth is important. Yanow has usefully defined myth as:

Public explanations constructed to mediate, socialize, moralise, prompt action and legitimise the social, political and economic order vested in an existing institution (Yanow, 1996:190).

Counselling and the professionalisation myth

In New Zealand and other countries, academics associated with counselling have accepted and used the literature on the traits of dominant professions to claim professional status for counselling (Everts, 1987; Feit and Lloyd, 1990; Manthei, 1989; Miller, 1994; Richie, 1990 and Vacc, 1987). They have used the rhetoric of professionalisation to promote a definition, an identity and a means to create boundaries between counselling and other health service deliverers (Brooks and Gerstein, 1990; Dryden, *et al.*, 1989; Everts, 1987; and Oakland, 1986). Furthermore, they have used trait-counting to make claims about counselling's status in the professionalisation process (Lawrence, 1980; Vacc, 1987 and van Hesteren and Ivey, 1990). In other words, it has been important for the New Zealand Association of Counselling to support and re-create the myth of professionalisation to convince its members, the government and its multiple audiences of its legitimacy.

In spite of more recent criticisms of the ways in which counselling has espoused the professionalisation myth (Masson, 1988; Dawes, 1994), the rhetoric has remained strong. Indeed, I argue, that this use of the professionalisation myth has been important not only to the Executive of the New Zealand Counselling Association, but also to particular counsellors *and* to government. Macdonald (1995) ably describes the network of institutions in which the rhetoric of professionalisation is used.

Customers, patients and clients...monitor, assess and evaluate and thereby produce the climate of opinion which provides the background for "professional" standing...employers, agents of the state, other professional bodies assess the claims of occupational groups and make specific decisions which affect their "professional" standing (Macdonald, 1995:7).

I shall highlight the numerous times that counsellors within the New Zealand Association of Counselling use the myth of professionalisation to rationalise their

actions. Alongside these examples, I shall demonstrate that because the basic assumptions of the trait model of professionalisation are flawed (see Abbott, 1988; Freidson, 1994; Johnson, 1972; and Witz, 1992) each action on the part of the counselling association has had unintended consequences.

Furthermore, I shall argue that because the Government took a mediative role (Johnson, 1972) in providing sites for secondary school counselling and university-based counsellor-training, it too needed to support the professionalisation myth in order to justify its endorsement of a particular occupational group. The mythical construction of professionalisation promotes an image of an occupational group with autonomous control of its work and in some constructions (Parsons, 1951; and Caplow, 1966) autonomy from government. For counselling in New Zealand, the Government has had a strong influence over counsellors' university education, work sites and funding and this has meant that government and the counsellors, while using the rhetoric of professionalisation have adopted a different arrangement from that experienced in other parts of the world.

Professionalisation as strategy

Debates about the best focus for the study of professionalisation continue and, in spite of the well documented criticism of trait approaches to the study, there are still attempts to isolate the core characteristics of professions. In Rothblatt's (1995) summary of the debates, he argued that theorists appear unified in their agreement that professions are defined by an ethic of service and that the professional objective is to create independent occupational identities. Areas where theorists disagree about the nature of professionalisation, according to Rothblatt (*ibid.*), include: the necessity for expert knowledge, the influence of urbanisation on professionalisation, whether professions are actually separate entities, and the superiority of the hierarchical theory of professionalisation. It is hard to escape the conclusion that the study of professionalisation continues to rely, at least partially, on the identification of particular professional traits.

A particularly important aspect of Rothblatt's review, however, is his identification of particular 'strategies' that occupational groups engage in to attain the traits that lead to independent occupational identities. Strategies include: increasing the scarcity value of professional skills, controlling members' training, checking the advance of interlopers and making sure that professional interests are represented on licensing boards. The view that *active* strategies are employed in the professionalisation process will be important for my later analyses. The assumption that the use of these strategies by occupational groups will enable them to gain autonomy from government is also important. Saks (1983) in his critique of the sociology of professions, encouraged sociologists to investigate *such pressing issues as the explanation of state involvement in supporting strategies of professionalisation* (Saks, 1983:17). I shall show that the New Zealand counselling association's use of professionalisation strategies has resulted in some unexpected outcomes. Central to this is the relationship of counselling *with* the Government that I shall discuss later in this chapter.

The professional project as a research focus

Another useful way of thinking about professionalisation strategies is described in the work of Magali Larson (1977). For her, professionals cannot be detached from the class system and the objective of professionalisation was an improved economic position for members of the occupational group. In this respect, her analysis was informed by Marxist theory. She also considered that professionalisation was a process by which occupations seek to improve their social standing or prestige. In this way, she integrated Weber's work on social stratification into her analysis. She considered that it was essential for professionals to achieve and maintain qualifications and expertise in order to maximise their opportunities for income. Larson (1977:xvii) defined professionalisation as:

An attempt to translate one order of scarce resources – special knowledge and skills – into another – social and economic rewards.

Larson (1977) introduced the concept of 'professional project' to describe the active way in which occupations go about achieving their goal: monopoly of their knowledge and of their services.

Macdonald (1995) endorses the professional project as an analytical tool because it encourages researchers to explore the ways in which occupations deploy their resources in their struggle for collective social mobility. He contends that social closure is one of the most important means by which the professional project is pursued. The generally accepted definition of social closure is the attempts made by an occupation to exclude non-members from its knowledge, its education, training and credentials and to protect its markets in services and jobs so that only 'eligibles' will be admitted (Macdonald, 1995:29). An example of the way in which closure is achieved is given by Dingwall (1976 and 1979) in his work on health visitors. He argued that occupational groups attempt to 'accomplish profession' and described the way that health visitors acquire a repertoire of behaviour and knowledge of appropriate norms and mores in order to convey the impression to their clients that their service is special and that its practitioners are special people (Macdonald, 1995:51). This strategy encourages clients to think that people who cannot display this behaviour cannot be trusted to conduct the work of health visitors.

In Larson's (1977) work she demonstrates that exclusion strategies can be based on class, credentials and qualifications. Additionally, Witz (1992) argues convincingly that some strategies of exclusion are based on gender. In both of these studies, there is an assumption that exclusion strategies are used by dominant professions against subordinate occupations to defend areas of work. Larson (1977) also argued that in order to gain access to a good income in a market economy, people need to attain particular qualifications and legitimise their expertise. Thus, she observed that if aspirant professionals organised themselves into a group and entered into a bargain with the state, they could standardise and restrict access to their knowledge and control the market of their services. In Larson's view the outcome of a 'professional

project' is the convergence of social mobility and market control of services for members of a particular occupational group.

This market control aspect of professionalisation contradicts Rothblatt's assertion that sociologists are united in their acceptance that professions are defined by a disinterest in financial rewards and a prime motivation in an 'ethic of service' (Rothblatt, 1995). As McKinlay (1973) argues, however, the idea that professions are defined by an ethic of service is part of the 'altruistic, self-sacrificial mythology of professionalism' which I have discussed earlier. Since it is important to uphold this mythology, occupational groups must engage in rhetoric that diminishes the perception that they are interested in market control. Larson called this rhetoric *ideological supports connected with the 'anti-market' structures of stratification* (Larson, 1977:66). In my analysis, I describe the importance of professionalisation rhetoric and the way that it changes in accordance with the nature of the audience to which it is addressed. The audience, however, is always assumed to share with the professionals the understanding of what constitutes professional expertise (Larson, 1990). I shall demonstrate that counsellors in the New Zealand Association of Counsellors rely on professionalisation rhetoric to maintain the appearance of legitimacy and that the rhetoric constantly changes according to its intended audience. Each change requires the presentation of a different professional face.

While Larson's work is helpful, it is, as already stated, not without its limitations. Halliday (1987) considers that Larson over-emphasises the 'pursuit of monopoly' argument. He studied the activities of the Chicago Bar Association from 1950 to 1970 and concluded that there was little congruence between what the professional association does and what it reports it does. Specifically, his empirical work showed how little time the professional association spent on the pursuit of monopoly. Similarly, because in New Zealand the 'monopoly' of secondary school counsellors, vocational guidance counsellors and of university-based counsellor-education programmes was initially created and upheld by the Government (see chapter four,

five and seven), the New Zealand Association of Counsellors also did not spend time pursuing monopoly. Halliday (1987) also considered that Larson's work on the mobilisation of professional expertise was too restricted. In Larson's view, it was important for aspiring professionals to claim the prestige of their expertise in order to maintain a monopoly over that expertise. This ensured ideological support for a social system of inequality. Halliday, however, extended this view. He argued that the mobilisation of professional expertise could inform state administration, improve government decision-making on particular issues and even provide rationalisation for the government to alter the structure of state institutions (Halliday, 1987:23). He argued that lawyers, whose profession is state constitutive, have the greatest capabilities to influence structural adaptations of state institutions. The notion that different constituency or public demands on government require different structural arrangements and different government-profession relations is supported in my thesis. I shall show that during its short history, New Zealand counselling has helped the Government support its need to address the problems of disturbed youth (1950s), an increase in unemployment (1960s) and victims of sexual abuse (1980s). The New Zealand Government has depended on a public acceptance of counselling expertise to rationalise initiatives in these areas.

While Halliday's view of the influence of public demands on government-professional relations is useful, it also highlights differences between the actions of his subjects of study, lawyers, and that of counsellors. Law is a large, well established profession that has strong connections with the government. Halliday was therefore able to cite many occasions where government-profession relations were initiated by the professional group. Counselling, on the other hand, particularly in New Zealand, is a small group with unclear relations with the government. The case study of New Zealand counselling provides evidence that government-profession relations are 'sometimes' initiated by counsellors and 'often' initiated by the government.

This view that members of government departments and members of professions constantly interact in order to maintain their public credibility, is supported by Macdonald (1995). He justified the use of the professional project approach for his own analysis of accountancy by arguing that government-professional relations were active and multi-layered in these terms.

Professional-state interactions are seen as the outcome of actions and reactions on the part of the officers of a professional body, their counterparts in other professional bodies and various Civil Servant departments (Macdonald, 1995:13).

Central to Macdonald's view of government-profession relations was the notion that co-operation between the members of professional bodies and Civil Servant departments was essential and that this co-operation was ever-changing. The ways in which New Zealand counsellors and their professional association have had to react to, and co-operate with, the members of government departments in order to pursue their professional project are discussed in chapters four, five and six.

While the professional project is a good starting place for the analysis of professionalisation, because of its focus on action (Macdonald, 1995) it does not entirely replace earlier, hierarchical theories of professionalisation. In a professional project, the possessors of knowledge, the aspiring professionals, are seen to form a group, standardise and control dissemination of the knowledge and dominate the market in order to enter a regulative bargain with the state (Larson, 1977). I raise this point to demonstrate that in spite of several criticisms that attempt to undermine the validity of trait and linear approaches of professionalisation, some aspects of them are clearly useful. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that aspiring professionals and their clients still accept the idea that professionalisation is a process that requires occupational groups to achieve certain traits. This informs my argument about the

way counselling in New Zealand has attempted to professionalise by relying on the rhetoric of the hierarchical model of professionalisation.

Professionalisation as competition for jurisdiction

Another approach to the study of professions was demonstrated by Abbott (1988). He reviewed sociological work on professions and argued that its emphasis on the hierarchical sequence of development was misleading. It did not account for idiosyncratic developments in individual professions (Abbott, 1988). Thus, he proposed that the main element of professionalisation was the struggle, the competition between occupations for the same professional space. He argued that these interprofessional relationships helped to shape the development of particular occupations. He described the development of professions by writing:

Change in professions can...best be analysed by specifying forces that affect the content and control of work and by investigating how disturbances in that content and control propagate through the system of professions and jurisdiction. The proper unit of analysis is the jurisdiction, or more generally, the larger task area (Abbott,1988:112).

Further, Abbott (*ibid*:: 34) defined jurisdiction as being *more-or-less* [an] *exclusive claim* and argued that because of that exclusivity *every move in one profession's jurisdictions affects those of others*. For Abbott (1988) jurisdiction was the link between a profession and its work and professionalisation was, therefore, the attempts by occupational groups to claim jurisdiction over an area of work. A claim, in this context, can be defined as *a demand that one party makes upon another* (Spector and Kitsuse, 1987:83, see also Best, 1987). Abbott argued that the main focus of the study of professionalisation should be the claims, the way claims-makers make their claims, who the claims-makers are and who they are addressing. He analysed what he termed the objective character of the profession's central tasks and, more importantly, the subjective character of what professions did, that is, the parts

of the definition of the task which made it accessible to the public and allowed different professions to claim jurisdiction. He thus described the way that different professions appeared and disappeared over time to carry out these central tasks. He argued that the subjective qualities of work done were those on which jurisdiction claims were made. These had three parts: claims to classify a problem, to reason about it, and to take action on it; in more therapeutic terms, to diagnose, to infer, and to treat. Abbott, (1988:59) wrote:

Diagnosis, treatment, inference, and academic work provide the cultural machinery of jurisdiction. In claiming jurisdiction, a profession asks society to recognize its cognitive structure through exclusive rights. These claimed rights may include absolute monopoly of practice and of public payments, rights of self-discipline and of unconstrained employment, control of professional training, of recruitment, and of licensing, to mention only a few.

Abbott's (1988) case studies therefore focus on the ways that different occupations created and maintained their ability to diagnose, infer and treat particular problems in an area of work and the way that each occupation competed for jurisdiction of this work.

Counselling and competition for jurisdiction

Abbott's (1988) approach is useful when considering the advancement of counselling overseas. Counsellors and therapists in North America, for example, have entered a competitive re-organisation of health care systems by attempting to seek recognition by Managed Care companies (Austad and Hoyt, 1992). Managed Care is a process whereby insurance companies use brokers to establish the price of services that will be provided by health workers for specified employee illnesses and to determine which health workers will provide the services. The result of this initiative has been that counsellors are placed in direct competition with other health providers and with

one another (Benz, 1994; Cottone, 1985; Gellatt and Hays, 1994 and Hackney, 1991).

The idea that analysis of professionalisation should focus on the ways aspirant professions use rhetoric to support their professional claims and change this according to their different audiences is useful to an analysis of New Zealand counselling. The notion that competition for jurisdiction over work is the central concern of occupations that are attempting to professionalise is not, however, useful when attempting to understand the development of New Zealand counselling. While there has been some interest in the competition between some of New Zealand's health-related occupations; for example, the jurisdiction of midwives (Fleming, 1996 and 1998, and Pairman, 1998) there has not been competition between counsellors and other allied occupations for jurisdiction of counselling. The work of counsellors, in the main, has been shaped by the Government rather than by the claims-making of occupational groups competing for jurisdiction. The Government established and strongly influenced who would provide vocational guidance, who would work in Psychological Services, who would provide secondary school counselling and who would train those counsellors. In support of this point of view, we have the comments of writers such as Winterbourn (1974) who argued that in New Zealand, in the 1950s, Vocational Guidance Counsellors and staff of the Psychological Services worked alongside each other as complementary not competitive providers of services. Furthermore, I shall describe, in later chapters, where there have been more recent occasions where members of the New Zealand Psychological Society and the New Zealand Association of Counsellors co-operated with one another in attaining government support for counselling services. The only times when Abbott's (1988) competition model appears relevant to the New Zealand counselling setting is when government policies reduced the number of students eligible for university-based counsellor education and when they created criteria for specialised funding for counselling. In both of these cases, which I describe in chapter four, and

six, Abbott's emphasis on competition seems useful. Once again, however, the competition is not between counsellors and related occupational groups, rather, it is between counsellor-educators and government and between members of the counselling association. The process has been, therefore, one of competition and co-operation that has been heavily influenced by the rhetoric of professionalisation. For this reason, although I have adopted some of Abbott's (1988) ideas about claims-making and competition, I have not analysed New Zealand counselling as part of a system of professions. It has been more constructive for me to tell the story of the development of counselling and note those times when competition and/or co-operation between players in this domain has influenced this development .

A further problem with using Abbott's analysis is that it uses as its basis an assumption that competition is between professions and that it exists in a hierarchical framework where the group seeking professional autonomy is identifiable, homogeneous and in control of its members. He also describes a situation in which the government is a passive recorder of settlements reached rather than an active participant in the professional project (Norris, 1993). The situation in New Zealand counselling, however, is that the New Zealand Association of Counsellors is attempting to assert an identity when it is neither homogenous nor in full control of its members. It underplays these points when making submissions to advance the work of its members (see chapter five). Furthermore, the New Zealand Government takes an active role in counselling's professional project by making policies that directly influence the work of counselling.

While Abbott's work on the competitive sphere of professionalisation is also somewhat useful, because of its emphasis on rhetoric, it is not without its limitations. Johnson (1989:413) criticises Abbott for being obsessed with competition and, indeed, as I have already intimated, competition, especially between other professional groups, is not a central focus of the development of counselling in New Zealand. Macdonald (1995) is critical of Abbott's tendency to ignore the work of

Larson, particularly when, in Macdonald's view, the concept of competition for jurisdiction is very similar to that of the professional project. I argue, in chapters three, four and five, that Macdonald's and Abbott's view that aspirant professions initiate the carving out of jurisdiction of work is not appropriate for the situation in New Zealand where the government has a central role.

Macdonald (1995) is also critical of Abbott's use of the word 'system' to characterise professions as it infers an organised network of relations. He argues that:

Professions...are competing in a market place where they may or may not impinge on each other and where they also compete, conflict and collaborate in a quite non-systematic way with non-professionals, with their clients and with the state (Macdonald, 1995:16).

I find this flexible view of inter-occupational relations more appropriate for an analysis of New Zealand counselling. The idea that many different players have ever-changing relations with one another is most useful. It provides the basis for my argument that, in an important sense, professionalisation is a rhetoric that offers aspirant professions such as counselling *and* the government strategies to use in order to maintain an image, a myth, of order. This 'order' is being disrupted continually by internal struggles about definition and autonomy, and by outside agencies establishing and promoting new client groups. Each disruption puts pressure on the counselling association to use a rhetoric of professionalisation to convince members, the government, and clients that counsellors are a homogenous group with legitimate motives. Alongside the rhetoric is the display of a professional face. Thus I argue that part of the strategy of professionalisation is knowing which faces are appropriate to display to which audience. Faces must change according to changes in government policies, the need to recruit new members and the need to allay client concerns about quality of service.

Government-profession relations

While Abbott contends that claims for jurisdiction are aimed at multiple audiences, he is criticised for his underestimation of the role of the state, or government, in shaping the work available for professions (Norris, 1993:33). His writing is consistent with the work of other American writers, where the state is regarded as a passive participant that registers the jurisdictional settlements that are reached in the workplace. I agree with Norris (*ibid.*) that this view of the state is not appropriate in New Zealand where government has intervened in health and education sectors, both of which pertain to counselling.

Friedson (1994) noted that as more sociologists made transnational comparisons of professions (Burrage and Torstendahl, 1990; Larkin, 1995; Hafferty and McKinlay, 1993) there was an increase in the emphasis given to the role of government in the affairs of professions. Differences were noted between the United Kingdom and the United States. In Britain, Johnson (1982) argued that the state was integral to the process of professionalisation. He criticised the models of professionalisation in which the state was conceptualised as being disinterested. He demonstrated that between the mid-nineteenth and mid-twentieth century, professions were willing to co-operate with, and provide a service for the state, because they were able, thereby, to extend their influence and increase their membership (Macdonald, 1995:103).

Similarly Larkin (1983) provided detail of the transformation of the nineteenth century medical profession to demonstrate how the state and medicine were able to control the medical division of labour by granting state regulation to subordinate occupations such as midwives, nurses and dentists. State regulation thus allowed medical practitioners to control their own educational and professional standards and to control the work of others in the health field. In his later work, Larkin (1995) supported Johnson's view that the state and professions were transformed together.

The full ascendancy of medical professional power, beyond a collegiate or guild-based occupation in the marketplace, paradoxically has been an

integral part of the transformation of the British state across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Larkin, 1995).

In the USA, Freidson (1970) noted that professional autonomy depended on the power of the state and that this privileged position was secured by political and social elites. It was, he said, therefore necessary for aspirant professional groups to secure the support of strategic social or political elites.

When European sociologists began to study professions, a further difference was highlighted. The principal expectation that professionalisation involved separateness from the state had less validity in continental Europe where supervision of government is close (Larkin, 1995; Macdonald, 1995). Burrage and Torstendahl (1990) sought to highlight cultural differences by distinguishing different paths of different professions in different nations with different cultural and political traditions. In most of their examples, the state played an active role in the institutionalisation of some professions and the reorganisation of others.

This European literature is important because it offers the possibility that the study of professionalisation can embrace a range of different administrative and cultural arrangements. In the context of my study, it allows me to account for the changing relationships between counselling and the New Zealand Government in the context of changing and different government policies. It allows me to demonstrate that the professionalisation of a small occupation, counselling, in a small country, New Zealand, requires different arrangements than those adopted by dominant professions in large countries.

Professionalisation as an arrangement between an occupation and government

State involvement in support of professional strategies by an occupational group is described in the work of Witz (1992). She argued that the:

key element of any professional project is the attempt to gain control over the education, training and practice of an occupational group by the members of that occupation themselves, thus securing a link between education and occupation (Witz, 1992:138).

In this respect, her argument resembles that of Abbott (1988). In her description of the professionalisation of nurses in the early 20th century, however, Witz introduced the argument that this control could not be gained without new arrangements with the government. She noted that, in order to pursue a professional project, nurses chose a tactic different from that used by dominant professions in which occupational autonomy is the goal. In this different arrangement with the government nurses negotiated that the supply of nursing labour be controlled by a government approved registration system. Witz's contribution to the sociology of professions is important because it does not promote the view that the success of a profession's project can be measured by its degree of autonomy. I shall demonstrate that the situation for counsellors in New Zealand is one in which different arrangements have been set up between the counsellors and government. The difference is that, in Witz's account, nurses were instrumental in their negotiations with government whereas in New Zealand, counsellors reached an arrangement in response to new government policies.

Witz (1992) also emphasised the period of her study as being important. Her study was of a subordinate profession seeking state sponsorship during a time when the British Government was increasingly involved in the regulation of health and welfare activities. I have used Witz's work to explain the changing relationship between New Zealand counselling and government. In the 1930s, for example, the Government had little involvement in health care whereas from the 1940s until the 1980s, it increased social welfare benefits and initiated and expanded work for counsellors. From the

1980s, re-regulation of welfare and health created many opportunities for counsellors.

Norris' (1993) work on the professionalisation of New Zealand pharmacists, also has some important implications for my study. She considered that the government had a very active role in occupational regulation. She argued that the New Zealand Government shaped the work available to pharmacists and dictated which occupational group could do the work. This situation resembles that of secondary school guidance counsellors. Norris (1993) also noted that the Government funded public education of occupational members and that this made the occupation vulnerable to changes in government policy. I shall discuss similar vulnerability for counsellors to changes in government policies in chapter three.

Professionalisation and gender

This brings me to the question of gender and its influence on counsellors' professionalisation strategies. Both Witz and Norris argued that the government had important roles to play in professionalisation but they also underscored the relationship between gender and professionalisation. For Witz (1992), the neglect of this relationship in the sociology of professions prompted her to develop a model in which she depicted the gendered dimensions of occupational closure strategies. She described the model with material drawn from strategies adopted by nurses in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Similarly, Norris (1993) explored the role of gender in the professionalisation of pharmacists in New Zealand. She noted that the involvement of women in pharmacy was impossible under the original apprenticeship model of training and that it was not until full-time tertiary education replaced apprenticeship as a mode of entry that women pharmacists appeared. She argued, therefore that pharmacy had been feminised. Her interpretation of the effects of this feminisation was, however, different from that traditionally associated with an increase in the number of women

entering an occupation where outcomes of de-skilling, routinisation of duties and a decline in financial rewards are often documented. Norris argued that the increase in the number of female pharmacists was related to the number of academically high achieving females entering tertiary training programmes. The feminisation of pharmacy was, therefore, a response to its academic *up-grading* rather than its *de-skilling*.

Because I have noted similarities between nursing, pharmacy and counselling with respect to their vulnerability to government policies, I also explored whether or not I should emphasise gender issues as being centrally important in the occupational development of counselling. While there have been some changes in gender distribution during counselling's recent development it is my view that these changes have not been centrally important to counselling's professional project. It is, however, worthwhile, to note, briefly, the nature of those gender changes in counselling and my interpretation of them.

There have been changes in the proportion of women taking part in tertiary counsellor-education programmes. At the University of Canterbury, for example, for the first five years of the programme (1972-1979), most of the students were male. This was because opportunities for training were available only to teachers eligible for the promotional step attached to counselling positions in schools. From 1980 to 1988, the flow-on effect of an increase in the number of senior female teachers meant that the number of female counselling students increased to equal that of males. Another feature of this increase was the introduction, in the mid-1980s, of a selection process by the university lecturers who ran the programme that coincided with the increase in the number of academically high achieving females (Norris, 1993). Furthermore, since the late 1980s the university-based counsellor-education programmes have sought enrolments from a diverse range of students and more females than males have chosen this entry route.

While this increase in the proportion of women taking university-based counsellor education is notable, it is different from the increase depicted by Norris (1993) for the following reasons. First, training for counsellors *began* at the tertiary level and did not include a period which excluded women such as the apprenticeship model did in pharmacy (see chapter four). Second, although the proportion of female students is greater than that of males, men have continued to be well represented in the university-based courses.

There have also been increases in the proportion of women in the New Zealand Association of Counsellors. Since it was instituted in 1974, the membership of the Association has increased and diversified. In the beginning, the membership lists comprised equal numbers of men and women but current membership comprises 70 per cent women. I was initially tempted to account for this membership change using a feminisation rubric. There are, however, several reasons that I did not pursue this interpretation as *central* to my understanding of the professional project of counselling.

The first reason is that there is no evidence to suggest that deskilling, often attributed to feminisation of an occupation, has taken place in New Zealand counselling. Second, changes in the proportion of women represented in counselling have not been accompanied by any decrease in status of, or the financial rewards available to, counsellors. Secondary school counselling, for example, has remained a senior position in the school system and in 1999, the first professorial chair in counselling was created at Massey University. Furthermore, male counsellors in private practice cannot be differentiated from their female colleagues by the average fees they are able to charge (Manthei, *et al.*, 1994). Third, men *and* women have been well represented in the claims-making about the professionalisation of counselling. The professionalisation rhetoric of the Counselling Association, for example, has been made by an Executive committee that comprises nearly equal numbers of men and women. Remits put to change the title of the Association from the New Zealand

Guidance and Counselling Association to the New Zealand Association of Counsellors, to adopt an accreditation strategy and to protect the title of 'counsellor' have all been promoted and supported by both male and female members.

My conclusion about the place of women in the professionalisation of counselling is that while there has been an increase in their numbers in counselling this is not the main influence on counselling's attempts to professionalise. The major impetus for counsellors adopting professionalisation strategies is, I argue, the ever-changing relationship between government and counselling.

Professionalisation of counselling as competition *and* co-operation

Goode (1957) offered a way of addressing the multiple layers of interaction I have discussed so far. He examined the ways in which social controls operated on a profession, noting that the activities of a profession could be influenced by the larger community, through government's legal agencies, and by clients who chose to accept or reject a particular member of the occupational group.

In the case of counselling in New Zealand, not only are the counsellors a diverse group of people, but the client group is also diverse. Counsellors are being challenged to serve clients on two levels. On the first level are clients who require counselling. For this service they either pay from their personal funds or they receive subsidised funding from the Government. The second level, therefore, comprises the Government in the form of agencies that provide subsidies for counselling; the Accident Compensation and Insurance Corporation, the Department of Social Welfare (now Work and Income New Zealand) and the Family Court. Before the Government will provide subsidies for counselling, counsellors must gain recognition for particular skills and be accredited by the relevant government agencies. It has become increasingly important for counsellors to gain this accreditation in order to survive economically in a deregulated health-care and service system (see Miller, 1994).

This situation, where two levels of clients are served simultaneously, can create tension for counsellors especially when the two client groups have conflicting requirements. The Government (one level of client) will provide funding support only for counselling of specific types of clients, yet there are numerous people with limited funds who want counselling for which there is no government funding. Counsellors have to work out ways to address these tensions, both from an ethical and a financial standpoint and to do this they must *co-operate* with one another. They justify their actions by using the rhetoric of professionalisation to promote a situation where their occupational association will achieve some of the steps set out in a linear model of professionalisation. Counsellors get together to insist that their association meets the criteria set by government agencies. They also expect their association to project an image, a professional face, that will enhance their own legitimacy with clients.

At the same time as the association members are co-operating with one another to encourage their association to satisfy their needs, they must *compete* with other counsellors for the limited number of clients who are eligible for the government subsidies. This requires them to persuade their association to adopt strict membership criteria which is also a stage of the linear professionalisation model. Evidence that this adoption of a rhetoric of professionalisation occurs can be seen in the ways that counsellors advertise, not only their academic and practical credentials, but also their affiliation with professional associations and their achievement of government accreditation (Telecom Yellow Pages, Christchurch 1994-98).

Conclusion

Early theorists of professionalisation focused on isolating traits that characterise professionals and on identifying the steps through which occupational groups must proceed in order to achieve professional status. These theories have been criticised for being too idealised, too passive and for omitting important cultural differences. Theories that promote a view that attempts to professionalise are active, multifaceted

and ever-changing have been more readily accepted. Nevertheless, the view that the way that dominant professions have professionalised is the norm against which other professions are measured is still accepted by the general public and by members of occupational groups that aspire to gain professional status.

Using the case of New Zealand counselling, I argue for a more flexible construction of ideas about professionalisation; one that recognises the influencing role of government. In New Zealand, professionalisation (of counselling) is about the use of rhetoric to enable simultaneous competition and co-operation between and among occupational members *and* government personnel to promote professional faces. In the next chapters, I provide evidence that members of the New Zealand Association of Counsellors, and personnel in a government agency used the rhetoric of professionalisation to influence the development of counselling in New Zealand.

Section Two:

Professionalisation as Strategy

Chapter Four

University-based Counsellor Education

The Department of Education is currently examining possible alternative forms of training for school guidance counsellors. Some variations to the present...university based course have been put forward. As an Association we should direct our attention to the principles and practice of training rather than assessing the merits of any specific proposal. Until we have a policy then we are unable to voice any opinion if and when we are consulted (Editor, New Zealand Guidance and Counselling Association Newsletter, July, 1981:6).

Introduction

In early theories of professionalisation, sociologists attempted to identify essential traits of professions (Goode, 1957; Parsons, 1951; and Wilensky, 1964). This approach to the study of professions was later criticised and other theorists debated whether any of the traits being identified were essential or were part of the mythology espoused by dominant professions in their claims for jurisdiction over their work (McKinlay, 1973). One professional claim that was examined by researchers was the necessity for expert knowledge (Freidson, 1970; Rothblatt, 1995). Central to the argument made by professionals was that they were highly skilled and that they required extended periods of education or training. Education, therefore, was regarded as the means by which occupational groups could gain control of knowledge-based credentials (Hugman, 1991). Freidson (1970) noted that in spite of its ideological quality, this claim was generally accepted by the public and this allowed dominant professions to appear legitimate and to gain autonomy from the state. I would add to this that claims about the need for professionals to gain

extended periods of training are not only accepted by the public but also by members of occupational groups aspiring to professional status.

In this chapter, I shall use the development of tertiary-level education¹³ of New Zealand counsellors to demonstrate the ways in which the professionalisation rhetoric about the value of education has been used by civil servants, university lecturers and counsellor trainees to gain some legitimacy for counselling. Integral to the development of the education of counsellors was the relationship between government agencies and the counselling network. This chapter, therefore, extends discussions by Johnson (1972) and Friedson (1994) on the relationship between government and professional groups. The above quotation demonstrates, however, that because this relationship was not bound by statute, there was early confusion about whose role it should be to determine the curriculum for school guidance counsellor training in New Zealand.

Johnson (1972) considered that, within the context of the welfare state, government agencies had two roles in relation to the helping professions. The first of these roles was as mediator between professions and their clients, where the government defined, by regulation, who were the clients and the manner in which they should be helped. I shall show that although this description could be used to account for the early relations in New Zealand guidance counselling, it cannot account for the complexity of the relationship between the Government and counsellors in more recent years.

The second role of the government, in relation to the caring professions, according to Johnson (1972) was as 'corporate patron' in the form of public agencies which provide services on behalf of the government. Again, this appears to describe the involvement of government in New Zealand guidance counselling as the

¹³ The university-based counselling courses were initially called counsellor-training. In the 1990s, the term counsellor-education was adopted in line with other strategies to improve the status of counsellors in New Zealand.

Government responded to rising unemployment and perceived adolescent delinquency. This role assumes, however, that the government operates as a unified organisation. I shall show that, in the case of guidance counselling in New Zealand, a variety of Government departments began to respond to public concerns about juvenile delinquency, youth unemployment and domestic violence and each influenced the domain of counselling in a number of different of ways. In each case, when the Government responded to new public concerns, new groups of clients needing counselling were defined.

Abbott (1988) described the emergence of new work as a site for inter-professional competition. In the case of these new counselling clients groups, however, the new work did not attract inter-professional competition because the Government regulated the clients and the counsellors who could work with them. The Government also controlled the funding of students eligible for university-based counsellor-education and, in this respect strongly influenced the curriculum of these programmes. Thus, the Government, took an important role in the educational development associated with this new counselling work. In this chapter, then, I demonstrate the ways in which counsellor education in New Zealand has been shaped by the Government, and more specifically by different departments of the Government.

Guidance counselling in secondary schools

As indicated in chapter two, as part of the Government's support for guidance services it set up the Vocational Guidance Service and the Psychological Service to address its concerns about rising numbers of unemployed and behaviourally difficult adolescents. Also, by the 1960s, the Government was cautiously interested in establishing school guidance counsellor positions. Thus, in 1960, the Department of Education established two experimental guidance positions, one each in a boys' and girls' school. Their function was remedial and their success allowed for the

establishment of 23 guidance counsellor positions between 1961 and 1968.

Wadsworth (1970:13) described the impetus for this development as the:

pragmatic national policy which saw the introduction of counsellors [in schools] as a method of coping with certain more-or-less social problems which some schools were experiencing.

The remedial function was endorsed by a Commission on Education Report (1962, mentioned in Wadsworth, 1970), the authors of which recommended that full-time counsellors only be appointed to large schools in new areas, to large technical colleges with many short-term pupils and to large schools with a high percentage of Maori students (Wadsworth, 1970). The rationale for this was to deal with what was defined as increasing numbers of socially, emotionally and behaviourally troubled adolescents in schools.

This remedial function was also supported by the 1967 policy of the secondary school teachers' union, the Post-Primary Teachers' Association, to keep vocational counselling separate from the functions of guidance staff. When school teachers referred pupils to guidance counsellors they assumed that guidance counselling had a remedial function (Wadsworth, 1970). Even at this early stage, however, there is evidence that guidance counsellors were not entirely satisfied with the role given to them by the Government. Wadsworth, then a school guidance counsellor, argued that school guidance counsellors should have a more educative role; he criticised the narrow remedial function of early guidance in schools:

as a response to various community and school pressures and a pragmatic attempt to "face problems as they arose" within the school system. There seems to have been no attempt to evaluate the substantial literature relating to guidance counselling or to consider adjustments in

the school system necessary to allow for its development on a positive basis (Wadsworth, 1970:14).

The official attitude of the Minister of Education to guidance and counselling was cautious (Small, 1976). Experimental projects were, however, entered into and in 1966, the Government approved a policy for the appointment of six guidance counsellors per year at secondary schools with a large proportion of Maori pupils or at metropolitan schools with special problems (Renwick, 1971). In December 1968 the Government approved a further increase by creating ten guidance counsellor positions annually for five years. According to Webb (1991) this decision signalled a change from guidance as a remedial service to guidance as a developmental, educational service.

The roles and functions of these school guidance counsellors were not officially defined until *after* several guidance counsellor appointments had been made. They were outlined in a *Department of Education Circular Memorandum B.69/31* (July 1969) and described the new, educative approach to guidance in schools. School guidance counsellors were to focus their work on educational, vocational and personal counselling and to act as coordinators of the general welfare of students. They were expected to maintain their teaching role in schools by working not less than two half days teaching large class groups. Control of recruitment was held by the Government. Selection of appropriate people for guidance counsellor positions was to be made by school Boards of Governors. The District Senior Inspectors and senior officers of the Department of Education with specialist knowledge in this field were to interview these candidates. Pre-requisites for appointment included successful teaching and related experience and university study. At this time, according to Wadsworth (1970), there were 45 guidance counsellors in schools; 18 were women; about half were graduates and at least two-thirds had been teachers (a third of them in the primary service), nine or ten had been social workers and half of

these had professional training. Four of the counsellors had been vocational guidance officers and four had been visiting teachers.

At the outset, therefore, the Government controlled the recruitment, the rate of appointment, the role and function of the work and the sites for the work of school guidance counsellors in New Zealand. This initial control of an occupation by government is not typical of professionalisation as discussed in the literature. In most of these cases, professional groups establish themselves and then endeavour to seek government recognition.

Training for school guidance counsellors

Initially, the Government's control of the training of school counsellors was through its Department of Education. The staff in the Department ran an induction programme for all newly appointed counsellors. This comprised a residential course, a period of directed observation with experienced counsellors, and assignments based on each counsellor's early work in his or her school (*Education Circular Memorandum (B.69/31, July 1969)*). The Department of Education's Vocational Guidance Service and Psychological Service, which had already developed an effective working relationship with school guidance counsellors, was to assist newly appointed counsellors in every possible way (*ibid.*).

In 1970, the Government set up a Working Party to study the guidance arrangements in secondary schools. The terms of reference for this Working Party, led by W.L. Renwick, the Assistant Director-General of Education, were broad. The Working Party first defined the terms 'guidance' and 'counselling' before sending out questionnaires to high school principals regarding the organisation of their guidance services. At this time, there were in state secondary schools 265 careers advisers, 53 official guidance counsellors attached to individual schools, two official guidance counsellors working with more than one school, two guidance teachers shared by

more than one school and 11 unofficial "guidance counsellors" appointed by schools from within their own staffing resources (Renwick, 1971).

Based on the results of this questionnaire, the Working Party made a number of recommendations for the provision of guidance counsellors in secondary schools. These recommendations were made in a discussion document called the *Report of the Working Party on Guidance in Secondary Schools*, known as the Renwick Report (1971). One major recommendation was to change the name of guidance counsellors to guidance teachers. Another important recommendation was to entrust the main responsibility for the training of guidance counsellors to the Department of Education. Neither of these recommendations was upheld. The rationale behind them and the alternative actions taken, are however, worth discussing.

The proposed name change, from guidance counsellor to guidance teacher was intended to emphasise the shift in focus from one of remedial case work to a broader educative guidance function. The guidance counsellors, while acknowledging a broader guidance role, did not want to relinquish their case-work function and did not share the positive interpretation of the name change. Here we find that they had sufficient strength as members of their teachers' union (the Post Primary Teachers' Association) to resist the new term and instead continued to call themselves guidance counsellors (Hermansson, 1981a:51).

The training recommendation included a suggestion that guidance counsellors (called teachers in the recommendation) participate in a short induction course run by the Department. It was suggested that once guidance teachers became well established in secondary schools, consideration be given to associating the universities to a much greater extent with the Department in the training of guidance teachers. This latter statement is interesting since one of the members of the Working Party was John Small, a senior lecturer in Education at the University of Canterbury (later a prominent New Zealand counsellor educator) and another was Ted Wadsworth who

had earlier written an article promoting university-based training (Wadsworth, 1970). Wadsworth, too, became a university-based counsellor educator. In the Renwick Report (1971:50) the following statement describing the Government's influence over counsellor education was made:

Some of the universities have several staff members with background and experience in guidance. These universities are in the process of extending the range of courses available in guidance... While we support a strong university commitment to the preparation of guidance teachers we do not think that they are equipped to provide a complete training... Most of the relevant areas of study in guidance are taught in the education departments of the universities...

Although the two recommendations of the Working Party discussed above were not upheld, the Renwick Report did provide the framework for the continuing development of guidance services in secondary schools. It also endorsed what has since been accepted as New Zealand's 'most distinctive indigenous [guidance] development', the 'guidance network' (Small, 1984:114). The networks comprise groups of coordinated teaching staff, including the counsellor, who take responsibility for providing guidance programmes within the schools.

In 1972, a Labour Government came into office promoting social welfare policies which spilled over into the guidance domain. As part of planned policy changes in education, there was a sudden impetus to increase the amount of guidance counselling in schools. Again, this is most interesting as it was initiated by the Government, not the occupational group. The occupational group had not at that time been formally constituted. John Small at the University of Canterbury reported that:

In November 1972, the Department of Education quickly altered its previous policy of providing its own training schemes for counsellors. At

the end of January 1973, with virtually no prior warning, the University of Canterbury was asked to accept seven seconded counsellors within the following few weeks. In less hasty fashion Massey University began its training programme in 1974, and in 1977 the University of Waikato followed suit (Small, 1981:253).

In 1973 the Minister of Education formulated a policy for the development of guidance services in secondary schools which was agreed to in principle by the Government. The guidelines included: promotion of coordinated guidance networks; vocational, educational and personal guidance provision for all students; university-based training; strengthening of vocational guidance and evaluation of the guidance services. The goal was for all schools with rolls of 401 upwards eventually to have guidance counsellors on a salary step accorded the status of Position of Responsibility two (PR2), and those with rolls over 1000, a PR3 guidance counsellor. Five secondary schools (two in Christchurch and three in Auckland) were established as pilot schools where the formula of guidance staffing, according to the roll numbers, was applied.

In 1975 the Government approved the creation of a further five pilot schools and of 30 additional guidance counsellor positions per year for five years. This coincided with a review of a pilot guidance programme recommending the expansion of such services to all schools (see Pankhurst, 1975). By 1980, all schools with a roll of more than 400 had been offered, and all but three, had accepted, a PR2 guidance counsellor. At this time ten schools with rolls over 1000 students had a second guidance counsellor position and nine schools with rolls of 200-400 were able to establish their PR1 position with partial teaching load and 0.6 time for guidance counselling work (*PPTA Survey of Guidance Counsellors, 1981*).

From the start, the Government created the identity of school guidance counsellors as remedial workers. By the early 1970s, however, teachers and the school guidance

counsellors began to claim their identity as being educative. Crucial to this identity was the input of the staff in newly established university-based guidance counsellor training programmes. This is consistent with the view of many writers who consider that post-graduate training programmes are the places where counsellors-in-training are transformed into committed professionals (Borders and Benshoff, 1992; Spruill and Benshoff, 1996, and Kottler, 1992). It is also consistent with theories of professionalisation in which the establishment of university-based training programmes is regarded as an essential, early step in the process. In the New Zealand case, however, the role of the university-based counsellor-educators was not straightforward.

The university-based counsellor-education programmes

University-based training for school guidance counsellors was beset with dilemmas at the outset. These were mainly associated with a lack of clarity about the selection, training and work of school guidance counsellors. Counsellors had been selected from various backgrounds (Wadsworth, 1970) and their roles in secondary schools were not clearly defined. University counsellor educators in the three universities (Canterbury, Massey and Waikato) looked to the United States for teaching models and adopted fairly similar approaches. At the University of Canterbury, the main training model was a micro-counselling approach developed in the States by Allen Ivey (Ivey and Gluckstern, 1974) and Brammer (1973). This model was later adapted to the New Zealand context in a book written by the three University of Canterbury trainers, two of whom were trained in the United States (Munro, Manthei and Small, 1979). At Waikato University, Ted Wadsworth favoured the model of another North American, Gerard Egan (1975). At Massey University, the early counselling courses were taught by Alan Webster who had worked at Amherst, Massachusetts with Robert Carkhuff whose model (Carkhuff, 1972) was used at the outset and was later retained and modified by Gary Hermansson. American influence did not dominate completely. Small (1981) speculated that the appointment at Massey University of

Sue Webb with a British psychoanalytic background would make an impact on the not-too-dissimilar American-based doctrines of Brammer, Ivey, Egan and Carkhuff. He also noted specific differences across the programmes with Waikato's emphasis on the guidance role of teachers, Massey's emphasis on the acquisition of communication skills as a foundation for all major aspects of a counsellor's role and Canterbury's strong emphasis on behaviourism and vocational guidance.

According to Small (1981) the year-long full-time courses that developed in universities were based on the assumption that school counsellors should be given various kinds of education including theoretical knowledge, practical skills, and personal development. Thus, although the Government was responsible for the recruitment and appointment of school guidance counsellors, the trainers of the university-based counselling courses were able to be influential in the establishment of a particular knowledge-base for New Zealand school guidance counsellors.

This in turn gave the university-based counsellor-educators some influence over the development of guidance and counselling in New Zealand secondary schools. Consistent with the use of the rhetoric of professionalisation as a strategic tool, they began to increase the profile of university trained counsellors. They communicated the value of guidance counselling in schools to the Government and they acted as mediators between newly trained guidance counsellors and their school principals by holding an annual conference with principals of schools to which the counsellors were appointed. Here the counsellor educators informed principals of the nature of the training and encouraged the academic definition of the roles and function of school guidance counsellors. This early action is consistent with Abbott's (1988) thesis that once the occupational group has entered the professional arena it needs to both initiate and defend its claim to an area of work. In his thesis, he asserts that academic trainers in a profession often initiate this action. In the case of New Zealand school guidance counsellors this mediation by trainers between principals

and counsellor also helped insure that schools were willing to support the employment of counsellors.

Early influences on programme development

Once the university-based programmes were established, lecturers in each made minor changes according to the individual experiences of the staff involved. At Canterbury, for instance, according to John Small, two influences effected the introduction of a supervision requirement in the second year of the counselling course. One influence came through the New Zealand Guidance and Counselling Association in the form of a workshop on supervision by the Massey University trainers at the Association conference. The other influence was a follow-up in-service day on supervision for Christchurch counsellors led by people from other agencies and orientation (Small, 1981:256).

Other adjustments were made to the university courses in accordance with student evaluations. In 1974, Bob Manthei, lecturer in the University of Canterbury course, surveyed counsellor opinion on counsellor training. There was a poor response rate, but among those who did respond was a marked feeling that universities were isolated, out-of-touch institutions incapable of teaching practical skills necessary for guidance counsellors. These responses had some effect on the practical loading of courses, but did not influence the site of training. Universities were regarded as institutions that granted the highest status qualification. Credentials offered to counsellors by universities therefore added validity to claims that counsellors needed high-level training. Both the counsellors and the Post Primary Teachers' Association indicated that universities were the preferred institutions for counsellor training.

Other evaluations of the University of Canterbury course included surveys by Brammer from 1976 to 1979 inclusive, in which most past students endorsed the course curriculum (Brammer, 1984). In 1980, one segment of the course, called the

Training Group,¹⁴ was evaluated twice by Manthei (1980) and Manthei and Tuck (1980) with the conclusion that this was an important part of counsellor training. Again, Training Groups were an educational technique imported from the United States.

Events outside the programmes were also influencing student evaluations. In 1976 the Vocational Guidance Service was moved from the Department of Education to the Department of Labour as part of a broader government strategy to address rising unemployment. While this move lessened the direct involvement of vocational guidance counsellors in schools it did not alter their participation in university-based counsellor training programmes. These counselling students wanted to have issues to do with career exploration emphasised in their training programmes (Brammer, 1985).

Other requests for specific content in training courses came from counsellors who were attempting to accommodate the needs of larger groups of school pupils. In the 1980s, the training courses encouraged students to address this problem by developing and running guidance programmes in their schools. This meant that the content of training courses now expanded to include material on consultancy¹⁵ and organisational development. Evidence that university-based counsellor-educators were influential in this changing role for school counsellors appears in the 1988 conference address by Gary Hermansson to the New Zealand Guidance and Counselling Association. He considered that if counsellor trainers could help counsellors develop competencies in consultancy this would help increase their political astuteness and increase their importance and status in the school (Hermansson, 1990:171). Ironically, this move produced an unintentional effect. School personnel were led to believe that after a short training by school guidance

¹⁴ Training group is a term given to an experiential aspect of counsellor training in which students learn about group dynamics and their own personal development by participating in and, at the same time, analysing their own and each other's participation in leaderless group discussions

¹⁵ Consultancy is a helping process whereby the counsellor works together with colleagues to solve a problem or institute change (Munro, Manthei and Small, 1979).

counsellors they were equipped to provide guidance and counselling throughout the school. The expertise of school counsellors was therefore threatened rather than enhanced by this move and some counsellors lobbied against this proposal (see Munro, 1990).

Nevertheless, Hermansson's conference address is further indication that the university-based counsellor-educators expected to be influential in the developing the roles and professional status of schools counsellors. They adopted the rhetoric of a linear model of professionalisation to define their own careers and professional identities. Although there was no formal regulation of the curriculum by the newly formed counselling association, the counsellor educators maintained the illusion of uniformity in the curriculum across all of their programmes. Each training course had some minor differences initiated by the course co-ordinators in response to student evaluations and their own interests, expertise and training, but the basic content and structure of the courses was assumed to be the same. This apparent uniformity provided an assumed standard for the credential of school and vocational guidance counsellor. Because the credential standard was assumed, both the training and the status of school guidance counsellors was vulnerable to changes in government policy.

At this point in the emergence of school guidance counselling, the Government's involvement resembled that of 'corporate patron' as described by Johnson (1972). The Government provided guidance counsellor services initially as a response to rising unemployment figures, increased publicity on adolescent delinquency and claims made by the Post Primary Teachers' Association that counselling could address these problems. The Government later expanded these services to provide educational and vocational guidance to the future citizens of the country. The opening up of a new site (schools) and funding arrangement for counselling, would, according to Abbott (1988), encourage competition from a range of occupational groups interested in taking some of the work in this new field. In the New Zealand

case, the integral role of government meant that this did not occur. The Government controlled the very narrow entrance to both the schools and the training courses. Within the context of the New Zealand welfare state, such control limited competition between occupational groups. The psychologists already had their place in the specialist services of education and medicine and the Post Primary Teachers' Association wanted the position of counsellors to exist as career promotions for teachers, and the Education Department was already set up for the selection and induction of teachers who wanted to become counsellors.

**Threats to the university-based monopoly on school counsellor training:
government influence on university-based counsellor education**

From 1975 to 1980, the Government was committed to appointing 30 new secondary school guidance counsellors a year whose training was distributed more-or-less evenly across the country's three training programmes. In September 1980, the Minister of Education announced that this policy could not be financially sustained. The proposal was to grant study awards to only 20 school counsellors in 1981 (Hermansson, 1981b). These people would gain their training from either Waikato University, Massey University or the University of Canterbury. This reduction in study awards would create a waiting list for training. This raised an anomaly in New Zealand school guidance counselling. Although training was considered essential for guidance counsellors and although the Government supported this training, a situation was allowed to remain in which newly appointed guidance counsellors could serve possibly one or two years in their positions *before* undertaking training. Of equal significance, was the fact that this reduction in the number of study awards highlighted the dependency that the university training courses had on the Government for their students. It threatened the viability of the operation of three university-based counsellor training programmes and set the scene for competition between them. In terms of professionalisation, the influence that a united group of university-based counsellor-educators could have on counsellor training was reduced.

Added to this threat was an investigation by the Post Primary Teachers' Association into the feasibility of Teachers Training Colleges offering counsellor training. Although this proposal was never adopted, because it did not reduce the costs of counsellor training for the Government, it did encourage university trainers to find ways of competing against each other for students. They changed their courses and the uniformity across the three programmes was lost. In a review of counsellor education programmes in the early 1980s, Brammer (1985) noted the resulting uneasy interactions of counsellor educators.

There was a mood of co-operation manifested by open communication among all concerned groups when policy changes affecting programmes were proposed; and yet there was a thread of competitiveness to make courses distinctive and attractive to students (Brammer, 1985:20).

In an effort to ensure a regular supply of students, each university counsellor educator initiated course changes and new forms of teaching to attract trainees from sites other than schools. Waikato University offered a part-time counsellor training option in 1980 and, in 1985, introduced a distinctly New Zealand bi-cultural focus to the teaching programme. Similarly, Massey University, which specialised in distance learning, proposed a new structure for its courses where theory papers could be taken extra-murally and practice modules would be offered in blocks at the beginning and end of the year. Such a proposal was expected to increase enrolments from guidance counsellors who did not have first degrees and from counsellors who could not move for one year to the sites of the other university programmes. Accordingly, Hermansson has credited this training option as being responsible for the increase in the number of women seeking appointment as counsellors (Hermansson, 1989). His final claim about the introduction of this new structure was that it would limit the stranglehold on counsellor training held by school guidance counsellors:

The long-term outcome of these actions is to have courses providing for more of an open-market, a factor that has major implications for universities, students, Government departments, the profession and other interested parties. This would seem to have the most value in the long run although perhaps the transition might be a little too painful (Hermansson, 1989:15).

The evidence that these changes emphasised competition between programmes is found in a comment in a University of Canterbury submission against the first change in the training programmes initiated by Massey University in 1981 (University of Canterbury, 1981). The University of Canterbury, expressed concern that professional standards may not be maintained with diversity across programmes. Nevertheless, because the university-based counsellor-educators had not formally established a unified programme across the three universities, submissions such as these did not stop changes from occurring.

As the content of the three university-based programmes changed to include counselling in other than school and vocational guidance contexts, other universities were able to enter the arena of counsellor training. By 1984, the courses offered by New Zealand's six universities were: Dip. Ed. (endorsed in educational guidance and counselling) and Dip.Ed.Psych. at the University of Otago; M. Ed. (counselling) at the University of Canterbury; a Guidance and Counselling paper at the honours level at Victoria University; a Diploma in Guidance and Counselling and a Diploma of Education (Guidance Studies) at Massey University; a Diploma of Counselling at the University of Waikato and a Master of Arts (Guidance and Counselling) at the University of Auckland.

Regional differences across programmes discussed by Brammer (1985) included: the University of Canterbury's emphasis on behavioural technology, career development, research methods and consulting skills; the University of Waikato's emphasis on a

casework approach, intensive field experience, and enhancement of the guidance functions of the teacher; Massey University's field-based programme with a strong community counselling emphasis; and the University of Auckland's psychological and community counselling.

The competitive edge that had begun to appear between counsellor education programmes continued to increase. It was, however, regional differences, rather than knowledge-based claims that influenced the introduction of most new courses. The interests of counsellor educators dominated several initiatives¹⁶ and regional differences in social, cultural and political changes influenced others. In 1987, Abbott and Durie surveyed the bi-cultural perspective of the four postgraduate counselling courses and the one child psychotherapy course at New Zealand universities. They found that the main constraint limiting the number of Maori students in the programmes was the selection of counsellors by the Education Department over which the university personnel had limited control. Another constraint was that although four of the counselling programmes had two full-time staff members, and the other had four part-time staff, none was Maori. It was not until 1994 that Massey University appointed the first Maori, Cathy Love of Ngati Awa, to the counselling staff. It was not until 1990 that the universities of Otago, Auckland, Waikato and Canterbury formalised a bi-cultural emphasis.

More importantly, by the late 1980s, other social issues that were gaining prominence in New Zealand were to influence university-based counsellor-education programmes. The once private concerns of family violence and sexual abuse had become public issues and ones that required governmental response. The Government was prepared to subsidise the cost of counselling victims of violence and sexual abuse by particular counsellors. The Government had already become a

¹⁶ See Miller, 1994 for a discussion of the diversity reflected in papers offered by counsellor educators at counselling conferences.

purchaser of counselling in schools; it now became a purchaser of counselling for particular community client groups.

The government funding for this particular client group (referred to as third-party funding) was allocated by government agencies to particular counsellors. The Government stipulated that counsellors receiving the funds should have formal and recognised counselling credentials. The counsellor training curriculum changed accordingly. In 1985, for example, Massey University offered a new paper, 'Family and Couples counselling'. By 1990, the structure of courses at each university was changed to enable students to study the counselling implications of sexual abuse (see University of Otago, 'Interventions in Systems'; University of Auckland, 'Professional Development/Issues in Counselling'; University of Canterbury, 'Professional Studies'). These courses, while being useful in the training of school guidance counsellors, were primarily introduced for the benefit of new students who were seeking credentials for third-party funding. As third-party funding for counselling in New Zealand has become more prevalent, there has been an interest generated in new, cost-effective models of counselling known as brief therapies. These therapies share common characteristics that are favoured by third-party funders. The characteristics are: goal-directed, purposeful, efficient in their use of time, minimally intrusive, client centred, cost-effective and of high quality.

Although brief therapies are appropriate for the original trainees of university-based counselling programmes, school guidance counsellors, they are by no means limited in use to this group of counsellors. Indeed, students who gain training in brief counselling models are likely to access third-party funding. To my knowledge, no university-based training course has made claims that its graduates will be eligible for third-party funding. Nevertheless, students who require this status are attracted to training courses that offer this alternative. Interestingly, the fact that the criteria for third-party funding are controlled by the Government (see chapter six) means that training courses that meet these criteria will be favoured. This is another way in

which the Government, not the occupational group, is strongly influencing the education of counsellors. Training at Waikato University shifted to a brief therapy approach in 1991 and at the University of Canterbury in 1992.

Other government influences on the university-based counsellor education

While some changes in the curriculum have resulted from the individual interests of counsellor educators (see Miller, 1994) and evaluation surveys of counsellors (see Miller, Manthei and Gilmore, 1993) all changes have been influenced by the Government. Changes in government policies influenced the courses in the late 1980s when restructuring occurred in many sectors of the Government, including Education and Labour. In 1988, the Vocational Guidance Service was restructured in a way that dramatically reduced its counselling function. By 1990, the Vocational Guidance Service had virtually disappeared, being split into an employment training scheme (ACCESS), a careers information service and a career development and transition education service (QUEST: RAPUARA). By 1990 Vocational Guidance Counsellors were no longer awarded study awards to attend university-based counsellor training programmes and in 1991 the Vocational Guidance Association was dissolved.

At this time, reforms were also occurring in the Education Sector. In 1988 the recommendations of two reports, *PICOT* and *Tomorrow's Schools*, created greater freedom for institutions, other than the universities, to offer school guidance counselling training. In the 1990s counsellor training programmes developed in Polytechnics, Colleges of Education, counselling agencies and specialist institutes (e.g., the Gestalt Institute, the Neurolinguistic Programming Training Institute) leading to a variety of new qualifications (Hermansson and Webb, 1993). This increase in credential offerings in turn changed the focus of university-based counsellor-education programmes. Many universities upgraded their counselling qualifications. The University of Canterbury introduced a Master of Education with a certificate in counselling in 1985, at Massey University a Masters of Counselling

was introduced in 1992, endorsed Masters of Education degrees were introduced at Otago University in 1991, at Waikato University in 1989 and at the University of Auckland in 1990.

By 1993, university-based counsellor-educators noted an increase in the number of students coming into their programmes with a great deal of counselling experience and a decrease in the number of people who received government funding for school counsellor training. Some of the 'experienced' counsellors were not university graduates and, to capitalise on this pool of potential students, in 1995, Massey and Auckland Universities strengthened their offerings in the undergraduate area. The University of Canterbury stayed with postgraduate training only, and Waikato University stopped accepting non-graduates into the counselling programme in 1992.

During the early 1990s, another government intervention was influencing the competition for counsellor training. As part of the Government's policy to integrate all education training into a 'seamless' framework in 1992, called the New Zealand Qualifications Authority framework, counselling was absorbed into an Industry Training Organisation called the New Zealand Council for Education and Training in the Social Services. Although the universities resisted having their courses included in the New Zealand Qualifications Authority framework, the university counsellor-educators still felt obligated to intervene in the establishment of counselling unit standards for non-university-based counsellor education. In 1994, an advisory body was called on by the New Zealand Qualifications Authority to set the parameters of the units. Consultation on the draft units was sought and the New Zealand Association of Counsellors provided professional opinions from its members. The most noticeable reaction came from the university counsellor-educators who criticised attempts to reduce counsellor training into criterion-referenced units.

Unit standard work serves to blur differences [between counselling, social work and other social interventions]...this serves to further reduce

the distinctions and in doing so, it heightens questions about how meaningful the unit standards are...If [the unit standards] are going to be done...then maybe it is better to be done by people who are central to the field rather than having things imposed by those less knowledgeable about counselling (NZAC Newsletter 16(3):48).

The rhetoric used in the above submission is consistent with Abbott's (1988) interpretation of academics engaged in the professionalisation of an occupation. In this view, it is important that the academics control the definition of the occupation and the curriculum of its training. In the case of New Zealand university-based counsellor-education, however, we find that the integral role of government complicates this picture. Because of government influence on counsellor-training and because the university-based counsellor-educators did not establish a unified training programme, their full control of the curriculum was vulnerable to government changes in policy. Furthermore, the competition between university-based counsellor-educators limited their ability to establish a unified definition of counselling. Their ability to control this definition was later undermined by the Government definition used for third-party funding (see chapter six). In addition, this latest competition initiated by another branch of the Government, the New Zealand Qualifications Authority further decreased the monopoly of school counsellor training held by the universities. It was this threat to their monopoly that encouraged university-based counsellor-educators to meet formally and discuss mutual concerns. Their attempts to claim jurisdiction of counsellor-education involved competition and co-operation with each other and the Government.

Conclusion

Theories of professionalisation that emphasise competition as being central to the process do not accommodate some of the subtleties operating in the case where government is actively involved. Abbott (1988) considers that the greatest struggle

for a new occupational group is against other professional groups as they claim jurisdiction. He also considers that such competition encourages new professions to promote unity in their training and work. He does not, however, include the active role of government in this analysis.

Witz (1992), however, in her analysis of the professionalisation of nurses in the 20th century introduced the idea that different government priorities will influence the type, and effect, of professionalisation strategies used by aspirant professionals. This, I argue, is a closer representation of the influence of government on professionalisation strategies used by university-based counsellor-educators in New Zealand. Between 1974 and the early 1980s, when the New Zealand Government was supporting social welfare initiatives, an increase in the number of university-trained guidance counsellors was consistent with this policy. In 1980, when the Government reduced the number of study awards for counselling students, it controlled the narrow entrance to training and work, and the universities were able to continue providing comparable training programmes. By 1985, however, when the Government was promoting restructuring policies and it opened up the possibility for new training programmes to emerge, the universities' monopoly on training was threatened. The result was not, as Abbott would suggest, unification of training but rather, diversification as training institutions competed with one another for potential students.

Furthermore, because at this time the Government was withdrawing support for statutory regulation of occupations (such as that obtained by the clinical psychologists in 1981), the counsellors were not able to gain government sponsored registration. Thus, the growth in training programme numbers and people seeking membership in the New Zealand Association of Counselling set the stage for claims-making by a range of interested parties about the role of the Association and the minimum standards for training and work. It is this struggle between interested parties for acceptance of their own interpretations of the central issues for

counselling that again makes the case of New Zealand counselling so interesting. The struggle for influence was not, as described in most models of professionalisation, between the new occupational group and others interested in competing for the same work. Rather it was about counsellor-educators securing new arrangements with the Government to insure their continued educational role and associated influence on the domain of counselling. In the next chapters, I shall describe the way in which the integral part played by the Government in counselling's professionalisation project set up debates between counsellors, counsellor-educators, counselling Association members and government officials about the an accepted definition of counselling.

Chapter Five

Disordered Professionalisation

I just see there is a need for a New Zealand-wide organisation of counsellors and psychotherapists and psychiatrists so that people understand the differences and so there would be public education
(Counselling student).

Introduction

In 1974, 60 people comprising secondary school counsellors, school careers advisors, guidance teachers, vocational guidance officers, psychologists, social workers and counsellor educators attended a meeting in Palmerston North, New Zealand, to examine counselling issues and discuss the possibility of creating a professional body. The meeting was initiated by the high school guidance counsellor, Ted Wadsworth, with the support of two university lecturers in Massey University's newly established university-based counsellor training programme. The outcome of the meeting was the formation of the New Zealand Counselling and Guidance Association (*New Zealand Association of Counsellors Newsletter* 16(2):25,1995) whose initial aim was "to promote within the New Zealand community effective counselling and guidance services" (*Counsellors Newsletter* 9:(5), 1974).

In September 1996, the Association, with a much larger membership of approximately 2000, put a temporary hold on applications for membership (*New Zealand Association of Counsellors Newsletter* 17(1), 1996). In this chapter, I shall describe the events that led to this situation where the Executive of the Association had to stop its recruitment of new members in order to control the dramatic growth in the organisation. It is important, at this stage, to note that the factors influencing this growth are strongly associated with the Association's attempt to professionalise. A disorderly picture emerges of the Association seeking to establish practices and

change its organisational structure in reaction to pressures placed on it from a number of different government agencies and from self-interested members. Such disorderliness stands in stark contrast to the orderly image of professionalisation espoused and projected by the Association in its rhetorical claims to professionalism. This supports Roth's (1974) argument that the orderly, linear professionalisation image has a social function of providing the basis for occupational groups' claims to increase or maintain their social status. He suggests that this social function occurs regardless of how the professionalisation process has worked itself out in reality.

I will demonstrate in this chapter that the New Zealand Association of Counsellors has accepted the image of a linear model of professionalisation as being valid and has used it to support its claims to legitimacy. Yet, ironically, the priority given to maintaining a rhetoric of professionalisation has led to hurriedly established policies that work against its attempts to promote an image of orderly professionalisation. A good example of this is found in the way that the Executive of the Association has kept changing the Association's membership criteria since 1990 to the point where it stopped processing membership applications until it could determine new, appropriate membership criteria. Furthermore, the definition of 'appropriate' has changed during this time in accordance with the growth in the Association. My examination of the Association's constitutional, administrative and communication documents and my observations of the Association's formal meetings form the basis of my arguments in this chapter.

Early development of the counselling association

From its beginnings, the New Zealand Counselling and Guidance Association sought professional recognition. Its initial business was drafting criteria for membership and establishing the name, objectives, aims, constitution and a brief code of ethics for the Association (*Counsellors Newsletter*, No 10, Feb. 1975). Each of these activities is recognised as being an essential step toward professionalisation when characterised in linear terms. By 1975 the *Newsletter* editors declared that the Association had

begun a process of professionalisation. The *Newsletter* Editorial that year was entitled "Professional Membership and the Emerging Association" and the Editor, Bob Rosemergy, outlined the steps towards professionalisation as being: establishing criteria for membership; developing a code of ethics; finding a rationale for the work and legitimating the counsellor role. He congratulated the Association for achieving these steps (*NZCGA Newsletter*, no date). Thus, at the outset, the Association accepted and was adopting without question the sociological model of a linear professionalisation process to guide the decisions about the future direction of the Association.

This is hardly surprising since this was the model so seemingly successfully demonstrated by medical practitioners. Many university counsellor-educators in New Zealand had trained in educational psychology where such a model was respected. Thus, in 1976 the Association established its own Journal with the aim *to provide a channel for the communication of a wide range of material relevant to professional issues, ideas, and emerging fields of interest within the pervasive guidance sphere* (*NZCGA Journal* 1:iii, 1976). In 1987 it debated the usefulness of counsellor registration; in 1989, a member proposed discussion of a name change from New Zealand Counselling and Guidance Association to New Zealand Association of Counsellors and in 1993 it hosted its first international conference.

A good deal of disorder existed behind these seemingly orderly steps of 'professionalisation'. This disorder was influenced in the main by increasing membership diversity and the relationships between government and the Association. In early documents, there is evidence that the Association had difficulty articulating its identity. When the Association's name was considered, there was considerable discussion on whether 'counselling' or 'guidance' should feature first. There was a perceived need to make the name inclusive of school and vocational guidance counsellors and also guidance teachers, psychologists and university counsellor educators. The name New Zealand Counselling and Guidance Association was

intended to reflect some diversity even though the main membership group comprised school counsellors and any membership increase corresponded to an increase in the number of school guidance counsellor positions. By 1977 there were 200 vacancies for guidance counsellors in secondary schools and the membership of the New Zealand Counselling and Guidance Association was 103, an increase of 43 from the 60 inaugural members in 1974. In that year (1977), the President of the Association noted that *as membership increases, consideration will need to be given to the ways in which this Association can provide for the apparently conflicting aims of unity and diversity (NZCGA Journal 1:1, 1976)*. The conflicting aims to which she was referring were those promoted by the inaugural President of the Association, Ted Wadsworth. He first encouraged the Association to lobby the Government about issues pertaining to mainly school and vocational guidance counsellors of which there would be a definitive number. Second, Wadsworth promoted membership growth which would necessitate opening up membership to people other than school and vocational guidance counsellors (*Counsellors Newsletter, 8, 1974*).

In 1976, the Vocational Guidance Service moved from the Department of Education to the Department of Labour. The Government also increased the number of Vocational Guidance Counsellors throughout the country. These counsellors were potential trainees for the recently established university-based counsellor training programmes (see chapter four) and likely members of this still-new New Zealand Counselling and Guidance Association. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that during this same year the Executives of the New Zealand Counselling and Guidance Association and the New Zealand Vocational Guidance Association met to discuss the feasibility of the Vocational Guidance Association becoming part of the former (*NZCGA Newsletter, February 1978*). Although this did not occur, several vocational guidance officers joined the New Zealand Counselling and Guidance Association. Thus, when an increase was made in the number of school and vocational guidance positions across the country, the Association was able to make a legitimate claim to

be the body representing school and vocational guidance counsellors. This is consistent with models of professionalisation that credit professional associations with an integral role in the development of a profession.

Professionalisation involves claims to an area of work

Abbott (1988) suggested that an occupational group enters the professional arena by claiming an area of work. In this respect, it asks members of the public to recognise its exclusive rights to a particular work domain. He also noted that, in many cases, the role of the professional association is to make these claims on behalf of its members. In the case of the New Zealand Counselling and Guidance Association, however, this role was not straightforward.

Many Association members who were school counsellors retained their teacher union membership. This union, the Post Primary Teachers' Association, was involved with the Department of Education in the administration of the school counsellor training programmes. It supported a university-based training and the establishment of school guidance counsellor positions with an identity of specialist 'teachers'. Thus, from the outset, the New Zealand Counselling and Guidance Association could only partially claim to represent the interests of its members. Nevertheless, in 1980, the Association sought government recognition as a body that represented school guidance counselling. This claim was made in a submission to the Director-General of Education. The preamble, which was published in an Association newsletter, stated:

This organisation [New Zealand Counselling and Guidance Association) wishes to seek recognition from the Department of Education, as a professional body in its own right. ... Our Association is the body best able to draw on the cumulative experience of guidance and counselling personnel and therefore should have representation at forums when the

future of guidance and counselling in our education system is discussed
(NZCGA Newsletter, Vol. 2(1):3, 1980).

At this time, the composition of the 200 financial members was: 70 per cent school guidance counsellors, 10 per cent vocational guidance counsellors, 5 per cent counsellors in tertiary institutions, 7.5 per cent counsellor trainers in universities, 7.5 per cent miscellaneous including principals, marriage guidance counsellors, liaison officers, social welfare counsellors, nursing educators, counsellors in private practice (NZCGA Newsletter 2(1):3, 1980). The high proportion of school guidance counsellors in the membership dominated the concerns of the Association at this time.

Another role, in Abbott's (1988) terms, for the professional associations in the professionalisation process is to expand the area of work for the members and thus increase the association membership. In the case of New Zealand counselling, however, this was difficult because the Government controlled the number of secondary school counsellors in the country. If the membership of the Association and its area of work was to expand, then non-educational membership had to be encouraged. The Association's professionalisation project at this time, therefore focused on encouraging diversity in membership and gaining greater autonomy from the Government. In 1982, for example, the Association president, David Matthews, encouraged changes in membership criteria to include non-educational members such as professional and non-professional helpers in the community (NZCGA Newsletter 3(1), 1982) the appointment of whom was not government directed.

The resulting growth in membership diversity influenced the focus of Association activities. At the 1981 AGM, issues for debate included the role of the Association in making submissions on corporal punishment in schools and the Working Women's Charter. Member opinions on the role of the Association were varied. The articles in the Association *Journal* were also more diverse: counselling process, professional

issues, training, testing and descriptions of guidance programmes appeared (Manthei, 1991).

In 1984, further diversity was evident in the work of Association members as exemplified in a symposium in the Association's journal on family counselling. The Association president noted:

whilst many of our members and subscribers may have some involvement in this field, it does indicate a broadening counselling perspective and, hopefully, will be the first of many symposia in the Journal (NZCGA Journal 6(1):iii, 1984).

The emphasis on increasing membership numbers continued in the rhetoric of the 1985 president, Murray Woodfield. He regarded a large Association membership as being essential for it to claim that it represented counsellors. He wrote:

The value of an increased membership lies in the ability of NZCGA to be more representative of all educational counselling, and to be able to draw on the diverse range of skills and interests which often remain hidden from view. It may well be that some have not joined because the organisation does not meet their needs or expectations. No doubt we could be doing more to have a wider appeal and relevance. As well, a strong numerous membership can assist in providing effective support for publicity, and representation in areas within the range of our concerns and competence (NZCGA Newsletter 6,(1) 1985).

In spite of this rhetoric, the Association still comprised predominantly school and vocational guidance counsellors and was limited in potential membership by governmental limits on their numbers. In 1985 the composition of the membership was described as school guidance counsellors 154, tertiary counsellors and educators

21, vocational guidance counsellors 31, other, 30 (*NZCGA Newsletter 6*, (1) 1985).

The Association Executive at this time was organised geographically with ten members elected on a regional basis.

Professionalisation involves adjustments to, and arrangements with government.

By 1985, as I have indicated earlier, the Government was instituting policy reforms in the education and welfare sectors. As these reforms influenced the working conditions of members of the New Zealand Counselling and Guidance Association, so the focus of the work of the Association changed. At this point, differentiation between groups of members began to occur. Freidson (1994) regards differentiation into subgroups as a feature of professionalisation because members choose to lobby around different interests. This positive account of differentiation into specialties is described as an action that is initiated from within the occupational group. In the case of New Zealand counselling, however, the differentiation that began to occur did so in response to government policies that had different implications for different groups of members in the Association. In 1985, for example, the Government's removal of the restrictions for counsellor training encouraged the lecturers in the university-based counsellor education programmes, who were members of the Association, to establish their own national network (see chapter seven).

Furthermore, by the early 1990s, career counsellors, school counsellors and private practice counsellors were organised as subgroups within the Association. Each subgroup was set up in response to government policies that influenced their work. I shall now describe some of those policies and their implications.

In 1987, the Department of Education supported a *School Curriculum Review* in which the authors recommended changes in the organisation of schools and strengthened their support for the work of school counsellors and guidance personnel. This, in turn, encouraged the membership of the New Zealand Counselling and Guidance Association to focus on political activity in support of

school counsellors. An Executive member of the Association wrote a paper in its newsletter encouraging school counsellors to use this review to improve and extend their work (*New Zealand Association of Counsellors Newsletter* 8(3), 1987). Related to this, the Association produced a publicity leaflet that was sent to school principals. According to the Executive report this initiative resulted in 30 school guidance counsellors signing up to become members (*Newsletter* 8(1), 1987).

Changes were also occurring in the vocational guidance sector and the New Zealand Counselling and Guidance Association was being called upon by members to challenge the Government's reduction in resources, functions and facilities for vocational guidance counsellors. Of course, such a reduction in vocational guidance counsellors had the potential to reduce the membership of the Association. Membership at this time was 255. The Association wrote a letter to the Minister of Education, Mr. Lange, expressing concern at the reduction in numbers of Vocational Guidance Counsellors throughout the country (*New Zealand Association of Counsellors Newsletter* 8(3), 1987).

In 1988 the *PICOT Report* on educational administration prompted numerous submissions from institutions around the country. The New Zealand Counselling and Guidance Association also saw the need to respond. Its submission on the report included the following statement.

The New Zealand Counselling and Guidance Association represents secondary school guidance counsellors, vocational guidance counsellors, university educators and others working in the field of guidance and counselling in educational and other community settings. [It recommends] that the current training provisions for guidance counsellors be retained and that schools are not disadvantaged financially by appointing a guidance counsellor who requires training (New Zealand Association of Counsellors Newsletter 9, 3:10, 1988).

As late as 1988, with a membership of 270, the Association still regarded itself as representing mostly counsellors working in educational and vocationally oriented institutions. Its attempts to promote the professional face of a homogenous group and therefore to strengthen its claims for full representation were, however, being undermined by its need to respond to the different needs of its diversifying membership. These different needs were generated by changes in government policy.

While some of the Government's initiatives demanded that particular groups of Association members co-operate with each other to lobby the Government over the form and scope of counselling, other initiatives required different arrangements for counselling. In the 1980s, for example, the Government realised that counselling might be one of a number of solutions to a political concern about domestic violence. Public funding, in the form of grants to Rape Crisis Centres for counselling people who suffered the effects of domestic violence was established. Publicity about this third-party funding was channelled through the media to inform potential clients (see *New Zealand Women's Weekly*, October 1987, and Loates, 1991). This increased the likelihood that counsellors not associated with the Rape Crisis Centres would seek ways to acquire this funding. Distribution of the funding was controlled by the Government agency, the Accident Compensation Corporation (ACC). I shall elaborate, in chapter six, on the influence this agency had on New Zealand counselling. It is important to note here, however, that this agency required counsellors who wanted access to the funding to belong to a recognised professional association. The Executive of the New Zealand Counselling and Guidance Association, therefore, began to investigate the potential increase in its membership that would occur if it became recognised by the ACC. Such an arrangement, where the professional Association adapted its constitution in order to take advantage of and comply with government policy is one example of the way in which professionalisation for counselling was, and is strongly influenced by government.

Unexpected outcomes

I have noted elsewhere (chapter three) the ways that the rhetoric of professionalisation maintained the myth that counselling's project was orderly and homogenous. The basic assumptions of the trait model of professionalisation are, however, flawed (see Abbott, 1988; Freidson, 1994 and Johnson 1972) and the reliance of the New Zealand Association of Counsellors' Executive on the linear professionalisation model to guide their decisions often led them to take actions which had unexpected outcomes. Consistent with these models, in 1985, for example, school and vocational guidance counsellor members requested that the Association set about protecting the term 'counsellor'.¹⁷ The problem was, however, that the term 'counsellor' was not a protected term, and not one claimed only by members of the Association. Thus, in spite of the Association's use of professionalisation rhetoric as a strategy, it was challenged by its ambiguous title and tenuous hold on 'professional status'.

By 1987, the Association reacted to this challenge by adopting the rhetoric of professionalisation to persuade its members to endorse a government-related strategy: registration. The Association President at the time, Murray Woodfield introduced this strategy in his annual report by stating: *the use of the name [counsellor] has been discussed by the Association a number of times over the past years and in my view it is time to look seriously at the matter of counsellor registration (NZCGA Newsletter 8, 1:7, 1987).*

At the 1987 Annual General Meeting the possibility of pursuing registration was raised and a working party was established. This decision involved considerable debate. In 1988, the Newsletter Editor, Carol Mawhinney, wrote:

Your Executive is concerned that it is uncertain of the views of the majority of members on this important issue. While acknowledging that

¹⁷ In 1985 the Executive was asked to send letters to the Post Primary Teachers' Association, the New Zealand Educational Institute, and primary, intermediate and area schools complaining about their use of the term 'counsellor' (NZCGA Newsletter 6, 2, 1985).

*the issue has been discussed at the 1987 and 1988 AGM's...Executive believes that the actual **number** of members of NZCGA who have been **actively** involved so far is small. Given that registration has the potential to impact on **all** our members we would be delighted to hear your views [her emphasis] (NZCGA Newsletter, 9, 4:15, 1988).*

Furthermore, the problem for the New Zealand Counselling and Guidance Association was that the timing of this initiative coincided with an environment in which Government was far less inclined to support regulation than previously. It was likely, therefore, that any regulation would only be internal to the Association and not supported by the Government. Thus, proposals for and against government registration, changed to proposals for and against accreditation (*NZCGA Newsletters* 9 (1) 1987 and 9 (5)1989). Accreditation is a strategy whereby the occupational group, rather than the government, controls the standards, training and membership privileges. It is consistent with a rhetoric of professionalisation in which different steps need to be seen to be achieved in order for the occupational group to appear professional. In 1987, one member encouraged members to adopt accreditation in the following manner.

When seen in relation to the developmental stages of a profession as described by Vacc (1987), the country is closest to stage 4...The current issues and problems facing counsellors...indicate the urgent need to establish a formal and legal basis for professional counselling as a discipline...the development of certification or licensing (Everts, 1987).

In order to persuade members that the adoption of this strategy would bring about professional benefits, the Executive continued to use the rhetoric of professionalisation. One Executive member wrote in a Newsletter:

The whole idea [accreditation]...has the potential to change part of the focus of New Zealand Association of Counsellors from being an interest group, towards being a more professional association (New Zealand Association of Counsellors Newsletter, 12 (2):26, 1991).

During this same year, a referendum was held prior to the Annual General Meeting where accreditation was finally adopted.

Another issue that was raised in conjunction with the decision to adopt accreditation was the suggestion that the Association should change its name. Early theorists of professionalisation deemed that a name change was an important step in the process as it clarified the area of work of the occupational group. Thus, the adoption of such action by the counselling association is consistent with its need to be seen to uphold the rhetoric of professionalisation. Abbott (1988), on the other hand, whose model is based on jurisdictional competition, suggests that the initiative for a name change usually comes from the Association in response to a perceived threat from another profession. Three things are interesting in the case of the New Zealand Counselling and Guidance Association. First, the threat was not from another profession but from the Government as it had the power to control the number of potential members by specifying the number of school guidance counsellor positions. Second, the suggested name change was designed to encourage a more inclusive membership rather than to make it more exclusive. Third, the initiative did not come from the general membership of the Association. Rather, it came from a particular member Gary Hermansson, a counsellor-educator at Massey University, who anticipated that a more inclusive name would encourage more people into university-based counsellor education programmes. He implied that a more inclusive name would attract Association membership from counsellors outside the school and vocational guidance systems who were *desperate for training and were working hard at developing a distinct counselling identity (NZCGA Newsletter, 10, 2:15, 1989)*. His

rhetoric, therefore, was an attempt to clarify the identity and jurisdiction of Association members.

Discussion and debate at the AGM in Masterton brought to a head various concerns about the Association's identity and direction. In keeping with a point being made at the time, I proffered the suggestion that we should give serious thought to changing the name of the NZCGA.... The recent interest within the Association about matters of accreditation of counsellors seems to reflect also a desire for a strengthened counselling identity... I believe that the time has arrived where we should become more distinctly an organisation for counsellors and counsellors in various contexts (NZCGA Newsletter, 10, 2:15, 1989).

The influence of a significant single member (Hermansson was a founding member) on such a landmark name change decision is not discussed in sociological studies of professionalisation. There is an assumption that the initiative is driven by the general membership of an association and that the membership is homogeneous in both its constitution and focus.

Kleinman and Fine (1979) in a different empirical context criticised the idea of organisational homogeneity and took cognisance of the important role of individuals. They argued that *organisations comprise numerous individuals who have different ideas about what the goals of the organisation should be and how they should be implemented* (Kleinman, 1979:278). This allowed Kleinman and Fine to examine the importance of moral rhetoric to organisational personnel who persuaded members to adopt particular behaviour. Similarly, Halliday (1987) who examined the actions of the Chicago Bar Association noted that there is an intra-organisational process that brings together disparate views of members to act as a collective. He found *many examples of organisational stalemate that prevented collective action but also many occasions on which the bar association acted significantly when its members must*

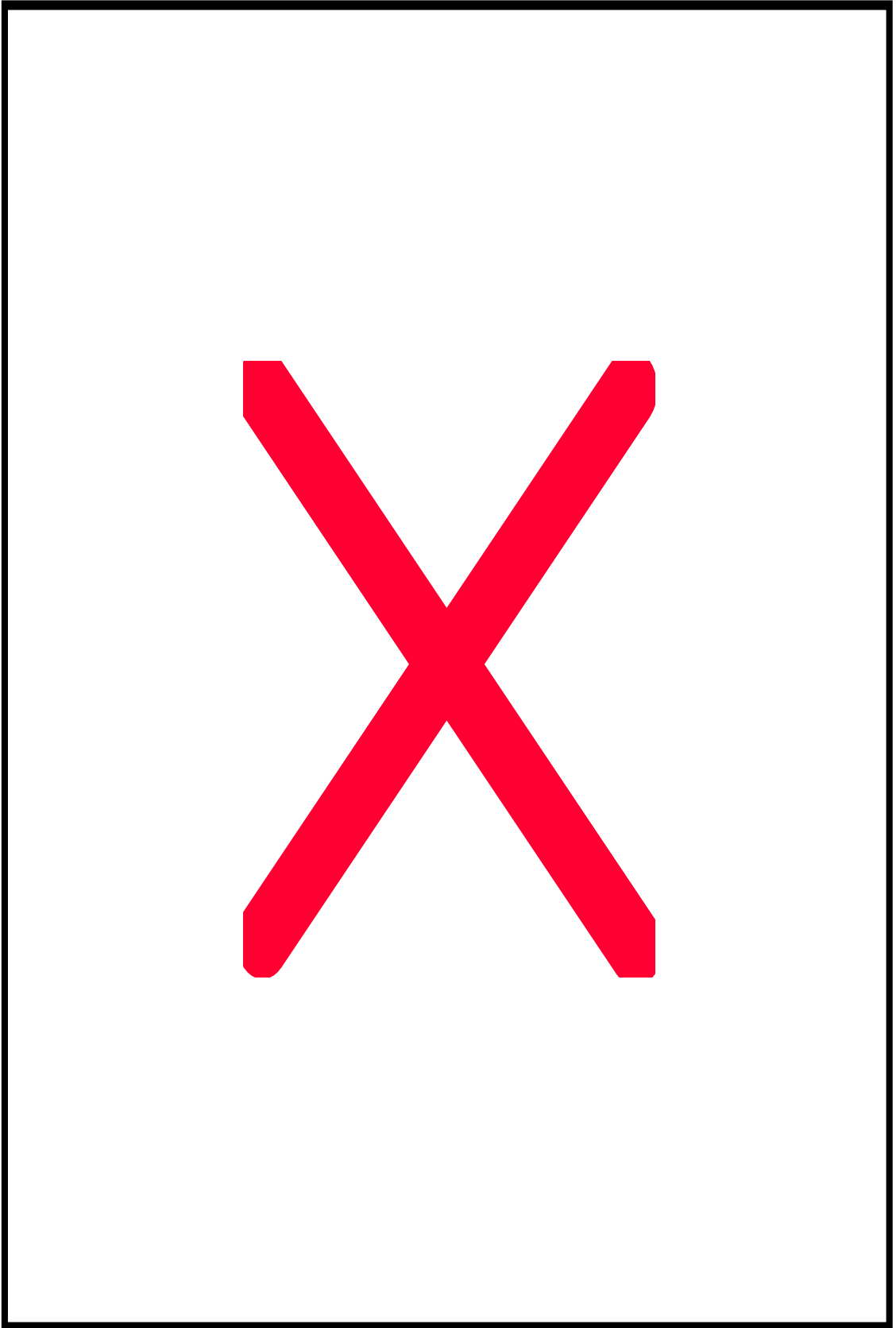
have been, or were, completely divided (Halliday, 1987:xvii). In the case of the New Zealand Association of Counsellors, the strength of the rhetoric of professionalisation was sufficient to persuade members that a name change that would benefit particularly one specialty group within the Association, university-based counsellors, would also be of benefit to them.

Compared with the four year long debate about the accreditation decision, the debate about a name change for the Association was brief. It was suggested in 1989 and in 1990 the Association changed its name from the New Zealand Counselling and Guidance Association (NZCGA) to the New Zealand Association of Counsellors (NZAC) (New Zealand Association of Counsellors Newsletter, 11 (1):2, 1990). Membership at the time was 390 financial members with the majority being school guidance counsellors (48.4 per cent), the next largest group being non-school counsellors (24.2 per cent), then 8.1 per cent school guidance teachers and 3.2 per cent vocational guidance counsellors (New Zealand Association of Counsellors Newsletter, 11, 3, 1990).

Abbott (1988) argues that an association's name change and its establishment of a professional accreditation scheme will encourage growth in its membership. Both initiatives are assumed to protect the professional status of members by providing them with respectability and credibility. On the surface, the effect of the accreditation and name change in the Counsellors' Association appears to support Abbott's view. The membership growth since those initiatives were discussed has been dramatic (see figure one) from a consistent average of 350 during the 1980s to 681 in 1992 and to 2000 in 1998.

While there has been considerable growth in the Association since accreditation and the name change were introduced, accreditation has not been as popular as expected and cannot be used to account for the rapid growth in the Association. Accreditation was established in 1991, the first six members were accredited in 1994 but by 1996

there were only 10 accredited members (New Zealand Association of Counsellors Newsletter 16 (4) 1996). The reason for this low accreditation rate is that accreditation is usually a strategy used by occupational groups in their bid to gain control of their work and autonomy from the government. Secondary school counsellors in New Zealand were and are, however, dependent on the Government for recruitment, education and employment. Furthermore, counsellors do not need to be accredited to the Association to practise counselling or to gain outside funding. They do, however, need to be members of a professional Association to gain some third-party funding and it is this situation that has had the most impact on the growth in membership.



While the Executive of the Association recognised this situation, it still promoted an image of control by linking membership growth to professionalisation of counselling. In 1992, the Executive member holding the membership portfolio (Alastair Crockett) wrote:

Probably we reached a peak in the flow of applications in December with ACC's requirement of professional membership for all ACC registered counsellors contributing to that. However, there is also an increased interest in professionalisation. Despite the flood of applications and the overload of work this has created, it is still heartening to read the broad experiences which so many applicants are bringing with them. New Zealand Association of Counsellors can only be the richer because of this (New Zealand Association of Counsellors Newsletter 12, 3:9, 1992).

The irony is that while the Association was using the rhetoric of professionalisation to guide its policy changes, it was the third-party funding agency, the ACC, which provided the main guidelines for quality control and the impetus for membership growth. The Association's code of ethics for example was, in part, defined by the ACC.

Until such time as the code of ethics was revised ACC would not approve members becoming registered sexual abuse counsellors (New Zealand Association of Counsellors Newsletter 12 (3):6, 1992).

Furthermore, the changes made by the Association to membership criteria were influenced by the ACC: *the standards set in our new guidelines for 'member' status are similar to ACC requirements* (New Zealand Association of Counsellors Newsletter, 13 (1):11, 1992)

The ways in which the third-party funding agency developed into such a major influence on attempts by the counselling organisation to professionalise will be discussed in chapter six. It is important to note, at this stage, however, that the reaction of the Association to the influence of the ACC was complex. First, the Association adopted the face of credibility. In 1992 Ruth Anderson (President, 1991-93) wrote:

We have made, and will continue to strive for, the recognition of counselling as a profession with high ethical standards and a highly developed sense of accountability (New Zealand Association of Counsellors Newsletter, 12(3):7, 1992).

In addition, Association members, other than those associated with schools and vocational guidance began making demands that the Association comply with ACC criteria. In 1991, an executive member, Bruce Johnson wrote:

So, what do we get out of our subs?...Most of us are not recognised by the ACC as counsellors for their purposes. Executive are working towards remedying this situation, so allowing university trained counsellors to be accredited [to ACC] (New Zealand Association of Counsellors Newsletter, 11(3):22, 1990).

The Association also noted that it needed to recognise the diversity that came with the increase in membership created by ACC recognition. In 1992, when membership was 681, the then President, Ruth Anderson wrote:

We have sought too, to promote the interests of counsellors who are working in community and government agencies and in private practice, as we are aware that this group of counsellors constitutes nearly 50% of

our total membership (New Zealand Association of Counsellors Annual Report, May 1991- May 1992).

Related to this change in membership constituency, was a change in the focus of the Association's business. The content of the Association's newsletters reflected this change (Miller, 1996). Table one describes the content of the newsletters for seven years from 1989, the year when the Association name change was suggested.

Several factors in this table are noteworthy. First, the main focus of the Newsletters at this time was the promotion of a changing image, the 'professionalisation' of the Association. Second, while from 1989 until December 1992 items of relevance to school counsellors were still highly represented (n=48, 24%), from 1993 until 1996 the number of items related to school counsellors dropped noticeably (n=36, 15%). During this latter period, the number of items related to Private Practice and Third Party Funding increased (1989-92: n=26,13%; 1993-96: n=41,17%).

FOCUS CATEGORY	ARTICLES 1989-1992	% OF TOTAL	ARTICLES 1993-1996	% OF TOTAL
Professionalisation	46	23	52	21
School Issues	48	24	36	15
Social Issues	22	11	39	16
Training	26	13	27	11
Supervision	14	08	15	06
Bi-culturalism	13	07	9	04
Third Party (ACC)	18	09	27	11
Private Practice	8	04	14	06
Careers	2	01	17	07
Gay and Lesbian	0	0	7	03
Total	197	100	243	100

Table One: Focus of articles in the New Zealand Association of Counsellors *Newsletters* according to the number of articles in each category and the percentage of total articles classified across 26 newsletters.

The experience of the New Zealand Association of Counsellors is consistent with Watts' observation, when interviewed by Palmer (1994), that when an occupational association changes its name it will be strongly influenced by new members who previously did not have an existing professional group to defend their interests and promote their professional development. After the name change the prominence of school counsellors' interests in the *Newsletters* was exceeded by that of non-school counsellors.

Apparently, school counsellor members were not resistant to the new focus of the Association. A larger, more professional Association had always been encouraged to strengthen their claims for acceptance as a professional group. There was also the prospect of meeting people with different training and new ideas at Association gatherings. The increase in membership, however, created an unexpected dilemma for the Executive. Because the Government limited access to the university-based school counsellor training, the Executive had not considered establishing minimum training criteria for Association members. Now, the Executive had to evaluate membership applications from people whose qualifications were other than those conferred at New Zealand universities. Faced with this new situation, the Executive considered setting minimum standards for counsellor training (*New Zealand Association of Counsellors Newsletter* 12 (1):3, 1991). Again, however, because of the complex, multifaceted relationship between government and the Association, the Executive's attempts to control counsellor-training were not straightforward.

In 1992, the Association formalised its guidelines for counsellor training standards. These were, however, very broad and, because they did not apply to existing

members, they were, on the whole, ignored. Then, when the Government opened up counsellor-training to new institutions, it retained control over the monitoring of the standards for these new courses by establishing a new body, the New Zealand Qualifications Authority. This meant that the Association could not reject membership applications from people who had completed these new training courses. By 1997, therefore, the Association looked again at the establishment of training criteria to control its membership (*New Zealand Association of Counsellors AGM Agenda, 1997*). The significance of this is that, while the Association was using the rhetoric of the linear model of professionalisation to guide its policy decisions, it was unable to achieve one of the first steps in such a process, the control of training standards, because of the Government's involvement.

Another response by the Association to change its lack of control over member's standards of practice was to re-visit its accreditation procedure. Accreditation had been promoted as an important step in the Association's professionalisation but few members chose to apply for Association accreditation. The Executive of the Association, however, had spent considerable time and finance putting together the accreditation package and was reluctant to waste it. Buried in the accreditation package was a requirement that members undertake ongoing supervision and professional development and abide by the Association's Code of Ethics (*New Zealand Association of Counsellors Newsletter 14 (3) 1994*). The Executive therefore resurrected these requirements and attempted to control counsellor accountability through supervision. Thus, in 1992 a proposal was made that a Code for Supervision be developed and this was ratified at the 1993 Annual General Meeting (*New Zealand Association of Counsellors Newsletter 13, 5, 1993*). The rhetoric that accompanied this proposal comprised a definition of supervision as a regularly timetabled 'quality control' time for counsellors, when they were to reflect on and assess their work with clients, with the help of a supervisor (*New Zealand Association of Counsellors Newsletter 13(3):35, 1992*).

Because this new scheme applied only to people seeking membership, it did not appear to influence the actions of existing members. Indeed, complaints by clients about the practice of members were starting to appear in increasing numbers. In 1995, in an effort to address this problem the Executive introduced a proposal for a new accreditation scheme where supervisors rather than members would be accredited. Although this was challenged by one counsellor trainer later in that year (*New Zealand Association of Counsellors Newsletter* 16, 3, 1995) it was ratified at the 1996 Annual General Meeting with one amendment: supervisors were 'recognised' by the New Zealand Association of Counsellors rather than 'accredited' (*New Zealand Association of Counsellors AGM Minutes, 1996*). What is interesting here is that, despite these efforts by the Association to control the monitoring of its members' practice, the ACC still was not satisfied with this and decided to establish its own expectations of supervision. In the 1997 Sensitive Claims Unit Newsletter for ACC approved counsellors a comment was made that because:

there is variable criteria amongst the [professional] associations for [counsellors] choosing supervisors...ACC will draft their expectations of supervision for consideration at the next meeting [of ACC and professional association representatives] (Insight, December 1997:2).

Professionalisation as myth

Until the 1990s, the New Zealand Association of Counsellors had used the rhetoric of professionalisation to justify its policy decisions and display a professional face to its members and to government. The myth of professionalisation served the Executive of the Association well as it raised its standing in the eyes of its members. By the 1990s, however, the Executive was struggling to exert some control over its large membership and to maintain an image of orderly professionalisation. The main problem was that the orderliness and planfulness underlying the professionalisation myth were being undermined by the Government (in the form of the Accident and Compensation Corporation) and the professionalisation project therefore required

some arrangement between the Association and the Corporation. Initially, the Executive of the Association did not recognise this need to set up a partnership; hence it encouraged the ratification of a Code for Supervisors and the Accreditation of Supervisors that was overshadowed by the supervision policies of the ACC.

In order to meet the perceived needs of Association members, the Executive added new portfolios to its range of activities. These were: Publicity, Equity, Networks (recognition of the increase in numbers of counsellors from areas other than schools), and Professional Issues (to promote high professional standards) (*New Zealand Association of Counsellors Newsletter*, 12.1, 1991). Added to these were the portfolios of School Counsellor Issues and Organisational Development. The rationale for the latter was described thus:

Organisational development (new portfolio) arises from the need to focus on the organisation itself, appreciate the changes that have been thrust upon us through the rapid growth of our membership and a change in political and social circumstances we are working in, and develop strategies for coping adequately in our changed circumstances (New Zealand Association of Counsellors Newsletter 13 (2):22, 1992).

This statement highlights the perceived vulnerability of the Association felt by Executive members and their attempts to develop plans to deal with a dynamic political and social environment.

The evidence cited here, stands in contrast to that described by Halliday (1987). In his analysis of the Chicago Bar Association he argued that once 'developmental tasks' were accomplished the importance of monopoly in collective professional action and to professional identity began to fade (Halliday, 1987:351). He cited as evidence of this the steady decline in the size and number of committees on professional fees, professional education and professional discipline. Name change

of an organisation would, in many developmental theories, be regarded as an accomplishment. In the case of the New Zealand Association of Counsellors, however, after the accomplishment of this developmental task, the Association increased its collective professional action. This was essential to maintain the mythical orderly image of being an occupational group that wants to be regarded as a profession.

Thus it can be seen that the organisational structure of the Association was being influenced not only, as some professionalisation theories would have us believe, from within, but also, from outside by the new funding arrangements and new sites for counselling. The Executive was very aware that changes were being thrust upon the Association by government agencies and a new, large membership of private practice counsellors. It responded by attempting to institute policies of control. These policies were characteristic of those advanced by the rhetoric of linear professionalisation. The problem was (and is) that such theories are built on the assumption that the body attempting to professionalise is homogenous and wins control of its members. In the case of the New Zealand Association of Counselling, the Association was not in control of its members because the Government, in the form of funding agencies, was in so influential.

Further evidence of the Government's influence can be seen with the opening up of new sites for counselling. Abbott (1988), argued that when changes occur to create a new or a larger pool of clients, occupational groups make competitive claims for jurisdiction of that work. Contrary to this view, I have found many examples in New Zealand counselling where new work was introduced by the Government and given to counsellors by the Government with no formal claims-making for jurisdiction by the counselling association. Take, for example, the introduction of funding for counselling of jury members as illustrated by a recent newspaper report:

"seven men and five women comprising the David Cullen Bain murder trial jury have been offered counselling (The Press 31.5.95:7).

When I asked the High Court registrars in Dunedin (the site of this trial) and Christchurch where the policy for the counselling of jury members came from, they both indicated that there was no policy at that time and that they had introduced the service on an *ad hoc* basis. The *ad hoc* nature of this arrangement was confirmed by a senior official in the Wellington Department of Courts. Neither the New Zealand Association of Counsellors nor other counselling organisations had anything to do with organising this initiative. Thus, in this case, the value of counselling was recognised and its jurisdiction extended not by the occupational group (counsellors) but by the courts.

Gambling is another area where a new area of work for counsellors has been introduced by the Government. When a casino was recently established in Christchurch, the Government insisted that some of the profits be used to provide help to problem gamblers. The negotiations for this new work did not involve the counsellors' association. Rather, the Government required that the casino support a counselling service for problem gamblers and the casino manager accepted a proposal that came from the Christchurch Captain of the Salvation Army to provide counsellors for this. The outcome was that funding for the service was established (*per. comm.* D. O'Connell, 1996).

the [Christchurch] casino [now] contributes \$40,000 annually to the Salvation Army's Centre for Problem Gambling, managed by counsellor Denis O'Connell (The Press, 12.7.95:4).

The above examples of the recruitment of counselling by outside groups, demonstrates that professionalisation is not just about an occupational association actively competing with other professional groups for new work. Rather, in cases

like counselling in New Zealand, it is about new work being given to counsellors by outside interest groups. This enables some of the agencies outside the occupational association to have considerable influence over the way that counselling is defined and structured in New Zealand.

This expansion of sites of counselling continued to impinge on the Executive's struggle to display a professional face. The Executive therefore introduced several publicity strategies to encourage members that the Executive was doing a good job of promoting a professional image of the New Zealand Association of Counsellors to potential clients. These strategies included: notices in Association newsletters about meetings of Executive members with government officials including ACC personnel, publicity articles in *Metro* magazine, advertisements in the telephone yellow pages, franked letters and publicity flyers for distribution to community agencies. The rhetoric of professionalisation became very important as diversity within the Association expanded. It was important that the Executive persuaded *all* members, government officials and clients that the Association was professional.

Working with diversity

Because the Association still had a diverse membership, the Executive of the 1990s had to work at meeting the needs of both school and vocational guidance counsellors *and* the rapidly increasing membership of private practice counsellors. There was a risk that internal struggles both at membership and Executive levels would undermine attempts to present a unified public image and a hoped-for orderly progression towards professional status. Once again, the Executive used the rhetoric of professionalisation to quell any concerns. The President, Ruth Anderson wrote:

I draw members' attention to these changes [membership criteria] as we hope by instituting them we will be able to continue to offer services to as many counsellors as possible. At the same time, however, we hope that we have been able to ensure that membership of the Assn retains its inherent

value (New Zealand Association of Counsellors Newsletter 13(1):5, 1992).

Evidence to persuade school guidance counsellors that their membership was worthwhile can be found in several Executive actions. In 1993 it established a Schools Issues portfolio to promote an advocacy role on behalf of school counsellors (*New Zealand Association of Counsellors Newsletter* 13 (5), 1993). In 1994, the Executive made a strong submission to the Minister of Social Welfare to accredit school counsellors for the administration of the Independent Youth Benefit. It also sent a promotional package to school boards of trustees and principals persuading them of the benefits of having a counsellor (*New Zealand Association of Counsellors Newsletter* 14 (2), 1994). In 1995 the Executive sent a letter to school principals clarifying the confidentiality situation for school counsellors where abuse was disclosed by student clients (*New Zealand Association of Counsellors Newsletter* 16 (2), 1995).

At the same time, the Executive promoted a positive view of counselling in the community and provided evidence that the Association was addressing the needs of the rapidly increasing private practice membership. The Newsletter Editor highlighted some of the professional traits attained by the Association.

Apart from the 'cosmetic' changes of size and cover [of the newsletter] I also like the increased professionalism that is evident - things such as our logo, with our Maori name, our own publications, the diversity and depth of the articles you submit to name just a few (New Zealand Association of Counsellors Newsletter 13(5):3,1993)

At this time, the Association also increased its involvement in legal issues. In 1991 the Executive appointed a legal advisor to assist in some decisions. It also began investigating the feasibility of organising a group malpractice liability insurance

scheme for members. In 1992, the Executive selected a proposal from a law firm to establish a group insurance scheme. This required 50 members to join. While liability insurance was not required by counsellors working in institutions such as schools, 65 members joined up within a year and the scheme has continued to grow.

In 1994 a new portfolio, Professional Practice and Training was introduced, and the timing of the annual conferences was changed to include weekend days in the hope that it would make it easier for counsellors in private practice to attend (*New Zealand Association of Counsellors Newsletter* 14 (2), 1994). In July 1994 the Executive surveyed members in private practice counselling and successfully gained acceptance for Association members to be registered for Disability Allowance funding through the Department of Social Welfare. Recognition that this was another institutional arrangement outside the Association that was influencing the membership was noted in the membership report:

The desire to be placed on the Department of Social Welfare register and the need therefore to be a full member has prompted an increase in the upgrade [of membership status] applications (New Zealand Association of Counsellors Newsletter 15 (1), 1994).

By this time, there is evidence in the Newsletters that the Executive was finding it increasingly difficult to be all things to all members. In 1996, the Association Treasurer wrote:

Each year it becomes more and more difficult to produce the budget... Our Association continues to grow, not only in numbers, but also in complexity... Variables include the cost of political and change agent activities, administrative costs, the cost to the Association of complaints, the cost of printing Newsletters, Journals and other publications

The new Association name, in conjunction with official recognition by two funding agencies, ACC and the Department of Social Welfare, had meant that more Association time and money was being taken up with administrative activities, some of which were not directly related to the interests and needs of the original membership: school and vocational counsellors. These counsellors began again to form support groups albeit as sub-groups of the Association. In 1993 school counsellors were beginning to hold separate meetings in Auckland, Otago, Waikato and Hawkes Bay regions (*New Zealand Association of Counsellors Newsletter* 13(4), 1993). In 1994 career counsellors held a meeting at the annual conference (*New Zealand Association of Counsellors Newsletter* 14 (2) and (3) and 15 (1), 1994) seeking expressions of interest in forming a stronger sub-group within the Association and in 1995 interest groups formed a significant focus for many members at the Annual conference (*New Zealand Association of Counsellors Newsletter* 16 (1), 1995). University Counsellor Educators, who had gathered informally for several years, created a distinct body in 1995 (*New Zealand Association of Counsellors Newsletter* 16 (3), 1995). These sub-groups represented the diverse interests, experience and requirements of the membership.

The Executive now comprised a similarly diverse membership and had difficulty reaching consensus decisions. In 1995 the President, Carol Mawhinney stated:

We debated membership issues, especially those related to acceptance procedures and monitoring procedures, because they currently involve much time and effort by Exec. ...It is evident that while there is diversity of opinion within Exec ...there is also a commitment to a united approach once the issues have been thoroughly aired (*New Zealand Association of Counsellors Newsletter* 15 (2):3, 1995).

There was also the added concern that Executive members were having to plan for the unknown - the cost of complaints about counsellor services. In 1994 an Ethics

Committee was established to deal with complaints. In both 1995-96 and 1996-7 eight complaints were passed on to this Committee for assessment. The processing of these complaints took a lot of time and was expensive. In the 1997 Association Annual report the convenor of the Ethics Committee wrote:

I don't think any of us realised, when the Complaints Process was being defined, just how much time and work would be required before a complaint is ready to be passed on to the Ethics Committee proper...

(New Zealand Association of Counsellors Annual Report January 1997:32).

These complaints influenced the Association's move to a more exclusive stance. The rhetoric of professionalisation was used to support this stance. The convenor of the Ethics Committee wrote:

My second concern is, quite simply, that there are some pretty appalling things happening out there in the name of counselling, and some of them are being perpetrated by our own members. This has strong implications for the proposed changes we are making to membership criteria, and to our increasing emphasis on competent, effective supervision. I believe that our professional integrity is on the line, and that we must act now to strengthen our Association in every situation (New Zealand Association of Counsellors Annual Report January 1997:33).

Similarly, the President, Carol Mawhinney promoted the view that members of the New Zealand Association of Counsellors were trustworthy:

Practically every week I hear from someone who has been to a counsellor who is not a member of New Zealand Association of Counsellors and they

have had a traumatic time. We all have responsibilities to promote New Zealand Association of Counsellors as widely as possible.

The complaints procedure had been established by the Association in response to ACC requirements. This procedure was consistent with the development of professionalism that was being pursued by the Association. The problem was that the establishment of a complaints procedure is typically considered a step in a linear model of professionalisation where the occupation is assumed to be unified in experience, training and purpose. The open-door membership policy of the New Zealand Association of Counsellors, had, however, meant that it was definitely not unified in any of these areas. Indeed, the establishment of the complaints procedure highlighted the *diversity* of the Association. Any complaints that were made about the original membership of the New Zealand Association of Counsellors, that is, school and vocational guidance counsellors would be heard by their employing institutions, not the Association. In effect, school and vocational guidance counsellors were being required to pay increased membership subscriptions to subsidise complaints heard against other members. The first Ethics Committee hearing was held in 1995 (*New Zealand Association of Counsellors Newsletter* 16 (1), 1995) and subscriptions increased from \$85.00 in 1992, to \$100.00 in 1994, \$135.00 in 1995 and \$200.00 in 1997 to accommodate the costs of anticipated complaints hearings.

Competition *and* co-operation

Here again, we have an example of a situation in New Zealand counselling that is different from those assumed in the early sociological theories of professionalisation. Counselling, as an occupational group, was not based on a unified code of practice, the Association was not initially in control of the recruitment or training of its members yet it adopted the rhetoric of professionalisation to support the establishment of a complaints procedure, a procedure that was needed by only some

members. Members accepted the rhetoric and ratified the complaints procedure as a necessary professionalisation step. The irony was that the introduction of this procedure raised subscription fees and created splits within the membership and this undermined the myth that the Association was a unified, professional body.

The outcome was a situation in which competition and co-operation between members needed to co-exist. In the case of the New Zealand Association of Counsellors, members must *co-operate* with one another to make the Association appear unified and legitimate. They must, however, also *compete* with one another for Executive attention to issues that pertain to their speciality. Furthermore, members who are in private practice must *co-operate* with each other to ensure that their eligibility for third-party funding is maintained and to ensure that it is harder for others who are not members to get in, yet they must *compete* with one another for access to the limited third-party fund.

The tension that was created by the need for members to simultaneously compete and co-operate with each other can be seen in Newsletter articles. In the appendices to the 1991-1992 Annual Report, the President of the Association made the comment that:

the dilemma [was] to make membership accessible to counsellors (as opposed to being elitist in our membership criteria) while at the same time ensuring that those with "member" status are competent and professional in their practice (New Zealand Association of Counsellors Annual Report appendices May 1991- May 1992:9).

The concern that some members were gaining privileges, such as access to third-party funding, without giving anything to the Association was often noted. In 1994, the President, Carol Mawhinney, wrote:

It is of some concern that while our membership is over 1200, a fraction of that number made decisions [at our Annual General Meeting] which will impact on everyone. (New Zealand Association of Counsellors Newsletter 14 (3):3, 1994).

In 1995, the Canterbury branch of the Association endorsed a remit whereby membership of the Association should be dependent on proven involvement in Association business. The remit read:

Renewal of New Zealand Association of Counsellors Annual Membership to become dependent on written evidence of supervision and professional development, which must include attendance at least one New Zealand Association of Counsellors function (Canterbury Branch New Zealand Association of Counsellors, AGM minutes March, 1995).

The remit was put at the National Annual General Meeting where the spirit of the proposal was applauded, but it was decided that the remit should lie on the table for further consideration (*New Zealand Association of Counsellors AGM Agenda, June, 1996*). This is further evidence that the membership was still undecided about which side of the inclusive-exclusive policy it wanted to promote.

This, again, connects with Abbott's (1988) view that professionalisation is predominantly about competition and that competition is played out predominantly by claims-making. In Abbott's thesis, this competition is between occupational groups but, in the case of the New Zealand Association of Counsellors it was between members and potential members of the Association. The result of this competition was an increase in the use of professionalisation rhetoric by the Executive to protect its public face. Thus, in the 1995-1996 Annual Report, the president, Carol Mawhinney highlighted the disorder that had been created in the name of professionalisation:

I believe we face some difficult challenges in the immediate future and we need to be prepared to show the public a professional face so that individual members of the public, or those in power, making decisions about who can access our services, can learn to discriminate between professionally competent and accountable counsellors and people who claim to be counsellors but do not have any professional accountability (New Zealand Association of Counsellors Annual Report 1995-1996:3).

In addition, newsletters contained evidence that the Association was attempting to persuade the public of the accountability of its members. In a 1995 New Zealand Association of Counsellors *Newsletter* (16(2)), for example, two claims-making articles appeared. The first noted the concern of some members that the Children and Young Persons' and their Families Service (CYPFS) was allowing children to be counselled by counsellors not recognised by New Zealand Association of Counsellors. The other was a reprint of a newspaper article where the President of a regional branch of New Zealand Association of Counsellors pointed out that a counsellor convicted of having unlawful sex with a 14 year old girl was *not* a member of New Zealand Association of Counsellors.

Conclusion

I have used the case of the New Zealand Association of Counsellors to support my claim that existing theories of professionalisation do not account for all forms of development by occupational groups. Existing theories have, however, had a significant place in the way counselling has developed. In many theories of professionalisation, there is an assumption that aspirant professionals form a collective body in order to claim exclusive jurisdiction for an area of work (Abbott, 1988, Larson, 1977, Johnson, 1972). The difference in the case of the New Zealand Association of Counsellors is that it was originally set up as a network to combat perceived isolation of school guidance counsellors (Wadsworth, 1999) and the

Government strongly influenced their work. This difference meant that, in order to gain professional status, the New Zealand Association of Counsellors needed to adopt a strategy different from those displayed by established professions. In spite of well documented criticisms of trait models of professions and professionalisation, their apparent simplicity and efficacy meant that the Executive of the New Zealand Association of Counsellors adopted these and the associated rhetoric to guide and justify their policy decisions.

I also argue that the rhetoric of professionalisation was useful to Association members as they pursued credibility. It was useful to the Executive as it raised its standing in the eyes of its members and it was useful to the Government as it provided justification for its endorsement of an occupational group that had to appear legitimate. Nevertheless, the adoption, by the Association, of policies consistent with the rhetoric of linear professionalisation led to unexpected outcomes. I argue that the main reason for this was the unclear relations between the Government and the Association.

As the membership of the New Zealand Association of Counsellors has grown, the Executive has had its adherence to the professionalisation myth challenged. Similarly, the Government has sustained the Association's image of credibility by demanding that particular conditions are met before it endorses the Association. Thus, the competition and co-operation between the two has altered according to new demands, new policies and new historical contexts. The situation where members co-operate and compete both with non-members and members, where the Association begins to disintegrate into speciality subgroups, and where the business of the Association is controlled by outside agencies could best be described as disordered professionalisation. It might also be described as a new, more flexible model that illustrates the multifaceted nature of professionalisation.

Chapter Six

Unintended Consequences

Introduction

In this chapter I explore the establishment of the Accident Compensation Commission of New Zealand (ACC) and examine its role in supporting and, directly and indirectly, moulding counselling practice in New Zealand. In the 1990s this Commission, or Corporation as it was later named, became a funding source for New Zealand counsellors. This was not one of the original purposes of the Commission. To explore how this present situation came about, I shall first outline the development of the ACC before interpreting the unintended and unforeseen relationship of the Corporation with the New Zealand Association of Counsellors. This highlights the complexity of government's influence on the development of counselling in New Zealand.

The Accident Rehabilitation and Compensation Insurance Company

The ACC of New Zealand was established in 1972 in response to the report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into Compensation for Personal Injury in New Zealand. The Royal Commission was established in 1966 to address shortfalls in the *Workers' Compensation Act of 1956* where compensation was paid to all persons (defined as workers) employed under a contract of service. The purpose of ACC was to compensate for injuries sustained at work or through accidents involving motor vehicles. A chronology of the introduction of the *Accident Compensation Act in 1974* and the amendments to this Act up to the passing of the *Accident Rehabilitation and Compensation Insurance Act* in 1992 is attached in Appendix B. There are, however, a number of points within this chronology worth elaborating here. Two are central to an understanding of the unintended consequences of the Act that have influenced the professional project of New Zealand counselling.

First, the introduction of the *Accident Compensation Act 1972* was a radical reform (Scheppelle, 1991). The effect of its introduction was the abolition of common law claims, the tort system, for *all* accidents for *all* persons. Second, the term *accident* was never defined in the statute. This provided the opportunity for people to introduce a whole range of accidents for compensatory payments, each of which would be central to the interests and work of particular professional bodies. Initially, guidelines were drawn up in which, after judicial elaboration, accidents were described as all those injuries that came as a surprise to the victim (Scheppelle, 1991).

The conditions under which this new compensation system was established are outlined in several accounts (Blair, 1983; Ison, 1980; Fahy, 1984; Campbell, 1974 and 1983; Palmer, 1979; Shannon, 1980, 1982 and 1986). First, the Royal Commission comprised three men who were well respected and whose opinions were influential. They were, Mr Justice A.O. Woodhouse, Mr H. L. Bockett C.M.G. and Mr G.A. Parsons. They had the backing of the Chief Justice, Sir Richard Wild, who was known to favour a scheme of absolute liability for motor accidents, and the then Minister of Labour, the Hon. T. P. Shand (Campbell, 1974). Second, the principle of community responsibility where tax payers would support individual needs was not regarded as alien to citizens of a country like New Zealand where state welfare had been accepted for many years (Ison, 1980). This made it possible for the Labour Government to include non-earners in the scheme. Third, there was a recognised need to change legislation to ratify a new convention of occupational injury benefits approved at the Annual Conference of the International Labour Organisation in Geneva in 1964. Fourth, after having been put to a nation-wide referendum in 1967, there was 80 per cent support for the principles underlying the scheme.

The Act was not passed without opposition, however. Palmer (1979) provided an excellent description of the debates. Insurance companies and some sections of the legal profession expressed opposition because they stood to lose financially by the

passing of the Act. The potential for these two groups to halt the introduction of the Act was, however, undermined in different ways. The legal profession was divided in its response; only some lawyers opposed the proposed scheme (Campbell, 1974). The insurance companies were quietened with a promise that they could apply to operate as agents for the scheme (a promise which was not met because of the later decision by the Government to appoint one agent - the State Insurance Office). The New Zealand Automobile Association opposed the change displaying concern that if the fault principle were removed *ordinary motorists will only receive a like amount to a person who is a lout* (Campbell, 1974:33). In addition, the trade union movement did not give the proposals the overwhelming support that might have been expected. Its concern was over the removal of the fault principle in work accidents, despite the fact that less than one per cent of work injury claims were settled on this basis.

Widespread support for the new legislation and ideas on which it was based overcame such opposition. During submissions to the Royal Commission, four lawyers from Victoria University in Wellington called for the abolition of common law approaches to motor accidents and Palmer (1979:17) noted that their submission *bore a startling resemblance to the ideas in the final report of the Commission*. This group of lawyers continued to support the scheme when submissions to the Woodhouse report were invited in 1970. The secretary of the Workers' Compensation board favoured the report and the government departments of Social Security, Health and Justice all favoured the report. Added to this was the

logic of the Royal Commission's proposal, the eminence of the Commissioners, and the lucid prose in which the Report was written. Opponents of the scheme found it difficult to counter the Royal Commission's logic, especially because the Report was written in such a way as to answer each argument against its proposals in advance (Palmer, 1979:96).

In 1972 the National Government was defeated. Several Labour candidates had made the exclusion of housewives and other non-earners from the scheme an election issue. When Labour became the government, the Act, excluding non-earners, was on the Statute Book. The members of Accident Compensation Commission, however, had been selected by the National Government and sought postponement of the target date for operating the Act from 1 October, 1973 to 1 April, 1974. The Government's approval of this postponement was agreed to on condition that the scheme was made comprehensive, covering everyone who suffered personal injury by accident.

For the first years of operation, few amendments were made to the Act in spite of the fact that the National Party was again elected to govern in 1975. In 1979, a committee to review the Act was set up and by 1980 several of its recommendations were adopted. The Commission became a Corporation as had been planned when the Act was first passed. This meant that the previous three person governing body was extended to comprise a chairman and five members who were appointed by the Governor General. There was a planned policy of decentralisation aimed at bringing the ACC closer to the accident victim. Regional offices, under the control of Regional Managers were set up in Auckland, Hamilton, Palmerston North, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin. The Review Committee also noted the number of amendments required in response to the constant challenges to the definitions of accident in the original Act. Legal guidelines were used to consider whether or not each application qualified under the Act for compensation. Arguments about the meaning of the legal definitions were fought out in the Court of Appeal. Each appeal held the possibility that the boundaries of what qualified as an accident would be re-defined and stretched. By the early 1980s, a recommendation was made to the Government by the ACC that a new statute was needed to overcome this definitional problem.

In 1982, a new statute was passed which extended the definition of 'personal injury by accident' to include heart attacks and strokes suffered by self-employed persons. It also provided a maximum lump sum payment for permanent physical disability (from April 1983) of \$17,000. Lump sums were paid out for permanent physical disability or for pain, suffering, disfigurement and loss of amenities or enjoyment of life.

A further feature of this new Act was that it allowed for the involvement of counsellors as service providers. Although counsellors do not appear in the list of service providers, an extra clause in the definition of service providers allowed medical practitioners to determine whether or not counselling would be advantageous for patients. Fahy (1984:75-76) elaborated this point by saying that:

The ACC [could] accept full responsibility for the reasonable costs of treatment provided, upon referral from a registered medical practitioner, by a person belonging to one of the professions auxiliary to medicine, where members of that profession are required to be recorded in a national register maintained pursuant to an Act of Parliament. Those auxiliary professions are: Physiotherapists, Optometrists, Chiropractors, Occupational Therapists, Podiatrists. The ACC usually [would] not accept responsibility for payment of cost of treatment given by other groups of persons (e.g., acupuncturists, osteopaths, kinesiologists), who either do not hold recognised certification, or are not recognised by the Act of Parliament as the other auxiliary groups are... However, if a registered medical practitioner believes that an accident patient would benefit from a service not provided by one of the accepted 'auxiliary professions', this may be considered by the ACC as part of its rehabilitation obligations.

The effect of this section of the Act was that medical practitioners acted as gatekeepers for the Government by being able to decide what was reasonable and who, other than themselves, could gain access to ACC funding.

In 1984 the Labour Party was again elected to govern the country and by 1988, this Government had introduced state-owned enterprise reforms and budget cuts that affected the mental health sector. At this time the ACC was once again viewed critically. The New Zealand Business Round Table, a group of senior business executives who promote free market policies, published a document suggesting reform of the Accident Compensation scheme (see New Zealand Business Round Table, 1990 and 1991). This group considered that the scheme was too expensive, expenditure in 1989 being \$877 million. Two problems were noted. The first was the statutory monopoly held by the ACC, the second was related to the state ownership of ACC and its lack of commercial orientation. Suggested reforms included: introducing private insurance cover, targeting subsidies to deal with free-riders and a reconsideration of the no-fault approach to accident insurance.

Continued amendments to ACC were left to an incoming National Government. In 1991, the Minister of Labour presented a draft Bill, noting the submissions of the Business Round Table *viz*: dramatic increases in the cost of the scheme and the fact that employers' contributions covered nearly 70 per cent of all payments, though less than 40 per cent of the payments were for accidents on the job. By 1991, therefore, the original intent of ACC, to compensate workers' accidents, amounted to 40 per cent of the payments. Sixty per cent of payments was being made to non-earner related accidents and the definition of acceptable claims had grown with numerous amendments. This anomaly needed addressing, but the Business Round Table recommendation to reconsider the no-fault approach to accidents was not upheld.

The Government is committed to reforming the scheme in ways that make it both fair and affordable, and to correcting inequalities in the scheme

without re-introducing the right to sue for personal injury (Birch, 1991:17).

The 1992 Act was passed and brought about significant changes including the abolition of lump sum payments and the introduction of a schedule of fees for service and the inclusion of a series of definitions of 'accident'. Provision was also made to accept claims for accidents that happened prior to 1974. The intention of this change was to address the needs of workers who were suffering the effects of working with asbestos prior to 1974. This change also, however, provided the opportunity for a very large number of claims to be made by adults who had been raped or who as children were subject to sexual abuse, both of which were now defined as an 'accident'. It is at this point that the unintended consequence of the *Accident Rehabilitation and Compensation Insurance Act* – to fund the work of counsellors - gained significant proportions.

In the 1988 review of ACC, the Law Commission recommended that there be special provision in the case of victims of sexual assault or other criminal attack involving significant or lasting mental distress or other impairment. This provision included some home help and counselling services and it was lump sum payments that were expected to address the compensatory needs of these claimants (Law Commission Report, 1988). With the proposed abolition of lump sum payments in the 1992 Act and a three month lead-in time before this form of compensation was removed, claims for lump sum compensation for sexual abuse needed to be made quickly. Evidence that this provision was well used is described by Palmer (1995:96) who wrote:

By the early 1990s the chairman of ACC reported that they were paying out a very substantial amount – somewhere between \$30 million and \$50 million a year, I believe – in lump sums for sexual abuse alone.

At this time, the ACC increased the administrative staff to assist with the expected increase in claims prior to the cut-off. In the Wellington office, three new units were established, one for medical misadventure, one for gradual process and the other for sexual abuse. The unit for sexual abuse was established with a staff of three women, two of whom I interviewed for this thesis (respondents Q and R). The number of claims anticipated for sexual abuse was, surprisingly, far smaller than the number received but the expected drop in the number of claims after the cut-off date did not occur. Lump sums were not the only compensation sought by victims of sexual abuse. Respondent R said:

Most of these people wanted support, counselling; when the lump sums were abolished it didn't stop them making claims.

Since the passing of the 1992 Act, there have been claims made in the courts and media that the legislation is unfair. Palmer (1995) noted two important problems with the ACC. First, because it was developed outside the main state bureaucracy it failed to gather full accident statistics and therefore to research causes of accidents. Second, linked to this inadequate collection of statistics, were serious problems with assessment of the veracity of claims about sexual abuse. Public debate occurred as to the fairness of the distribution of compensation from the ACC. Some Hamilton legal consultants sponsored a television advertisement to encourage accident compensation reform. At the same time, the ACC sponsored television advertisements to promote its services and warn against fraudulent use of ACC funds. The call for reform has continued, mainly because payments for non-work related accidents have grown. Each call for reform has the potential to reduce the funds available for counselling and this highlights the strong relationship between the ACC and counselling in New Zealand. It is this subject that I shall now explore.

The unintended and unforeseen relationship between the ACC and counselling in New Zealand.

As mentioned earlier, the original focus of the 1974 ACC Act was accidents at work or on the road. By 1996, however, one section of the ACC, the sensitive claims unit, was describing itself as working in partnership with counsellors and therapists for the good of their clients (*ACC News*, Oct., 1996). I argue that in its construction of this 'partnership' the ACC set the standards, and therefore influenced the educational curriculum and definition of counselling. At the same time, the New Zealand Association of Counselling was describing a different construction of its partnership with the ACC. In this construction, the Association promoted a professional face that promoted the view that it controlled the standards and curriculum of counselling.

NZAC provides the protective umbrella organization that guarantees a standard of general training, a Code of Ethics, a supervision requirement and a complaints process to protect clients. However from within that general membership, ACC selects counsellors who have specialist knowledge and skills in the field of sexual abuse counselling, requiring them to complete quite an extensive registration process, which focuses on the special knowledge and skills relevant to this work (NZAC Newsletter 16(3):60, 1995).

Although, at this time, neither institution publicly disputed their central roles in these 'partnerships', what is most noteworthy is that there was a relationship at all. When ACC was established in 1974, a relationship with counsellors was never anticipated. Likewise, when the New Zealand Association of Counsellors was established in 1974, its anticipated relationship with the Government never included a close connection with ACC. Furthermore, it is interesting, in terms of professionalisation, that it was this relationship that prompted the New Zealand Association of Counselling to institute the guarantees described in the quotation above. I shall now

explore the events that brought about these new, unintended and unforeseen relationships.

During the first years of operation, ACC's ambiguous definition of accident made it possible for a range of health workers to claim funding for their services. At the same time, there was a change in public attitudes towards family violence and this was accompanied by the setting up of community agencies to address the needs of victims of violence. The first rape crisis centre was established in Auckland in 1974 and by 1977 there were 14 women's refuges established throughout the country (Pilott and Balzer, 1990). In 1984, the Department of Social Welfare established funding for rape and sexual abuse services and in 1986 the National Collective of Rape Crisis and Related Groups of Aotearoa was formed. At this stage, therefore, the Government, in the form of the Department of Social Welfare, was distributing funds to voluntary providers of services to people who had been sexually abused. From these developments came the request that some of the ACC funding available for services provided to sexually abused people be distributed to rape crisis centres. During the 1980s, there was a steady increase in the number of people who reported that they had experienced sexual abuse. Rape crisis centres advocated for more support. In 1987, agencies such as the Mental Health Foundation organised conferences on family violence. In the same year the *Victims of Offences Act* was passed and the Government was requested by the Mental Health Foundation to support strategies for crime prevention.

This attention given to family violence attracted considerable media attention. In October 1987, for example, the *New Zealand Women's Weekly* printed an article entitled 'What children should know about sexual abuse'. In 1988 it printed a further article entitled 'The need for help grows and grows'. In 1989 another article appeared, entitled 'Sexual Abuse Led to Bulimia'. These articles described ways that women could get ACC funding to aid their recovery from their trauma related to sexual

abuse crimes and are indicative of the way in which this previously private work had entered the public arena.

The Accident Compensation Act 1982 allowed for controlled¹⁸ involvement of counsellors, psychologists and psychotherapists as service providers to ACC claimants. This signalled a move whereby Government, in the form of ACC, now provided funding to private providers for services to people who had been sexually abused. At this time, the membership of the New Zealand Counselling and Guidance Association, comprised approximately 120 people with the majority of members being salaried high school counsellors. The funding available through ACC was therefore not of prime interest to the membership of this Association. Thus, psychotherapists and psychologists tended to be the first group to gain access to these ACC funds.

In 1988, counsellors first formally appeared as recommended service providers for ACC funding in the Law Commission's report (Law Commission Report, 1988). Palmer (1995:96) stated that:

As a result of feminist analysis, more research and much greater candour about admitting things that previously had been off-limits, the scheme is now paying out for types of injuries not anticipated in the 1960s. ACC is one of the few places that provides compensation and counselling for sexual abuse.

In attempting to understand the prominence of sexual abuse claims at this time, I have read relevant ACC reports and talked with the two of the three women who worked in the sensitive claims unit in Wellington. In contrast with Palmer's view,

¹⁸ Counsellors, psychologists and psychotherapists were not included in Act as auxiliary professions but *if a registered medical practitioner [believed] that an accident patient would benefit from a service not provided by one of the accepted 'auxiliary professions' this may be considered as part of its rehabilitation obligations* (Fahy, 1984:75).

respondent R remarked that sexual abuse claims for counselling were a very, very small part of the total funding claims in ACC. She said:

I really feel that the counsellors were unable to see our point of view of what was needed. We still had to process it [the claim]. They only saw we were dealing with that particular kind of claim, whereas it was such a drop in the bucket. It wasn't what our focus was.

Indeed the irony appears to be that whereas sexual abuse claims were, and are, a minor focus for ACC they are a major focus for counsellors and involve significant sums of money. In May 1991, ACC paid out \$282,000 for 5041 counselling sessions and in June 1991, \$265,000 was paid out for 4717 sessions (*The Dominion*, 1991)¹⁹. Nevertheless, the ACC compensation claims from people who have experienced sexual abuse have challenged the definition of what was acceptable as an accident. Compensation payments for counselling could apply only for *accidents* of sexual abuse. Respondent R said:

We ran into a lot of problems before if someone had physical injuries and they wanted counselling, that threw everyone [in the office] into a flap because we didn't know what to do.

This important anomaly highlights how special the case of sexual abuse was for individual counsellors and for the professional body that could represent their interests.

In 1992 the *Accident Rehabilitation and Compensation Insurance Act* was passed. This Act made explicit the place of counselling in the scheme. Claimants could now make a visit to a medical practitioner, complete an ACC application form in which

¹⁹ ACC financial reports separate costs paid to medical practitioners. Counselling costs, however, are recorded in an 'other' group that includes osteopaths, and physiotherapists. To gain separate figures one needs to pay administration fees that I could not pay. For this reason I used media reports of ACC counselling expenditure.

they defined their accident as a 'sensitive claim' and could be referred to a specified counsellor for counselling. The counsellor in turn could claim \$50.00 plus Goods and Services Tax (GST) for an assessment of the client (according to the list of costs in the ACC manual) and, once the claim was accepted by ACC, could claim for \$50.00 plus GST for each of up to 20 counselling sessions with the client. The client would be advised to top up this funding with personal funds if the counsellor's normal fee was in excess of \$50.00.

Both women whom I interviewed about ACC told me that prior to the 1992 Act, sexual abuse claims were handled like any other claim by regional offices. There was no special treatment given to these claims. Respondent R remarked:

I remember the first few [sexual abuse] claims that came into our office, everyone knew about them, not because they were sensational, but because they required debate on how to handle them. There were no procedures. ..The first cases raised an awareness - this is an accident too, isn't it?

At this time clients tended to seek lump sum payments and counselling costs. In the main, they got whatever they requested. Their applications could be filed through lawyers, the police or counsellors. Referrals to counsellors however, were still controlled by medical practitioners. Thus, medical practitioners were sponsors for the operation of ACC funding for counselling.

There is evidence that medical practitioners were keen to clarify and support the role of counsellors receiving ACC funding. They used the media to voice their concerns. Thus in 1989, newspaper articles (*The Dominion* 1989a and b) outlined the medical practitioners' desire to change the claim forms in cases where claimants were victims of sexual abuse. They wanted ACC to set up procedures where clients could get ACC assistance without having to disclose a lot of information to their general

practitioner. The details of each case should, rather, be discussed between the client and the counsellor. Thus the general practitioners reinforced their sponsorship of counsellors to receive ACC payments when counselling sexual abuse claimants. It was at this time that formal communication between the ACC and the New Zealand Association of Counsellors began.

The influence of government on the development of sexual abuse counselling

Abbott (1988) argues that any study of professionalisation must incorporate the competition that exists between occupations for the same professional space, especially when new areas of work open up. Let me consider his argument with regard the creation of the new client group: people who have been sexually abused. The psychologists had successfully lobbied the Government for a defined jurisdiction and this was written into the *Psychologists Act 1981*. They were an obvious group who could compete for the new counselling work because they had what Abbott would term a durable legal jurisdiction. The New Zealand Psychological Society Executive met with ACC management and the result of this meeting was that *the ACC advised that it would automatically accredit any psychologist who was registered and held a clinical diploma, and that in other cases it would consult the Society (New Zealand Psychological Society Bulletin, August 1991(70):14)*. Thus registered psychologists gained unchallenged acceptance as appropriate auxiliary professions for ACC funding.

Psychotherapists, who do not have legal jurisdiction, made successful submissions to the Government to be included as appropriate auxiliary professions and in 1990 they were specifically included in the ACC schedule of costs (*The Accident Compensation (Psychiatrists, Psychologists, and Psychotherapists Costs) Regulations 1990*). Since psychotherapists had their own professional association, these regulations paved the way for exclusion of counsellors from ACC funding.

This potential for exclusion was further reinforced by the addition of a psychologist to the ACC staff. Her job was to determine whether or not particular therapists should be eligible to claim fees for service. She, of course, accepted the credentials of all psychiatrists and psychologists without question. The main reason that exclusion of counsellors did not occur, however is that the number of people seeking sexual abuse counselling far exceeded the number of psychiatrists, psychotherapists and psychologists able to provide this service. This point resembles the situation described by Abbott (1988) when, in the 1960s psychologists gained access to working with personal problems in the United States because psychoanalysts could not deal with the numbers of clients coming forward. The difference, I suggest, is that in the New Zealand case, the government became involved in establishing the rights of counsellors to access funding for this work.

As a lead up to the 1992 Act, ACC personnel held a number of meetings in the regions where they invited comment from counsellors and Maori and Pacific Island groups on the draft provisions of the Bill. Respondent Q remembers these meetings. She said:

Some of these meetings were heated, because counsellors wanted to defend their rights, they did not want to allow second opinions, they were angry that sexual abuse claimants were not given special interview situations at ACC.... They talked a lot about safety of clients, ethical considerations, but the impetus for compromise was funding and the fact that for some, this was their livelihood.

In response to these comments, the ACC set up a Sensitive Claims Unit in the national office to handle the expected influx of claims related to sexual abuse. The establishment of this unit was encouraged from outside and inside the ACC. Staff regarded it as inappropriate to handle these claims as if they were the same as other 'typical' accident claims. My respondents indicated that decisions about the

appropriateness of staff to handle sensitive claims were based on gender and the ACC employed only women in these positions.

These events are significant because they indicate that in an effort to be seen to address the public need for services provided to people who had been sexually abused, the Government initiated several strategies. It was prepared to purchase the services of counselling but not to allow this occupational group control over funding. It therefore instituted its own structures to control access to funding. In October 1992 the *Accident Rehabilitation and Compensation Insurance (Counselling Costs) Regulations* came into force. These regulations provided for the payment by the ACC for the cost of counselling people who had suffered personal injury.

The regulations also provided for the constitution of the Counsellors' Approval Committee, the function of which was to approve (or decline) counsellors' applications for registration,²⁰ and to advise ACC on amendments to the criteria and standards for approval of counsellors and their schedule of payments (*ACC Counselling Costs Regulations*, 1992). This government-appointed committee would, therefore, take over the ACC's in-house psychologist's role. The Committee was to comprise five members of whom two would be psychiatrists, child psychotherapists or psychologists and two would be people who had interim accreditation with ACC, a good knowledge of counselling and the support of their peers. The fifth member would be an independent chairperson.

In September 1993, the ACC published and distributed to all service providers the list of Committee members. These were: Chair, Helen Cull, a lawyer and member of the Psychologists Board and the Legal Services Board; Patsy Henderson, a social worker; Mary Jerram, a social worker and psychotherapist; Michael Murphy, a psychotherapist and Fay Tudor, a social worker. The New Zealand Association of

²⁰ In the early 1990s, the terms registration, approval, recognition and accreditation were used interchangeably to signify that a counsellor was eligible to claim fees for service from the ACC. This is further demonstration that the position of counsellors in the schedule of ACC providers was introduced in an *ad hoc* manner.

Counsellors enthusiastically canvassed its membership in December 1992 for nominations to this committee, (*NZAC Newsletter* 13(3), 1992). No member of the Association was appointed to this committee.

Professionalisation involves a variety of arrangements with government

This canvassing of membership to have a representative appointed to a committee which would control counsellors' access to a new type of counselling work is consistent with Abbott's (1988) thesis that professionalisation is largely about competition for areas of work. The point at which the experience of counselling in New Zealand departs from Abbott's thesis is at the stage when the ACC and the New Zealand Association of Counsellors supported arrangements for counsellors to have access to ACC funds for service to sexual abuse clients. This arrangement was not brought about by the claims-making of the New Zealand Association of Counsellors. Rather it was encouraged by the staff of the ACC who recognised that the demand for subsidised sexual abuse counselling exceeded the number of eligible psychologists and psychotherapists.

This in turn had implications for counsellors. Since they did not have a registration system, the ACC imposed its own registration procedures. I have included criteria for registration in Appendix C. The first requirement was that counsellors who wanted to be eligible for ACC funding had to belong to an occupational body that was stable, reputable and accountable. The ACC defined the criteria which characterised such an organisation as being one which had: an appropriate code of ethics; a complaints procedure; disciplinary procedures; continuing education; peer supervision and professional development programmes for its members (*ACC News*, Issue 5, September, 1993). This in effect, was the action of the Government in the form of an agency *outside* an occupational association imposing a definition of counselling and standards for counselling practice on members of the Association. The New Zealand Association of Counsellors became a mediator and broker for the government agency, the ACC.

Evidence that this mediation and brokerage relationship continued with the New Zealand Association of Counsellors can be found in several of the Association's newsletters. In April 1992, for example, the President of the counselling association made the following statement to members.

As you will no doubt be aware, discussions with the Accident Compensation Corporation (ACC) initially followed from members wishing to be registered by ACC as sexual abuse counsellors. At that time our attention was drawn to the need to extend our code of ethics. Until such time as the code of ethics was revised, ACC would not approve members becoming registered sexual abuse counsellors. Since the revision of the code of ethics the membership secretary has been inundated by applications from counsellors wishing to become members of the Association, often because they wish to make application to ACC to become registered as sexual abuse counsellors (NZAC Newsletter 12(3):6, 1992).

This indicates the strong influence of government, in the form of ACC, on the nature, form and direction of counselling in New Zealand.

This situation, where the government extends and promotes the jurisdiction of a new type of work and creates a definition of an occupational group is not covered by Abbott (1988). Indeed, for him, government intervention usually threatens the jurisdictional claims of the aspirant professionals who react by increasing their public rhetoric for legitimacy. The active, integral role of government in the professional project of an occupational group is, however, addressed by other writers (Johnson, 1972; Macdonald, 1995; Witz, 1992). Their work helps in the interpretation of the arrangements between the New Zealand Association of Counselling and the Government (see chapter five).

Witz (1992) described and theorised one arrangement between government and an occupational group. For British nurses, the Government was recognised not as a threat but as an ally. Thus, a solution for nurses was government-sponsored registration that provided them with their required identity and 'shared' control. The outcome of this arrangement was that jurisdictional competition did not occur between the nurses and other medical workers. Rather, there was an internal struggle for control among nurses about how nursing should be structured.

Witz's work is useful when considering the way the counsellors in the New Zealand Association of Counselling are struggling to define their work. There are, however, important differences between the situation described by Witz and that of New Zealand counsellors. In New Zealand, the Government did not support registration of counsellors. It did, however, intervene in the counsellors' professional project by promoting the situation where counsellors could gain shared jurisdiction of sexual abuse counselling. Such an arrangement, where the government seeks a solution to control the jurisdiction of an occupational group (rather than the other way around) is different from that described by Witz (1992). The implication of such a difference was that the government was able to establish standards for counsellors seeking the government supported identity and this made it necessary for counsellors to direct many of their claims for professionalisation at the government.

Johnson's (1972) argument that the government could take a mediative role in the professionalisation of 'caring' professions is important here. He noted that 'mediative professions' relied on public funding of their services and that there were cases where the state intervened as a third-party to create a market for services. He argued that such an arrangement was of mutual benefit to the aspirant professionals and state. While the involvement of the ACC is a good example of government intervening as a third-party, the beneficial effect has not been straightforward. The benefit to the government has been that it has been seen to address a public need but, as I shall explain below, there have been some unintended compromises in policy.

Similarly, the benefit to counsellors has not been universal. Because counsellors do not comprise a homogenous group, the third-party role of government has allowed only some counsellors to access public funding for their services. The irony is that such a situation threatens the collegial and cohesive image, or face, that the Association wants to display to the Government in order to secure public funding.

The need of the Government to appear to be spending public monies wisely, is an important part of the picture for the professional project of New Zealand counsellors. Since the funding being contested was public, the media paid attention to issues of sexual abuse and there was a demand for assurance that this money was being well spent. This required both the Government and the counsellors to adopt the rhetoric of professionalisation.

In 1993, newspapers became the site of public debates about the validity of counselling clients' claims about repressed memories. Two groups were represented: repressed memory advocates who identified counselling and therapy as having a positive, facilitative role, and the false memory advocates whose scepticism concerned the power of counsellors or therapists to put ideas in the heads of clients. These public debates changed the nature and direction of rhetorical claims by counsellors and their professional Association. The New Zealand Association of Counsellors had to display a number of professional faces to a range of different audiences: the ACC (its funding resource) but also, simultaneously, medical practitioners (sponsors), the public (providers of public funds), its own membership (service providers) and clients (service resources). The President of the Association responded to the repressed memory debate by incorporating the mythical qualities of professions in her claims. She assured the public that the Association was tightening up its ethics and complaints procedures in the interests of client confidence. Because, however, the Association was initially established as a network, and because the standards for its school-counsellor members had been influenced by government,

she did not claim that membership of the Association would guarantee client safety. Her response included the following statement:

...we can't be absolutely sure all counsellors are going to be safe practitioners all the time (Sunday Star/Times, 1994).

This statement highlights the complexity of the involvement of government in the development of New Zealand counselling. There was a need for both the Government and the Association to justify government support for the funding of sexual abuse counselling. The Association, in its bid to display a face that gave it the appearance of a body for which this work was legitimate, exposed two problems. The first problem was its lack of legal jurisdiction. The second, which was related to the first, was its inability to operate as a body with unified membership. There was a split within the membership about the role and function of the Association. When the Association began to endorse the professionalisation step of registration, members were not united in their reaction. Many expressed concern that, whereas the Association had been founded on a fellowship philosophy, any move towards registration would create an elite body where formal training would take precedence over experiential training and informal networks. Many new members were practising counselling without formal qualifications and the majority of Association members wanted to protect everyone's right to Association membership. Maori and Pacific Island practitioners placed more emphasis on experience than credentials and concerns were expressed that registration would exclude them (1994, *NZAC AGM notes*).

The internal conflict highlighted here is indicative of that noted by Collins (1991), Freidson (1994) and Witz (1992). Collins argued that competition in the market for service that is created by state mediation encourages internal stratification within occupations. Freidson (1994) made a similar point, indicating that third-party

funding introduced quantitative standards that undermined professionals' use of discretionary judgement. He noted that this method of regulating work:

splits the profession into superior and subordinate, and threaten both collegiality and the cohesion of the corporate body (Freidson, 1994:213).

With such a split operating in the membership, the Government was not able to assure the public that all members of the Association had similar credentials. For this reason, the ACC began to set standards that influenced the organisation of the Association.

What is interesting here is that, although the ACC had strongly influenced the specific work of counsellors, it promoted a public image that counsellors were able to work in a way that was autonomous and legitimate. It side-stepped its involvement in the false-memory controversy. In 1993, even though the ACC paid out \$5.8 million to counsellors, a spokesperson for ACC stated that:

Despite uncertainty over the validity of recovered memories, the Accident Compensation Corporation is prepared to pay counselling fees for claimants who say they have repressed memories of being abused. If there is doubt about the validity of a claim, ACC will ask for a report from a counsellor, who might already have firm views on the fraught issue (The Press, December 7:15, 1993).

The ambiguous nature of the relationship between government and counsellors

These points demonstrate that introduction by government of a new form of work, sexual abuse counselling, did not result in clear competition between counsellors and other related occupations. Rather, it resulted in a number of new arrangements between government and counsellors which were full of ambiguity. The first of these ambiguities is found in the flexible definition of the term *accident* used by ACC. When ACC accepted that sexual abuse was an *accident* it opened up new work for

which it needed an occupation, or occupations, to provide services. Psychologists, psychotherapists and psychiatrists were one solution, one that could be readily absorbed into the scheme. Counsellors, especially those working in Rape Crisis Centres were another solution but they didn't have any recognised standards by which ACC could assure accountability.

Here lies the second ambiguity: the definition of the term counsellor and the implications this had for the New Zealand Association of Counsellors. In spite of this ambiguity, however, the New Zealand Association of Counsellors successfully negotiated with the ACC to gain some access for its members to the new work. Clearly, something about the ambiguous identity of counsellors and the huge unfulfilled demand for new counselling work has allowed for an arrangement to develop that cuts across all present analyses of professionalisation. In this arrangement the ACC, an agency outside the counselling Association, has been instrumental in making it possible for counsellors to gain access to funding of this new client group by establishing its own definitions of counselling.

At one point, the ACC, attempted to impose another criterion which would acknowledge the place of the indigenous people of New Zealand, the Maori, under the terms of the Treaty of Waitangi²¹. The ACC proposed that Maori clients should only be counselled by Maori counsellors (*NZAC Newsletter* 1994; 14(2):41). Such a proposal threatened to exclude a great number of counsellors and psychotherapists from some client work. It also put pressure on a very small number of Maori counsellors, many of whom did not hold the academic credentials required by ACC for accreditation.

This put the ACC in an ambiguous position. It needed to be seen to honour the intent of the Treaty of Waitangi and it needed to uphold its criteria for accreditation. It was

²¹ The Treaty of Waitangi is a New Zealand document that was drawn up and signed by representatives of Queen Victoria and Maori chiefs of the Confederation in 1840 to signal the beginning of a partnership between Maori and the Crown.

in a powerful position to define the criteria for the counselling of Maori clients. In this case, however, after submissions from counsellors and their Association, the ACC withdrew its original requirement. The compromise alternative requirement was for accredited counsellors to demonstrate an understanding of cultural values. This solution demonstrates that in the case of the relationship between the Government agency (the ACC) and the counselling Association, although in most policy areas the ACC appeared to determine overall direction, there were times when the ACC had to listen to and respond positively to counsellors.

Professionalisation demands competition and co-operation

There is other evidence that demonstrates that the creation of new work did not set up competition between counsellors and related occupations. Rather, it set up opportunities for inter-professional co-operation. In 1992, for example, the New Zealand Psychological Society and the New Zealand Association of Counsellors made submissions to the Labour Select Committee on the Accident Rehabilitation and Compensation Insurance Bill. Together, they successfully opposed the proposed restricted definition of 'accident' and the exclusion of psychologists *and* counsellors from the list of registered health professionals.

Furthermore, there is evidence that sexual abuse counselling demanded co-operation between the counselling Association and the ACC. In spite of ACC's earlier attempt to keep out of the public debate on repressed memories, by 1994 it was forced to defend its distribution of public money to the counselling of people who had been sexually abused. It was forced to endorse a professional face for counsellors. There were cases that needed addressing. The Corporation reported that it would re-examine the payment of \$10,000 to three adult women who recalled 'memories' of rape and abuse as children even though their father was acquitted. This re-examination was signalled in response to criticism by the father's lawyer, Peter William's QC, that welfare agencies, ACC therapists and psychologists were not keeping up with latest research (*The Press*, May 10:3, 1994). An independent

committee of health professionals was soon set up to investigate any need to change ACC procedures. The ACC defended its position by stating that the Counsellors' Approval Committee was an appropriate quality control structure. The ACC spokesperson reported:

It [is] up to the Counsellors Approval Committee, which screens counsellors to decide whether counsellors who based therapy on recovered memories should continue to be eligible for ACC funding (The Press, 8.10.94:6).

In this case, the ACC's Counsellors Approval Committee was a useful device to deflect public concern about the lack of accountability of the ACC. The use of this Committee to screen counsellors did not, however, satisfy all counsellors. In 1994, Parliament's Regulations Review Committee heard complaints about the inappropriateness of the regulations for counsellors of sexual abuse clients. Complaints were received from the Auckland Help Foundation, the Sexual Abuse Counsellors' Action Group and the West Auckland Sexual Abuse Support Centre. Among the complaints was a plea that there should be discretion to approve registration of counsellors with a demonstrated level of competence and experience in sexual abuse counselling but who were not qualified academically for registration under the new qualification criteria (*The Press*, January 1:2, 1994).

Claims were made that only people who had experienced sexual abuse should be qualified to counsel sexual abuse clients (Sexual Abuse Survivors group). The counter position, taken by other counsellors, was that these counsellors would be too personally involved to provide unbiased assistance to clients. The result was that in 1997, the ACC took a stand. It declared that ACC claimants could *not* be ACC counsellors (*ACC policy documents*, June, 1997).

Thus, we see again, that although the ACC consulted with the New Zealand Association of Counsellors during some of the debates discussed above, it was strongly influencing the work of some counsellors. Interestingly, at this time, the ACC was using the rhetoric of co-operation with counsellors and their professional association to promote the image of a safe, legitimate, public service. A statement in an ACC newsletter read:

*we must work in partnership with yourselves [counsellors and therapists]
for the good of our clients (ACC News, Oct, 1996).*

In spite of this rhetoric of co-operation, the ACC was concerned that some counsellors were using sexual abuse related funding while working with people on a much wider range of personal problems than sexual abuse. In an effort to stop this practice, the ACC implemented a monitoring procedure for sexual abuse counsellors. Sexual abuse counsellors were required to submit a review report after 20 sessions with a client and were reviewed more thoroughly after 40 sessions. The assumption that counselling for sexual abuse should take no more than 20 sessions or, at most 40 sessions, is part of the definition of counselling determined by the ACC rather than by the counsellors' Association. By 1996, this definition was being further refined as the ACC reported that 53 per cent of counselling services were completed in under 10 sessions and a further 26 per cent in under 20 sessions therefore:

*we work from this experience, our clinical knowledge and the principle
that it is most effective for the majority of claimants to offer short term,
intensive assistance (ACC Newsletter, April 1996:1).*

This role of the ACC to define counselling and to establish monitoring procedures was, nevertheless described in a rhetoric of co-operation with counsellors.

We are in a unique position to begin to monitor and measure what works and how effective different treatment methodologies are for different forms of sexual abuse...This is jointly our opportunity to demonstrate that we are offering effective rehabilitation for sexually abused people (ACC News, Aug, 1996:2).

Furthermore, later the sensitive claims section of ACC reported:

Consistent work on the relationship [of ACC] with health providers and their professional organisations has resulted in a more effective partnership and improved standards of counselling (ACC Annual Report, 1998:23).

The effect of this rhetoric of co-operation and partnership by the ACC was to obscure a theoretical contradiction inherent in the situation. The rhetoric of professionalisation was still being used to justify the actions of the New Zealand Association of Counsellors yet, the fact that the standards and definitions of counselling were being strongly influenced by ACC was contrary to the situation described by the models of professionalisation from which the rhetoric originated.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have demonstrated another way in which the integral role of government has influenced the development of New Zealand counselling. I have also highlighted, however, that these arrangements have been different from those *sought* by British nurses as described by Witz (1992). The integral difference stems from the role of one government agency, the ACC, and the unintended consequences of amendments to the *Accident Rehabilitation and Compensation Act*. As a result of ACC's lack of definition of *accident* sexual abuse was accepted as an accident and ACC had to establish a relationship with an occupational group that could work with a newly funded client group. Because counsellors had not attained sufficient professional traits prior to this relationship, the ACC had to protect its credibility by

setting its standards and applying them to the New Zealand Association of Counsellors before the latter had resolved its own issues of inclusion or accreditation of members. This situation has seen both the ACC and the New Zealand Association of Counsellors using the rhetoric of professionalisation to justify their relationship. The Association has attempted to proceed through the steps of linear professionalisation using a rhetoric of client safety and the ACC, in the meantime, has introduced policies under the guise of client safety to protect its image as a legitimate distributor of public funds.

What is interesting is that because the New Zealand Association of Counsellors entered this relationship before it had time to construct its own policies, it has not questioned or challenged the appropriateness of the ACC having an accreditation function in counselling. Nor has it challenged the assumption that credentials and standards set by this outside body necessarily improve client safety. This situation, I argue, highlights the need for models of professionalisation that can flexibly incorporate co-operative and competitive strategies between government and aspirant professionals. The situation is not unlike that noted by Becker (1982:38) in terms of art and artistic work.

The state may exercise such control over other areas of society that major participants in the making of art works orient themselves primarily to the concerns of the state apparatus rather than to the concerns of people who define themselves as interested in art.

Chapter Seven

Ambiguity and professionalisation strategies

I think the main issue is really lack of accountability in training...the standards aren't high enough (Counselling supervisor)

Introduction

Adherence to the rhetoric of the linear model of professionalisation is maintained within occupational groups because of the model's apparent credibility among their members. In the case of New Zealand counselling, this credibility has been strengthened by the ways in which key players in the domain of counselling have used a rhetoric of professionalisation to promote strategic actions. University-based counsellor-educators are one such group of key players²². Since the curriculum for counsellor-education is, I argue, strongly influenced by the shifting arrangements between government and counselling, these university-based counsellor educators have had to adjust their use of the rhetoric according to changes in government policies. Their actions have included protecting their assumed monopoly over high school guidance counsellor-training; an action that supports Abbott's model of competition. They have also promoted the formation of the New Zealand Guidance and Counselling Association; an action that is deemed to be important in linear theories of professionalisation. In both cases, one incentive for these actions has been government reduction of support for university-based counsellor education programmes. The counsellor-educators, of course, stood to advance their careers

²² University-based counsellor-educators are key players because they were initially the only counsellor-educators with a government mandate to train school guidance and vocational guidance counsellors.

through these actions, but they did not often mention this. Rather, they justified their actions by advocating the professionalisation of counselling. Their rhetoric focused on the necessity of counselling to acquire particular 'traits' that would enhance graduates' abilities to acquire a legitimate identity through appropriate education.

The idea that there is a single legitimate identity to acquire is, I have argued, part of the myth of professionalisation. In spite of this, and other discrepancies between the essential 'traits' featured in the rhetoric of linear models of professionalisation and the development of counselling and university-based counsellor-training in New Zealand, the notion that counselling in New Zealand is professionalising in this way is still strong amongst counsellors. The linear model of professionalisation has provided a rationale for the university-based counsellor-educators' actions. It has also encouraged aspiring counsellors to select particular counsellor education programmes according to their perceived credibility. In this chapter, I shall discuss the ways in which the Government's relationship with counselling's professional project has influenced the careers of academics and students in university-based counsellor-education programmes.

Discrepancies between the rhetoric of professionalisation and the development of university-based counsellor-education programmes.

Many commentators and writers in the counselling domain think that counsellor-educators have a responsibility to promote counselling's professional image or face. Consistent with the rhetoric of linear models of professionalisation, they promote the view that counsellor-educators play an important role in the professional development of their students (Spruill and Benschhoff, 1996). Spruill and Benschhoff (1996:470) comment that:

Professional development must begin in graduate programs, for the future of counseling depends on the successful transformation of

counselors-in-training into committed professionals performing professional roles.

The issue of whether or not an occupational group can professionalise is expected to depend on the successful induction of new recruits. Larson (1977) states that the autonomous discourse of a profession – the knowledge and justifications it produces by and for itself – is articulated, transmitted, and, above all, received in schools [universities]. The difference for counselling in New Zealand is that the organisation of university-based counsellor-education programmes has worked against the full *transformation* discussed by Spruill and Benshoff above. In New Zealand, early university-based courses in counsellor-education were established for secondary school guidance counsellors and vocational guidance counsellors. At the time of applying for entry to these courses, new recruits identified themselves as teachers or vocational guidance officers. While they accepted a new role, that of counsellor-in-training, they normally did this without relinquishing their 'old' roles (see Chapter Five). Thus, if they joined the New Zealand Guidance and Counselling Association, they also remained allied to the Post-Primary Teachers Association or to the New Zealand Vocational Guidance Association. At the outset, therefore, counselling, as an occupational group, comprised members who had a counselling identity that was intertwined with that of other 'professions'. The opportunity for counsellors-in-training to be transformed into *committed professionals performing professional roles* was more complex than that promoted by writers such as Spruill and Benshoff (1996).

Another discrepancy between the essential 'traits' featured in the rhetoric of linear models of professionalisation and the development of university-based counsellor-education programmes in New Zealand is that initially the Government controlled the selection of recruits. This gave the counsellor-educators a very limited gate-keeper role. Nevertheless, during the first decade of university-based counsellor-

education programmes, the counsellor-educators took up the rhetoric of professionalisation by initiating the establishment of a counselling association.

In a linear construction of professionalisation, the professional association is formed at a very early stage by academics who extend their control over the profession. The professional association, therefore, comprises a collection of new graduates from their training programmes. The Association can thus promote an image of being a unified body with a legitimate claim for specific occupational jurisdiction. In the case of New Zealand counselling, early development of the Association appeared to follow this process. University-based counsellor-educators were instrumental in the establishment of the Association. Ted Wadsworth, who was one of the founding members, first developed the University of Waikato counsellor education programme and Gary Hermansson, who was another founding member, was a lecturer in Massey University's counsellor-education programme. These academics took early positions of influence over Association business. Ted Wadsworth was the inaugural President of the Association, Gary Hermansson was the first Journal Editor and an early interim President. From that time (1974), university counsellor-educators have held four Presidential, five Journal editorial, and two Newsletter editorial roles.

Consistent with the rhetoric of linear professionalisation, academics maintained their influence over the business of this new association for some time. In 1981, for example, the Association funded a publication called *Guidance in New Zealand Secondary Schools* in which counsellor-educators outlined the counselling practices around the country. In this publication, graduates of the university-based counsellor education programmes were able to demonstrate the ways in which they had integrated their academic training with their practice. Thus, many counsellors described the work they were doing in guidance programmes using such titles as 'orientation', 'recreation', 'social skills', 'vocational guidance', 'educational guidance', 'special needs' and 'parents' workshops'. The counsellor-educators

therefore, were able to use this publication to promote their definitions of counselling. They used *Guidance in New Zealand Secondary Schools* to emphasise the point that school counselling was guidance-oriented rather than remedial in nature. This strategy enabled them to contest earlier government definitions of counselling that focused on a remedial activity (Webb, 1991). The university-based counsellor-educators were acting, here, as if the linear model of professionalisation in which educators take a leading role, was credible and worth pursuing. They were able, therefore, to co-operate with one another to contest the definition of counselling that was being promoted by the Government. This, occurred in spite of the fact that there was not a unified standard of practice across the different programmes (see Chapter Five).

The nature of these co-operative relationships between university-based counsellor-educators and the counselling Association was not, however, formalised. When these informal relationships were combined with the Government's influence on school counsellor recruitment there resulted, in the development of New Zealand counselling, an arrangement very different from that of a linear professionalisation model. Such a model has as its foundation academics controlling the recruitment and training of members and the professional association setting the standards of practice for members of the aspirant profession. In New Zealand, the role of the university-based counsellor-educators as gate-keepers to the profession could be only partial and the Association's role as standards-setter was non-existent. Yet the myth that counselling was following a linear progression towards professional status persisted. As Roth (1974) suggested, the professionalisation model was used not as an 'ideal type', but as the basis for a rhetoric of legitimacy.

The Government's influence on the rhetoric of university-based counsellor-educators

Because of the Government's relationship with counselling, changes in government policy often influenced the actions of university-based counsellor-educators. The loose co-operative relationship between the university-based counsellor-educators and the professional association enabled diversity and flexibility to exist across university-based counsellor-education programmes whilst the Association promoted the image of a unified body of counsellors. This situation was able to continue virtually unchallenged until the Government introduced a policy that allowed institutions other than universities to provide counsellor-training. The threat that this policy made to the monopoly over counsellor-training held by universities encouraged co-operation among university-based counsellor-educators. This is consistent with Abbott's (1988) competitive model of professionalisation. The way in which the situation differs from that described by Abbott (1988), however, is again due to the shifting arrangements between counselling and the Government. When the Government allowed new institutions to offer training it had already reduced its support for the university-based counsellor-education programmes by limiting the number of study awards it made available for students to participate in those programmes. This earlier policy of reduced support meant that university-based counsellor-educators had to compete with one another for the limited number of potential students.

Thus the situation arose where university-based counsellor-educators simultaneously co-operated and competed with one another and this in turn increased their use of the rhetoric of professionalisation to make claims about their jurisdiction for high-school counsellor training. But their claims-making did not take the form described by Abbott (1988) which would have had university counsellors-educators co-operating with one another to increase their claims-making to prevent counsellor-trainers in other institutions from training high school counsellors. Rather, their claims-making involved competition between themselves as they sought to protect the number of

students taking each of their courses. They used a rhetoric of professionalisation to justify their claims that the professional association should set standards.

In 1981, for example, the academic staff at the University of Canterbury were concerned that one university (Massey) was creating courses that might attract more government funding than other universities. It, therefore, used the rhetoric of professionalisation to encourage the New Zealand Counselling and Guidance Association to act as a referee. It encouraged the Association to take a strong position on setting guidance counsellor training standards. The submission against the proposed new Massey University programme included the following statement:

There is a need to ensure that the proposals for modifications are appraised in terms of appropriate standards of professional training. This is a question that is essential for existing courses as well and it highlights a gap in training-courses/professional-body collaboration that should be remedied. For example, the N.Z. Counselling and Guidance Association should perhaps be formulating and overseeing standards of training for the profession as does the Social Work Training Council (Hermansson, 1981:11).

Again, because the Association had not identified standards-setting as its role, it did not take up this challenge at this time and the Massey course was able to be introduced. The situation, therefore, remained where each university was assumed to set an appropriate standard. This therefore maintained the situation in which the training standards of counsellors remained ambiguous. Abbott and Durie (1987), after surveying university-counsellor-education programmes, commented that:

Although the New Zealand Guidance and Counselling Association is starting to take a more active monitoring role, considerable responsibility currently rests with programme [academic] staff (Abbott and Durie, 1987:23).

The informal standards-setting by university counsellor-educators allowed competition *and* co-operation to prevail amongst them as long as there were sufficient students to make each course viable. But changing government policies had exposed their vulnerability. In an attempt to strengthen their co-operation, Gary Hermansson sought to establish the university-based counsellor-educators as a formal group. In 1984, he initiated a newsletter to be distributed among university-based counsellor-educators in which they could consult with one another about counselling issues. It took several years for the newsletter to be distributed regularly but, by 1990 the university counsellor-educators began to meet annually and to call themselves the University Counsellor Educators Network. This group became united around issues that threatened the influence of university counsellor-educators over secondary school counsellor training. Thus, nearly two decades *after* the first university-based counsellor programme had been established, the counsellor-educators looked for ways to promote the status of their training programmes. This situation is very different from that described in the development of most professional groups.

Consistent with linear models of professionalisation, the university-based counsellor-educators promoted a change in the association name from the New Zealand Guidance and Counselling Association to the New Zealand Association of Counselling. This proposed action was justified by its initiator as an essential step in the professionalisation of counselling. Reference was made to the fact that counselling associations in the U.S.A. and Britain had achieved these stages of development. One expected outcome was that the Association would increase its membership and, therefore, its status. Two other outcomes were also anticipated. The first was a strengthening of the influence of university counsellor-educators over the definition of counselling. By encouraging the removal of the term 'guidance', a term promoted by the Government (see Renwick, 1971) the university-based

counsellor-educators could distance themselves from government influence over a counselling definition. The second anticipated outcome could also be regarded as an attempt by these counsellor-educators to distance themselves from another government influence, that of selection of recruits. The change in the name of the Association would allow people other than school and vocational guidance counsellors to join, and would also encourage such people to enrol in university-based training programmes.

Indeed, the name change did result in an increase in the number of people seeking Association membership. Many, of these people, however, had been trained informally, or in short programmes offered at institutions other than universities, so they did not increase the number seeking university-based counsellor-education. Furthermore, they often approached their work and ascribed to professional values different from those promoted by university-counsellor educators. Thus, the irony here is that, as the membership of the Association increased after the name change, the prominence and influence of the university counsellor-educators in the Association decreased. By using the rhetoric of professionalisation to encourage development of the counselling association, the counsellor-educators actually undermined their own influence in this domain. This situation is the opposite of that described in models of linear professionalisation where academics in the domain establish and maintain influence over the development of the occupation.

Because of the shifting arrangements between government and counselling in New Zealand, we find a number of instances in which the university-based counsellor-educators attempt to assert their profile in the domain yet, in each instance the outcome is unexpected. First, in 1992, the university-based counsellor-educators attempted to establish amongst themselves the minimum standards and requirements for counsellor-education. Because of their relationship with the Government, and the counselling association, however, they had been able to maintain flexibility and

diversity across their programmes. This meant that they were not able to agree on minimum standards or requirements for counsellor-education. They, therefore, found something other than their influence over counsellor-education to demonstrate, amongst themselves, their unified face. They identified research as an activity that was integral to university-based education (UCEN minutes, 1992) and in 1995, the members of the University Counsellor Educators Network demonstrated the value they placed on research and their co-operative status by initiating their first joint research project. This action demonstrates that their combined identity was linked primarily to the site of their work, universities, rather than to the curriculum and standards of counsellor-education.

Second, in 1992 the University Counsellor Educators' Network responded to the government initiated standard-setting exercise in an area of work that would include counsellor-education. The Government established the New Zealand Council for Education and Training in Social Services to establish learning outcome units for personal social services. In response, the University Counsellor Educators' Network wrote a submission to the Council using the rhetoric of 'professional knowledge' to justify their legitimacy to make claims about counsellor-training. They claimed that counselling was not an activity that fits neatly into an assessment framework where units are based on outcome criteria. This action on their part is consistent with Abbott's thesis that in a competitive model, members of an occupational group will make claims for jurisdiction that are based on 'professional knowledge'. In spite of the temporary validity of such professional knowledge (see Skrtic, 1995²³) it is still used to justify the claims for jurisdiction of work that might be claimed by another group. Here, apparently, is another incident in which the co-operation among university-based counsellor-educators was strengthened by competition from outside.

²³ Professional knowledge is received by looking at the world through a particular metatheoretical paradigm of subjective knowledge with temporary validity and utility (Skrtic, 1995:18).

Again, however, we find that the competition model is too neat to fully describe this situation. In his view of jurisdictional competition, Abbott (1988) promotes the view that the role of the profession's gate-keepers is to publicise their profession's unity and legitimacy. In the case of New Zealand counselling, however, the university-based counsellor-educators were not able to assume this role because of the arrangements they had with the Government. Thus, the Government was able to bypass the counsellor-educators when organising a new standards-setting procedure. In their submission, therefore, members of the University Counsellor Educators' Network expressed concern that they had not been consulted in the initial stages of the setting-up of unit standards. While on the one hand the counsellor-educators' complaint may indicate their narrow sphere of influence, it also indicates the predicament created for them when universities publicly rejected the Government's Qualifications Authority's unit standards approach. Competition for jurisdiction in counselling-training was being played out amidst a different contest: competition between the Government and the universities for control over degree-granting status.

Third, in 1994, the university-based counsellor-educators displayed their seemingly unified face to the Ministry of Education to make claims for jurisdiction in secondary school counsellor education. Specifically, they wrote a critical submission to the Ministry about the proposed counsellor training course of the Central Institute of Technology and objected to the Ministry offering study awards to students entering this course (*UCEN meeting minutes*, 1994). Because, however, these study awards were a form of government funding, such a submission did nothing to alter government policy.

Fourth, consistent with Abbott's (1988) interpretation of professionalisation, the university-based counsellor-educators also co-operated with one another in an attempt to re-assert their assumed influence over the Association. In 1990, for example, they took on the traditional role of academics to encourage the Association to expand the

work of counsellors. Thus, they wrote to the Association Executive publicising their concern that the Department of Justice had introduced a policy whereby prison counselling could be done only by clinical psychologists. In this case, the Government changed its policy and allowed counsellors access to prison counselling. The main reason for this was not, however, due to the professional status of the counselling association. Rather, it was due to the fact that there were too few clinical psychologists (whose jurisdiction is determined by the Psychologists' Act) to address the demand for prison counselling.

Furthermore, the University Counsellor-Educators' Network supported the Association by voicing concern that under *Tomorrow's Schools*, boards of trustees could select untrained counsellors to fill school counselling positions. Because, however, *Tomorrow's Schools* was a government policy, the autonomy of boards of trustees was more important for the Government to support than the assumed right of university-trained counsellors to gain secondary school counselling positions. Thus, the power of the boards of trustees was upheld.

It was during this time of co-operation, however, that the university-based counsellor-educators were to discover that this strengthened relationship did not assure that they had influence over the business of the Association. When the Association experienced a dramatic increase in both its membership and the number of complaints by clients against some members, its Executive initiated a policy of exclusion (see Chapter Five). Part of this policy resulted in an attempt to create more stringent membership criteria and to strengthen the Association's role in training-related standards-setting. This policy was significant for two reasons. First, it indicated a change in the focus of the Association. Second, it demonstrated that the Executive of the Association was prepared to make decisions about training without even consulting university counsellor-educators.

In this particular case, the weakness of the informal relationship between the Association and the counsellor-educators was exposed. The influence of the university counsellor-educators on the Association's business had reduced to such an extent that in 1996 the Association ratified a Code for Trainers and a revised list of minimum training criteria for membership with minimal input from the university counsellor-educators. Consultation between Association executive members and university-based counsellor-educators began *after* the minimum training criteria had been set. This, I argue, is a good example of the way in which government's influence over an aspiring profession like counselling brings about different forms of organisation than those promoted in the linear models of professionalisation that guide the rhetoric and action of key players in the counselling domain.

The implications of professionalisation strategies for counsellor-trainees

Consistent with my argument that the linear model of professionalisation had face validity for the Executive of the counselling association and university-based counsellor-educators and that this influenced their policy decisions, I contend that this face validity also influenced counsellors-in-training. Students who enter university-based counsellor-education programmes are, in a sense, at the beginning of an individual professionalisation journey towards their goal of becoming a professional counsellor. From the outset, their journey is influenced by individual experiences and expectations and interpretations of the professional status of counselling. It is also influenced by the professional project of counselling. In this respect, the rhetoric of professionalisation that encourages a view that to become a member of the profession one needs to attain particular qualifications, experiences and affiliations is important. Once again, however, in New Zealand counselling this rhetoric is constantly changing to accommodate the shifting relationship the Government has with counselling. The consequences for counsellors-in training are multiple: some become counsellors and members of the counselling association,

some complete their training and take on work other than counselling and some become counsellors without taking up membership of the counselling association. In the following section I allow a group of counsellors-in-training to demonstrate that variability by describing, in their own words, some important aspects of their counselling education. I use the same linear professional development construct that I used in the previous section *successful transformation of counselors-in-training into committed professionals performing professional roles* (Spruill and Benshoff, 1996) to organise the material.

One group of university-based counselling students

In 1994, I took a year's absence from teaching in the University of Canterbury counsellor-education programme. I obtained permission from that year's cohort of students to observe them in class and in some of their counselling practice and to interview them and their external supervisor²⁴ about their training. Initially, I wanted to explore the ways in which the course changed or confirmed their definitions of counselling and to ascertain if there were particular points when students identified themselves as professionals (see Appendix A for a discussion of my research methods). I interviewed each student first when she or he had been selected into the course but before classes had begun. I interviewed them again six months into their course. I sat in on and observed two of their university classes and I attended one of their off-campus supervision sessions. I asked their supervisors for their own views of counselling and for their interpretation of the student's development during the year. I was able to contact over half of the students six months after they had completed their course to ask them about their work and their affiliation with the counselling association.

²⁴ One requirement of the course is that students spend one half day per week counselling clients in a counselling institution. As part of this requirement, the counselling institution provides on-site supervision of the student's practical work.

There were ten people enrolled in the University of Canterbury theory and practical counselling papers in 1994. All of these people had some teaching in their background: five had taught in secondary schools and five in other institutions. There were eight females and two males on the course, five people had experienced counselling as clients, six had been employed as counsellors in education and health agencies and their ages ranged from 24 to 52 years. My interviews with them were guided by a semi-structured interview schedule comprising four broad content areas: views of counselling, perceived impact of the course on their counselling, any impressions of political influences on counselling and their own expected career future.

In search of a definition

When I interviewed the students first I found, not surprisingly, that their views of counselling were as varied as their backgrounds. Their definitions of counselling were influenced by their experiences, their reading and their expectations of the counselling course. This is consistent with findings made by researchers exploring the skills-development of students taking other training courses. Bullough, (1991) noted that:

beginning teachers enter their pre-service training with partial, often firmly held, conceptions of themselves as teachers and a teaching schema developed over years of life experience or continuously observing teachers as students.

Student A, for example, had spent several years educating young people in two different health-related agencies. This student's early definition therefore focused on educating clients. A said:

[Counselling] is actually finding out what it is the client wants to change and... setting goals or targets for them and helping them to

achieve those and making those [goals] realistic... Because a lot of the time I've found that they have really unrealistic things and they often don't value the stuff that they're actually doing themselves.

Similarly, student J, who has a teaching background, considered that the main element in counselling was helping people see things in a different way. Student J said that counselling was about:

I think fostering understanding and communication, it's a bit of the educator in me as well, and putting different things together for some people.

Early 'transformations'

What was noticeable in these early interviews was that the five recruits who had experienced counselling as a client had already been imbued with some of the language, the rhetoric of counselling. Such rhetoric would include terms such as 'process', 'relationship of caring', 'helping people manage their affairs more effectively' and 'change in the client' (Manthei, 1997 and New Zealand Association of Counsellors Newsletter, 1996:55). Student K said, counselling is:

A process of normalising and making visible things in the client's experience. And, I guess it's a process of facilitating growth.

When I interviewed other counsellor trainees six months into their training they, too, changed the way they defined counselling to include the language, the rhetoric of counselling. Student E said:

I used to think that counselling was me helping them [clients]...now I think it is enabling them to take control of their own lives.

Similarly, student H, whose background was not in teaching but in counselling in the private sector said:

I think my initial idea of a counsellor was somebody who listens pretty intently and pretty actively and in lots of cases that was enough. But through the course, on the theory side of things, and the practical in my placement...I realised I was in the position to assist people to do what they wanted to do.

Student H elaborated on this definition by saying that counselling was:

Supporting and encouraging the client to change in whatever behaviour or thought the client wants to change.

Some students integrated the language of the particular model of counselling they were learning (the solution-focused approach) into their definition of counselling. Student K, who had adopted the rhetoric of counselling prior to the course through earlier training and experience of counselling as a client, said:

I'm quite interested in solution-focused therapy in that I like the positive nature of it and it's non-judgmental in a sense, it's working with the client's view of reality and perhaps it's not intrusive; it's not as intrusive as some other modes of therapy.

These comments help to demonstrate that, consistent with the views promoted in a rhetoric of linear professionalisation, students were introduced to ideas that help define counselling. Interestingly, in this particular programme, students were also introduced to the complexities of professionalisation in counselling. By the second interview, for example, student K was convinced that the hierarchical competition between psychotherapy and counselling was more about claims-making than legitimate jurisdiction. Student K said:

Before I started this course, I thought there was quite a difference [between counselling and psychotherapy]. Because of some of the material that Z's [lecturer] given me, I see less of a difference now than I did when I came.

Student K's lecturer, interestingly, had been acting in a manner both consistent and inconsistent with the rhetoric of the linear and competitive professionalisation models. Consistent, because the definition of counselling was being discussed; inconsistent because the jurisdictional divisions between counselling and psychotherapy were being blurred. In part, this is due to the ambiguous meaning of counselling and to the way in which people with a range of qualifications are able to use the titles 'counsellor' and 'psychotherapist' interchangeably and in part it is due to the fact that the Government has allowed members of both occupations access to ACC funding (see Chapter Six). This highlights my argument that, because of the central role of the Government in the professional project of New Zealand counselling, the definition of counselling remains ambiguous and that this influences the role academics can play in the organisation of counselling and, therefore, the careers of counsellors-in-training.

Another way in which the Government's involvement in the professional project of counsellors influences the university-based education of aspirant counsellors is in the maintenance of a situation whereby students can have dual affiliation to counselling and teaching. This means that, for some counsellors-in-training their 'transformation' into committed professionals (Spruill and Benshoff, 1996) can only be partial. Evidence that even now, in the 1990s, the legitimacy and credibility of counselling is not sufficiently strong for some recruits to replace the professional identity associated with being a teacher was provided in my interview with student J. Student J had been a teacher prior to coming on the course and by the end of the course, upheld only a weak identity as a counsellor saying:

I was reading the Education Gazette [a publication that advertises school counselling and teaching vacancies]... I would even be interested in getting out of the counselling profession as such and into a medically related profession that was basically a counselling one, but just had a different name and recognition and that sort of thing. ...I was thinking of things like a fulltime health educator...or a lecturer.

While these career options appear to bring together training in teaching and counselling, my interpretation of this data is that the rhetoric of professionalisation used in the training programme exposed the ambiguous definition of counselling and influenced the transformation of some students. Six months after completing the counselling papers, student J was in part-time teaching work, not counselling, and had not joined the New Zealand Association of Counsellors.

Expectations

Before they came into the counselling course I asked students for their definitions of 'professional'. They gave me answers that fitted with trait theories of professions and linear professionalisation models and included academic qualifications, experience and extended training.

A person with qualifications. Someone who knows about the different personality disorders (Student B).

[Not] people who get into counselling one way or another, picking up a lot of workshops, seminars and courses and then getting into an agency. A person with experience...someone who is accessible (Student A).

Since these students were about to enter a post graduate training that would take at least two years to complete they, predictably, considered their training option as a hallmark for their professionalisation. They had expectations for their own careers attached to their identity as a counsellor (Hazler and Kottler, 1994). In her first interview student E said:

I want to be one of those people that counsellors refer to, as opposed to someone who refers on.

Student F said:

I've always been interested in Master of Education papers in counselling because I saw them as a way of gaining credentials. ...I've got nothing that is specifically related to counselling and that's important to me... I'm looking at working in private practice.

What is interesting, here, is the way this view of the university-based programme was challenged by the students' perceptions of other training courses. When the Government supported other institutions to establish counsellor training, and allowed graduates of these programmes to gain access to government-supported subsidies it exposed the university-based counsellor-education programmes to a critical gaze. Potential students no longer regarded the university-based counsellor training as their only option. They considered not only the qualification, but also the inclusion of practical skills education when compared with other training programmes. Thus, before the course started, student E said:

I believe the university qualification carries more clout...with the community, but inside I'm still thinking, is it as practical, can I apply it as much as I could a polytech course?...I have a fear that this course has got too out of touch with what real counselling is...it has become too theoretical.

Committed professionals?

Once into the course, most students were more confident that they had made a good choice. It was at this point that they adopted the rhetoric of professionalisation to justify their choice. Student B said:

I feel very strongly that counselling is an incredibly responsible job and these people who sort of set themselves up as counsellors without any formal training...I don't like the idea of people counselling without qualifications...and to me, the university, the degree course, was the only one to do. I mean there wasn't a choice.

And student J said:

I felt this[course] was the option which gave me the best flexibility, the broadest skills from an academic perspective to the practical hands-on perspective.

The students' adoption of a rhetoric of professionalisation to protect their choice of training was, however, influenced by the occupation's lack of regulation. Students soon recognised that, it was not essential for people to have training to call themselves counsellors. Student H said:

Anybody who's a good listener can hang out their shingle and call themselves a counsellor. And that's what they were doing in the business sector. If you had people skills, you were a counsellor...a redundancy counsellor.

For some, this situation strengthened their rhetoric of professionalisation to improve their status in their own eyes. Student F remarked:

One thing that irks me is...an NZEI [New Zealand Education Institute] counsellor has so little training...it's an abuse of the word [counsellor].

Further into the course, the fact that counselling in New Zealand has an ambiguous definition created a realisation for students that their ultimate aim, professional counsellor, did not have secure credibility. The consequence of this for students was that their adoption of the role 'committed professional counsellor' was undermined. Student K expressed this in the following way.

I'm not as confident of the profession in terms of securing a future in it...I wonder at its security in the current political climate.

For some, this ambiguity was exacerbated when they read negative accounts made by members of the public about the profession. Student G said:

Every magazine that I have picked up lately, in one way or another, has had articles that are demeaning of the work that counsellors do.

For another, the recognition that the Government also promoted a negative image of counselling was recognised to have implications for future career moves. Student J said:

The Government attitude [to counselling] is one that is very negative, I think...if the Government doesn't value what you do, funding providers don't value what you do, it's so much harder to break in.

The consequence of these negative images was that some students strengthened their use of the rhetoric of professionalisation to justify their chosen careers. Student E said:

It's unnerving to be in a profession that people are so sceptical about. That's unsettling, and having to justify this profession...counsellors are highly skilled and highly professional...yet they're underpaid and undervalued.

The problem for these students, however, was that because of the Government's involvement in the professional project of counsellors, their ideas about their own professionalisation were constantly challenged. Student H said:

I've got more politically aware of what counselling is all about and counselling's place in the scheme of things as the year's gone on.

And student J said:

It also feels that, just as some of the things we're reading in class, that things are moving much more toward a user-pays, get yourself in private practice, or charge the client the full cost, full cost recovery. That sort of market philosophy is creeping into counselling.

The students appeared resigned to the situation that regardless of their beliefs about their own training, in the end, it was the involvement of the Government in counselling's professional project that would determine what counts in terms of training. Student E, for example said:

I rang Wellington and I said "look, I want to be ACC registered to counsel people with disabilities" and they said..."you've got to do sexual abuse training, whether you want or whether you don't want to counsel in the sexual abuse area".

This is a very strong indication that, in the case of New Zealand counselling, the Government's role in the professionalisation project influences each sector of the domain: the counsellors, the counsellor-educators, the Association and the counsellors-in-training. The Government's influence over the definition and jurisdiction of counselling has, therefore, created a dilemma for counsellors-in-training. They have had to consider their career options in light of perceived job opportunities and legitimacy of counselling. Near the end of the course, student D said:

It appears at the moment that social work has got higher status than counselling...new departments advertise for five social workers and one counsellor.

The effect of this is that counsellors-in-training do not necessarily get work as counsellors. When I contacted the students of this cohort six months after they had completed their training I found that only some had found counselling work and only some had sought membership of the New Zealand Association of Counsellors. Two were employed as relieving teachers and neither had sought New Zealand Association of Counsellors membership. Two were employed as school guidance counsellors and both were members of the Association. Two were employed as tutors in tertiary education institutions and neither of them was a member of the Association. The other four were employed as counsellors either privately or in community agencies. Each of these students had applied for or had obtained membership in the Association. Their rationale for membership was described in terms of professionalisation. Two students wrote that their prime motive was "professional accountability" and one stated that it was "to become more marketable". What was interesting, however, was that each of these students also sought ACC accreditation and had taken additional specialised courses to increase their chances of obtaining this.

This confirms my view that the training and credentials that count in New Zealand counselling are those that satisfy not the profession, but the Government in terms of the criteria set for funding. This is central to my argument that the professional project of counselling depends on an arrangement between government and counselling. The Government in its desire to support services to people who have been sexually-abused wants a profession to fulfil that desire. Counselling partially satisfies this government policy. The rhetoric of professionalisation provides both government and counsellors with legitimacy to co-operate and set-up a way in which

counsellors can provide sexual abuse counselling and receive government funding. The rhetoric, however, needs to change constantly according to the audience to which it is addressed – tax payers, clients, Association members, government personnel.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have extended my argument that the Government's involvement in the professional project of counselling has had an impact on the organisation of New Zealand counselling. Because university-based counselling programmes emerged as part of the Government's response to a perceived public need and because these programmes continue to be influenced by changes in government policies, the professionalisation of counsellors-in-training is different from that depicted in early theories of professionalisation. The professionalisation project of New Zealand counsellors has always been overseen by government.

The case-study of new recruits into counselling and their academic trainers demonstrates that this overseer role at times disrupts attempts to professionalise and, at other times, adds strength to claims for legitimacy. The rhetoric of professionalisation provides both government and counsellors with justifications for their actions. It also enables counsellor-trainees to justify their selection of training in a university setting. Because, however, the arrangement between government and counselling is not regulated by statute, it is constantly adapting to ever changing circumstances and this has implications for the careers of both counselling academics and aspirant counsellors.

Chapter Eight

Conclusion

The process of professionalisation in a changing world turns out to be complicated and challenging to analytical study (Blumer, 1966:xi).

In this thesis, I have described and interpreted the development of counselling in New Zealand in order to explore the complexity of professionalisation alluded to by Blumer in 1966. The main issues that have emerged include, first, that the rhetoric of the linear model of professionalisation has been used by counsellors to guide their strategic occupational objectives and second, that while doing so, they have engaged in many complex, ever-changing arrangements between counselling and government. In this chapter, I shall review these issues in relation to counselling's professional project. I shall assert that my study provides evidence for conceptualising the outcomes of this project not as failed attempts at professionalisation but, rather, as a form of professionalisation incorporating elements of change, diversity, complexity, ambiguity and various arrangements between an occupation and government. Theories of professionalisation, I argue, need to account for these factors.

The parameters of the thesis

Ragin (1992:225) stated that the primary goal of researchers is to link the empirical and the theoretical - to use theory to make sense of evidence and to use evidence to sharpen and refine theory. He also argued that social scientists should use 'cases' to link ideas and evidence. While there are different opinions about what the term 'case' means and how cases might be used (*ibid.*) there is general agreement amongst social

scientists that the construction or description of cases is fundamental to the research process. Furthermore, Ragin (*ibid.*) stated that there is general agreement amongst social scientists that in a given piece of research there may be a number of cases, that these may change during the research and that their choice is influenced by the needs of the researcher. Platt (1988) noted that cases enable researchers to make convincing arguments and Abbott (1992) considered that cases which provide narrative details are particularly useful to researchers who want to construct arguments about new ways of understanding phenomena. My thesis comprises a study in which a number of cases are explored. My purpose, however, has changed during the process of researching and writing (see Appendix A). As Becker (1992:6) suggests, this is not unusual; he argues that *researchers probably will not know what their cases are until the research...is virtually completed.*

Thus, at the beginning of this study I considered that I was investigating a case of professionalisation - the professionalisation of counselling in New Zealand. Now, I consider that what I have studied is the ways in which New Zealand counsellors have used professionalisation as a strategy to guide the development of their occupation within a shifting terrain. Such a 'case' has allowed me to explain and understand the ambiguities and contradictions inherent in a struggle for occupational credibility and legitimacy in which the government has had a central position.

Throughout the thesis, therefore, I have concentrated on describing interacting cases within counselling's occupational domain. I have not compared the development of counselling with the development of other occupations that have sought professional status: that would have been a study of cases of professionalisation. I have introduced and described the organisational development of other occupations when these have been used by social scientists to demonstrate a process of professionalisation because they strengthen my argument that the development of counselling in New Zealand leads to a different view of occupational activity. Typical studies of professionalisation, such as those I have described in chapter

three, emphasise the processes of professionalisation by describing the stages through which occupational groups have developed. Others (for example Abbott, 1988; Witz, 1992) have sought to explain how the competition between occupations has been central to the process of professionalisation. And others (for example, Halliday, 1987; Johnson, 1982; Larson, 1977; and MacDonald, 1995) have argued that the central role of government has meant that the interactions between government departments and members of professions are most important in professionalisation projects. In my thesis, however, I have emphasised that professionalisation is not only a process, but also a strategy used by an occupational group as it constantly attempts to display a professional face to a variety of audiences. Furthermore, I have demonstrated how government may restrict inter-professional competition for jurisdiction over an area of work and create a situation in which competition and co-operation co-exist across the area of work and between occupational groups and government. I have chosen a number of cases to illustrate my assertions with respect to New Zealand counselling: the Accident Rehabilitation and Compensation Insurance Corporation, the New Zealand Association of Counsellors and sites of university-based counsellor education .

Professionalisation as a strategy

One aspect of my case-study approach has been an interpretation of the actions of New Zealand counsellor-educators, counsellors and their counselling Association as they have attempted to influence the development of New Zealand counselling. Furthermore, I have used these actions as a case to demonstrate that because of the structural conditions and the complexity of interactions between people and policies occurring in New Zealand the influence of these players could only ever be partial. Integral to this situation was the central role of the New Zealand Government in developing school and vocational guidance counselling. This early government involvement in counselling meant that, from the outset, counsellors in New Zealand

embarked on a professionalisation project that was very different from that of established occupations such as medicine and law.

Theories of professionalisation that concentrate on attempts by occupational groups to gain control over jurisdiction of their work often use a dominant-subordinate dichotomy to categorise occupations in order to describe a range of closure strategies. Witz (1992), for example, proposed that dominant occupations use exclusionary strategies whenever possible to deny access to their area of work by subordinate groups. Inclusionary strategies are used by subordinate groups to increase their size and resist threatened competition by a dominant group. Dual strategies are engaged in by groups that co-operate with others until they are strong enough to make claims for jurisdiction on their own. Both Witz (1992) and Selander (1990) have demonstrated that closure is not a useful strategy for a new, subordinate occupational group to adopt.

In chapter four, I have demonstrated that for counselling in New Zealand, the initial influence of the Government on the recruitment, selection and education of school counsellors meant that counsellors did not engage in exclusionary closure strategies. Rather, the Association sought to include anyone interested in counselling in its membership. Nevertheless, when the Government threatened the assumed monopoly of universities to educate secondary school guidance counsellors and began setting criteria based on standards of practice which affected the ability of counsellors to gain access to funding, exclusionary strategies were adopted. Counsellor-educators and the counselling Association adopted the rhetoric of professionalisation as a strategy to demonstrate that they should have an influential role in the development of counselling.

When the counselling association began to adopt the rhetoric of linear professionalisation as a guideline for its development, it pursued the stages of the model. The stages included, change of name, construction of a Code of Ethics and

the introduction of policies to police the performance of members and to tighten membership criteria. The timing of these actions demonstrates that they were initiated in response to government policies. Indeed, counsellors in the counselling association who were competing for access to government funding began to demand that the Association impose such exclusionary membership strategies. Using the New Zealand Association of Counselling as a case, therefore, I have provided, in chapter five, a detailed history of its fluctuating policy on membership criteria to show that using professionalisation as a strategy requires constant adaptation to changing circumstances. Furthermore, I have argued that such a strategy would only work for counselling if it could adapt to the complex and ever changing relationship between the government and counsellors.

The central, everchanging role of government in professionalisation

The second theme of this thesis has been, therefore, that the relationship between occupational groups and government is integral to an analysis of counselling's professional project. This supports the arguments of both Johnson (1982) and Larson (1977) that professional control cannot operate independently of the state. I have argued, in chapter six, that in New Zealand, the Government has influenced many aspects of counselling.

Furthermore, I have shown that this government-occupation relationship changes over time. I considered the ways that Norris (1993) and Witz (1992) have demonstrated the influence of changing government policies on the organisation of pharmacists and nurses and noted some similar influences on the organisation of counselling. New Zealand Government policies of the 1980s and 1990s, for example, reduced support for university-based counsellor-education programmes and for the continued increase in the number of school guidance counsellors. These two changes in government policies threatened the careers of both school guidance counsellors and university counsellor-educators. They had to find support, other than that provided by the government, for their claims to legitimacy. It was at this

time that they increasingly turned to a rhetoric of professionalisation to provide them with appropriate professional faces. The irony was that, while some of this rhetoric, one professional face, was directed at the public, much of it, another professional face, was directed at the government because it still controlled the number of school guidance counsellor positions, funding to universities and subsidies for specific clients seeking counselling. Another irony was that the outcome of adopting professionalisation strategies was an increase in counselling association membership numbers and diversity and this reduced the prominence of both school counsellors and university-based counsellor-educators in the Association.

Other studies of professionalisation, especially those in which established occupations are analysed, have provided evidence of a process by which occupations gain autonomy from the government (see Johnson, 1982 and Abbott, 1988). In chapters three, four and five, I have demonstrated that for New Zealand counsellors, however, such a move towards autonomy from the Government was thwarted at the outset. The problems were threefold. First, it was the Government that initially developed the sites of school counselling and supported the counsellor education programmes. Second, school and vocational guidance counsellors did not give up their primary affiliation with teaching and the public service (Department of Labour) when they became counsellors. Third, the time when the counsellors increased the use of professionalisation strategies coincided with the Government's reduction in support for the statutory regulation of professions. Thus, the outcome of professionalisation strategies by counsellors and counsellor-educators was not autonomy *from* but a different arrangement *with* the Government.

Professionalisation as different arrangements between an occupation and government

This introduces my third theme, that the government-occupation relationship in New Zealand counselling's professional project is complex and ambiguous. In chapter two, I explained how New Zealand counselling has emerged in a number of ways,

few of which resemble the development of established professions such as medicine and law. Yet, I have argued that the professionalisation strategy adopted by counsellors has been guided by models attributed to the development of such established occupations. Thus, for counsellors, there has been a mismatch between the rhetoric of linear professionalisation and their actions. This has meant that while the counselling association has tried to adopt the professional face similar to that of established professions, it has relied on very *different arrangements* with government than those held with these professions. In this respect, the idea of linear professionalisation has been mythical. Furthermore, because these arrangements were constantly changing, in line with changes in government policy, there were occasions when the influence of government on the actions of counsellors and the counselling Association had unintended and unforeseen consequences.

In chapter five, I demonstrated that the counselling association adopted the professionalisation strategy of name change to improve its occupational credibility. The unintended consequence was an increase in size and diversity of association membership which undermined attempts to display a unified face. This in turn reduced the association's ability to set standards for its members and led to the situation in which the Government set some standards for some counsellors.

Furthermore, in chapter six, I showed that the Government supported a professional face for counselling in order to demonstrate that it had addressed a perceived public need to support services for people who had experienced sexual abuse. The intention of the Government was to be seen to respond to a 'temporary' situation. The unintended consequence was that counselling for this client group would become a continuing service supported by a government department. Because, however, this was the outcome, the government-occupation relationship was highlighted. The Government needed to be seen to be providing funding to a legitimate group and the counselling association wanted to be regarded as a legitimate group. Thus the Government used strategies consistent with the rhetoric of professionalisation by

demanding that the association establish a code of ethics, a complaints procedure and demonstration of specified knowledge before its members could gain access to ACC funding. It was in the interest of the association to comply with these demands. The resulting arrangements that existed between government and counsellors enabled *both* to engage in professionalisation strategies that would protect their desire to maintain legitimacy.

Outcomes of different arrangements

The multifaceted development of counselling is ongoing and its outcome remains unclear. I have described the present outcomes as being 'disordered' and 'untidy' but only when compared with the rhetoric of an orderly, linear process of professionalisation. Consistent with other critiques of such models, I am arguing that we need to look at the rhetoric of professionalisation differently. Professionalisation must, as Abbott (1988) suggested, include co-operation and competition. It must also, however, incorporate multiple forms of co-operation and competition not only between occupational groups (Abbott, 1988) but also between government *and* the occupational groups (Johnson, 1984; Larson, 1977; and Witz, 1992).

This co-operation and competition between counsellors and the government has, I have argued, influenced the ways in which the counselling is organised. Thus, while the counselling association originally wanted to encourage diverse membership, it had, also, to narrow its membership criteria to satisfy the requirements of the Government. Such exclusionary strategies are by their very nature divisive and have undermined the collective ethos of the counselling association as originally established. I return, therefore, to Abbott's (1992) view that professions form an interacting system and continually *grow, split, adapt and die*. While this may take on the appearance of disorderly professionalisation, it is more consistent with a flexible view of the nature and rhetoric of professionalisation.

As I finish this thesis I note the beginnings of a realisation in New Zealand counselling that its *growth* implies a clash of values within the counselling association: between the caring, empowering ethos of counselling and the disempowering outcomes for some members brought about by the association's adoption of professionalisation as a strategy. In a recent journal article, the President of the New Zealand Association of Counselling wrote:

There has been some uncertainty recently about the identity and role of the Association amongst the membership, with concerns that it has lost its way and, in the process, perhaps its heart (Webb, 1998:67).

She attributed this dissent to the increased size of the membership of the Association and predicted ongoing debate.

Abbott's reference to the death of professions is an unlikely outcome for New Zealand counselling. Both the public and the New Zealand Government want and need it to survive in order to support policies that address public concerns. The ethos and organisational forms of the original association of counsellors are, however, already in their death throes. I have described throughout the thesis the ways in which the New Zealand Association of Counsellors has reacted to government policies in ways that enable clients and counsellors to get government support. These reactions have created internal struggles where subgroups within the Association have met and begun to organise themselves around specific parts of the domain of counselling. The outcome of these internal struggles is likely to be as Abbott (1992) predicts, a major split in the organisation of counselling. *Adaptation* will, I argue, require new arrangements with the Government.

My case of New Zealand counselling's development therefore sits within and between existing theories of professionalisation because I argue that, when occupational groups use the rhetoric of professionalisation as a strategy to gain

occupational status the implications are numerous and ever-changing. Furthermore, in the case of counselling in New Zealand, the outcome is not of autonomy *from* the Government but of different arrangements *with* the Government. The rhetoric of professionalisation will continue to be prominent in the development of counselling in New Zealand. It will continue to influence the different faces used as a strategy for gaining credibility but its form will change according to new government policies, splits within the occupational group and different demands by clients.

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Appendix A

Reflections on method

From 1978 to 1983 I was employed as a Vocational Guidance Counsellor in the New Zealand Department of Labour. During that time, in 1981, I was granted study leave to attend the full-time, postgraduate counsellor training course at the University of Canterbury. There were twelve students on that course: seven high school counsellors, three vocational guidance counsellors and two independent students. After my completion of this course I returned to my counselling role in the Vocational Guidance Service.

My first interest in the professionalisation of counselling in New Zealand arose when, in 1988, I took up the position of lecturer in the same course I had attended as a student seven years earlier. I noted a change in the occupational titles of the people applying to enter the postgraduate counselling course at the University of Canterbury. I was intrigued to find that decreasing numbers of course applicants were school counsellors or vocational guidance counsellors. I wanted to explore what brought applicants to this course and what dilemmas they faced in their professional development.

In 1994 I took study leave from my teaching position and obtained permission from that year's cohort of counselling students to interview them and their practice supervisors and to observe them in some of their classes. At this point, I intended to document the way(s) in which counselling students understood their transition from student to counsellor.

I carried out semi-structured interviews with each counselling student soon after his or her selection interview. Topics for this interview included: reasons for applying for counsellor training, relevant background, definition of counselling, perception of counselling in society and expectations for their progress in the counselling course.

These interviews were audio-taped, transcribed in detail and checked for accuracy of their content by each student. I began to code the interviews into themes as they emerged from the data. I soon found that the students began the course with varied backgrounds and that these backgrounds influenced their definition of counselling and their expectations of the course.

In order to track the skills-development of the students, I interviewed them again six months later. Topics for these interviews included: their views of the training, whether their expectations of the course had changed or been met and whether their definitions of counselling had changed. Again, the interviews were audio-taped, transcribed, checked for accuracy and coded into emerging themes. Finally, I was also able to contact most of the students three months after the finish of their university year about their counselling activities.

While the initial interviews were full of interesting and relevant material, I soon found that I could not limit my study to the development of just this cohort of students. The students were indicating that public perception of counselling, the course content, other counsellors and the agencies in which they were working were influencing their counselling identities. I recognised, therefore, the need take account of the changes in the wider field of counselling: the professional associations, the funding agencies, the private practitioners, the other training institutions.

Mindful of this, I began to seek ways of extending the domain of my data collection, analysis and interpretation. For this, I found Becker's (1982:35) advice useful. When studying art worlds he found it useful to identify networks.

Look for groups of people who co-operate to produce things that they, at least, call art; having found them we look for other people who are also necessary to that production, gradually building up as complete a picture as we can of the entire co-operating network that radiates out from the work in question.

This approach encouraged me to begin to interview other counsellors and to participate in other counselling activities. I interviewed the field supervisors of the students about their views on counselling in New Zealand. I interviewed the editor

of the newsletter for the Canterbury branch of the New Zealand Association of Counsellors.

In addition, I attended and recorded the proceedings of counsellors' meetings and gatherings. These included: professional development seminars run by counselling organisations on ethics and on relationship factors in counselling; the national conferences and annual meetings of the New Zealand Association of Counsellors in 1994, 1995 and 1996; the conferences and annual meetings of the Canterbury branch of the New Zealand Association of Counsellors in 1994, 1995, 1996 and 1997; meetings of the University Counsellor Educators in 1993, 1994, 1995 and 1997; and meetings of the New Zealand Association of Counsellors' career focus group from 1994 to 1997.

The data from these sources alerted me to the ways in which the New Zealand Government had a central role in the business of counselling. More specifically, I recognised that government funding of particular counselling activities was influencing both the definition and practice of counselling. This recognition encouraged me to, once again, extend the range of my data. With the help of a research assistant, in 1995 I phoned all (80) counsellors and agencies who advertised their counselling services in the Christchurch Yellow pages. I asked them to estimate the amount of their counselling that was funded by government agencies. From this, I was able to determine that, as I suspected, the Government in the form of the Accident Rehabilitation and Compensation Insurance Corporation was supporting a significant amount of counselling.

To supplement this information, I also analysed all newsletters of the New Zealand Guidance and Counselling Association since its initiation in 1974, academic journals published by counselling associations in New Zealand, Australia, the United States and Britain and archival documents on the development of the *Accident Compensation Act 1972* from its inception and commentaries on it made by politicians, academics, professional associations and the media.

My position in the research

During this period of data collection and analysis, I was aware of my need to address my status with respect to both the participants and the content of my research. I am both an observer and a participant in the claims for professionalisation of counselling in New Zealand. I have been a Vocational Guidance Counsellor in the Department of Labour, I have been a student in the Dip Ed. (Guidance) course at the University of Canterbury and am now a teacher in the equivalent course, the M.Ed. (Counselling) programme at the University of Canterbury. Each of these positions has influenced my understanding of counselling and consequently my selection of data for this project.

It was my initial intention to understand the meanings that university counselling students ascribed to their learning and developing identity as counsellors. I was aware, however, that the students I was interviewing knew that in addition to my role as a researcher, I was also a counsellor-educator at the University. This position allowed me to gain access to the participants, but at what cost? I was concerned that students might tell me only what they thought I wanted to hear. I used several strategies to combat the likelihood of this happening. First, I observed several of their classes so that I could experience their reaction to course content, second, I interviewed some of the students in the presence of their classmates and checked on their interpretations of issues as they were raised. I also interviewed the field supervisors in the presence of each student and I gave transcripts of the interviews to each participant for them to read and amend. Finally, I kept a journal throughout the data collection phase in which I constantly challenged my findings and assumptions. Other writers have termed this process of checking the researcher's influence on the data as reflexivity. Hertz (1993: viii) claims that:

Reflexivity implies a shift in our understanding of data and its collection ... the reflexive ethnographer does not simply report 'facts' and 'truths' but actively constructs interpretation of her experience in the field and then questions how those interpretations came about.

In terms of other data sources, I also needed to examine the multiple roles I have in the domain of counselling. In my role as a counsellor-educator, for example, my position could be regarded as crucial to the impressions of recruits about their

introduction to counselling. I am implicated in the process noted by Kleinman and Fine (1979:284) in which moral organisations use rhetoric to convince recruits to do the kinds of things that administrators and personnel think will improve the recruits' selves. Thus, my colleague and I promote a model of counselling that we say is brief, intentional, respectful of clients, culturally inclusive and effective and we encourage students to adopt this way of working. We also, however, encourage students to be critical of theories and practices of counselling to reflect on their own counselling practice. This, we say, is the best way for them to both model and 'do' counselling.

Again, in conducting my data collection and analysis I have been aware that I am both influencing and being influenced by the curriculum changes that I have documented. Indeed, as a direct result of my work, my teaching colleague and I have included information about the *Accident Rehabilitation and Compensation Insurance (Counselling Costs) Regulations (1992)*, the *Privacy Act (1992)* and membership requirements for the New Zealand Association of Counselling in the curriculum for our counselling programme.

In my role as a member of the New Zealand Association of Counsellors I have also participated in debates about subscriptions fees, change of the Association name, accreditation, and the role of the Association in relation to government funding of specific counselling. I have written articles for publication in the *New Zealand Journal of Counselling* in which I have highlighted some of the pitfalls of the Association adopting a professionalisation strategy. Furthermore, I have participated in ethics hearings of members who have been complained about by clients. These activities have provided opportunity for me to reflect on the way in which the Counselling Association has reacted to a changing environment. The emerging process of my investigation has enabled me to write a thesis that is both descriptive and interpretative. It has also allowed me to defend my argument that central to the professionalisation strategies adopted by counsellors in New Zealand are the ever changing policies of the New Zealand Government.

Appendix B

Brief chronology of events leading to the introduction of the *Accident Compensation Act 1972*.

Relevant amendments to the Act and developments of new statutes from 1972 to 1998.

- 1962 • Government appointed Committee to investigate the feasibility of absolute liability for motor vehicle accidents.

- 1963 • General Election. National Government returned to office.

- 1964 • International Labour Organisation Convention concerning benefits for injury while in employment was adopted. Many standards were not met by New Zealand Laws.

- 1966 • General Election. National Government returned to office
 • Royal Commission appointed Chair, Hon. Arthur Owen Woodhouse, then Judge of Supreme Court, to continue the investigation of 1962.

- 1967 • The Royal Commission Report on Personal Injury in New Zealand propounded the general principles of:
 - community responsibility, comprehensive entitlement, complete rehabilitation, real compensation and administrative efficiency.
 - Submission of 4 academic lawyers called for the abolition of common law in motor accidents.
 - The Law Society recommended that common law be abolished for employment accidents.
 - Commission's report (now referred to as the Woodhouse report) was issued in favour of a comprehensive scheme for compensation of personal injury to cover everyone in the community twenty-four hours a day without regard to fault or the cause of injury.
 - Abolition of common law for damages.

- 1968 • Interdepartmental committee of Public Servants formed to comment on the report.

- 1969 • National Government tabled a White paper commentary on the Woodhouse report which supported the financial estimates.

- The Gair Select Committee was set up to receive submissions and to report on the White paper and on the Woodhouse report.
 - General Election - National Government returned to office.
- 1970
- Gair report, in favour of a scheme covering earners twenty four hours a day, tabled in Parliament.
- 1971
- Incomplete Bill introduced to Parliament.
 - Commencement of draft legislation by the McLachlan committee.
 - Delay in legislation allowed members of both political
 - parties to consider the social responsibility of the Act.
- 1972
- The *Accident Compensation Act 1972* was passed and Royal Assent received.
 - Accident compensation was an election issue for the General Election.
 - National Government defeated, Labour Party became government.
- 1973
- Labour Government postponement of Act.,
 - Legislation amended to extend the definition of 'personal injury by accident' to cover all non-earners. Recommendation that this could be achieved by introducing a third supplementary scheme.
 - Political pressure to pass the Bill and start it working.
- 1974
- Commencement date of the provisions of the *Accident Compensation Act 1972*.
 - Accident Compensation Commission (ACC) was established with a chairman and two other members to administer two schemes; Earners' scheme and Motor Vehicle Scheme.
 - Agents (Inland revenue, Post Office and State Insurance) were appointed to collect levies
- 1975
- General Election. Labour Government defeated. National Party became government.
 - The Act expanded to include criminal injuries previously covered by the *Criminal Injuries Compensation Act 1963*.
 - It was reported that there was an average of 500 claims per day.
- 1980
- Commission changed to Corporation

- 1982
 - New Act, the *Accident Compensation Act 1982* introduced.
 - The proposal to eliminate lump sum payments for pain and suffering was not accepted
 - Moves were made to decentralise management.

- 1984
 - Moves to phase out State Insurance as an agent.

- 1986
 - Large and sudden demands upon employers for increased levy income.
 - Law Commission asked by government to examine and make recommendations on the operation of the system.

- 1987
 - Law Commission interim report recommendations:
 - single rate levy;
 - one accident compensation account;
 - a payment to the Corporation from a portion of excise duty on fuel.
 - Reported an endorsement of general principles of the scheme by the community.
 - Employer levy trebled to keep scheme solvent.

- 1988
 - Royal Commission on Social Policy endorsed the principles of the Act.
 - Economic Development Commission recommended that the different scheme levies be kept separate.
 - Law Commission report extending the interim report was submitted to government. Recommendations:
 - lump sum payments be abolished;
 - classification of industrial levies be reduced;
 - separate treatment be given to claims for sexual abuse victims, and that there be partial payments of fees charged by general practitioners and physiotherapist.

- 1989
 - A Bill to enact the Law Commission's recommendations was introduced to the House by the Labour Government but was not law by the time of the government change in 1990
 - A schedule of fees for service was introduced to reduce health costs.

- 1990
 - General Election. Labour Government defeated - National Party became government.

- National Government established a working party to examine the existing scheme and recommend changes.
 - New Zealand Business Roundtable (an organisation of chief executives of major New Zealand business firms) proposed the following reforms that:
 - the ACC to be restructured as a state-owned enterprise to open up the accident insurance market to competition;
 - subsidies be introduced to enable low-income, high risk people to access market insurance;
 - and there be a return to tort remedies especially in the case of motor vehicle accidents.
 - The Accident Compensation (Psychiatrist, Psychologists and Psychotherapists Costs) Regulations was formalised.
- 1991
- Government policy statement was tabled.
 - Recommendations included:
 - the maintenance of no-fault principle;
 - the expectation that employers meet costs of providing coverage for injury during work and that earners pay premium to meet cost of coverage for accidental injury that occurs outside the course of their employment, (this a flat rate percentage on earnings);
 - that the Government was to meet the cost of compensation and health care (subject to user part charges) for accidental injury to non-earners;
 - lump sums for pain and suffering be abolished;
 - lump sums for loss of faculty replaced with a disability allowance, (this disability allowance could be used for attendant care and home help, amongst which was counselling);
 - consideration to be given to the compensation of victims of criminal injury.
 - Submissions were sought from parties interested in the equitable compensation of victims of sexual crimes.
- 1991
- New Zealand Business Roundtable document response to policy statement, welcomed emphasis on the insurance rationale for the scheme but warned that insurance functions could not be carried out efficiently while the ACC remained a statutory monopoly, protected from competition.
 - Advisory committees set up for medical misadventure and sensitive claims.

- 1992
- *Accident Rehabilitation and Compensation Insurance Act 1992* passed.
 - New series of definitions of 'accident'. This enabled the ACC to prescribe the boundaries of the scheme, rather than the courts.
 - Sensitive Claims Unit established to take responsibility for all aspects of sexual abuse claims.
 - Schedule of ACC (Counselling Costs) regulations introduced.
 - A government-appointed Counsellors Approval Committee established
 - Requirement was established that counsellors for sexual abuse victims be approved by the Counsellors Approval Committee.
 - First *Newsletter for Treatment Providers* published and distributed.
- 1993
- This was the cut-off point for all lump sum claims.
 - Independence Allowance was available to be claimed in place of lump sum claims - reports for eligibility could come from health professionals.
- 1994
- Parliament's Regulations Review Committee sought submissions on the ACC health provision service and costs.
 - An attempt was made to require all counselling of Maori and Pacific Island clients to be carried out by Maori and Pacific Island counsellors. The ACC withdrew this requirement when counsellors objected.
- 1996
- A register of counsellor's skills was collated by the Sensitive Claims Unit.
 - Amendment to the *Act* - allowed for more choice by medical practitioners about the types of secondary care they would recommend for claimants.
 - Independent review of Sensitive Claims Unit led to its restructuring - Ten clinically qualified case managers were appointed and the workload of the Unit was divided into three geographical areas.
 - A monitoring schedule was introduced where counsellors were required to submit a review report after 20 sessions with a sexual abuse client and were to be reviewed by ACC staff more thoroughly after 40 sessions with the same client.
 - A treatment plan document for work with sexual abuse clients that exceeded 15 sessions was introduced. Diagnostic Service Manual IV was used to guide assessment criteria.

- 1997
- Quarterly meetings with between ACC case managers and professional counselling and therapy organisations were held throughout the country.
 - ACC formalised that it was the responsibility of the professional associations to discipline counsellors about whom complaints were upheld.
 - Policy documents include a statement that ACC counsellors cannot be ACC claimants.
 - ACC expectations of supervision for counsellors were drafted.
- 1998
- The Sensitive Claims unit drafted policies in consultation with professional associations refining occasions where ACC can and cannot pay for sexual abuse counselling. These included times when issues other than sexual abuse were the focus of counselling and where the person seeking sexual abuse counselling was also seeking counselling for being a sexual abuse perpetrator. Only the former work could be subsidised.
 - Guidelines were drawn up for interviewing and assessing the referral of a sexually abuse child.
 - The *Accident Insurance Act 1998* was passed on December 11 (but provisions were not introduced until July 1999). Private insurance companies, rather than ACC would take over the role of providing comprehensive, no fault workplace injury insurance.

Appendix C

Extract of the Accident Rehabilitation and Compensation Insurance (Counselling Costs) Regulations 1992.

19. Application for approval as a counsellor

1) Any person seeking approval as a counsellor shall make written application to the committee and shall supply the committee with such information as the committee considers appropriate in order for the committee to consider the application.

2) Every such application shall be supported by:

- a) A report by a person who has supervised the applicant for more than a period of 6 months of the supervised work experience referred to in regulation 20(1)(c) of these regulations: and
- b) Two character references from persons who are not, and are not eligible for approval as, counsellors.

20. Approval as counsellor

(1) The committee shall approve as a counsellor an applicant who satisfies it that the applicant:

- a) Has, through a course or courses of education, obtained an understanding of all the following subjects. Namely, human development, abnormal human psychology, family dynamics, counselling theory, more than one therapeutic model, and transference and counter-transference: and
- (b) Has, through supervised practical experience, obtained skills of listening, assertiveness, conflict resolution, anger management, management of interaction between counsellor and client, skills in a range of therapeutic models, and sound written and oral communication skills: and
- (c) In addition to the requirements set out in paragraph (b) of this subclause, has not less than one year's work experience in counselling which has been supervised by an organisation approved by the committee for that purpose; and
- (d) Has an understanding of cultural values, which includes a basic understanding of the Maori and Pacific Island cultures including their attitudes to and beliefs in holistic wellbeing, social structures, and family and social interactions, knowledge and attitudes to the physical body, local Kaumatua and Kuia, or appropriate elders able to support work in sexual abuse counselling: and
- (e) Has an understanding of gender issues which includes a basic knowledge and understanding of the social context of sexual abuse, gender and power issues, male and female relationships issues, how to counter societal misconceptions

about sexual abuse, and the effects of sexual abuse on the victim: and

(f) Is a member of an organisation that has currently satisfied the committee that it has an appropriate code of ethics, complaints procedure, disciplinary procedures, continuing education, peer supervision, and professional development programmes for its members.

(2) For the purposes of subclause (1) of this regulation:

"Course or courses of education" means a course provided-

- (a) Through a university, technical institute, teachers' training college, or community college: or
- (b) As part of the education or training of a registered health professional: or
- (c) As part of a course of education or training approved by the New Zealand Qualifications Authority:

"Supervised practical experience" means experience gained through at least 240 hours of practical experience, of which at least 40 hours have been in respect of persons suffering personal injury as a result of an offence listed in the First Schedule to the Act, which practical experience has been supervised by an organisation currently approved by the committee for that purpose.

(3) The committee shall keep a register of all persons approved as a counsellor under these regulations.

(4) The committee shall not approve as a counsellor any person:

- (a) Who has been convicted of any offence specified in the First Schedule of the Act or a similar offence in any other jurisdiction; or
- (b) To whom paragraph (a) of this subclause does not apply, but who has been convicted of an offence against any of sections 124 to 210 of the Crimes Act 1961 or a similar offence in any other jurisdiction within the previous 5 years, or has been released from any penal institution upon completion of the custodial portion of a sentence in respect of any such offence within the previous 5 years.

(5) No approval as a counsellor under these regulations shall be an endorsement by the committee of the competency to provide counselling of the person so approved.

21. Cancellation of approval

1) The committee shall cancel the approval as a counsellor of a person under regulation 20 of these regulations and remove that person from the register, if:

- a) It is satisfied that the information given to support an application for approval as specified in regulation 20(1) of these regulations was false or misleading and that information was material to the decision of the Corporation: or
- (b) The committee becomes aware that the counsellor has been convicted of any offence specified in the First Schedule of the Act or a similar offence in any other jurisdiction, or
- (c) The committee becomes aware that the counsellor has been convicted of an offence against any of the sections 124 to 210 of the Crimes Act 1961 (or a

similar offence in any other jurisdiction) within the previous 5 years, or has been released from any penal institution upon the completion of the custodial portion of a sentence in respect on any such offence within the previous 5 years: or

(d) The committee becomes aware that the counsellor no longer belongs to an organisation which the committee is satisfied has an appropriate code of ethics, complaints procedure, disciplinary procedures, continuing education, peer supervision, and professional development programmes for its members: or

(e) A person approved as a counsellor holds out that such approval signifies competence as a counsellor.