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The individual Child'  
A Study of the development of social services in education in relation to the first Labour Governments educational policy.  

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A thesis submitted for the degree of  
B.A. Honours  
at the University of Otago, Dunedin,  
New Zealand.  

1st October 1987
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank all those people who allowed me to interview them. Their assistance was invaluable into giving an insight into the period I studied. Above all I would like to thank C.E. Beeby, to whom this work owes a considerable debt. Special acknowledgement must go to Vera Hayward who kindly allowed me to borrow a photograph of her.

I would also like to acknowledge the assistance which the staff of the Hocken Library and National Archives extended to me. My particular thanks go to David MacDonald, Peter Miller, Beverly Booth, and Annette McFadgan from the Hocken Library.

Above all I would like to thank my supervisor Dr Dorothy Page for her patient reading of my first draft, and my typist Lynne Campbell for her patient reading of an untidy manuscript.

*************************
The subject of this study is the effect which the policy of the individual child, as expressed by the Labour Government in 1939, had on the development of social services in education. This development was examined chiefly from 1935-1948, but the requirements of the study meant that the inclusion of material from outside this time period was necessary. Social services have been interpreted to mean those services which developed to cater for the emotional and physical well being of a child. The emphasis of this study is on the services which developed in the context of the primary and secondary school systems: health services in schools, Vocational guidance and careers advisory service, the Visiting Teachers service, and lastly the Psychological service. Since the Child Welfare Division of the Department of Education comes outside this definition, it is not specifically included in this study.

A variety of primary sources form the basis of this work. The Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives proved a valuable source, and gave the basic facts of the development of social services in education. The substance of my essay was largely derived from the Education and Health Department files at National Archives in Wellington. Examination of these files was time consuming due to the large volume of material which had to be sifted through. This effort was amply rewarded by the insights gained into the inner workings of the services, the problems, personalities, and developments. Letters from the public included in these files also gave an account of how the community viewed these changes.

Some of the material in Chapter IV was based on an oral history exercise on the development of the Visiting Teachers Service in Otago, which I researched in 1986. I placed great importance on my interview with Dr C.E. Beeby, and on his article in the Listener because he was Director of Education at the time. His contribution to the development of social services in education was decisive. Allowance had to be made for a natural bias, but he gave an insight into the changes in education, and contributed a sense of the personalities of the time.
Some secondary sources were very useful in checking information. *Education Today and Tomorrow* provided a clear statement of the Labour Government's policy on education. Ralph Winterbourn's *Guidance Services in New Zealand Education* was a good reference book, since he was another important personality in education during this period.

The development of the policy of the 'individual child' was extremely important since it set the theoretical basis in education until the present day. In 1986 Dr C.E. Beeby wrote "For me, the most important discovery in education over this century has been the discovery by the school system of the individual child".1

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1 C.E. Beeby, 'The place of myth in educational change', *Listener*, Nov. 8-14, 1986, p.54.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.J.H.R. Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives

D.V.G.O. District Vocational Guidance Officer

N.E.F. New Education Fellowship

N.Z.V.G.A. New Zealand Vocational Guidance Association

Y.M.C.A. Young Men's Christian Association

Y.W.C.A. Young Women's Christian Association


N.Z.E.I. New Zealand Educational Institute

V.G.C. Vocational Guidance Centre
The development of the Labour Party's educational policy of the individual child.

In the Education report for 1939 Peter Fraser, the first Labour Minister of education, announced the policy of the individual child, which was to be the theoretical basis for the educational reforms being implemented by his government. The theory acted as a unifying force, giving a direction for these reforms. This often quoted statement became the blueprint for education in New Zealand.

The Government's objective, broadly expressed, is that every person, whatever his level of academic ability, whether he live in town or country, has a right as a citizen to a free education of the kind for which he is best fitted, and to the fullest extent of his powers.\(^1\)

Education was to change radically from what Peter Fraser described as a:

..School system, constructed originally on a basis of selection and privilege, to a truly democratic form, where it can cater for the needs of the whole population over as long a period of their lives as possible.\(^2\)

The government's intention was to provide a system which would meet the diverse needs of every child.

This work will examine the significance of this policy in relation to three questions. The first part will deal with two questions. Firstly, how radical was the change in direction of the Labour Government's education policy? How and from what sources did the policy evolve? The remainder of the work will examine what effect the policy of the individual child had on the development of social services in education. Each of the main social services which developed will be considered individually, in reference to this question.
Firstly, how radical was this change in education policy? In the period of the early twentieth century there had been a steady process of change in educational theory and practice. This change occurred throughout the Western world. Teachers and administrators began to shift from the idea of the highly competitive, narrowly academic and standardised system of the nineteenth century. C.E. Beeby summed up the assumptions of this period of education as in the concept of 'survival of the fittest'. A National Education article in November 1935, described this shift in attitudes in New Zealand education.

The past fifty years or so have seen the growth of a new outlook in education. ... the principles of the new movement are that education should be based on the child's own interests and activities; more flexible teaching methods, to meet individual needs, more practical work and the unnatural isolation of the school from the world outside should be changed.

This article shows that the appreciation of the need to cater for the individual had gradually developed.

Before the Labour government's reforms of 1935, two major periods of educational reform developed equality in education. The first major development was the establishment of a national system of education by the Education Act of 1877. In this Act, the basic principles of New Zealand education as free, secular, and compulsory at primary level, were established. By the end of the nineteenth century the basic structure of a centralised nationwide system of education was established. In 1899 under the Liberal government a second period of reform began under the direction of the new Inspector General of Education, George Hogben. Under his aegis, the autonomy and power of the Education Department was firmly established.

The reformed Education Department began the process of democratizing education. Among other reforms the government introduced a system of free places in secondary schools for children, who while they
reached the required academic standard were prohibited from attending because of their financial situation 7. Under Hogben some of the feeling for the individual in education was introduced.

Did the period of reform under the Labour Government mark a significant change in the direction of education? Obviously there was a certain degree of continuity. Studies on the development of the Labour Party's education policy have argued that the policy of the government was not new or radical. The Labour Party's election policy on education was a humanitarian and pragmatic response to the problems in education caused by the depression. 8

While the education policy of the Labour Government can be described as humanitarian and pragmatic it will be argued that a genuine change of direction in education was introduced after 1935. This change was in the spirit, not the essential structure of education. The Labour government encouraged the centralised tendencies of the education system, developing the authority of the already powerful state which was a particular feature of the New Zealand system. Their stance was not contradictory, rather the concept of using the state as a means of instituting change derived from the Labour Party's socialist roots. 9

Originally the Labour Party's education policy in 1935 consisted of a series of points which while concurring with their egalitarian ideas was largely a response to the stagnation which the depression had imposed on education. Under the Reform Government previous advances in education were eroded. Their extension of the policies of retrenchment to education included such measures as: prohibiting five year olds from entering school, forcing married women teachers to resign, and closing the training colleges. Labour energetically opposed these cuts in education. Mrs E.R. McCombs, the first woman member of the House, made her maiden speech in 1933 on the situation in education, and dedicated herself to oppose the legislation concerning women teachers. 10
The education policy in the manifesto reflected these concerns. Peter Fraser and Walter Nash were responsible for the development of this policy and it was written with the assistance of F.L. Combs and A.E. Campbell, the editor of *National Education*. The main points of the manifesto are as follows:

1. The readmission of the five year olds to public schools, and the extension of Kindergarten training.

2. The extension of Teacher training facilities to provide the necessary staff for smaller classes.

3. The rebuilding and reconditioning of old and unhygienic buildings.

4. More liberal supplies of equipment including adequate library facilities.

5. The extension of dental treatment to all school children.

6. Standard rates of pay for all teachers now serving under the rationing scheme.

7. Right of appeal against non appointment.

8. Improvement of the standard of teachers' residences.

These points were based on the egalitarian notions which had been present in the Labour Party since its inception. For instance, the Labour Manifesto of 1922 emphasized that free education meant the 'removal of every barrier which prevents the children of all workers, taking advantage of educational facilities from kindergarten to University'. Frasers statement in 1939 owed much to the current of these ideas in the party but was moulded by other sources. It was this statement which resulted in the new direction of education after 1935.

When the theory of the individual child was introduced in education it gave coherence and purpose of what would otherwise have been a hotchpotch of reforms. Even the governments reversal of the policies of retrenchment could be unified under this banner.
The government poured more money into education, expenditure increased from £2,929,606 on 31 March 1935 to £4,032,266, by the 31 March 1937. This provided a practical base for the government's policies, and by 1939, the Teachers Colleges had reopened, the bar against married women teachers was dropped, and five year olds were again admitted to schools.

The theory of the individual child did not develop with the first Labour government, nor was it confined to New Zealand. But the importance which the Government placed on this policy was unique. C.E. Beeby, Director of Education from 1940-1960 helped formulate this policy and he described Fraser's statement as the 'first time any government had put the individual bang in the centre of its educational policy, and committed itself unreservedly to equality of education for all'. The adoption of this policy by the Labour Party made possible the crystallisation of the theory and its practical application in New Zealand education.

Clearly, the policy of the individual child did result in a new direction for education in New Zealand. But how did this policy develop? Fraser's dynamic leadership was very important in the development of Labour's educational policy. His interest in education was intense, perhaps because he was almost entirely self-educated, having left school at the age of eleven. He believed that the working classes had been disadvantaged in the education system, and this fuelled his desire for reform. He claimed that 'it was turning out young people in job lots from the same mould, ignoring natural talents and the road to individualism'. These factors meant that the ideas which had developed about the education of the whole child had a natural appeal to him.

The theory of the individual child developed in England around the time of the first World War. Its development arose because of a sense of guilt for the suffering of young people as the result of war. In 1921 the idea was introduced to New Zealand by
James Shelley, as he took up his post as Professor of Education at Canterbury University. Shelley believed firmly in the worth of each individual, and this had a great impact on his students and colleagues, including C.E. Beeby.

'Shelley's plea for more care for the individual child moved his students profoundly and gave us a new vision of the craft we had chosen. And this superb oratory spread the idea of the individual child into the community.'

The idea of the individual child spread slowly and had to contend with the old entrenched ideas of inequality. In 1933 a report from the Wellington Chamber of Commerce reveals the kind of attitude which the Labour Government had to fight against.

...the children of unenlightened parents would not gain benefit from a longer period at school and it is a matter for serious consideration whether, having passed the fourth standard, children of but moderate mental development should not be definitely prepared for the type of work for which their mental capacity and natural ability makes them best suited...
It is a matter for consideration whether the view should not be placed before boys that the unskilled labourer is not entitled under natural law or under the principles of justice to the luxuries of life, but to little more than the basic necessities.

This attitude was partially eroded in the community by the recognition of injustice which was one of the legacies of the depression.

Both Labour Ministers of education, Fraser from 1935-1940 and his successor H.G.R. Mason believed firmly in the ideal of the whole child. Fraser recognised that the ideal of the individual would be the best means of achieving the equality of opportunity so central to Labours philosophy. He formulated this policy with
DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION.

Dr. C. E. Beeby.

Dr. C. E. Beeby, who since September, 1938, has held the position of Assistant Director of Education, has now been appointed Director of Education in succession to Mr. N. T. Lambourne, L.S.O., M.A., who retired on 30th April, 1940.

Prior to his appointment as Assistant Director of Education, Dr. Beeby was Director of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research, a body founded under a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. Previously he successively occupied at Canterbury University College the positions of Lecturer in Education and Philosopher, Director of the Psychological and Educational Laboratories, and Acting Professor of Education and Acting Professor of Philosophy.

Dr. C. E. Beeby, M.A., Ph.D.

Dr. Beeby is an M.A. (New Zealand), with first-class honours in philosophy, and Ph.D. (Manchester). He has made an intensive study of the sciences of education and educational matters generally. In addition, he has published several books on education, including "The Intermediate Schools of New Zealand." He spent two years studying psychology and education in England and on the Continent. In 1931 he had some time in the schools and universities of the United States and Canada. He also has a personal knowledge of the school systems of Australia.

As Director of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research Dr. Beeby was in intimate contact with educational administrators and with teachers in schools in all branches of the system in all parts of the country, and was associated, both personally and as Director of the Council, with surveys that have been undertaken in connection with various aspects of education in New Zealand. He has been closely associated with the Workers' Educational Movement and with adult education generally.

Since Dr. Beeby joined the Department he has worked in very close association with Mr. Lambourne, and has, since the commencement of Mr. Lambourne's retiring-leave on 1st February last, occupied the position of Acting-Director.

AMENDMENTS IN ATTENDANCE REGISTERS, ETC.

Teachers are reminded that although they have old attendance registers and term returns, in which provision is made for entering totals of "excepted half-days," it is not now necessary to make these entries. The new daily attendance register requires the following totals, &c., at the foot of the page:

(i) Daily attendances in morning.
(ii) Weekly totals.
(iii) Number of times school has been open.
(iv) Average attendance obtained by dividing (ii) by (iii).
(v) Weekly roll number.

It will be seen, therefore, that entries opposite (iv) and (v) at the foot of the page in the old daily attendance register need not now be made nor are red lines to be drawn round numbers for excepted half-days as mentioned in (i). Average attendance in the old register is now obtained by dividing (ii) by (iii) and not by dividing (iv) by (v).

At the foot of the page of the summary of weekly attendance register no entries need now be made opposite "Weekly totals: omitting attendances of excepted half-days" and "Number of times open, omitting excepted half-days." The average attendance is now obtained by dividing the weekly totals of attendances on all half-days by the number of times the school was open on all half-days.

In the case of the A5 term return of attendance, line (vi) should read "Total attendances for term" and line (vii) "Number of times the school has been open during the term," and the necessary entries made accordingly.

These amendments apply to all schools (including private schools) that keep the above-mentioned registers.

Maori Music for Schools.

ALBUMS OF MAORI SONGS.

FAMOUS MAORI SONGS.

TEN MAORI SONGS. Arr. Piripata... 3/-
WAIAKA POI TE WI MAORI (Songs of the Maori People). Arr. Piripata... 3/-
SONGS OF THE MAORI. Collected and arr. Alfred Hill... 3/-

MAORI SONGS.

E PARI RA. Arr. Lowe... 2/-
GOD PENDEN NEW ZEALAND. (N.Z. National Song, with Maori words)... 2/-
HAERE TONU. Home... 2/-
HAERE RA. Kaikoo... 2/-
HOME LITTLE MAORI HOME. Alfred Hill... 2/6
KARO (Poi Song). Tamati-Hamapere... 2/-
MAORI SLUMBER SONG. Princess Te Rangi Pai... 2/6
MAORI LULLABY. (E moe e moe). Alfred Hill... 2/-
MAORI SONGS. Set 1. (Piripata and Hoa R.) Arr. Piripata... 2/-
PAKEKAREKE. Arr. Alfred Hill... 2/-
SHADOWS OF EVENING. (E moe te ra). Kaikoo... 2/-
TWO MAORI SONGS. Set 1. (Piripata and Hoa R.) Arr. Piripata... 2/-
TWO MAORI SONGS. Set 2. (Tahi Nei Teru Kino and E Huia Nei) Arr. Piripata... 2/-
TWO MAORI SONGS. Set 3. (E Kere Tuku Poi and Haere Ra) Arr. Piripata... 2/-
WAIAKA MAORI. Alfred Hill... 2/6
WAIAKA POI. Alfred Hill... 2/-
WHISPER OF HEAVEN. Kaikoo... 2/-
the newly appointed Assistant Director of Education, Dr C.E. Beeby who had been a disciple and colleague of Shelley. This was a radical move as Fraser went over the heads of Department regulars 'among whom promotion by seniority was the hoary rule and appointed Beeby Assistant Director of Education with the right of succession to the Directorate'. The appointment of C.E. Beeby was crucial to the development of education in New Zealand. His dynamic leadership introduced one of the most exciting periods of educational reform in New Zealand's history. He had previously been a lecturer at Canterbury, and from 1934-38 he was the Director of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research. During these years he developed a particular interest in guidance services, an interest which was vital to the development of social services in education.

Beeby agreed that the best method of achieving equality of opportunity was to broaden the school curriculum and to change the rigid examination structure so that school achievements were 'measured by something more than pen-and-paper examinations'. The idea of the whole child merged with the notion of equality of opportunity to create what C.E. Beeby called an 'educational myth.' He defined this as 'a form of communication which expresses in reasonably simple terms, relations between ideas and events that aren't completely understood and whose outcomes can't be fully foreseen... and it gives a sense of direction rather than absolute goals'.

The education of the whole child which had lacked sufficient popular appeal to come to power by itself rode in on the back of the third myth (the individual child) which had all the pent-up feelings of the Depression behind it. The two myths fused to become a powerful force in education for 30 years or more.

Fraser and Beeby saw this theory as the basis for their expansion of education. They developed a three part programme through which to achieve their aims. Some external examinations in schools were to be abolished. The Proficiency Examination had been removed by Peter Fraser in 1936, removing the last obstacle to

equality of opportunity in education. Children could now go on to post-primary education without having to pass this rigid examination. Another result of this measure was the freeing up of the primary school curriculum, a development previously impossible due to the strict requirements for the examination. This enabled Fraser to achieve another of his aims: the introduction of more creative input by teachers. With Beeby's help, he formulated a policy which would change the secondary school system. Accrediting for University Entrance was introduced in 1946, and the School Certificate Examination was developed to provide a qualification for children who would not go on to University. Physical and cultural activities were introduced in the Core curriculum, and made a pre-requisite for those intending to sit School Certificate. This restructuring of the examination system provided the basis for the expansion of the curriculum in primary and secondary schools.

One interesting result of this expansion of the curriculum in secondary schools, was the inclusion of 'Home life courses' as an option for School Certificate. This put sex differentiation in the curriculum on an equal basis. Though this can be seen as a contradiction in the idea of equality of opportunity it was not viewed as such at the time. 'Where girls took different subjects from boys the schools were seen as providing them with comparable if not equal opportunities'.

The final part of the Labour Government's plan for equality was the introduction of special provisions for disadvantaged pupils. Country children, the Maori people, the handicapped, those with special difficulties in basic subjects, those with problems in the home and those in need of guidance.
9.

What was the reaction among the general populace to these ideas? As has already been suggested, there was some hostile reaction particularly from the Chambers of Commerce and the Universities who feared a drop in their standards. The sense of the injustices of the depression made people more amenable to the idea of equality. Teachers seem to have supported the ideas, especially when the Proficiency examination was abolished. At the Conference of Inspectors of Schools in 1938, the abolition of the proficiency examination was greeted with enthusiasm. One inspector said 'he was definitely of the opinion that the children were happier in the primary schools than they had ever been since he knew them'.

The New Zealand Fellowship Conference held in New Zealand in 1937 reinforced the changes in education, which had taken place under the Labour Government.

An international N.E.F. conference was held in Australia that year and the N.E.F. in New Zealand requested that some of the speakers stop over in New Zealand and address meetings in the main centres. Peter Fraser strongly supported the conference, and arranged for the government to give financial support. As well as supplying the transport for delegates the government announced that all schools would be closed during the week in July the conference was held. The May vacation would be reduced to one week. The conference was announced as an event of unique educational importance, and every effort was made to allow teachers to attend. The government saw the conference as a wonderful opportunity for new educational ideas to be introduced to teachers.

Their efforts were amply rewarded by the huge success of the conference. "Never before in the history of the Dominion had audiences of the numbers and enthusiasm assembled to listen to discussions on educational topics." Interest was high in all
main centres as the figures for attendance show.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td>1,787</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wellington</td>
<td>1,598</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>1,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otago</td>
<td>1,098</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>5,883</strong></td>
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The influence of the conference was extended beyond these numbers, by the extensive reporting of events in newspapers, and by talks broadcast on the radio. Such was the success of the conference that its entire proceedings were published in 1938, in *Modern Trends in Education*.

Many of the speakers discussed new educational theories which stressed the importance of the individual. Constant references were made by European speakers to fascist countries which were using education to consolidate their power, through the ruthless repression of individuals. Rektor Laurin Zilliacus from Austria gave a lecture on Education for Citizenship in Secondary Schools.

If we go into the schools of one of the countries under a dictatorship, Germany for example, we find the old idea of catering for the individual, of giving scope for the flowering of personality, entirely swept away.41

This theme developed greater importance as the threat of fascism grew. In a speech by J.A. Hanan, Chancellor of the University of New Zealand, this concern for the fragility of democratic education was emphasised.

Without doubt the grave issue that is now challenging civilisation is democracy versus dictatorship. It is on the people as a whole that the responsibility finally rests, to provide an adequate system of education designed to attain that object ... to fortify the democratic system against perils to come.42
The threat of fascism intensified the importance of the individual child in education, and this was acknowledged by H.G.R. Mason. In his first report as Minister of Education in 1940 he stressed the idea of democracy in education. Children must 'develop a passionate belief in the fundamental human values for which democracy stands.' His statement showed an awareness of the contradiction inherent in this approach.

The greatest problem facing every democratic country was 'How to achieve this more fully without resorting to the methods used in the totalitarian states.' This argument could also be a two-edged sword and accusations of fascism were levelled against the government as well. There were fears that the government was trying to transmit socialist doctrines to children.

By 1944 the voices against the new education had become increasingly vociferous. Mason had the idea of holding a national conference on education to explain the government's policies and bring the criticism out into the open. Beeby and Mason prepared a book, *Education Today and Tomorrow* which was a manifesto of the government's educational policy. The conference proved a success and helped to forestall criticism of the government's educational policies.

Mason reinforced the principles which Peter Fraser expressed in 1939, and gave a summary of the effects these principles would have on education. The acceptance of the principle of the individual would involve the reorientation of the education system, from a system based on the principle of selection to the principles of equality. 'The present Government was the first to recognise explicitly that continued education was no longer a special privilege ... but a right to be claimed by all who wanted it to the fullest extent that the state could provide.'

The adoption of the principle of the individual child, had implications beyond the mere widening of the curriculum. It meant the ending of the isolation of the school from the community.
For the first time it was necessary to consider the home environment as important to the wellbeing of the child. Mason carefully emphasized that they were not trying to erode the autonomy of the home, but were acting out of a concern for children.\(^\text{47}\) This change in attitude had a vital impact on the development of social services in education.

The growing recognition of the individual meant that for the first time real 'understanding was given to the differences between children',

\[\ldots\text{there is at least full recognition of the fact that all children are not alike, that some can go further and faster than others, that lack of academic ability may be compensated by some other kind of ability.}\]  

Recognition of this principle resulted in great expansion in special education, as provision was made for children previously outside the education system.

The ramifications of the change in educational policy were immense. For the first time teachers were required to look outside the school situation, and consider all 'aspects of a child's life'. The most important recognition was that equality of opportunity could not be achieved by access to education alone. This recognition led to the development of a range of services which dealt with a child's mental and physical well being. Education services were also expanded to cater for those below and beyond the limits of compulsory schooling.\(^\text{49}\)

The following chapters will examine the development of services dealing with the emotional and physical well being of children. To some extent it is correct that some change in the school system was inevitable. Even before the Labour Government freed up the
education system, there was a steady increase in the numbers of children going on to secondary schools. Therefore it shall be argued that the form these changes took was crucial.

One caution which must be sounded is that the Labour Government's attempt to transform education was severely limited by two problems. Many of the reforms were necessary to make up for state of statis in education caused by the retrenchment policies of the Depression. The war also hindered some of the impetus in education. Then in the late forties the government was faced with increased numbers of pupils who had to be serviced by limited staff who had come from the low birth years of the depression.

Thus it is important to see these ideas in the context of the time, just as the ideal of the individual child gained credence from the depression and the war so these factors also acted as constraints. There was always a large gap between the ideal and the actual result.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I


2. ibid. p.3.


5. J.C. Dakin, Education in New Zealand, p.21.

6. George Hogben, was born in Islington, London in 1885. He graduated with a M.A. at Cambridge in 1881. On moving to New Zealand he taught for a number of years in Canterbury. In 1899 he became Inspector of Schools, a position which he held until his retirement in 1915. Source: Fifty years of National Education in New Zealand.


11. ibid. p.97.

12. The rationing scheme was introduced by the government to combat unemployment among teachers. Unemployed teachers were given relief work for one or two terms. Source: V. Hayward, Interview, Dunedin, 21 September 1987.


14. ibid. p. 58.

16. C.E. Beeby, 'The place of myth in educational change', Listener, p. 54.


18. Peter Fraser was born in Scotland of artisan parents. He received education at village and night schools and served an apprenticeship as a carpenter. On arrival in N.Z. in 1910 he was employed as a labourer and waterside worker. He rapidly became an important figure in the Labour movement becoming President at the General Labourers Union, and Secretary of the N.Z.L.P. In 1918 he first won a seat in Parliament, and following 1918 he held all offices in the Labour Party including deputy leader of the Labour Party in 1933. From 1935 to 1940 he was Minister of Education and Public Health, then in 1940 he became Prime Minister on the death of M.J. Savage.

While Prime Minister he held the offices of Minister of Internal Affairs, Legislative Policy 40-49, Island Territories 43-49, and Maori Affairs 40-49.


20. C.E. Beeby, Interview.

21. Professor James Shelley was born in Coventry in September 1884. After some years at teaching he was appointed lecturer in Education at Manchester University in 1910. He served in the R.F.A., as second lieutenant and then became Chief Instructor at the War Office. In 1914 he became Professor of Education at the University College of Southampton. In 1920 he moved to N.Z. and became Professor of Education at Canterbury University. In 1936 he was appointed Director of Broadcasting by the Labour Government. Source: Who's Who, Wellington, 1941.
22. C.E. Beeby, 'The place of myth in educational change', *Listener*, p. 54.
23. Ibid.
24. C.E. Beeby, Interview.
26. Clarence Edward Beeby was born in Leeds, England in 1902. He was educated in England, and received an M.A. (first class Philosophy) at London University, then a Ph.D. at Manchester University. On arrival in New Zealand he was appointed Lecturer in philosophy and education at Canterbury University, a position he held from 1923 - 1934. From 1944 - 1938 he was Director of the N.Z.C.E.R. where he became involved in the W.E.A. and adult education. In 1938 he was appointed assistant director of education, and became the Director from 1940 - 1960. In 1946 he was also given the position of Assistant Director of General of UNESCO, at the UNESCO conference in Paris, Mexico. In 1960 he was appointed N.Z. Ambassador to France. Source: *Who's Who*, 1961.
27. C.E. Beeby, 'The Place of myth in educational change', p.55.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid.
34. C.E. Beeby, 'The place of myth in educational change', p.55.
35. C.E. Beeby, Interview.

38. ibid, p. xii.

39. ibid.

40. ibid.


43. A.J.H.R., E-1, 1940, p.5.

Henry Greathead Rex Mason was born in Wellington in 1885. He graduated M.A. and LLB, and became a barrister in 1923. In 1921 he rose to the position of National President of the N.Z. Labour Party. During the term of the first Labour Government he was Attorney General and Minister of Justice, and became Minister of Education from 1940-47. During the period of the second Labour Government he was Minister of Health.

44. A.J.H.R., E-1, 1940.

45. C.E. Beeby, Interview.


47. ibid, pp. 9-10.

48. ibid.

The Development of Health Services in Schools.

Concern for the individual child had become the centre of the Labour Government's educational policies. Important implications resulted from the adoption of this policy. It was no longer possible to consider the child at school in total isolation from their environment. In this section it will be argued that recognition of the needs of the whole child meant the Education system had to consider the physical and emotional, as well as educational aspects of children. This recognition led to the introduction of services to cater for these aspects. In this section the particular provisions which were introduced to deal with the physical well being of children will be considered.

Peter Fraser, as Minister for Education and Health, introduced a three part strategy to cater for the physical needs of children. Existing forms of health care were expanded, and new forms introduced. The medium for this expansion of health care was the school. The first two parts of this strategy were the expansion of medical inspection of schools, and increased provision of dental care in schools. These services had suffered greatly from the retrenchment policies of the Depression, but revived under the invigorating policies of the Labour Government. Increased emphasis was placed on preventive care, and the third part of the Labour Government's strategy was to introduce supplements to the home diet.
Part One: Medical Inspection of Schools

Medical inspection of state schools had begun during the second period of reform in New Zealand education. Under George Hogben, the Inspector general of Schools, the school Medical Service was introduced. In 1912 four women doctors were appointed, one in each of the four main centres. It is not clear why only women were appointed, but it seems to have been assumed that they possessed a natural affinity with this kind of work. Working with the health of children could be seen as a natural extension of their domestic role.

The aim of the School Medical Service was to monitor the health of school children. In the beginning, the smallness of the service proved a severe limitation on its effectiveness. Dr Elizabeth Gunn, later the Director of School Hygiene, was stationed in Wellington, and had under her jurisdiction Wellington, Wanganui, Taranaki, Hawkes Bay, Nelson and Marlborough. This huge area meant she had to carry out an exhausting schedule, spending most of her year on the road, with a month allocated to each district. Since it was impossible to visit every school routine examinations were confined to standard II Classes in larger schools.

With the appointment of seven school nurses in 1916, the service was expanded. One nurse accompanied Elizabeth Gunn, assisting with examinations, and after school visited the parents of children with defects. In 1917 the service was further expanded as three extra doctors, and a further three nurses were appointed. These appointments meant that the area which the doctors were forced to cover contracted.

In 1920 the control of the School Medical Service was transferred from the Education Department to the Health Department. The staff was increased to thirteen medical officers, and twenty-seven
nurses, enabling the routine examination of school children to be extended to new entrants and Standard IV. This reduced the size of the districts which the school medical officers had to cover, with a resultant increase in the effectiveness of the service.

The Depression had a demoralizing effect on the School Medical Services, and by 1935 it was facing grave problems. These were highlighted in the Report on the Reorganization of the New Zealand Primary Education System. The Report suggested that the effectiveness of the service was impaired because of a lack of adequate "follow-up", and made recommendations for improvement. Most important was that follow-up treatment of children for defects diagnosed by school medical officers should be provided, with treatment to be compulsory. The School Medical Service was felt to be crucial in an era, where the Depression had adversely effected the health of many school children.

The Labour Government acknowledged this concern for the health of school children, and began extending the medical services. They took over a private initiative of Dr Elizabeth Gunn who had first introduced health camps in Wanganui in 1917. A National Federation of Health Camps was established under Ada Paterson, Director of the Division of School Hygiene. By May 1938 four additional School Medical Services Officers were appointed, along with five extra school nurses. Twelve extra District Nurses with some responsibility for school work were also appointed. Though this response was essential, the introduction of extra officers, was not in itself adequate.

The government recognised that change in policy was necessary if the School Medical Service was to become more effective so in 1937 an experimental programme was introduced in Wellington, Hawkes Bay, Wanganui and Nelson where more intensive school work was to be carried out. This programme was put under the control of Dr F.S. McLean, the Medical Officer of Health, Wellington.
In an article in the Dominion she said that school work should be brought into closer touch with general health activities. She emphasized the problems which the Depression had caused school children. 'During the depression the floor space of 12 square feet for each child was lowered to 10 square feet and the standard size of classrooms was also cut down! It was believed that this overcrowding, along with poorer nutrition of the Depression years had a detrimental impact on the health of children.

This growing concern for children's health led to a change of emphasis in health services. The government attempted to improve the physical surroundings at school by building lighter, airier classrooms, while the School Medical Service began to place greater emphasis on liaison with the home. Dr Ada Paterson, Director of School Hygiene wrote:

> Enough has been said to show that the problem of nutrition has a definite educational aspect and to indicate the necessity for a health scheme which permits close contact with the homes of children.

Basic forms of health care, such as attempts to instil the elements of a balanced diet into parents, were to be emphasized. District Health Nurses were to utilize the services of organisations like the Women's Institutes and the Women's Division of the Farmers Union. These organisations were believed to be a useful medium for the 'dissemination of advice such as the composition of an adequate packed school lunch'. This close involvement between community and the schools had always been a feature of Maori schools. It can be seen as part of a gradual movement which was transforming schools into more community oriented structures.

1937 marked a turning point in the development of the School Medical Services. The attempts to combat the inadequacies of the service had shown that the major problem was policy, not inadequate staffing.
The initiatives previously described show a determination to move away from a mechanical attitude to health care. This attitude can be summed up by the phrase 'prevention of disease'. The service had been angled towards detection of defects. Dr McLean complained that in the School Medical Service too much stress was placed on the routine examination of large numbers of school children.

The average number of complete examinations ranges from 51,582 in 1934 to 67,709 in 1929. The total number of primary pupils is approximately 240,000.

Catherine O'Brien, in a recent article on the School Medical Service (Irish Medical Journal) states "The main object of the School Medical Service is not to find defects and treat them, but to keep all children fit and well and ensure that they leave school with a sound knowledge of healthy living." 12

The large numbers of children examined meant that the examinations were very superficial. Moreover the sheer volume of cases meant that the figures were often inaccurate. In 1938 Mr H. Watt, Director General of Health was shocked to find how inadequate these figures were. 'I found that little care is exercised in the preparations of these returns (School Medical examinations) and that they are full of inaccuracies.' 13

In spite of the effort spent on examination of large numbers of school children, some schools were never visited. A letter from the Pongahawa Valley School complained that since its opening in 1933 it had 'NEVER had a visit from a school doctor or nurse'. This was especially grievous 'since schools in the centres have Doctors, hospitals etc at their front doors.' The children in the isolated districts should receive more attention than they are getting. 14

These problems coincided in 1938 with an alarm about the worsening health of children especially in country districts. The Health Department summing up of 1938 declared that year to be 'one of the
worst years ever experienced in New Zealand for school attendance. The rate of subnormal nutrition, which had shown an improvement worsened again in 1938'. In country areas especially in the North Island the rate was even worse. "There is still too large a percentage of Auckland children having a diet containing excess carbohydrates, partial deficiency vitamins, stated Dr Mary Wilson of Christchurch.'15

By 1940 these concerns spurred the Government into formulating a new system of health care on schools. The emphasis was shifted from a disease oriented to a health oriented system. The experimental work carried out in 1937 became the basis for this realignment. Dr Turbett decided to introduce 'a wider definition of the role of inspection ... in an endeavour to bring all children within the net of health supervision'.16 The division of School Hygiene was reorganised so it could more effectively carry out the comprehensive programme which was envisaged.

City and large country schools were to be visited annually and a routine examination made of the Entrants, Standard II and Standard VI. Examination of special cases would be made at the request of the teacher, parent or district nurse. Every three years all pupils at small country schools were to be examined. Annual medical inspection was extended to kindergartens and parents were required to be present during the examination. The same routine of inspection was to be applied to Native Schools and Native secondary schools were to be examined annually. It was hoped to improve the quality of examinations by making sure that adequate follow up was carried out by District Nurses. A provision was introduced that the aid of the Child Welfare Department would be enlisted in the case of parents who persistently refused the necessary treatment.17

This extended programme of curative medicine was to be combined with a preventive programme which included immunisation of school children, milk in schools, health camps, dental treatment, and lastly health education for school and pre-school children.
The Education Department also introduced a wider systematic training of teachers in preventive medicine and personal hygiene in the training colleges. In November 1940 a new definition of medical inspection in schools was announced.

The purpose of the medical inspection is to detect any defects or diseases of body or mind, or any departures from normal health and growth. At the actual medical examination; parents are not only given verbal advice, but wherever possible pamphlets or booklets on the subject at issue are handed to the parent. 18

Though the detection of defects was still an important part of the School Medical Service, their role was extended to include preventive aspects of care. They would be responsible for the regulation of the school environment, and the dissemination of advice on nutrition. There was provision made for continued contact between the health services and schools, through the District Nurse, who was required to visit the school every month. This role combined with the introduction of the preventive measures already outlined, made the School Medical Service a more comprehensive and effective organisation.

Part Two: The extension of Dental Services in Schools

The extension of dental treatment to all school children was part of the Labour Party's education policy in 1935. It was intended as an important part of the strategy to improve the health of children in New Zealand. The School Dental Service had been introduced before 1935 but was limited to primary schools, and was only partly funded by the government. Peter Fraser was dismayed at the state of the service in 1935, which had suffered greatly from the cutbacks of the Depression years. A subsidy scheme which contributed two thirds of the cost of Dental Clinics had been cut in 1931 resulting in no new clinics being built. Only thirty nurses had been admitted to the Dental Clinic, a number 'barely sufficient to maintain the service at its existing strength'. 1
The government's immediate response was to increase expenditure in an attempt to raise the level of staffing. By 1937 the number of nurses had risen to seventy-five, enabling the establishment of twenty new clinics in areas previously unserviced. This horizontal expansion was the first step in achieving the government's aim of extending dental services to all school children.

The huge task which the government took could only be accomplished gradually. Free dental services could not be immediately implemented. The government reintroduced the subsidy scheme which had been cut in 1931. Local people were to form committees to raise a third of the cost of a dental clinic. Peter Fraser said:

If the service were provided entirely free the demand would be so great that it would make the whole thing impossible. At least it was some guide as to where the need was and whether the people were sufficiently enthusiastic to do something for themselves.  

In reality, of course, this meant that wealthy areas were the most likely to raise the money for a dental clinic. The cost involved was enormous, by 1942 it was calculated that the total cost for a one nurse clinic building was £500.

In 1937 the Government announced that a large number of dental clinics were to be erected during the next few years. These new clinics were to be built according to three main types.

Type A Clinic: A Clinic built to the Health Department's standard plan to accommodate two operators and a main treatment clinic.

Type B Clinic: A Clinic built to the Health Department's standard plan to accommodate one operator and a main treatment centre.

Type C Clinic: A simpler type of clinic specially designed for a sub base, built to the Department's standard plan to accommodate one operator.
New Dental clinic, Forbury School, Dunedin, 1938.
Source: Otago Education Board Report, 1938, opp. p. 16.
The Education Department was responsible for the building and non-technical equipment, while the Health Department supplied other equipment and provided the nurse. Each clinic was established on a ratio of one nurse to five hundred patients.\(^8\)

After 1942 the period of School Dental Care was extended from Standard IV to Standard V pupils.

Though these limits were inevitable, the system caused many injustices. In Dunedin, the committees of the Dental Clinics in South Dunedin, St Clair, and Mornington refused to allow convent school children to attend their clinics. The basis of their object was that the convent schools had not contributed towards the cost of the clinics.\(^9\) The government recognised these problems, and in December 1943 the Secretary of Treasury acknowledged that the subsidy system was retarding the establishment of Dental Clinics. It was decided that from April 1944 the School Dental Clinics would be erected free of charge.\(^10\)

Though this marked an important victory in the extension of free dental treatment to children the transition period was difficult. Bickering arose between the Health and Education Departments over which Department would pay for the service. Dr C.E. Beeby argued against assumption of responsibility by the Education Department. He pointed out to the Minister that the funds available for the erection of school buildings had been cut because of the war. He argued that the cost of this social service is not strictly a part of the Education system.\(^12\)

Eventually a compromise was reached. The government announced that the erections of buildings in approved cases would be carried out by Education Department funds, and the Health Department would supply the standard equipment free of cost to local committees. Establishment of dental clinics was to be approved by the Minister of Health. Lack of funds meant that erection of school dental clinics was given to committees which had contributed 1/3rd or a
substantial amount of the cost, irrespective of whether the centre had been included in the schedule. This division of responsibility was not greeted with enthusiasm by the Education Department. In reply to a letter of complaint over the priority policy Dr Beeby was quick to explain that the policy was formulated by the Health Department.

In spite of these problems, the Government continued its policy of gradually extending Dental Care. In 1945 the Director General of Health announced that dental care was to be extended to adolescents. Treasury estimated that about two hundred extra dental officers would be required to cater for adolescent groups in the fifteen to eighteen range. Until this staff was made available, adolescents were to be serviced by private dentists. The cost was to be covered by the Social Security fund. Staff shortages afflicted the Department in the late forties and as a result this interim measure continued. Further expansion of Dental Services was impossible and in 1953 the Department of Health was forced to arrange for large numbers of primary school children to be transferred to the care of private practitioners.

These problems had devastating results on the extension of dental services to rural areas. Both Maori and Pakeha pupils in isolated areas received little attention. The government tried to circumvent this problem by the erection of combined Medical and Dental School clinics. These were mainly introduced into Native Schools, and the Health Department hoped would thus involve parents in the provision of health care. Though these measures helped alleviate the problem, the imbalance of health care remained.


The introduction of supplements to the home diet was one of the most important parts of the policy of preventive health care. Some supplements had been previously introduced on the private initiative of teachers. An article in the Education Gazette of 1940 described
the experiment carried out by Mr and Mrs S.E. Kettlewell, at the Kaharoa Native School. Despairing at the failure of their fight against malnutrition in their pupils, they had finally introduced a nutrition programme. In the winter term, vegetable soup, and a dose of cod liver oil, was provided for their pupils on a daily basis. In 1938 an 'eat more greens' campaign was introduced, and a ration of cooked watercress given to each pupil. These measures led to a general improvement in health among the children. 1

The government could not afford to implement such extensive programmes, and introduced a more modest scheme. Milk and apples were to be provided free of charge to schools. On March 1st 1937, the milk-in-schools scheme was officially introduced. A free issue of a half pint daily ration of milk was to be given to children. Acceptance of the milk was officially made voluntary but it was calculated that about eighty-five percent of pupils accepted. Because of the problems of cost, and delivery the scheme was not intended to be extended to every school. The Education Department calculated that when the scheme was fully functioning about fifty-three percent of the school population would receive the fresh milk ration. 2 Schools which were isolated from lines of supply would receive rations of dried milk. Malted milk was to be supplied to Maori children. The Education Department hoped that the provision of free milk in schools would have an important effect on the health of school children. 3

This well-intentioned scheme faced a number of problems. Costs were increased by the necessity to supply facilities in which the milk could be stored and then distributed. Ease of distribution resulted in a greater proportion of the milk being distributed to city and town areas. In 1945 W.W. Grant of the Hokianga Hospital Board complained to the Minister of education that only ten out of the thirty-five schools in the District were receiving milk.
'My Boards Medical and District Nursing staffs have reported that the health condition of the Maori, and even the Pakeha children, in the Hokianga schools is causing anxiety, and on this account my Board instructs me to make it known that urgent consideration should be extended to the matter of providing milk in schools.  

Supplying milk to country areas was believed to be vital, especially in the case of Maori children who suffered from generally poorer nutrition.

At the time it was believed firmly that supplies of milk would have a revivifying effect on the health of school children. However the schemes popularity was not shared by school pupils. Though the scheme was voluntary many teachers compelled children to drink the milk. Personal recollections of the scheme were generally uncomplementary. Memories surfaced of being forced to drink warm chalky tasting milk.

Some teachers seemed to have shared this attitude to the provision of milk in schools. In 1947 continued criticism forced C. Robertson, Acting Director of Education, to send a circular to schools in defence of the scheme. He was forced to admit that no studies have been made in New Zealand which proved the value of the dietary supplements.

The scheme commenced with the knowledge that in spite of an abundance of milk in almost all parts of New Zealand, children were not getting in their homes the quantities of milk recommended some years ago by dietary experts of the League of Nations Committee. The experiments and experiments overseas were accepted as providing sufficient justification for the scheme, which obviously could not be managed so as to provide contemporaneous proof of its value. "While the first flush of enthusiasm for the scheme may have passed and there may not be quite as high a degree of acceptance for the pasteurised milk on the part of the children, there are no doubts held by my officers as to the worth of the scheme".
Lack of evidence makes it impossible to determine whether the scheme did have a positive effect on the health of school children. However it is clear that the majority of participants at the time believed firmly in the merits of milk as a dietary supplement.

The apples-in-schools scheme was also introduced as part of the drive towards productive health in school children. On the 18th March 1941 H.G.R. Mason, announced that the Government had approved a scheme which would distribute free apples to schools for three months in every year. Though this initiative was part of the general attempt to improve health care, the distribution of apples in schools was prompted by the immediate need to dispose of the surplus apple crop. These apples were usually exported to Great Britain but the wartime situation had meant this was impossible. This measure was highly successful, but the shortage of transport in wartime resulted in the cessation of the scheme in 1943, and it was not reinstated until 1946.

When the scheme was reintroduced milk and apples were also distributed to Kindergarten pupils. The reintroduction of the scheme after the peculiar situation of the war had changed, shows a genuine belief in the value of dietary supplements, and their contribution to the wellbeing of the whole child.

The Labour Government attempted to introduce a comprehensive preventive system of health care for children. Medical and Dental services were expanded and made freely available to greater numbers of school pupils. The emphasis of health care was shifted from the old disease-oriented system to a promotion of health. Dietary supplements were introduced in an attempt to improve the general nutrition of children. This was a major undertaking which involved the work of a number of years.

Shortage of funds and staff proved a substantial brake on the process of expansion. Much effort was expended on making up for the arrears of the Depression, and this effort was further impeded by the impact of the war. The inevitable result of these limits was an
imbalance in the distribution of health services, particularly between rural and urban areas. Often this imbalance resulted in the section of the population experiencing the worst health problems, rural Maoris, receiving the least services. The government recognised this problem, and made a particular effort to extend health services to native schools.

These limitations must be acknowledged, but the government achieved its basic aim of introducing a new system of health services in schools. What was most important was the government's acceptance of responsibility for the health and well being of children.
FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER II

Part I Medical Inspection of Schools

1. Elizabeth Gunn, Director, Division of School Hygiene to Miss M. McNab, 20th June 1939, H. 35.

2. ibid.
Dr Elizabeth Gunn, born in Dunedin, and educated at Timaru High School, and Otago Girls High School. She received her medical degree at Edinburgh University (MB.ChB), and became a school medical officer, at Wellington and Wanganui. She was Director of School Hygiene for some years until her retirement. While Medical Officer she developed school health camps. Source: Who's Who, Wellington, 1951.

3. ibid.
4. ibid.


6. Dr Ada Paterson became one of the first school medical officers in 1912, and used this position to develop her interest in community health. She was later appointed as Director of School Hygiene, where she worked energetically to build up the service. While in office she developed facilities for handicapped children and highlighted the problems of working children. Source: N.Z. Herstory, 1978.


10. Dr Ada G. Paterson, Director of School Hygiene, 'Health in N.Z. Schools, H. 35, (Filed 4 June 1937).

11. ibid.

12. Dr MacLean to Director General of Health, H. 35, 15th Dec. 1937.
14. To Hon. P. Fraser from Pongohawa Valley School, E. 35/1/37, received 4 July 1938.
17. ibid.
18. Medical Inspection of schools, H. 35, 6th Nov. 1940.

Part II The Extension of Dental Services in Schools

2. ibid.
4. A. Wellington, on 9th March, 1936, the Hon. P. Fraser, Minister of Education, was waited upon by the representatives of the Parliamentary Committee of the Federation of school Committees, H. 35 - 16th June, 1936.
6. Director Division of Dental Hygiene, Circular Memorandum for All Education Boards, E 35/1/37, 16 Nov. 1937.
11. C.E. Beeby to Minister of Education, E35/1/37, 7 Feb 1944.
12. C.E. Beeby to Minister of Education, E 35/1/37, 7th Feb. 1944.

13. C.E. Beeby, Memorandum No. 1944/18, E 35/1/37, 2nd June 1944.

14. C.E. Beeby to the Secretary, Auckland Education Board, E 35/1/37, 17th July 1944.

15. A.R.F. MacKay, Secretary to Treasury, to Minister of Finance, E 35/1/37, 18th Sept. 1945.

16. ibid.


18. Memorandum for officer in Charge, Native School Branch from J.N. Bibby, Acting Director of Division of Dental Hygiene, E 35/1/37, 29th July 1947.

Part III Supplementing the Home Diet

1. 'Supplementing the Home Diet', Education Gazette, XIX, No. 6, 1940, p. 96.


3. ibid, 1937, p. 6.


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Published by
DUNEDIN VOCATIONAL
GUIDANCE ASS'N. (Incorp.)

1941
CHAPTER III
From School To Work

The Development of Vocational Guidance in New Zealand 1935-48

Concern for the well being of the individual child led to the development of vocational guidance services in New Zealand education. Careers advisers were introduced into secondary schools and vocational guidance centres were established in the four main centres to give more specialised advice. Some special guidance facilities were also established for Maori pupils. Three main questions will be considered in relation to the development of these services. Firstly, was the introduction of guidance services - a new departure for New Zealand education? In examining this question it will be necessary to consider what services were introduced before 1935. Secondly, was the development of vocational guidance influenced by practical or theoretical considerations? In relation to these questions it will be argued that the character of the guidance services which developed was crucial. Finally, how effective was the service which was introduced and what was the public's reaction to its introduction. The Vocational Guidance Service was probably the most prominent and controversial educational social service which was developed by the Labour Government.

Part I The Background of Vocational Guidance

Early vocational guidance services were not initiated by the government but in private organisations and in some of the Universities. Guidance services were first established in 1913, and were targeted at boys. Girls did not receive special assistance until much later. In 1913 a representative of the Christchurch Branch of the Young Men's Christian Association started annual visits to primary schools around Christchurch. Advice was given to boys who were leaving school from Standard VI. In 1925 the Y.M.C.A., extended this service with the publication of 'What About Next Year?'
This booklet gave information about educational courses and possible occupations, and was given free to all Standard VI boys. The success of this move led in 1926 to the establishment of a Vocational Guidance Department at the Y.M.C.A; this initially operated on a seasonal basis, from 1 to 28 February each year. A teacher from Christchurch Technical College provided educational and vocational guidance, placement and follow up.

Some vocational guidance services were also established as part of a development of clinical services at Victoria and Canterbury Universities. T.A. Hunter, Victoria's first Professor of Philosophy, was interested in psychology, and had established the first psychological laboratory in New Zealand. In conjunction with W.H. Gould, the Professor of Education, a clinic dealing with educational guidance and the 'diagnosis of educational retardation and treatment' was established.

Clinical services were started in Canterbury by James Shelley, after his arrival in 1920. His work in educational and psychological testing was extended in 1923 when C.E. Beeby was appointed as his assistant.

In 1925 C.E. Beeby went to England, on his return to Canterbury in 1927 he became assistant lecturer in education and experimental psychology. During his two years away Beeby had become interested in vocational guidance and he developed this aspect of the clinical service. Ralph Winterbourn joined this team, first as a student assistant in 1931, and then as a junior colleague from 1933. The association between the two men was later important to the future of vocational guidance in New Zealand. Ralph Winterbourn was closely involved in the development of the Vocational Guidance, Visiting Teachers and Psychological Services.

These remained the only provisions for vocational guidance until further impetus was provided by the Depression.
As unemployment grew, organisations developed in Christchurch and Dunedin to give vocational assistance to young people. In November 1931, the Christchurch Chamber of Commerce set up a Boys' Employment Committee representing the interests of educational, industrial and agricultural, and social welfare societies. With the cooperation of the Education Department the secretary of the Vocational Guidance Department of the Y.M.C.A. was released from teaching for four half days a week. He was to give vocational assistance to all boys in the district. As the Depression worsened concern for the situation of young people intensified. The Boys' Employment Committee applied for a grant from the Government's Unemployment Board. With the extra money it became possible to employ clerical staff and the Boys' Unemployment Bureau was formed.

Concern at the effects of the depression on the young also prompted Dunedin to introduce facilities for Vocational Guidance. In 1931 the Vocational Guidance Committee formed, and appointed Thomas Conly as a part time guidance officer, with headquarters at the Y.M.C.A. When this organisation reformed in 1935 as the Dunedin Vocational Guidance Association, Thomas Conly was appointed as the first full time Vocational Guidance Officer. Other centres were slower to introduce vocational guidance services although some initiatives were made. A vocational guidance master was appointed at Wellington Technical College and in Auckland the Y.M.C.A. established a committee for Boys Employment.

Recognition that girls also required vocational assistance was belated. No provisions were made until 1934 when a Girls' Vocational Guidance and Employment Committee was established in Christchurch. With the assistance of a government grant an office was established and Christobel Robinson was appointed as the Girls Vocational Guidance Officer. In the following year the Dunedin Association carried on this initiative with the appointment of a full time Girls Vocational Guidance Officer. The appointment of two full time officers in Dunedin enabled vocational assistance to be given to all schools both rural, and urban, in the Dunedin area.
Before 1935 vocational and educational guidance depended almost entirely on the initiative of private groups and the interest of universities. The government gave some financial assistance but did not undertake responsibility itself. These groups provided an essential service, but this service was angled towards the narrow aim of finding employment. The principle of guidance towards the right employment was present in the work of the university clinics, but their work was limited in area.

The Movement to State Control

By the time the Labour Government came to power in 1935 there was a recognition in educational circles that if vocational guidance was to expand it was essential for the government to take responsibility. An article in the National Education of this year discussed the need for vocational guidance and placed this service firmly in the context of the theory of the individual child:

A demand is for the provision of adequate vocational guidance as a natural sequence to the reform (the development of individual aptitudes) indicated above, and as a recognition that our responsibility does not cease until a satisfactory transition from school to work has been effected, and there must be a stronger demand for a recognition of the state of its responsibility for general training of youth.13

The 1936 Report of the Reorganisation of New Zealand Primary Education System supported this statement and pressed for the introduction of a well organised scheme of vocational guidance.14 Interest in vocational guidance was promoted by a series of articles in the Education Gazette which showed that New Zealand lagged behind countries such as America in developing an educational guidance system.15
In December 1936 Peter Fraser called a conference of the officer of the Education and Labour Departments, together with Mr Keys and Miss Robinson, the Vocational Guidance Officers in Christchurch, to consider the extension of vocational guidance under the government. This conference recommended two vocational guidance officers (male and female) should be appointed in each of the four main centres. Their work was to be backed up by the appointment of careers teachers in large post primary schools. Vocational guidance officers would act as a liaison between schools and Employment Committees as well as the Employment Branch of the Labour Department. These recommendations were considered by the Education Department to be too vague as no estimates of costs were suggested.

The problem of cost remained the only obstacle to the introduction of vocational guidance services by the state. In 1937 this problem was solved by the Minister's acceptance of the suggestion that vocational guidance officers should receive £100 extra per annum on top of their teaching salaries and that careers advisers should receive £40 extra per annum.

In 1938 the Education report announced the Government would take over 'full responsibility for the work of vocational guidance of pupils at post primary schools'. Eight part-time Vocational Guidance Officers (four men and four women) were appointed, two to each main centre. In conjunction with this 'educational guidance officers' known as Careers Teachers (later called Careers Advisors) were to be appointed at certain post primary schools'. Youth Centres were to be established under the dual control of the Education and Labour Departments. Vocational Guidelines officers would act in collaboration with the officers of the placement service of the Labour Department to find positions for school leavers.

The establishment of government control revealed the importance they placed on the concept of the individual child. Moreover, the appointment of both male and female staff meant that for the first time vocational guidance for girls was provided on an equal basis.
Some continuity was retained with the antecedents of vocational guidance. The Dunedin Vocational Guidance Association retained its independence, though it did receive government assistance. The organisational structure which had been developed in Dunedin became the basic model for the other three centres. Though the other organisations now came under government control, their contribution to vocational guidance was not ignored. Instead, their services were to be retained in an advisory capacity to act as a link between the Youth Centres and industry.21

Staff who had been appointed under the system of private vocational guidance were reappointed by the government.

The following appointments of Vocational Guidance Officers were made:

- **Auckland**: Mr H.M. Scott (Miss Henderson) - Both on the staff of the Auckland Technical School.
- **Wellington**: Mr A.A. Kirk (Miss McWhirter) - from the Wellington Technical School.
- **Christchurch**: Mr Keys (Miss Robinson) - on the staff of the Christchurch Technical School.
- **Dunedin**: Mr Conly (Miss Vial) - from the Dunedin Technical School.

Principals of post primary schools in the four main centres were asked to submit the names of teachers recommended as careers teachers.22

The Education Department maintained that the Youth Centres were experimental and refused to lay down any specific guidelines for vocational guidance officers. Each centre was able to develop independently though correspondence between the Centres ensured some measure of uniformity.23 In the early years of the service there was a considerable degree of flexibility and autonomy in the different regions.
The establishment of joint control by the Education and Labour Departments proved unsatisfactory, due to their disparate aims. For the Labour Department vocational guidance meant finding children employment, while the Education Department believed in finding employment most appropriate to the child. A subtle, but vital difference. This conflict converged upon one issue, whether placement should be made by the Vocational Guidance Officers or the Labour Department. Vocational Guidance Officers saw this conflict as fundamental to the concept of vocational guidance.

The real bone of contention was over whether or not a boy or girl should or should not be sent to fill a vacancy, whether the needs of an employer come before the welfare of a youth.

The decision that Vocational Guidance Officers should have the deciding power in matters of placement was a victory for the ideal of the individual. This saved the service from becoming what could merely have been an employment bureau, into a service that catered for the needs of the individual. Along with the growth of careers advisers in schools this development resulted in greater freedom of choice being available to children.

After the centres had been working for a year the continued tension between the two departments prompted the launching of an independent inquiry into the workings of the Centre. The inquiry was undertaken by the N.Z.C.E.R. who appointed H.C. McQueen to investigate. He concluded that the Education Department should take full control of the Youth Centres.

Youth Centres have important functions to perform in relation to the schools... The first necessary change is that the administrative control should be in the hands of the Education Department. Youth Centres in the future ought to be part of an integrated educational system in which educational and vocational guidance are thought of as one of the basic functions ... and not as something added to it as an external luxury.
This recommendation was supported by Vocational Guidance Officers throughout the country, who believed that only under the control of the Education Department could the basic aims of Vocational Guidance be achieved. The Dunedin Vocational Guidance Centre defined these aims as: offering advice to young people as to school courses which will prepare them for suitable employment and to encourage them to continue in their school life until the course is completed, and then to give help in finding employment which complemented their desires and abilities. The newly formed National Vocational Guidance Association in Christchurch gave firm support to this recommendation, support which was echoed by the report of the D.V.G.O. for Christchurch. He had recently completed a study of vocational guidance overseas, and concluded that joint control was both wieldy and uneffective, and was inhibiting the expansion of the service. The service should be extended from a part-time to a full-time basis.

There was strong evidence in favour of the Education Department gaining full control of Vocational Guidance - but it was by no means certain that this would occur. The Labour Department was also lobbying for control. Several other factors were crucial in their eventual victory. One vital factor was wholly circumstantial, and arose out of the controversy over the introduction of cumulative record cards into schools. The cards, which became known under their designation 'B.20' were intended to act as an essential tool of vocational guidance giving a continuous picture of a child's history, interests, and problems from primary to secondary school. Various record cards were already in use, but it was hoped that the introduction of one card would result in a uniform system, simplifying procedure and eradicating differences in reports between schools. The B.20 had been developed for this purpose by the Vocational Guidance Association and the N.Z.C.E.R. Its use was approved on 12 March 1942.
At the time the introduction of the B.20 caused a great deal of controversy. Peter Fraser, who had become Prime Minister in 1940, sent for Dr Beeby, the Director of Education and told him that a delegation of three leading trade unionists, objected to the cumulative record card. They believed that the comprehensive information detailed on the cards would 'stamp and condemn' children, especially those from underprivileged backgrounds. Above all, they feared that it would be used as a device by employers against workers. In reply Dr Beeby gave an assurance that the cards would not be used by employers, but would remain within the Education Department. When the cards were no longer required they would be destroyed.

Dr Beeby put his personal word of honour behind this assurance. 'At the time', he said, 'I realised that I now held the winning card', in the fight to take control of vocational guidance, because the cards (so essential for the work of vocational guidance) could not be given to another department. In the ensuing discussions Dr Beeby pointed out to Fraser that he could hardly hand the cards over to another department after he had given his personal word of honour not to do so. Fraser, who believed strongly in the principles of honesty, agreed.

The war had a major impact on Vocational Guidance Centres. Expansion of the Centres was necessitated by the addition of war time duties, and it became clear that this would advance more successfully if one department took complete control. The National Service Department had requested that the centres take new responsibilities under the Industrial Manpower Emergency Regulations, for male workers under 18 years of age and female workers under 20. At the request of the Rehabilitation Board the Vocational Guidance Services were extended to returned servicemen and service women. Along with these extra demands Vocational Guidance Centres still continued to carry out their ordinary functions. This placed heavy loads of the part-time Youth Centres. From December 1942 to September 1943 the Centres dealt with 3585 males and 4331 females.
The Education Department won its case and in the 1943 Education Report the Government announced that the Education Department was taking over full responsibilities for the Youth Centres. The Minister of Education H.G.R. Mason reaffirmed the need for vocational guidance.

...The Vocational Guidance Centres are giving valuable service to the children of New Zealand and save large numbers from the unhappy fate of a lifetime spent in a work for which they have neither aptitude or liking.36

The assumption of full responsibility by the Education Department for the Youth Centres recognised:

The important principle that schools exist not just for the narrow function of learning but that educational and vocational guidance is also an important function ... Vocational guidance ... is essential if the country is to make the best use of its limited manpower and if young people are to be protected from the temptation to enter unskilled and blind alley occupations for the sake of high wages in the immediate future.37

The theory of the individual child which was the cornerstone of the Labour Government's educational policy moulded the character of the vocational guidance service. It was the triumph of the individual school child over the needs of the employer.

Vocational Guidance under the Education Department 1943-1948

Under the Education Department Vocational Guidance was redefined, and the Centres were instituted on a full time basis. Vocational Guidance was to be the 'giving of information, experience and advice in regard to choosing an occupation for it, entering upon it and progressing in it'38.' Ralph Winterbourn was commissioned to study the Vocational Guidance Service. In 1943 his report on The Status and Training of Guidance Workers gave a clear picture of the scope of guidance. It involved:
i. Analysing the worlds of work, education and leisure, preparing and imparting this material.

ii. Studying individual children in as scientific a manner as circumstances allow.

iii. Advising children, their parents, teachers and others in the light of i and ii.

iv. Placing juveniles in suitable employment and directing them to suitable school courses, and leisure time activities.

v. Following them up after placing or directing them.

vi. Cooperation with a) schools, b) industry etc. c) other other organisations dealing with normal and maladjusted children. In respect to c) this involves knowing sufficient about special problems to know when to refer a juvenile to any special person or institution, e.g. medical practitioner or hospital psychologist, or psychiatrist, child welfare officer etc.

vii. Research and the preparation of descriptive and propaganda reports. This involves some knowledge of the use and interpretation of statistics and the techniques of individual case study making.39

The list of the duties of vocational guidance officers is worth quoting in full because it indicates how the definition of guidance was being extended by the Education Department. Vocational guidance extended beyond mere placement, and became a service which catered for the diverse requirements of children. Emphasis was placed on finding the best career option possible for each individual. The service was shaped by the influence of the university clinics of the 1920's and 1930's which found an advocate at the highest level in Beeby.

By 1943 the need for vocational guidance had increased, partly because of war duties, and partly because of the rapid expansion in post primary education. (see Figure 1.). The government recognised that the greater numbers entering post primary school, numbers which would increase still further after the raising of the school age to fifteen in 1944, would necessitate a diversification of the school curriculum. Educational guidance would be essential to help children determine the choices in schools which were most suitable
for them. Vocational guidance service was expanded outside the four main centres, firstly with opening of a part-time centre in Invercargill in 1945. In the 1940's the growing value of vocational and educational guidance was recognised through the expansion of advisory services, and the introduction of special assistance for the Maori.

The Centres themselves developed in similar lines to the list of duties as set out by Ralph Winterbourn. Though there was some variation between districts, the basic structures and procedures of the Centres remained similar. Their work consisted of two main aspects, assistance given to individuals, and the wider task of publicising the service. The publicity work involved giving radio talks, and public lectures as well as making school visits. Vocational Guidance Officers would start a year by making contact with careers advisers in their area, and giving them advice on educational guidance. Then they would go round the senior classes in primary schools, attempting to meet as many children as possible, and discuss their plans for the following year. All school leavers were interviewed, including absentees.

If individual assistance was required, preliminary information on a child would be obtained from the B.20 card and from discussions with the Careers adviser or class teacher. The name would then be written on a master card, together with address, birthday and date of enrolment, and this information sent to the local Guidance Centre. Once the child's needs and abilities had been assessed, and advice given, or placement made, this information was also inscribed on the card. In the case of placement the employer's name and any change in employment was added. Then a "follow up" visit was made at intervals of two months, six months, and one year to ensure that the placement was successful. If no further problems ensued, the Card would be placed in the "dead index". Referrals to a psychologist or appropriate agency were made if
Though vocational guidance was firmly established under the control of the Education Department, internal and external problems dogged the service. The procedures mentioned here were continued even during the stressful wartime period. Unfortunately the involvement with war work had a damaging effect on the public image of the service. This danger had been foreseen by the people involved and the Minister of Industrial Manpower stressed that it was essential for Youth Centres to avoid responsibility in the eyes of the public for decisions which 'while essential in wartime were not in harmony with the principles of vocational guidance.'

These precautions did not always succeed and vocational guidance became associated with the forced redistribution of workers necessitated by the war. Thomas Conly, D.V.G.O. for Dunedin, described his attempts to win over the President of the Manufacturers Association.

I had heard that he was somewhat lukewarm towards Vocational Guidance, which he looked upon as a subsidiary of manpower, and his feelings towards manpower were not friendly.

Both the public and vocational guidance officers were concerned that the war was having a negative effect on the vocational choices of young people. Vocational Guidance Officers noted that more boys were going into semi skilled and unskilled occupations because wages for young people in these 'blind alley' occupations had increased in proportion far beyond the rates for skilled and more stable forms of work. As a result it was necessary to sell the career idea more energetically and more dynamically to a capable person, and sell it to the parents as well as the child.

Some positive effects did come out of the war, effects which were acknowledged by the Vocational Guidance Officers.
Work had opened up in different spheres for women. Women and girls were being used as post-women, telegraph messengers, railways porters, draughtsmen, on the land, and herd testers, and there were more openings in research work... indeed, there was hardly any sphere where one could not point to a woman or girl doing work which had previously been considered work for a male.46

On balance, though the effects of the war did have an effect on patterns of employment, these were not always detrimental. In the event this change in the pattern of work did not survive the end of the war.

The most damaging problem which affected the Vocational Guidance Centres was the controversy surrounding the introduction of the B.20 cards. These cards raised a hysteria which seemed far greater than their importance warranted. They became a focus for the fears which the education policies of the Labour Government had aroused.

The written media from papers like Truth to magazines such as The Woman's Weekly singled out the B.20 cards for attack. Through vocational guidance the state was trying to take control of their children's lives. 'System savouring of Hitlerism,' was how the Chairman of the Wairarapa Board of Governors, described the Educational Guidance Card system.47 "Truth" did a series of articles on a 'so called' exposure of the educational card system and Vocational Guidance.

The Education Department in its efforts to introduce the new order of child regimentation throughout the Dominion is nothing if not thorough. With an enthusiasm worthy of a better cause it is leaving nothing undone that will bring all possible children within the orbit of bureaucratic despotism. "Truth" has already exposed the Vocational Guidance Cards system. Now parents are being asked to sign a form, Form V-9 designed to bring within the net of bureaucrats all those children who left school before the new card system was made to operate.48

This article so concerned the Minister that he sent a memorandum to the Director of Education asking for the truth of the matter.49 These accusations, of 'fascism' and 'bureaucratic despotism' continued.
The New Zealand Woman's Weekly accused the government of attempting to indoctrinate their children.

Of course 'secrecy' is vouchsafed by the present bureaucrats who hatched this brilliant vocational guidance scheme, which may well degenerate into a 'vocational compulsion scheme'...

Leading educationalists have said "This government has lamentably failed to enthuse the majority of our people for their particular brand of socialism. They therefore desire to inculcate doctrines in the young minds."50

Though vocational guidance officers battled against these claims the damaging associations remained.

The controversy over the cards also had a detrimental effect on the Labour Government. Criticism of the scheme was rife within the Party. The Minister of Education wrote to the Secretary of the Labour Party explaining the principles of the B.20 card and the Vocational Guidance Service. 'Neither the parent nor the child is compelled to seek or to accept the advice given and anything that is recorded on the card may be seen by the parent'.51 Concern remained high however, and some members of the party believed the controversy had permanently damaged the credibility of the Labour Party. An avid Labour Party supporter wrote to the Prime Minister:

Now it is surprising how many people blame the Labour Government and Mr Mason for this Vocational Guidance Card business, and unless something is done ... we will all surely perish and line up into the soup kitchen once more ... The card means that the poor innocent children (workers) are strangled to start with.52

Internal problems also hindered the smooth development of the Vocational Guidance movement. Lack of formal training was a significant problem, and one which affected all of the Social Services which developed. When the Education Department took over the Youth Centres in 1943 the problem of training was discussed. Ralph Winterbourn, the President of the N.Z.V.G.A. was asked to examine the problems of training. His report urged that formal training was essential for the professional
status and future of the Vocational Guidance Service.  

None of us have had a definite formal training in vocational guidance as such - we have all learned in the school of experience itself ... But it is essential that training be provided for all specialists in guidance, Vocational Guidance Officers, field workers, psychologists, careers advisers, and teachers.  

In his view, 'a child centred school' implied a 'guidance centred school', which would make training in guidance essential at teachers colleges. He was also critical of provisions for training of careers workers, 'It is not right to pick out an erstwhile subject teacher and say "Now you are going to be the guidance expert in the school".  

In conclusion Ralph Winterbourn suggested that a university training course would be appropriate for Vocational Guidance Officers.  

Though this specific aim was not achieved, some of the recommendations in the report were implemented. In 1946 A.B. Thompson was appointed as the first Officer for Higher Education, and given special responsibility for vocational guidance. Dr Beeby wanted to have an impartial manager of vocational guidance since it straddled both primary and post primary schools.  

Under his leadership the Vocational Guidance Centres became more uniform. He recognised the need for guidance for Maori Youth and the need for training of Vocational Guidance Officers and Careers Advisers. An inservice training Course for Vocational Guidance Officers was introduced. These guidance services were extended beyond the four main centres.  

By the end of the 1940's vocational guidance was well established. Most of the early criticism and the unpleasant associations of the war had disappeared. With the ending of manpower and rehabilitation work Vocational Guidance Officers were able to devote their time to young people. Some problems continued, however. Opposition to the centres had diminished considerably but some still remained. From some quarters the criticism still continued that Vocational Guidance was an unnecessary luxury.
There was also some discontent expressed with the Vocational Guidance Service itself.

The Vocational Guidance organisation which began in such a virile fashion has lately shown a disappointing lack of development and vitality. If the service is to be maintained and is to remain stable there must be reasonable opportunity for interchange of ideas and instruction of officers...at conferences and otherwise we should not have more than 50% of our careers advisers without training.58

The lack of status in the Vocational Guidance Service due to the failure to introduce University training meant that the service had problems in trying to acquire suitable staff. Smooth running of the centres was made difficult because of a high turnover of existing staff59. These problems were not unique to the Vocational Guidance Service, but also plagued the whole education system.

In spite of these problems by the end of the forties the Vocational Guidance Service had become a firmly established part of the New Zealand educational system. With the development of the Careers Advisory service, a strong system of educational and vocational guidance was formed. These became an important section of the educational social services which were developed by the Labour Government.

Part II : The Career Advisory Services

The appointment of careers advisers was an integral part of the guidance system which developed. They were to act in liaison with Vocational Guidance Centres and give both educational and vocational advice to school pupils. It was intended that eventually they would be able to help children in areas the vocational guidance officers could not reach.

In 1937 it was announced that one teacher in each secondary and technical high school in the smaller centres, and intermediate schools,
with over 200 pupils, would deal with vocational guidance. By 1st March 1943 Careers Advisers had been approved at twenty two schools in the main Centres.\(^1\) Though the Government intended to give country schools equality with city schools, early provisions for guidance were all in urban areas.

Both Careers Advisers and Vocational Guidance Centres were at first confined to the four main centres. This was due to practical factors, since with only limited resources available to finance guidance, guidance services went where they could be most effectively and cheaply used. Nevertheless, it meant that country children were again largely deprived of the same opportunities as their city peers. Vocational Guidance Officers did make real efforts to visit country schools, but they could not give detailed assistance.

Country areas were aware of this problem and some tried to circumvent it by appointing their own careers advisers. The Department approved these appointments but they remained unofficial and no extra remuneration was received. Another solution was suggested by the Dannevirke News, who wanted travelling vocational guidance officers to be appointed. 'The ardent desire of the average child is to have done with school as quickly as possible. The departmental officers visits are a valuable corrective to this attitude.\(^2\)'

Until an expansion of vocational guidance was approved the only solution was to appoint more careers advisers.

Unfortunately as Ralph Winterbourn had indicated, careers advisers were often hindered by their lack of training. The Department had given no clear indication as to what duties a careers adviser was required to carry out, and confusion was often the result.

The Assistant Director of Education, Mr Barnett, examined the role of careers advisers, during his visit to the Auckland Vocational Guidance Centre in 1945. He was horrified to discover that:

In two schools the careers advisers merely filled in the B.20 and sent to the Vocational Guidance Centre a quarterly list of leavers. There were no contacts with parents, and no personal knowledge of conditions
of employment, no follow up of leavers. All Careers teachers complained of a lack of adequate facilities for interviews and clerical work and the absence of telephones. Many pupils leave without ever making contact with the careers teachers.\(^3\)

As well as the problem of inadequate facilities Careers Advisers suffered from lack of time in which to perform their duties. "While Careers advisers are trying to carry on work in odd moments which may be filched from them on any pretext their work will be unsatisfactory."\(^4\) Obviously a radical revision of Careers Advisory Service was necessary. Vocational Guidance Officers were especially concerned since the effectiveness of careers advisers was vital, as they dealt with the base work of guidance.

Demands for better training and conditions for careers advisers continued until new regulations were introduced in 1947. The £40 per annum additional to a teacher's salary was replaced by the allowance of one day per 200 pupils for careers advisory work.\(^5\) Concurrent with this reorganisation was the introduction of a training course for Careers advisers. R. Winterbourn organised a two week course which gave an introduction to the techniques and problems of guidance. A full definition of the work if a careers adviser was included in the course.

Careers advisers were to advise pupils and their parents on all matters relating to careers, and to supply vocational information to pupils. As well as giving this individual advice, their duties included acting as liaison officers between the Principal of their school and the D.V.G.O. This work would involve keeping such paper work as was necessary for the smooth running of guidance.\(^6\) This definition clarified the responsibilities of careers advisers, and the course gave valuable advice on various subjects, such as the techniques for interviewing, the problems of psychological testing, and the special problems of the handicapped child.\(^7\)
As a result of these measures the Careers Advisers service was made more effective and became a valuable part of the guidance services which developed. The demands for their introduction into country areas shows that their services were considered essential. Finally in 1947 permission was given for Careers teachers to be appointed in country districts. The government announced that careers teachers would be appointed in all post primary schools, including district high schools whose roll reached two hundred pupils. Through this scheme the benefits of vocational and educational guidance could be extended to most secondary children. This erased some of the inequalities between country and city children. Since the majority of Maori children lived in country areas, their needs began to be serviced to a greater extent.

Some problems continued to hinder the smooth working of the service however. One of the major problems was in acquiring quality people as careers advisers. Fear that becoming a careers teacher would ruin chances of promotion inhibited many from applying for the job. Principals were reluctant to appoint good classroom teachers as careers advisers. The inevitable result was that mediocre teachers often acquired these positions. This was an unsatisfactory situation because the difficulty of the work meant that a high degree of tact and ability was required.

In spite of these problems by 1948 the establishment of Careers Advisers in schools had become an integral part of the new education. They were a vital link in the establishment of the 'guidance centred' school, which provided for the vocational, as well as educational, well being of children. This service combined with the establishment of special vocational guidance for the Maori, resulted in some of the imbalance in guidance services between town and country being reversed.
Part III : Vocational Guidance for Maori Youth

By 1940 the necessity of providing special vocational guidance services for Maori Youth was recognised. Most Maoris lived in rural areas, while Careers advisers and vocational guidance centres were confined to cities. I.L.G. Sutherland, the Professor of Philosophy at Canterbury University, a noted scholar of Maori Culture, raised the concern that the vocational problem was urgent due to the rapid increase in the Maori population since 1900.¹ This concern increased during the 1940's when it was realised that Maori land was only capable of supporting a part of the Maori population.

In 1941 this prompted the N.Z.C.E.R. to fund an investigation into vocational guidance, training, and placement of Maori youth.² H.C. McQueen, the author of Vocational Guidance in New Zealand, published the report in 1945. He acknowledged the existence of colour prejudice in New Zealand which made it difficult for Maoris to gain employment, a situation which was worsened by their concentration in rural areas with limited employment possibilities. His report made a number of recommendations to improve this situation, including the need for Maori guidance officers and for the expansion of Vocational Guidance Centres beyond the four main centres.

Other groups also pressed for the introduction of special vocational guidance facilities for the Maori. For example, the Maori Students Association expressed a fear in 1943 that the war would result in increased delinquency among Maori Youth, unless vocational guidance services were introduced for them.³

The first response to these requests came in 1943 when Major K.J. Harawira, previously a chaplain of the Maori Battalion, was appointed Maori Vocational Guidance Officer for Auckland. This measure received a positive response from the Maori community. In his first report Major Harawira showed how well the children had responded to talking with an officer of their race.
Some of the boys are very shy and backward when they are being interviewed, but when I speak to them in Maori they immediately drop that reserve and speak quite frankly. A number of Maori patents calling in to discuss their children are very enthusiastic about the work of the centre, and without exception their one comment is "It should have been started years ago."

I feel hopeful that as time goes on and the work at the Centre is better known among the Maori that they will look to it as a real centre of Guidance for their children.4

At first the highest priority was put on vocational guidance for Maori boys, since it was believed most Maori girls did not seek employment.

The appointment of a Maori Vocational Guidance Officer showed the determination of the Labour Government to ensure that the Maori people retained a healthy pride of race.5' H.G.R. Mason acknowledged that there was a real need for guidance for Maori youth, and stressed that this should be part of a greater Maori input into the Education system.

The transition from school to work is even harder for the Maori youth than for the Pakeha and his parents are often not in a position to help him much. He is often desperately in need of someone who can take a wise and kindly interest in his welfare.6

The belief that there was a direct link between delinquency in Maori youth and vocational problems further increased agitation for Maori guidance services.7

How did the Government respond to this agitation? There was a move to introduce more Maori Vocational Officer Officers. The appointment of a Maori Vocational Guidance officer in Auckland had been very successful, but a number of problems impeded the extension of this service. For a number of years there had been agitation for the appointment of a vocational guidance officer on the East Coast of the
North island. The government had deferred any decision because of the difficulty of finding:

a man with the necessary academic qualifications, who would also be acceptable personally and tribally on the East Coast. I have discussed the matter fully with Sir Apirana Ngata and the Bishop of Waipu, and both of them are in agreement that it would be preferable to have a pakeha in this position at any rate in the initial stages.⁸

Eventually the position of Vocational Guidance Officer for Maoris on the East Coast was created. The officer was attached to the Wellington Vocational Guidance Centre, but was stationed at Gisborne or some other part of the East Coast.⁹ Though there was agitation for the appointment of Maori Vocational guidance officers, especially in Rotorua, no further appointments were made.

The real need for this service was revealed by the extra duties which these officers had to perform. One of the greatest problems was in finding accommodation for Maori youth in cities. Major Harawira was kept busy finding hostel accommodation for 'students and young workers'.¹⁰

What type of employment was being found for Maori youth? H.G.R. Mason had emphasized in 1944 the great need for technical and trade courses for the boys 'who in spite of natural manual aptitude, find difficulty in entering the skilled trades'. For the girls, 'more domestic courses are needed.'¹¹ The range of occupations especially for girls, was limited. In 1948 Mrs W.A. McNaughton described her concern over the difficulty in finding work for Maori and Pakeha girls in country areas.

At the moment in this district, the Maori Welfare Officer (Mrs McNaught), is acting as unofficial placement agency for some girls and is even having to train them for brief intervals in her own house before sending them to employment in domestic work.¹²
This emphasis on the domestic role was mirrored in the curriculum. In some areas model cottages were built in the school grounds. In spite of the idea of the equality of the individual, the inequality of the sexes was not challenged.

The second response to the needs of the Maori people was the passing of the 1945 Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act. It provided for the creation of a Maori Welfare division, whose aim was to promote the advancement of life of the Maori as an integral part of the economic structure of New Zealand. Maori Welfare officers were to be appointed, 'to conserve, improve, advance and maintain the Physical, Economic, Educational, Social, and Moral well being of the Maori'. The Vocational Guidance Centres were to act as an integral part of this system, by assisting with vocational guidance of Maori youth. Thirty-eight welfare officers were appointed throughout the country and they worked closely with vocational guidance officers. Where no vocational guidance services existed, Maori Welfare Officers acted as unofficial vocational guidance officers. Though vocational guidance officers believed this was an unsatisfactory arrangement it was the best which could be achieved with the limited resources available.

Vocational Guidance Services for the Maori were further extended in 1947 with the opening of a new Vocational Guidance Centre in Wanganui. Though this was reasonably successful staffing difficulties forced its closure in March 1950. Hereafter travelling vocational guidance officers serviced the needs of Maoris in this district. The problems of staffing was a general one throughout Vocational Guidance services in the late forties. Shortage of staff proved the greatest constraint on expansion of vocational guidance services for both Maori and Pakeha. In spite of these limitations under the first Labour Government the principle of Vocational Guidance for both Maori and Pakeha was established.
The Labour Government's recognition that the state should take responsibility for vocational guidance was a new departure for the Education system. This recognition grew out of both practical and theoretical considerations. The theoretical basis of vocational guidance was the ideal of the individual child; concern for the needs of the whole child, prompted people like Shelley to open their guidance clinics, and this was an important influence on the vocational guidance system which developed. The other strand of guidance developed out of responses to the problems of the depression of the 1930's. Various organisations developed to help young people to find employment. The wider range of curriculum choices which developed in response to this, also necessitated some form of educational guidance.

Though vocational guidance acted as a service to the child by catering for individual needs, it also functioned as a service to the community. It acted as a mechanism which directed people to the careers to which they were most suited, hopefully preventing expensive retraining. The system of guidance also meant that people became aware of a wider variety of choices, and this helped to direct workers to new industries. Likewise Vocational Guidance for the Maori involved a recognition of the vocational problems they experienced, but was also a response to their increased population and the beginning of the drift to cities. There was always a fine balance between providing for the needs of the individual and providing a service for employers. That was the reason the dispute between the Education and Labour Departments assumed such significance.

Some of the fears which the Vocational Guidance Service aroused were not unjustified. Though the fears which the introduction of the service and B.20 cards aroused seem exaggerated, the concerns raised were valid. It did mean that children were labelled from the beginning, and vocational guidance officers were placed in a position of power to determine the choices of those children. The dangers inherent in this were very real. However the demand
for the extension of the Vocational Guidance Service shows that it was considered to give a genuine service to children.

Though the advances made in vocational guidance were a significant contribution to the welfare of children, the service was constrained by lack of money, lack of staff, and perhaps the most importantly by the limits of the time. The idea of equality of opportunity was not extended to deal with all inequalities in society. Failure to recognise these basic inequalities, meant that discrimination of sex, and to some extent, race was inherent in the system which developed. Perhaps in the terms of the time this was inevitable. Within these limits, therefore, the introduction of the Vocational Guidance and Careers Advisory Services, was a significant step towards equality in education.
STATE SECONDARY PUPILS (1910-1960)

Source: Report of the Commission on Education in New Zealand, p. 171.
FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER III

Part I The Background of Vocational Guidance


2. ibid.

3. ibid.

   Thomas Alexander Hunter, K.B.E., was born in London in 1876. He received first a B.A., then an M.A. (1st class honours) at Otago University. He then studied science receiving an B.Sc. in 1903, then a M.Sc. in 1904. He became Professor of Philosophy and Economics in 1907, Professor of Philosophy 1909, and became Principal of Victoria from 1938. He was chancellor of New Zealand Universities from 1929 - 1947.

5. R. Winterbourn, p.7.


8. ibid.


10. Memorandum for the Hon. the Minister of Education (signed A.C.R.) E 29/65/19 (Sept. 1940?).

11. ibid.


17. ibid.
18. Memorandum for the Hon the Minister of Education (signed A.C.R.) E 29/65/19, (Sept. 1940 ?).
19. ibid.
21. ibid.
23. ibid.
26. W.C. McQueen, Vocational Guidance in New Zealand, p.v.
27. ibid, p. 66.
30. C.E. Beeby Interview.
32. C.E. Beeby, Interview.
33. ibid.
34. C.E. Beeby to Minister of Education, Youth Centres Recommendation to vest control in Education Department, E 29/65/23, 11 Jan. 1943.

38. Some brief notes on Vocational Guidance and the New Record Card, E 29/65/23, 12th June, 1944.


41. ibid.

42. Minister of Industrial Manpower to A.M. Hollander, (Undated).

43. Thomas Conly had experience as an engineer, a works manager, and a technical school teacher. He had also instructed soldiers after World War I, which gave him an interest in the handicapped. He was a vocational guidance officer in Dunedin for 24 years. Source: R. Winterbourn, Guidance Services in N.Z. Education, p. 24.

44. T. Conly, Quarterly Report for July, August, September, 1944, Vocational Guidance Centre, E 29/65/77.


47. N.Z. Truth, Wed. April 26, 1944.


49. H.G.R. Mason to Director of Education, E 29/65/23, 4 May 1944.


52. E.R. Hanna to the Right Hon P. Fraser, E 29/65/23, 4th July, 1946.


55. ibid.


58. ibid.

59. ibid.

**Part Two : The Career Advisory Service**

1. Memorandum to Hon Minister of Education from Director of Education, E 29/65/23, 1st March 1943.


**Part Three : Vocational Guidance for Maori Youth**


9. ibid.


CHAPTER IV

'Bringing School and home together'

The Introduction of the Visiting Teachers Service by the first Labour Government.

The Visiting Teachers Service was the most flexible and unstructured of the social services introduced in this period. When the introduction of the service was announced in the Education Report for 1943 it was a totally new idea in New Zealand education. The teachers were to act as liaison officers between home and school on behalf of children who were exhibiting educational or behavioural problems at school. They were to be "attached to a school or group of schools without responsibility for class teaching, but with the special function under the headmaster of maintaining contact between the school and home." 1 In effect they were to be school social workers. The introduction of the service was to be for an experimental period of six months, and if this was successful, the service was to be made permanent.

The idea of Visiting Teachers had originated in Britain and the United States, where the change in the function of the school had promoted its development. Susan Isaacs described this idea in the 1937 Education Conference. She explained that the development of the ideal of the individual child had led to the transformation of the school into a more community oriented structure. The child centred school obligated the development of guidance services, and as a result child guidance clinics had appointed social workers who helped to bring a closer relationship between parent and teacher. 2 These ideas had particular relevance to New Zealand, because the idea of the individual child had been adopted in New Zealand education. The orientation towards the child had already resulted in increased emphasis being placed on providing guidance in schools.

The role of the visiting teacher or school social worker was described in an article in the Education Gazette of 1944. 3
This article explained that with the development of the child centred school, increasing importance was placed on the physical and emotional well being of a child since this had a 'determining effect' on their educational progress.

Obviously the child who comes to school insufficiently clothed and fed or rested cannot profit by the education which the school provides. Modern psychology demands that behaviour problems must be considered to be symptoms, and that treatment requires a search for causes in the social and emotional environment as much as within the child himself.  

The Visiting Teacher was introduced to find and treat 'the causes in the social and environment' which were interfering with a child's education. They acted in the framework of the education system providing a contact point between the school and the community. This definition of the role of a school social worker is important since it became the basic form of the Visiting Teachers Service in New Zealand. The Visiting Teacher would be called in by a teacher if "a particular child was showing, 'symptoms of lack of proper care, of emotional stress or mental unhealthiness'. Their investigation of the child's problems would involve not only a study of the child but also 'his home, his outside activities and interests'.

The visiting teacher then:

- gives to the home the advice which is required: mobilizes the community resources to provide physical care, recreation and in his interpretation to the teacher assists him in understanding and treating within the classroom the difficulties with which the child is faced.

The article sounded the caution that the visiting teacher could only supply these aims through a small amount of intensive work, and their effectiveness diminished if more extensive work was required.

It was from the United States rather than Great Britain that Dr Beeby took his idea of visiting teachers. During a visit to America in 1929-30, while observing psychological work he came into contact with the scheme and immediately saw its value. When the right opportunity arose he decided to implement the scheme in New Zealand.
The impact of the war provided the catalyst for the introduction of visiting teachers. During the first years of the war fears were rife about the increase of delinquency in New Zealand. This fear was based on the English experience, during World War I. The rates of delinquency had risen by 70 percent, and in the first years of World War II had increased by 41 percent. Though these fears were exaggerated in the New Zealand context, there was an increase in truancy. In particular there was a general fear that the war had caused the growth of a particular type of truancy "in which the parent connives at the child's absence from school". Eventually the Auckland Board of Education requested that extra truant officers be appointed. Dr Beeby believed that this was a suitable opportunity to introduce the visiting teachers, who could give support to mothers with husbands absent due to the war.

Dr Beeby explained to the Auckland Board of Education:

The Visiting Teacher is a social worker attached to the school, responsible to the headmaster for dealing with problem children generally. The work on the whole is preventive rather than corrective and if you can get the right persons working in the right schools I am sure your Board could take a big step towards meeting the problems of juvenile delinquency which I know are troubling you.

Because of the lack of training facilities he suggested that everything would depend on the calibre of the women chosen. It was unquestionably assumed that women would be the most appropriate for the job. The Visiting Teachers themselves considered that women were more suitable primarily because of their greater sensitivity and natural facility for handling children. Being female was a positive advantage because they principally dealt with women parents, who associated males with an authoritarian structure.

For an experimental six months, Visiting Teachers would be appointed to selected urban areas where the needs were considered greatest. The first two appointments were made in Auckland on 18 October 1943.
Due to the lack of training facilities Dr Beeby suggested that Misses Earle and Casley should spend two weeks on the rounds with the Child Welfare Department. Otago followed Auckland closely and appointed a visiting teacher in November 1943. Other regions were slower to take advantage of the scheme, but appointments were made gradually during 1944. By 1945 there were 15 visiting teachers appointed, in Auckland, Dunedin, Wellington, Nelson, Christchurch, Invercargill, Taranaki and Hawkes bay. The slowness of the appointments resulted in the original trial period of six months being extended to over eighteen. This greatly increased the number of problems which the first visiting teachers experienced.

The scheme can be seen in operation through the experiences of Vera Hayward, who was asked to pioneer the scheme in Otago. She was the third visiting teacher appointed in New Zealand, and would be a Visiting Teacher from 1943 to 1959. Vera Hayward had trained as a primary teacher and had taught for a number of years in ordinary classes before teaching the special class at Caversham. This background was virtually the only training she received for the job, apart from the two weeks observing Child Welfare officers.

The task of pioneering the Visiting Teachers scheme was daunting, both in the size of the area and the range of activities. Appointed as Visiting Teacher for Dunedin North Vera Hayward was based at Dunedin North Intermediate. Her designated area included all primary schools which contributed to the intermediate. These schools were distributed in an extensive area which stretched from High Street north and up the land side of the Harbour to Port Chalmers. This involved a distance of about 10 km, and sometimes Vera Hayward was called even further afield. Transport problems made covering this area difficult. Most of the early Visiting Teachers were forced to rely on public transport. In smaller areas with less well developed transport systems this problem was even greater. Moreover the transport allowance at a shilling a day was woefully inadequate.
Though in theory Visiting Teachers were expected to deal only with primary and intermediate school children in practice Vera Hayward was also called to Kindergartens and secondary schools. The area covered was extensive not just in terms of distance but also in the numbers and type of children dealt with. Visiting teachers were expected to deal with a child's home environment, and this involved discussing a child with both parents. Visiting at homes in the evenings and on weekends was often necessary, but made a Visiting Teachers hours very long. 

The novelty of the Visiting Teachers Service was also a hindrance at first. Before the service was introduced there had been little contact between home and school. Truant officers had been the chief contact between school and home, and they dealt with children on a narrow and punitive basis. Difficult children had been referred to either the Child Welfare Division of the Education Department or in University Centres the Child Guidance Clinics. The Child Welfare Department was involved in some preventive work, such as the readjustment of conditions in homes and families in order to prevent the committal of children or the need for their appearance before the Childrens Court. But public opinion associated them with their responsibility for removing children from unsuitable homes and dealing with juvenile delinquency. Because of these punitive powers both Truant Officers and Child Welfare Officers aroused negative feelings in the minds of the public. The Visiting Teachers service was intended as an entirely different, non authoritarian service, so it was essential from the beginning for each visiting teacher to establish a separate identity from these services.

In the early days of the service there was a certain amount of conflict between the Visiting Teacher and other organisations with responsibility for children. Vera Hayward had opposed the Child Welfare Department's determination that every case should be put through them. She and other Visiting Teachers also faced some hostility from Public Health Nurses who saw the Visiting Teacher as an encroachment on their sphere of interest. This was caused in part
by the overlap in services since among other responsibilities, the Public Health Nurse was expected to examine all children and visit the homes of those who were suffering from health and emotional problems.

However Miss Hayward successfully solved these problems and after six months there were many letters of approbation about the Visiting Teacher scheme. The Head of the Normal School in Dunedin wrote to the Education Board in support of the Visiting Teachers service and Miss Hayward personally. He explained that the Visiting Teacher had been much more successful than the Child Welfare Officers in 'affecting an improvement in a number of "problem families"'.

The Visiting Teacher has succeeded and the result is that these pupils who attended very irregularly, who were more or less opposed to school, and who were developing undesirable habits have found something of the joy of life and the joy that should be associated with an interested learner and with happy playmates.

In every case dealt with here the parents concerned have gained a new idea of their responsibilities to their children ... Most of this has taken considerable time, great patience and tact and real understanding to reawaken not a few parents who through misfortune, had grown careless, indifferent or hard to home responsibilities and duties. To such parents, as much as to the children, the Visiting Teacher has proved a real friend.

Mr Miller mentioned a number of cases which the Visiting Teacher had successfully solved. One was a very worried soldier's wife who had kept her child home for company to prevent her from thinking too much about the battlefield. Vera Hayward had improved the situation by persuading the mother to take up new interests.

Further letters of support came from other agencies the Visiting Teacher had come into contact with. Otago University had founded a combined Child Guidance and Medical School Health Clinic. Every week a meeting was held in which problem cases were discussed by relevant people; vocational guidance officers, doctors and social workers. This provided a centre of cooperation between different Departments and societies. The University psychologist wrote of the Visiting Teacher that:
for sympathetic discussion of parents and problems in the homes and or appraisal of the home environments of our problem children her work has made practicable an important liaison work between our psychological guidance work and the Medical School Public Health work.21

The success of the Visiting Teachers Service was repeated throughout the country. In Wellington the Senior Inspector wrote that the success of the Visiting Teachers warranted the extension as well as the continuance of the scheme.22 In Christchurch the scheme was so successful that the main problem became dealing with all the calls for assistance. 'As our work becomes more widely known', wrote one of them, 'there is an increasing number of calls from schools not yet covered by the service.'23 In spite of the evident success of the service, it was not made permanent until 1945. This made the position of the teachers already appointed difficult, as their future was uncertain. They were on leave from their permanent teaching positions and the extension of the trial period also created problems for their former schools.

The vexed problem of training remained. When the first Visiting Teachers were appointed some kind of training scheme had been promised, apart from their initial two weeks with the Child Welfare Department. On 8 November 1943 Dr Beeby postponed the proposed training course for visiting teachers until February 1944.24 In 1945 the Visiting Teachers service was made permanent but no training course had yet eventuated and the fifteen visiting teachers had been forced to develop their own methods and techniques. Finally Ralph Winterbourn was commissioned to organise a training course to be held in February 1946.

The Course was held at the University of Canterbury, under the direction of Ralph Winterbourn, Senior Lecturer in Education at Canterbury University, and part time psychologist at the Christchurch Vocational Guidance Centre.25 During the three week course lectures were given by Education Department staff and community workers on the theoretical and practical aspects of the job, behaviour problems,
backwardness in schools, the use of cumulative records and case histories, and the administration and interpretation of intelligence and attainment tests. The aim of the course was to give the Visiting Teachers an introduction to the formal techniques of their work, and any further queries were to be followed up independently by the Visiting Teachers. The Department promised to establish a library for the Visiting Teachers with relevant source material.

This programme also involved visits to such places as the special classes at Woolston, the Merivale Occupation Centre, as well as the School for the Deaf at Sumner. During the course a conference was held to which groups and organisations dealing with the welfare of children in the home and the community were invited. Delegates expressed the aims of their organisations and the conference as a whole expressed support for the work of the Visiting Teachers.

The final day of the course involved a conference for Visiting Teachers at which they discussed issues of policy and organisation. There had been little contact between the different issues of policy and organisation. There had been little contact between the different regions and the Visiting Teachers appreciated the opportunity to meet. When they compared their methods of working the teachers discovered that they had developed almost identical techniques. However the flexible nature of the guidelines meant that each teacher had been able to develop her own particular interests.

The Visiting Teachers had developed the role of liaison between different support services as well as their role of liaison between home and school. In this role they made a series of informal contacts to which they could refer children. The most important contacts were with the schools themselves, and it was vital to make a good impression, since any hostility would result in teachers not using the service. Visiting Teachers worked with a variety of professional and non-professional groups. Professional groups included the Health and Child Welfare Departments, the University Clinics, the Psychological Service and medical professionals.
Church welfare organisations, the Red Cross, Sunday Schools and Youth Groups such as Cubs and Scouts were also useful points of referral for children.  

The basic procedures which Visiting Teachers developed were similar, although each teacher used a different method to make herself known on an informal basis to teachers and pupils. One teacher would go to schools when morning and afternoon tea was being served so she could meet teachers on a friendly and informal basis.  

Though there was informal contact, certain forms had to be observed especially the requirement that the Visiting Teacher obtained permission from the headmaster to see a child. Problems came to the attention of the Visiting Teacher in two ways, from a direct call by a parent, or through the class teacher or headmaster. Though the large size of classes made observation of individual children difficult, certain symptoms such as persistent lateness, overtiredness, truancy, emotional and behavioural disturbances and failure to make progress at school, prompted the intervention of the Visiting Teacher. Once the Visiting Teacher had been approached, the method of treating the problem was left entirely to the Visiting Teacher herself.

The Visiting Teachers Conference decided that the basic method of approach to problems would be that of "part teacher and part social worker". Treatment could include assistance to the family as well as to the child. In dealing with families the lack of legal authority was very important. This made the service successful since they had no authority beyond that of a teacher they could deal with people on a friendly and informal basis.

Visiting Teachers were very careful not to alienate parents. This was an area which required a great deal of tact since they represented an often distrusted authority. Vera Hayward always tried to imaginatively place herself in the parents position so she would understand how "I would feel if someone came and criticized my child". She always asked to be invited into the home and was
seldom refused entry. When talking with parents visiting teachers tried to adopt a positive approach by stressing the child's good qualities and then broaching the problem. When advice was offered the parents were asked if they could think of a solution to the child's problem. This made the parents feel that any action taken was the result of their endeavours and this method of approach proved very successful. Often after the initial hostility had been overcome the Visiting Teachers discovered that the parents (usually the mother was the initial point of contact) was grateful to be able to talk with someone.35

Visiting teachers dealt with a wide variety of problems and the treatment of these was necessarily very diverse. Often similar symptoms resulted from very different problems. Some cases were solved by a single discussion between teacher and child while others could take months. Whatever the problem the Visiting Teacher would take an investigative approach. "Always remember that the child", said Vera Hayward, "is only the symptom of the problem, and there is always a logical reason for a child's behaviour". Their work was mainly preventive and they aimed to solve problems before they became serious.

For example, Vera Hayward dealt with a large family of girls who played truant every Friday. Her first approach was to collect the girls and take them to school and then she discussed the problem with the mother. In this conversation she discovered that the father's payday was Thursday and on this day he would come home drunk. This occurrence upset the whole household and resulted in the children being late for school. The teacher had continually make caustic remarks, and eventually the girls had become too embarrassed to go to school on Fridays. In this case the only solution was to talk to the teacher so she would show some consideration to the girls.36
Another common problem was if a child was not making progress at school. Often the cause was physical in origin, especially undetected hearing or sight disabilities, and in this case the Visiting Teacher would arrange for testing. Visiting Teachers were also involved in arranging for handicapped children to be placed in special schools and special classes. Vera Hayward evolved various techniques to deal with other problems. In the case of shoplifting, she made a special arrangement with shopkeepers. She would take the offending children to the store, and the owner would write their names down in a big black book. "It used to be a joke," said Vera Hayward, "that I would wander down town with crocodiles of crying children".

This was the basic method of approach which the Visiting Teachers adopted, and this resulted in the development of a very effective service. Some problems still remained and these impeded the effectiveness of their work. Lack of adequate travelling facilities was a continuing problem, until the introduction of a 50 per annum travelling allowance in the late forties. Lack of an office proved a real impediment, since it meant Visiting Teachers had no private area to interview children. Lack of further training also handicapped the Visiting Teachers service. The 1946 course was the only formal training course for Visiting Teachers held for twenty years.

Owing to the looseness of the guidelines laid down in 1943 there was sometimes a confusion between the Education Department and the Visiting Teachers over the scope of their duties. The Visiting Teachers were asked by teachers to perform a wide range of duties, and they did not like to refuse help to those in need. Since not enough Visiting Teachers were appointed they had to undertake more extensive work than had been intended. It had been intended that Visiting Teachers were to serve a school population of 1,500 to 2000 pupils in an industrial district. Therefore they responded to appeals by Visiting teachers for a travelling allowance, by stating that:
it was not intended that the Visiting Teacher should be a travelling officer dealing only with the most difficult cases in a large number of schools.

In 1948 this concern prompted D.N. Ball, the Chief Inspector of Primary Schools to ask the Director of Psychological Services to investigate the scope of the Christchurch visiting teachers' duties. 'Is there a tendency', he asked, 'for the Board to ask her to cover too wide an area'? This was ignoring the reality of the situation which the Visiting Teachers faced. They could not refuse urgent requests from schools outside their area, and the very nature of the work involved travelling.

The 1953 refresher course held for Visiting Teachers at Wallis House, redefined the Visiting Teachers' duties. Education Department concern over the extent of the duties which Visiting Teachers were asked to perform, prompted this redefinition. Visiting Teachers were no longer to interview parents in connection with the admission of pupils to 'special classes, occupation centres, sight saving classes, and the like'. The Department stated that:

>The Visiting Teachers first duty is to her own group of schools. She should be a familiar figure to teachers, children and parents within her own territory, and her energies should not be dissipated by calls from outside her territory that her work there is superficial.... The Director summed up this topic by saying "Whenever a Visiting Teacher has occasion to leave her own territory, she should feel as if a piece of elastic were pulling her back." 

After this redefinition of duties, the structure of the Visiting Teachers service has remained basically unchanged up to the present day. Its introduction proved very successful, and from 1945 requests were made for an extension of the service. Though a few more were appointed the number in the service remained fairly constant, and was never extended enough to satisfy the demand.
The Visiting Teachers succeeded in their role as liaison between home and school, forestalling serious trouble, and in 1953 E.M. Massay the Headmaster of Waitara District High School concluded:

In my opinion the most valuable result of the Visiting Teachers has been the prevention of delinquency or at least the prevention of a minor behaviour problem from developing into a major one.43

Though the Visiting Teachers service had been introduced in response to the immediate problems of the war the form the response took was shaped by the individual child. Instead of punitive action in response to the problems of truancy, Dr Beeby introduced a service which gave friendly and positive support to both parent and child. The assistance Visiting Teachers gave to thousands of school children played an important part in the realisation of the ideal of the individual in education.
FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER IV


   Dr Susan Isaacs was the Head of the Department of Child Development, the Institute of Education at London University. She also acted as the Psychologist to the London Clinic of Psychoanalysis. Source, ibid, xx.

   This article was based on a book by Oppenheimer called The Visiting Teachers Movement.

4. ibid.

5. ibid.

6. ibid.

7. C.E. Beeby, Interview.

8. 'Child Welfare', Education Gazette, XX, No. 9, 1 Sept. 1941, p.162.


10. C.E. Beeby, Interview.

11. C.E. Beeby to Secretary, Education Board, Auckland, E2 1955/18c, 9th Aug. 1943.


14. Vera Hayward was born in Dunedin and was active on a number of Committees. During her time as Visiting Teacher, she became involved in education on a nationwide basis through involvement on the Dominion Executive of Teachers. She went on the Executive in 1945 and became its President in 1952. After her retirement she continued her interest in welfare societies by working for Crippled Children, and other agencies.
   Source: V. Hayward, Visiting Teacher, Interview, 19 Aug. 1986.
15. V. Hayward, Visiting Teacher, Interview, 19 Aug. 1986.
16. ibid.
17. ibid.
19. V. Hayward, Interview.
22. G.W. Parkyn, Lecturer to Senior Inspector, Otago Education Board, E 2 1955/18c, 25 May 1944.
25. C.E. Beeby to the Secretary Education Board, Wellington, E 2 1955/18c, 8th Nov. 1943.
26. 'Course for Visiting Teachers', Education Gazette, XXV, 1 April 1946, No. 4, p. 98.
27. ibid.
28. ibid.
30. V. Hayward, Interview.
31. ibid.
32. S. McLachlan, Interview.
33. V. Hayward,
34. ibid.
35. ibid.
36. ibid.
37. ibid.
38. H. Young, Visiting teacher, Interview.

39. V. Hayward.


41. D.N. Ball for Acting Director of Education to the Secretary Education Board Wellington, 29 Nov. 1946, E 2 1955/18c.

42. D.N. Ball, Chief Inspector of Primary Schools, to Mr J.G. Caughley, 1st Dec. 1948, E 2 1955/18c.

CHAPTER V

Special Education and the development of the Psychological Service

Under the first Labour Government the foundations were laid for the establishment of a Psychological Service in New Zealand Education. The Service was established with the aim of helping "children whose progress at school is retarded by difficulties in learning or in emotional or social adjustment". Special assistance was given to 'exceptional' children, a definition which included a range from the severely subnormal to the brilliant. The Service was introduced as part of the Labour Government's reorganisation of education to provide for the needs of individual children. It became the most prestigious and highly specialised of the various social services which were introduced during this period.

Though the Psychological Service was a new institution in New Zealand education its origins lay in two developments before 1935. It became closely associated with the development of special education and the vocational guidance movement. University Guidance clinics were established first at Victoria and Canterbury then later at Otago, in the 1920s and 1930s. These clinics first introduced systems of psychological testing, and gave psychological and vocational assistance to a limited number of children. This work was later expanded when the Labour Government took control of vocational guidance, and the first psychologists appointed were attached to Vocational Guidance Centres.

Psychological work within the Education Department first developed when psychological officers were appointed to introduce the screening of children for admission to special classes. This association with special education continued to be an important part of the work of psychological work. The Psychological Service was created from the interweaving of these two different strands of educational work.
The Development of Special Education

Growing interest in the problem of backward children was evident by the early twentieth century. The N.Z.E.I. argued that special schools for the handicapped were an essential part of any education system. Finally under the energetic leadership of George Hogben, Inspector General of schools, a special school for boys was established at Oteikaike in 1906. The school was created with the aim of effecting a satisfactory social adjustment in retarded boys which would enable them to be replaced in the public school system. By 1938 the school was catering for 200 boys.

Some special classes for backward children were also established through private initiative, and four classes of this type existed by 1922. In 1922 the Education Department utilized the provisions of the 1914 Education Act which allowed for the establishment of special classes. Though this initiative was belated, once started the Education Department now moved rapidly. By the end of 1923 six classes had been established, and Miss W.A. Valentine was given a temporary appointment to investigate the problem of selecting children for special classes through intelligence and attainment tests. This became a permanent position and in 1928 she became Supervisor of Special Classes, a position she held until her retirement in 1941. This work involved travelling from North Cape to the Bluff testing children for admission to special classes.

Miss Valentine was the first psychological officer to be appointed in the Department, and this:

brought to the N.Z. Education Department the beginnings of a scientific attitude towards the problem of individual differences as applied to school children, especially as applied to backward school children.

The Committee on Inquiry of Mental Defectives and Sexual Offenders in 1924 provided a stimulus for the Education Department to create a psychological service for the purpose of classifying defectives. Education Department initiative centred in providing more classes for the 'feeble minded', and there were 29 such classes by 1928.
The Institute for the Care of Backward Children

(INCORPORATED)

BELGIUM STREET, AUCKLAND, C.2.

As an outcome of a public meeting held in February, 1933, a committee of voluntary workers called the AFTER CARE ASSOCIATION, was formed to assist backward children, and in 1935 it passed from its experimental stage, and as "THE INSTITUTE FOR THE CARE OF BACKWARD CHILDREN" it was established in Belgian Street under the jurisdiction of the Education Department with one Government teacher assisted by the voluntary workers. The building, which was the infant department of the old Newton East School, is conveniently situated, being in a most central part of the city and yet away from the bustle and noise. It consists of a large music room, a class room, a luncheon room, a cloak room, a teachers' room, and a play room downstairs. The school is attractively furnished and is made as home-like as possible. Each room has a different colour scheme in order to give the children a bright environment. The luncheon room is heated by means of an electric heater, and kept comfortably warm. The children are trained in table etiquette, and a radio provides music which is a source of delight to the children. The roll number is about 30, and a second teacher has been appointed, while the committee employs a domestic assistant to help with the meals and to maintain the highest possible efficiency in the domestic arrangements.

The hours of instruction daily are 10 a.m. to 2.30 p.m. Tuition Free.

Source: E51/1/3.
From the transcript of the deputation, it is clear the burden of looking after the handicapped fell directly on women, and that many of these children were not receiving any education. There was a real need for the expansion of special education and for the development of a Psychological Service which would provide understanding and assistance for children.

In 1936 this situation prompted the Minister of Education to inquire into facilities for mentally retarded children. The provisions of State assistance to the handicapped were as follows: ordinary children with an I.Q. of between 65 and 85 percent of the normal, attended special classes. State wards, country children and the maladjusted were sent to the training home at Oteikaike. Children with I.Q.'s of below 50 or 60 were divided into high and low grade imbeciles. High grade imbeciles were sent to the institution at Templeton, near Christchurch; and low grade imbeciles were sent to Richmond.

New Zealand's provision for the retarded was criticised in the New Education Fellowship Conference. Dr E.G. Malherbe pointed out that 800 retarded children were given special attention while the statistics showed that about 12,000 children needed help. Though the efforts of people like the Supervisor for special classes had been important in the development of special classes, the Education Department had not placed any especial concern on providing facilities for the retarded.

Under the Labour Government a new attitude towards these children was established. Their concern for individual needs meant that for the first time these differences were recognised as part of the Education system. At first progress was slow. The 1936 Education Amendment Act included a provision to allow special classes to be established in the homes of crippled children. Government support was given to initiatives in other centres to establish occupation
The physically handicapped and severely mentally retarded were to a large extent ignored by the Government.

These children were catered for by private initiative. Groups of women began to form After Care Associations to help children who were considered too handicapped to be admitted to special classes. This initiative began in Auckland where the assistant to the Supervisor of Special Classes became concerned about the lack of provision for such children. As a result of the publicity she raised some members of the Sunshine Association, a committee of ex-teachers, began conducting classes for two afternoons a week. By 1934 the success of this initiative prompted the formation of 'The Institute for Backward Children.' On 18 March 1935 a school was opened in Belgium Street, Auckland, under the jurisdiction of the Education Department, with one government teacher who was assisted by voluntary workers. The school gave individual assistance to children to enable 'correction of personality defects, the development of muscular control and the inhibition of antisocial tendencies'.

Though the Education Department made some provision for handicapped children before 1935, the development of these services was patchy, and the onus was placed on the parent. To a large extent subnormal and emotionally disturbed children were kept outside the education system. On 18 December 1935, a deputation from the 'Institute for the Care of Backward Children', waited on the Prime Minister to express their concern.

'The children', said one of the Deputation, 'had simply been turned out on the scrap heap and left there - they were below the subnormal - they were mentally deficient and were what people on the street would call "mad children". The deputation stressed the need for another teacher at the school, and emphasized the problems of mothers of backward children who did not have the money to buy help. Mr Savage replied in a supportive fashion, saying 'we have not lost sight of the old philosophy of being our brother's keeper and we have to shoulder that responsibility'. He then promised to alert the Minister of Education to the problem of special education.
Hunterville Hostel, Abbotsford, 1947. For pupils of the Dunedin Occupation Centre.

classes. In 1938, an Occupation Centre for Backward children was established in Dunedin. The centre was run by Miss Greene, an exchange teacher who had trained at the Edinburgh Teachers College 1915-1917, and then had worked at the Nottingham Special for seven years. By 1939, the roll was 25, with an average attendance of 21. The Evening Star reported that valuable work was carried out at the centre but commented that:

It seems a great pity that work so well begun should go no further because of indifferent support from the right quarters. The help the education authorities appears prepared to give is small, although the value of Miss Greene's work is being realised.

In 1940 a house with a large section was purchased in Christchurch by the Education Department for the purpose of establishing an occupation centre for children of eleven years and over. This centre was established on a more generous basis than the earlier Auckland and Dunedin occupation centres. By 1941 an important principle had been won, when the Government accepted responsibility for special education. 'In strong distinction to the dictatorships, a democratic state with its respect for the individual must provide special facilities for the handicapped.'

H.G.R. Mason wrote:

The new appreciation of individual differences among children, coupled with a growing humanitarianism, has made us sympathetic as never before with the needs of pupils, who, if they are to have any chance at all in a competitive world, must be given the special treatment unnecessary in the case of their more normal fellows.

These statements marked a turning point in the development of special education as well as increasing the number of special education classes. The Government accepted the recommendation of the N.Z.E.I. that general psychological clinics should be established to deal with mentally and physically handicapped children. These clinics would be attached to Vocational Guidance Centres, and it was proposed that the Centres should take special responsibility for the post educational care of these children.
The first Educational Psychologists were appointed on a part-time basis at the Christchurch and Wellington Vocational Guidance Centres in 1944. G.M. Keys, the District Vocational Guidance Officer in Christchurch asked Dr Winterbourn to work for two half days (later five half days) a week at the Christchurch Vocational Guidance Centre. In Wellington Mr G.C. Brookes, the District Vocational Guidance Officer asked Dr Ernest Beaglehole to carry out psychological work. In place of the earlier occasional arrangement, Dr Ernest Beaglehole has since January, visited the Centre each Thursday morning, as per tentative arrangement with the Department. He conducts psychological examination of children (and adults) arranged for him by the staff at the Centre.17

In the same year Ralph Winterbourn published 'Educating Backward Children in New Zealand'. This book proved extremely influential on the development of special education in New Zealand. He recommended a master plan for attacking the problem of backwardness which would involve: adequate training for teachers in special education, training for all teachers in the understanding of backward children, the revision of curricula, and special class methods, the development of aftercare services, and the establishment of psychological services.18 He envisaged the school psychologist as a consultant who would give assistance to all schools in their districts as well as the Vocational Guidance Centres and the Child Welfare Division of the Education Department. Special assistance would also be given to special classes and occupation centres. In general the Psychological Divisions would act as community diagnostic centres for maladjustment of children and adolescents.

Ralph Winterbourn's suggestions on the form of the Psychological Service were eventually adopted by the Education Department.19 In 1945 the Government declared its intention to expand the work of the clinics throughout the country. This was to be achieved with the help of qualified people attached to University colleges and with psychiatrists attached to mental hospitals.20 A Psychological Division was attached to the Wellington Vocational Guidance Centre,
and J.C. Caughley, who had trained in England, was appointed Psychologist.

The expansion of the Psychological clinics prompted the first Government training scheme for psychologists in 1946. Dr Winterbourn was asked to organise and direct the course through the newly created Psychological Division. This two year post graduate course was held in conjunction with a special one year advanced training course for teachers to 'fit them for special class work'. Two ex-servicemen graduates from Canterbury University College, Q.H. Brew, and A.B. Allen were chosen as the first psychological trainees. They were later put in charge of the Wellington and Christchurch Divisions. Though the training course was not continued, an embryonic Psychological Service had formed.

The Psychological Service was put on firm foundations with the appointment of James Caughley (from the Wellington Psychological Division) to the office of Supervisor of Psychological Services. He was intended to coordinate the services already established and to develop a plan for the future.

This plan for the future included:

1. Organisation and supervision of all work in connection with backward children in special classes and in ordinary schools.

2. The selection and training of persons qualified for such work.

3. The development of means of ensuring proper treatment for children with special learning difficulties.

4. Studying and reporting on the provision for the education of all "a-normal" children.

5. Working in collaboration with other department officers to ensure adequate psychological training of officers of the department.

6. The development and application of standardised tests for measurement of ability and attainment.
Under the direction of James Caughley the development of special education and the Psychological Service was rapid. The first important development was in 1949, when the special class selection personnel were decentralised and appointed as assistants in the Wellington and Christchurch Psychological Divisions. By the mid 1950s there were psychologists appointed in Auckland, Hamilton, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin, as well as three Assistant Psychologists, and four area organisers of special classes.

The work of the Psychological Divisions followed closely the guidelines laid down by Ralph Winterbourn in 1944. Psychologists acted as professional consultants, who could be called in in difficult situations by Vocational Guidance officers, Child Welfare Officers, Children's Court Magistrates, doctors, and visiting teachers. When their assistance was required they usually gave an individual examination of the child to determine the cause of their problem. This mostly involved tests of general intelligence, 'school attainment in the tool subjects, and vocational aptitude tests'. The results of the interview were discussed with the parent, and referring authority.

After each case was determined, a report was issued giving test results, clinical behaviour and recommendations for treatment. Lack of staff meant that the long term treatment of individuals was not practical. The Psychological service as the most highly specialised and prestigious social service which developed, formed the apex of the structure of services.

The Psychological Service developed out of the growing concern for the individual in education. The recognition of individual differences in education was expressed by H.G.R. Mason in 1944, and marked a decisive turn in the development of special education. Provision of services for 'a-normal' children had before 1935 been patchy and reluctant. The introduction of the Psychological Service provided a coordinating force for special educational facilities.
FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER V


4. (A.B. Allen), 'Psychology Applied to Education'.

5. ibid.

6. ibid.

7. The Institute for the Care of Backward Children, Auckland, 1 Feb. 1938, E 51/1/3.


12. Secretary, Education Board of Otago, to Director of Education, 24th Aug. 1938, 10th Nov. 1938, E/51/1/3.

13. 'Developing Subnormal Children', Occupation Centre, Evening Star, Sept. 11, 1940.


19. (A.B. Allen), 'Psychology Applied to Education',


23. The Auckland District was staffed by Miss A. Sheat (previously Area Organiser of Special Classes), the Senior psychological assistant and Miss M. Unwin).

24. (A.B. Allen), 'Psychology applied to education'.
CONCLUSION

During the term of the first Labour Government an interlocking system of social services in New Zealand education was established. These services catered for the emotional, physical, vocational, as well as educational well being of the whole child. Each service provided for different needs, forming a complementary system.

This expansion in social services was part of a general expansion of education during the period 1935-1948. Expansion was both vertical and horizontal. Education expanded vertically through increased provisions for both ends of the age scale. Pre-school services underwent an extensive development in this period.

The government became involved on different levels in pre-school education. Increased financial assistance was given to the free Kindergartens. These were funded partly by private organisations and partly by the government. In 1942 the Government gave bursaries to kindergarten trainees for the first time, in an attempt to boost their numbers.\(^1\) Preschool care also experienced a temporary increase in war time. During the war years the increased necessity for women to undertake war work led to the establishment in 1943 of two all day nursery schools in Wellington.\(^2\) This initiative was a direct response to a need, and was not part of Government policy. The service was not that popular, and ceased with the end of the war time situation.

Some support was given to the developing play centre movement. Playcentres had been established on the independent initiative of three women, all of whom were married to important educationalists; Beatrice Beeby, the wife of the Director of Education, Inga Smithells, the wife of the Superintendent of Physical Education, and Joan Wood, the wife of professor F.L. Wood at Victoria University. The drive for these pre-school services came from the Kindergarten and Playcentre movements, but Joan Wood considered that these were
A hot midday meal is a feature of the daily routine for the physically retarded pupils of the Sara Cohen Memorial Open Air School.

themselves, influenced by the changed climate in education.  

During their term in office, the government also assisted the formal development of adult education. A council for Adult Education was founded in 1939, and under its direction adult education was gradually extended. With government assistance, a number of community centres were established, the most important being the experimental Fielding Community Centre.

The horizontal expansion of education involved the development of educational services for children previously outside the educational system. Special education expanded dramatically throughout this period lifting some of the burden of care from families, and placing it on the state. The number of special classes for backward children doubled between 1935 and 1944.

Social services in education developed as part of this horizontal expansion, with the result that the education system began to assume more influence and control over more children's lives. This development aroused some concern in the community as can be seen in the furore over the vocational guidance service. The expansion of education was not unique to New Zealand but reflected a general trend throughout the western world in this period. The trend was introduced to New Zealand through a number of influential educators, the most important being the Director of Education, C.E. Beeby. Social Services underwent their greatest expansion during his period of control, as Assistant Director from 1938-1940, and Director of Education from 1940-1960.

The changing role of teachers was vital in the successful establishment of social services. Since teachers dealt with children on a day-to-day basis, they could identify their problems and refer them to the relevant authority. In this system the Visiting Teacher acted as a flexible and non specific service and dealt with problems ranging from physical, and emotional to educational.
Their role was primarily preventive, with the aim of detecting any problems in their early stages. In secondary schools careers advisers could deal with a pupils' basic educational problems and give advice about courses and careers.

The other social services which developed gave more specialised assistance. Medical and Dental services were developed to cater for children's physical well being. Vocational Guidance centres gave vocational assistance with the aim of steering children into the appropriate career. At all levels of the system the most difficult problems, were referred to the Psychological Service. This was the most prestigious and specialised service which developed.

Did these services develop because of theoretical or practical considerations? In this essay it has been argued that both considerations were important. The theory of the individual child provided a broad platform on which to justify the establishment of these services. It was of primary importance, since it also formed a unifying force which determined the shape of the services which developed. These services were not introduced wholly as the result of a polemic decision however, rather they grew out of a more organic process: the flowering of ideas and circumstances over a period of time.

Three practical factors were crucial in this development; the Depression, the war, and the rise in the numbers going on to Secondary schooling. The Labour Government came into power on the sufferings of the Depression. These sufferings prompted them to introduce medical and dental services in an attempt to improve children's health. The Depression also highlighted the need for services like vocational guidance.
Another feature of this period was the gradual rise in the numbers of post primary schools. In 1917 only 33 percent of the primary school population had gone on to post primary school and by 1948 this had increased to 85 percent. The government's policies may have intensified this increase, but it was part of a general process. In 1948 the government wrote:

The changes in post primary education vocational guidance were introduced not for any doctrinaire reasons, but as a matter of necessity to meet a new practical situation created by the new post primary school population.

The war was the last of the determining factors which prompted the introduction and expansion of social services. The rise of truancy during the war prompted the introduction of the Visiting Teachers Service. Yet the response to all these situations was dictated by the theory of the individual child. This meant that the services which were introduced focused on the child. The result was the establishment of a basic system of social services in education, due to a mix of practical and theoretical considerations.

The value of these reforms is evident, but they were not introduced without certain problems. Often they were makeshift solutions to a particular problem, due to the limits of finance and staffing. The most important limiting factor was the assumptions of the time. The ideal of the individual was an attempt to infuse equality of opportunity into education. Incorporated into this structure of opportunity was the notion that the needs of the individual were differentiated by race and by sex. The basic inequalities which existed were not questioned. This is particularly evident in the vocational services which developed. Girls, especially Maori girls, were directed towards the domestic role, and there was little attempt to extend their range of choices. The Government stressed the importance of the family unit, as had been emphasized in a number of studies on the move towards sexual differentiation in education in the early twentieth century.
At a time when, as one woman pointed out, the education of boys was inclining towards the encouragement of individual aptitudes, it was assumed that the education of girls must be directed towards the eventual fulfillment of their natural role.7

Moreover these reforms were applied unevenly, and country children received few of the benefits which city children received. This was due to a number of factors; urban areas were suffering the greatest problems, the cost of such services meant they were concentrated where they were most needed, and they were more easily developed in city areas.

Another important aspect of the development of social services was the greatly expanded role of the state through the school system. Schools became more closely involved with the home environment, and the fears that the State was encroaching on the rights of parents were partially justified. Though the social services were intended to support, not to control, there is a very delicate balance between these two functions. This was an international trend which has recently been criticised by the Deschoolers, a group of educational critics. They argued that the state through the education system was taking over greater control of people's lives.8 There was some justification for this argument but the introduction of educational social services was a necessity caused by an increasingly urbanised, and changing society.

With all its flaws, the system which developed did provide a useful service for children. When the deschooling idea was presented to Dr Beeby he argued that though a policy may be flawed, this does not mean the policy should be discarded. The benefits of the social services which were introduced outweighed the disadvantages.9

The limits of the time constrained the development of true equality in the educational system, because the educational system was itself a reflection of that time. No government would set up an educational
system which would produce a different society. Though the system of social services which was introduced had its flaws, it did establish the basis for greater equality in education. The criticisms applied now to the fragmentation of the services, especially the development of special education, and the lack of accountability of the social services, are valid. But the services which were introduced were the fairest, and the best which could be introduced within the limits of cost, lack of staff, and the ideological climate of the time.
FOOTNOTES FOR CONCLUSION

10. Ibid.
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Unofficial Sources

C Oral Sources
D Journals

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E Unpublished Theses
F Reports
G Books and articles
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A Unpublished Official Records

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## APPENDIX I

### EDUCATIONAL AND VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE CARD

**PRIMARY SCHOOL RECORD**

- **Surname:**
- **Christian names:**
- **Name of Parent** or Guardian:
- **Occupation:**
- **Date of Birth:**
- **Address:**
- **Date of 1st entry:**

### Form

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7.S.C. Gained: 19

### Aptitudes

- **Aptitudes:**
- **Recommendations for further education or work:**

### Comments by Primary H.T.

- **Interests and hobbies:**
- **Sports, social activities and distinctions:**
- **Social adjustment:**
- **Methods of work:**
- **Power of expression:**
- **Suited to Paper, People or things:**
- **Pupil’s Vocational Preference:**
  - (1)
  - (2)
  - (3)
- **Parent’s Plans:**

### MEDICAL NOTES (Form II)

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<td>Weight</td>
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<td>General Development</td>
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**V.G.O.’s Comments and Recommendations:**
## POST-PRIMARY RECORD

**SCHOOL:** ___________________________  **COURSE:** ___________________________

- **Surname:** ___________________________  **Christian names:** ___________________________
- **Date of Birth:** ___________________________
- **Name of Parent or Guardian:** ___________________________
- **Occupation:** ___________________________  **Date of Entry:** ___________________________
- **Address:** ___________________________  **Phone No.:** ___________________________
- **Date of Leaving:** ___________________________  **Probable destination of pupil on leaving:**

### Class Results [Year's Aggregate or 3rd Term. Results: Expressed as Fraction: Position over No. in Class]

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- **Interests and hobbies:** ___________________________
- **Sports and social activities and distinctions:** ___________________________
- **Social adjustment:** ___________________________
- **Methods of work:** ___________________________
- **Power of expression:** ___________________________
- **SUITED TO—Paper, People, or things:** ___________________________
- **Pupil's Vocational Preference:** (1) ___________________________  (2) ___________________________  (3) ___________________________
- **Parent's Plans:** ___________________________

### MEDICAL NOTES (Post-primary Leaving Stage)

- **Speech:** ___________________________
- **Hearing:** ___________________________
- **Sight:** ___________________________
- **Height:** ___________________________
- **Weight:** ___________________________
- **General Development:** ___________________________

- **Temperament, Character and Manner:** ___________________________

- **Head Teacher's and Careers Adviser's Comments and Recommendations:** ___________________________

- **V.G.O.'s Comments and Recommendations:** ___________________________
### APPENDIX II

**ANALYSIS OF DESTINATION OF MAORI SCHOOL LEAVERS - 1946.**

*(COVERING 110 NATIVE SCHOOLS)*

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<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>43</td>
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<tr>
<td>Employed - learning a skilled occupation - living at home</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic work - not at home, but living at home</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casual or other unsatisfactory employment</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At home</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inadequate information</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total | 18 | 56 | 225 | 68 | 367 |

Source: E 29/65/20.
APPENDIX III

Function of the Visiting Teacher

1. Failure to make expected progress in the classroom.
2. Behaviour problems, social and emotional.
3. Irregular attendance, after investigation by the school.
4. Persistent lateness, after investigation by the school.
5. Overtiredness, listlessness or over-excitability at school.
6. Incipient delinquency.
7. Poor relationship in the classroom, revealed in unhappiness at home or at school.
8. Adverse home conditions affecting school work.

***********************

INDEX

This is a brief index which includes all the important people and events which appear in more than one Chapter.

Beeby, C.E., Biography, p.16, Portrait p.6, Pages: 2, 3, 7, 26, 27, 36, 43, 50, 68, 69, 70, 79, 94, 97.

Fraser, P., Biography p. 15, Portrait p. 4, Pages: 4, 5, 8, 9, 18, 24, 25, 39, 40.

Hogben, G., Biography, p.14, Pages: 2, 19, 84.

Mason, H.G.R., Biography, p.17, Pages: 11-12, 30, 44, 56, 57, 87.


Shelley, J., Biography, p.15, Pages: 6, 36, 59.

Winterbourn, R., Pages: 36, 44, 46, 49, 50, 52, 53, 73, 88, 89, 90.

************************************************************
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