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Caring and Learning Together: A Case Study of New Zealand

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UNESCO Education Sector
About the Report
The present report was commissioned by UNESCO within the framework of the Caring and Learning Together: a Cross-National Study on the Integration of Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE) within Education, implemented as part of its 2008-2009 biennial programme. The study examines the policy of integrating ECCE within the education system, which is being adopted in a growing number of countries. It aims to generate a better understanding of the policy by looking at the experiences of five countries – Brazil, Jamaica, New Zealand, Slovenia and Sweden – and one municipality – Ghent in Belgium Flanders – which have chosen this option. The study also looks at why other countries have not followed this course of action. It offers an assessment of integration-within-education, and provides key policy insights and recommendations on the subject.

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1. Introduction

*Early Childhood Education in New Zealand*

**Historical and Population Overview**

New Zealand, an island nation, is located in the South Pacific region. Māori arrived in Aotearoa/New Zealand by canoes from about the 10th century. In 1769, British ship’s captain James Cook and his crew arrived and charted New Zealand. A constitutional agreement called the Treaty of Waitangi was signed between the Queen of England and the Māori people in 1840.

In the 21st century, New Zealand’s main population groups are: European, Māori, Pacific peoples (including Samoan, Tongan, Cook Islands, Fijian, Niuean, Tokelauan, Tuvaluan), Chinese, and South-East and South Asian. The total population is 4,276,548 (Statistics New Zealand, September 3, 2008). Māori are the second largest ethnic group (14.6 percent of the population in 2006, the most recent census).

Participation in the paid workforce is high for men and relatively high for women. Many women with young children work part-time; labour force participation is 39 percent for women with a child aged under-1 year and 58 percent for women whose youngest child is aged 1 to 4 years (Statistics New Zealand, 2005). There is a current trend for mothers of young children to resume paid work earlier. The unemployment rate was 6.5 percent in September 2009 (a 9-year high). The birth rate is 2.2 live births per woman, and the infant mortality rate 5.4 deaths per 1,000 live births (Statistics for June 2008 quarter – Statistics New Zealand, 2008). New Zealand has a literacy rate of 99 percent.

Since the 1877 Education Act, education in New Zealand schools has been free, compulsory, and secular. Full-time attendance at school is compulsory between the ages of 6 and 16, and students may enrol and receive a free education at any state school from their 5th birthday. Most children do begin school on or near their 5th birthday. Early childhood services (ECS) have mainly been provided by community and privately-run groups for over 120 years. The exceptions are the early childhood section of The Correspondence School and early education classes in public hospitals; both of these types of service are owned and fully funded by the Government. The majority of ECS are for children aged from birth to school entry who are enrolled in any licensed or licence-exempt service; however, kindergartens generally do not start children until they are aged 3 years or older.

**Administration**

Prior to 1986 in New Zealand, responsibility for funding and administration of ECS was split among the Departments of Education, Social Welfare, and Māori Affairs (Ministry of Education, 1998). In 1986, responsibility for childcare administration moved formally from the Department of Social Welfare to the Department of Education.

1 Hospital-based ECS do not charge fees to parents. The irregularity and periods of time children use these services make them unique contextually and for government funding.
Education. From that date, the Department of Education\(^2\) became responsible for all ECS recognised by its chief executive officer. This case study addresses the rationale for the transfer of childcare services to the “administrative umbrella” of the Department of Education, and explores the consequences of integration and subsequent developments in the sector.

Central Government gives grants for only a proportion of the costs of early education to ECS (except the two fully-funded services—see above). Successive Governments have been making grants to selected ECS since the early years of the twentieth century, but no Government has accepted responsibility for paying the full costs of running ECS that it does not own. (The closest to full cost payment is the policy of “20 hours free ECE per week for 3 and 4 year olds” in some ECS introduced by a Labour-led coalition government in 2008 – see later discussion.) The Government grants system of part-funding means that parents have to contribute time and/or money to bridge the gap between the grant and the real costs of running the service. Until 1989, different formulae were used for determining the Government grants to be made to each type of licensed service and they had different levels of subsidy as well, with kindergarten receiving the most per child. There was (and still is) a higher level of subsidy for children under two years of age, and a requirement in the regulations for higher ratios of adults to children for this age group. Changes in funding policies in 1989, and again in 2007/2008, will be described later in this paper.

**Types of early childhood services**

The specific ECS, in order of their inauguration, are:

- Home-based care (also known as family day care);
- Childcare centres (diverse ownership, governance and delivery arrangements—some community-based, some commercial; some with affiliations to special-character associations such as Montessori);
- Kindergartens (community run sessional centres, mostly for 3 and 4 year olds, where the teachers are College or University graduates, and the services are governed by regional associations);
- Playcentres (parent-cooperative, sessional centres, where the educators and administrators are parents of enrolled children; governed by regional associations);
- The Correspondence School early childhood services (distance early education);
- Ngā kōhanga reo (school hours centres operating in the Māori language, where the educators and administrators are parents or elders of the children, governed by a national body of venerable Māori elders);
- Pacific Island early childhood centres (which operate in Pacific languages at least part of the time. Immigrants from small Pacific nations are the educators and administrators); and
- License-exempt groups run with parent present.

The number and types of ECS are summarised in Table 1. Trend data show a significant increase in childcare centres (now known officially as ‘education and care

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\(^2\) The Department of Education became the Ministry of Education in 1989 as part of the reforms in education administration.
centres’). After their transfer to the Department/Ministry of Education there has been a 211 percent increase between 1990 and 2009.

Table 1: Number of early childhood services by service type as at 1 July (1990, 1995, 2000, 2005, 2007, 2009)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Licensed Services</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kindergarten</td>
<td>575</td>
<td>591</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>618</td>
<td>618</td>
<td>626</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playcentre</td>
<td>621</td>
<td>562</td>
<td>517</td>
<td>482</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>461</td>
<td>-25.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education and care a</td>
<td>719</td>
<td>1,093</td>
<td>1,476</td>
<td>1,754</td>
<td>1,932</td>
<td>2,236</td>
<td>211.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homebased network</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>642.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngā Kōhanga reo</td>
<td>616</td>
<td>738</td>
<td>583</td>
<td>501</td>
<td>470</td>
<td>464</td>
<td>-24.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Correspondence School</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casual-education and care</td>
<td>....</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub-total</strong></td>
<td>2,572</td>
<td>3,133</td>
<td>3,402</td>
<td>3,598</td>
<td>3,750</td>
<td>4,123</td>
<td>60.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Licence-exempt ECE groups</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playgroups</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>592</td>
<td>641</td>
<td>608</td>
<td>672</td>
<td>250.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific Island Early Childhood Groups</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>-65.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngā Puna Kohungahunga</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playcentres</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Licence-exempt Kōhanga Reo</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub-total</strong></td>
<td>318</td>
<td>691</td>
<td>773</td>
<td>838</td>
<td>729</td>
<td>767</td>
<td>141.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>2,890</td>
<td>3,824</td>
<td>4,175</td>
<td>4,436</td>
<td>4,479</td>
<td>4,890</td>
<td>69.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a Includes pre-school classes attached to state primary (elementary) and private schools which were disestablished in January 1993.
Also, Bushouse, 2008, p. 66.

The majority of ECS in New Zealand are community-based, run by Non-Governmental Organisations, with varying amounts of voluntary involvement. Private enterprise individuals or companies run some for profit. A few early childhood centres are associated with private schools or with tertiary institutions (for students who are parents to use while studying). Local government has a minimal role in relation to provision of ECS in New Zealand – mostly to do with building planning permissions. This arrangement is not unique to ECS; the administration of social services has never been de-voled to local government in New Zealand. In a country with a small population there has never been a drive to do so.

Central government provision of any ECS is an exception, not the rule. Only The Correspondence School and ECS in public hospital wards are owned and fully funded by government. The government administers policy for ECS, but rarely administers the services themselves: committees, boards or owners do that work. It does have a part ownership interest in the land and buildings used by community-based ECS as a consequence of giving land and large establishment grants to kindergarten and playcentre associations to start up new centres. Community-based childcare centres have occasionally been given similar assistance with property. Kindergartens are
covered by the State Sector Act (1988), which means that the government is party to kindergarten teachers’ employment pay and conditions negotiations.

**Participation**

Table 2 shows the changes over time in enrolments at types of ECS. Both service types that offer full-day care and education (centre and home-based) increased their enrolments between 1995 and 2009, whilst sessional or school-hours services experienced a decline in participation. In 2007, 64.7 percent of 0-4 year olds were enrolled.

**Table 2: Number of enrolments in licensed early childhood services by service type as at 1 July (1995, 2000, 2005, 2007, 2009)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service Type</th>
<th>1995</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2009 % of ECE Sector (licensed)</th>
<th>% difference, 1995-2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kindergarten</td>
<td>47,208</td>
<td>45,869</td>
<td>44,920</td>
<td>43,695</td>
<td>39,346</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>-16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playcentre</td>
<td>19,108</td>
<td>15,808</td>
<td>15,059</td>
<td>14,664</td>
<td>15,171</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>-20.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education and care</td>
<td>53,769</td>
<td>71,231</td>
<td>83,889</td>
<td>91,733</td>
<td>101,424</td>
<td>56.1</td>
<td>88.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home-based network</td>
<td>6,114</td>
<td>8,937</td>
<td>9,770</td>
<td>11,073</td>
<td>15,054</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>146.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngā Kohanga reo</td>
<td>14,015</td>
<td>11,138</td>
<td>10,070</td>
<td>9,236</td>
<td>9,288</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>-33.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Correspondence School</td>
<td>901</td>
<td>984</td>
<td>813</td>
<td>737</td>
<td>627</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>-30.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>141,115</td>
<td>153,967</td>
<td>164,521</td>
<td>171,138</td>
<td>180,910</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>28.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:** This table includes licensed services only. The rationale is that “due to methodological changes in 2006, recent figures from licence-exempt groups are not directly comparable with earlier years” (Ministry of Education, 2008, p. 2).

Sometimes children are counted more than once because they attend different early childhood services (i.e., more than one service).

Most of the increase in enrolments during the last 5 years has been for children aged under 3 years, and enrolments for this age group “have more than doubled since 1990” (Ministry of Education, 2009, p. 2).

**Sources:**

http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/ (Retrieved March 5, 2009)


Also: Bushouse, 2008, p. 67.

2. **Rationales for integration of early childhood care and education put forward in the 1980s**

The rationale for the integration of early childhood care and education shifted across time. The rationales ranged across the liberation of women, caring support for children and their families and community, quality childcare services, and human rights.

In the 1970s, it was community groups who developed the rationale. They argued that the main reason for state support for childcare generally, not just for ‘needy’ families, was for the liberation of women. However, linking childcare to the liberation of
women brought advocates for childcare face to face with resistance. After heated debates and some backlash against the women’s movement and childcare, advocates shifted their focus to therapeutic and educational arguments with the child as beneficiary. It was necessary to show that quality childcare was not harmful for children and that it was an acceptable form of early education for children and support for families. Two studies in the USA provided evidence of the benefits of early education, (see Lazar & Darlington, 1982; and Weikart, 1982). When children’s interests were being considered, it was argued that all children are entitled to good quality care and education in whatever early childhood service they attended, (see May, 2000, p. 56, & 2001, p. 122).

The State Services Commission working group (1977–1980, see later discussion) advanced the discourse.

The working group accepts that whatever is provided for young children is in one sense care, and in another sense education. The two things in relation to young children cannot easily be distinguished. One cannot provide care for young children without their learning ideas, habits and attitudes; nor can one educate them without at the same time providing care. (State Services Commission Working Group Report, 1980, pp.3-4)

Their argument – once accepted – was to become an important part of the rationale for the policy changes that occurred from the mid-1980s. “A broader concept of early childhood care and education replaced the notion of pre-school education,” (May, 2001, p. 122). A new generic term was needed for the expanded sector – early childhood care and education (ECCE). Peter Moss calls this an ‘integrative concept’. (2007, p. 33)

Another point to note about this statement by the working group was their reference to young children’s ‘learning ideas, habits and attitudes’. This concept of learning habits or dispositions came to be central to the New Zealand early childhood education curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1993, 1996).

Looking back through Department of Education annual reports, it is interesting to note that the official language changed from “pre-school education” to “early childhood education” in the 1975 report. There were probably two influences at work: first, the National Advisory Council for Pre-school Education, set up in 1973, had a wide range of organisations involved whose members probably suggested more inclusive language for the sector, and second, in 1975 the department was re-organised into directorates for the various levels of education and a Director of Early Childhood Education was appointed for the first “level”. Departmental officers would be more comfortable with job titles saying “early childhood education” than “care and education”.

However, the term “early childhood care and education” was used for the New Zealand/OECD conference held in February 1978 and chaired by the Director-General of Education. The term could well have come from the OECD. The Department of Education’s annual report (1978) stated that the conference

brought together the various government departments and other agencies which are concerned with early childhood care and education. The extension of interest from
either education or care to both education and care has placed the provision of educational services for young children and their parents in an entirely new context. (pp.6-7)

Early childhood services were seen by advocates to perform even wider functions than care and education after Urie Bronfenbrenner visited New Zealand to share his theory of the ecology of human development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). His model showed how the provision of early education went beyond giving benefits to the child alone, and the importance of a range of services in providing ‘caring support’ to children, families and communities. (May, 2001, p.128)

By 1985, the view of the wider role of ECS was being adopted, and was espoused for childcare services in particular in the Social Advisory Council report, Child Care Services: Impacts and opportunities. Their philosophy of childcare was that it benefits society by “the enhancement of children’s development, including the promotion of cultural identity, and the social integration of children with disabilities; the support of families [in bringing up children]; and facilitation of participation in society,” (1985, p.30).

As people adopted the concept of ECCE, the focus shifted once again. The focus became one of equitable resources for all types of ECCE services - “the contribution from central government should be sufficient to give the funding of childcare services equity with that of other ECCE services” (ibid).

In early 1988, the Cabinet Social Equity Committee invited Anne Meade to chair an Early Childhood Care and Education Working Group. Equity was one of the key concepts in its terms of reference (and for several others set up in that period). Their tasks included advising on the role and responsibility of government in relation to equitable access to ECCE, and more equitable funding and funding processes. (Department of Education, 1988) The rationale for the government to be involved in all ECS, stated in their report, contained three elements:

- **Features which are in the interests of the child** – that is, good quality services that meets the needs and rights of the child,

- **Features which are in the interests of the caregivers** - ... this means accessibility to affordable services …

- **Features which are in the interests of cultural survival and transmission to succeeding generations** – that is, opportunities for young children to learn the language and other elements of their own culture … and for this learning opportunity to be available to the parents … as well.

It is essential for all three elements to be present in every early childhood care and education arrangement. *(Education to Be More, 1988, p.6)*

This working group, in saying that services needed to be fair and equitable to children, parents and cultural groups, added a new dimension to the concept of equity.

Many of the rationale statements referred to the quality of ECCE being more important than the type of service. The advocates wanted good quality across all
service types and thought this was more feasible if integration occurred. Links were made between good quality ECCE and adequate training. Research was emerging that demonstrated that centres with staff who had ECCE-related training provided better quality of care (e.g., Ruopp et al, 1979; Phillips, McCartney & Scarr, 1987).

Advocates for better childcare training did not rest their case only on equity arguments. They called on the caring-support-to children-families-and-communities argument from Bronfenbrenner’s theory, and also talked about the complexity of work in childcare centres. “It is therefore essential to provide childcare workers with longer and more in-depth training programmes to allow them to develop this complex array of skills” (Report of the Working Party on Childcare Training, 1986, p.9). They recommended that childcare training be integrated into the extended kindergarten training. Their case was bolstered by a new requirement that each childcare centre have a trained supervisor (Childcare Centre Regulations, 1985). Around that time, arguments also began to be made that the worth of the work in ECCE was equal to that of the other education sectors.

More recently, after New Zealand ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, children’s rights have been emphasised as part of the rationale for maintaining equitable arrangements for all ECCE services (e.g., Smith, 2002; Te One, 2005).

3. Process and transition at national level

This section outlines the context during the period prior to the decision to integrate early childhood care and education (ECCE) administration in one central government department, and the steps taken to transfer the administrative responsibilities for childcare to Education. The decision to integrate provided the context for later significant decisions, namely to give the same government support to childcare services as kindergartens and to apply all early education policies (such as the introduction of the early childhood education curriculum) to childcare services. Equal status for childcare services took a decade to achieve after the administrative transfer.

The era of minimal support for childcare services

In the twentieth century, for various reasons, it was “extraordinarily difficult to get acceptance of the need for full-day childcare no matter how great the need, and children were believed to be better of in their own homes no matter how miserable their conditions may be. Social policy and public opinion both operated to keep mothers at home” (Social Advisory Council, 1985, p. 8). Many thought childcare was harmful.

It wasn’t until children were harmed in a ‘baby farm’ in 1958 that the first Child Care Centre Regulations (1960) were formulated. The new regulations focused only on physical environments. The Child Welfare Division, situated in the then Department

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3 In the 1980s, the sector was referred to as early childhood care and education. However, in the 1990s, after the education orientation was accepted, the language changed to early childhood education.
of Education, administered them. Thus, the Department of Education was where the formal recognition of childcare services by central government began.

The 1960 regulations created the means to define an array of different types of ECS as one group, even though no national organisation akin to the kindergarten and playcentre movements had been established. The ‘group’ contained a variety of stand-alone services, run by both private owners and community committees.

Gradually the governments in that century gave some support to kindergartens, which were perceived to be ‘educational’. As a result of lobbying, reasonable levels of grants-in-aid came to be paid to kindergartens and, later, playcentres. They were for both operational and capital costs. However, childcare services remained the ‘Cinderellas’ even though they were amongst the first services to be established in New Zealand. The lack of a national organisation probably contributed to this situation. One advocate, Sonja Davies⁴, set up the New Zealand Association of Child Care Centres in the early 1960s (Davies, 1997) to campaign for society to give to childcare the same support it gave to pre-school education services. In 1981 this Association was renamed the New Zealand Childcare Association, and in 1999 it was officially named Te Tari Puna Ora o Aotearoa/NZ Childcare Association (May, 2003, 2009; Te Tari Puna Ora o Aotearoa/NZ Childcare Association, 2009).

Several resistance factors impeded progress. First, childcare services were perceived to be full-day (even though many were half-day) and there was caution about the effects of full-day care on children. Second, there was resistance to giving support to women in paid work (childcare was seen as a ‘private good’ for such women). Third, there was resistance about government funding going to privately-owned centres.

In 1974, some financial assistance for low-income families to subsidise their childcare fees was introduced. It was not until the 1980s that grants were given to childcare services (as incentives for the employment of trained staff, and occasionally for capital costs). Government support for childcare centres at a similar level to kindergartens was not achieved until 1989, and, a year later, the New Zealand Childcare Association got the same per-student grants as any tertiary institution.

The development of a national constituency for childcare in the 70s

The 1970s decade did not start well for childcare. The report of a Committee of Inquiry into Pre-school Education, published in 1971, noted an increasing need for childcare services, but rejected recommending government support for childcare services. Instead, it urged kindergartens, playcentres and industry to meet the need for childcare for solo mothers and mothers in employment. The weak response to childcare issues by the Committee of Inquiry was very disappointing for childcare advocates.

The Committee of Inquiry did, however, recommend “that, when sufficient time has been given to allow those in the independent sector to improve their qualifications, the regulations be changed to make it a requirement of registration that at least one staff

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⁴ Sonja Davies went on to become an MP and was able to influence the 1989 Before Five policies, where government put childcare on the same footing as other early childhood care and education services.
member … hold an approved educational qualification” (Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Pre-school Education, 1971, pp.115-6). After three more decades of activism, this recommendation was implemented in 2002.

Perhaps partly as a reaction to the Committee of Inquiry, lobbyists became stronger in voicing their dreams of the liberation for women, of acceptance of childcare, and of adequate funding for childcare. The changes sought were succinctly expressed in this placard seen at a women’s liberation march in 1971 (cited by May, 2000, p. 56).

Free childcare. Free Mum
Free Dad
Free me
Free childcare.

Helen May describes the 1970s as a period when “childcare was undergoing a dramatic transformation from a service for women who ‘unfortunately’ had to be employed out of the home, to a service enabling independence and liberation for women from full-time mothering (ibid). The “transformation” was helped by new groups entering the debate, such as the Federation of Labour (a federation of trade unions). These groups, and a petition for financial assistance for childcare centres delivered to Parliament in 1972 (an election year), were helpful in securing some Labour Party pledges for childcare provision in the run up to the election. In late 1973, the new Labour Government announced that it would give capital works subsidies for “non-profit-making [childcare] centres that could demonstrate a considerable welfare component. It also introduced a means-tested fees subsidy, via approved voluntary organisations … to parents in cases where ‘the child would benefit from care’,” (May, 2009, p.132). The welfare orientation reflects the location of childcare administration at that time – in the Child Welfare Division of the Department of Social Welfare. The capital works subsidies were stopped in 1980.

Despite official timidity,, evident in the targeted policies, the number of parents using childcare services grew dramatically – full time places almost doubled between 1971 and 1981 (May, 2009, p.133). Moreover, “as the level of education rose amongst women … women began to enter occupations and professions in which they had earlier hardly gained a foothold, the demand for childcare services began to arise from women who were well placed to present the argument for childcare of good quality and do something about it.” (Social Advisory Council, 1985, p.9) These women argued for improvements in quality so that children gained educational benefits. In 1979, statistical evidence was published in the US substantiating that good quality early education gave children the foundations they needed for later learning. (e.g., Ruopp et al., 1979)

However, individual lobbying, or single organisation lobbying, was not sufficient to activate political change in New Zealand. Achieving change needed a national constituency of advocates for the sector. Elsewhere, Anne Meade (1990) has described a series of meetings and conferences in the 1970s that created forums for people to speak for early childhood care and education in general.5 “It was possible

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5 They included: a Parliamentary select committee on discrimination of women, numerous meetings during the UN International Women’s Year in 1975, the United Women’s Convention in 1975, the Education and the Equality of the Sexes Conference in 1975, the Early Childhood Convention in 1975,
for a network of early childhood advocates in the community to develop a discourse, advance it and keep it moving in a variety of places,” (see May, 2001, p.122). Allies in a range of sectors – women’s and political groups, trade unions, and other education sectors – added their voice to put early childhood care and education on the public agenda (ibid).

Unionists acted strategically in their activities. In 1979, childcare workers formed an Early Childhood Workers Union (registered in 1982). This new union was able to apply some industrial ‘noise’ to the campaign for childcare funding.6

In the mid- and late-1970s, the focus of attention amongst the constituency of advocates was the administrative structure for childcare. In March 1976, the Prime Minister convened a Conference on Women in Social and Economic Development. Delegates at that Conference passed the following recommendations:

That within childhood care and education there be equal provisions of support for comparable services. [Recommendation 30]

That immediate steps be taken to place day-care centres registered with the Department of Social Welfare under the Child Care Centre Regulations 1960 on an equal footing with kindergartens and playcentres for the receipt of financial support. That steps be taken to improve and maintain the educational standards of day-care centres including requirements for employing trained staff. [Recommendation 31]

That the Minister of State Services arrange as a matter of priority for the State Services Commission to take all necessary steps … to devise an effective administration for policies related to early childhood education and care. [Recommendation 32]

After Recommendation 32 was endorsed by national pre-school leaders, the Minister of Education referred it to the Minister of State Services in March 1977.

State Services Commission Working Group on ECCE

The State Services Commission set up a working group in August 1977. The working group did not have an easy passage and stalled. It took some lobbying by national organisations, and by an ad-hoc group formed at the New Zealand/OECD Conference on Early Childhood 1978, before the State Services Commission reconvened the group. The working group finally reported in June 1980. In 1982, the government announced that it would not consider the report for two years. Perhaps the recommendations were too radical for the politicians of the day.

The main recommendations of working group were:

Re-allocation of departmental responsibilities
There should be a re-allocation of responsibilities between the Departments of Education and Social Welfare, in regard to childcare centres. Education should be


6 In 1990, the Early Childhood Workers Union combined with the kindergarten teachers union, soon after the Before Five reforms.
responsible for the inspection and ‘recognition’ of centres, and for the advisory, funding (including capital subsidy) and training functions. The welfare functions, including the capitation subsidy scheme, for children in need, should remain with Social Welfare (pp.34-5).

Funding
The principle of equitable funding for child care should be accepted by the government, and a funding policy developed (p.91).

Funding should be based not on the welfare principle, but on the principle of contribution to a recognised service (p.91). … The goal was to proceed in stages to 50% funding of costs to parents with children in day care (p.92).

Māori renaissance: Te Kōhanga Reo is born
In 1982, in quite different networks, a new movement was established for Māori families: Te Kōhanga Reo. The idea came from a national meeting of Māori tribal leaders in 1981. The two main purposes of ngā kōhanga reo were – and still are – to strengthen and empower Māori families in their own culture, and to save and maintain te reo Māori (the Māori language) by immersing young children in their indigenous language. Although the Department of Māori Affairs initially funded only a handful of pilot kōhanga reo, the vision was so attractive to Māori people that dozens of kōhanga reo were quickly established, funded by Māori communities. The Child Care Centre Regulations were their regulatory framework. Thus, from the 1980s, any change for childcare services was to have implications for ngā kōhanga reo as well. For example, whenever the fees subsidy was reviewed, kōhanga reo gained (or suffered) from any changes.

Childcare on the policy agenda
In 1984, the Department of Education convened a 30-person course of national leaders with expertise in early childhood care and education (ECCE). Their tasks for the week included establishing priorities, and formulating a five-year plan.

The recommendations included: that funding for childcare would be provided to achieve equal access for families to services in the ECCE sector, that funding for the ECCE sector become more equitable with other education sectors, that a common core of training be explored, and that all ECCE be the responsibility of the Department of Education. (Aims and Objectives in Early Childhood Care and Education course, 1984)

In late 1984, the New Zealand population elected a new government, a Labour Government after a period of conservative government. As was the case in 1972, childcare was visibly on its agenda. Pledges had been made up by the Labour Party in the run up to the election, in response to on-going lobbying by those who had been involved in the meetings and conferences in the 1970s. (The meetings and conferences are listed in a footnote earlier in this paper.) Geraldine McDonald (1977) described a broader constituency interested in the politics of childcare as including:

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7 The shift in principle meant a shift in the unit for funding – off ‘needy’ families and on to services, providing they met funding criteria.
The established pre-school movement, the childcare movement, the Government Departments of Health, Education and Welfare, women’s groups of different persuasions, employers, employee organisations, ‘experts’ in child development and care, men political parties and ‘society at large’, (p.71).

The new government recognised that education and care for children are inseparable in everyday practice and conceptually, and that an education emphasis results in better outcomes for children. It pledged to:

- Address funding inequities: of the ECCE sector in relation to schools, and of childcare in relation to kindergarten and playcentre;
- Transfer the administration of childcare to the Department of Education; and
- Improve and lengthen the training of all early childhood educators.

The Labour government’s first action – vis-à-vis childcare services – was to promulgate revised the regulations pertaining to childcare centres (1985). Two new requirements in the 1985 regulations foreshadowed a closer relationship with education: each centre had to have a trained supervisor, and each centre was to offer an educational programme for the children.

The second significant action was a Forum on Early Childhood Care and Education, convened by the Minister of Education in Parliament Buildings. The third important action was structural and involved the “re-allocation of [departmental] responsibilities” in 1986, in line with the State Services Commission Working Group recommendations. The fourth decision was to integrate childcare training and kindergarten training in state tertiary education institutions, starting in 1988. The last significant set of decisions, relating to funding and other support for childcare services, did not happen until the wide-ranging education reforms in 1988-89 (see Before Five, 1988).

The processes that led to these actions were:

- Election pledges were made;
- Key government Ministers championed the pledges once in office – at times dealing with resistance;
- Regulations were revised for childcare services;
- Working groups were convened and national forums held;
- Cabinet made decisions; and
- Implementation groups and officials developed the action steps.

Table 1: An outline of the chronology, up to the legislation and transition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Labour manifesto finalized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td><em>Aims and Objectives in Early Childhood Care &amp; Education</em> national course</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Revised Childcare Centre Regulations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td><em>Child Care Services: Impact and opportunities</em> report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td><em>Training Issues in Early Childhood Care and Education</em> national course</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td><em>Report of the Joint Ministerial Working Party for the Transition</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
of Administration of Childcare from the Department of Social Welfare to the Department of Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Ministerial Forum on Early Childhood Care and Education, Parliament Buildings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Legislation was amended to transfer childcare from the Department of Social Welfare to the Department of Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Education Act amended to give parents of a child with disabilities the right to enrol him/her in the school they chose from 19898</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Further elaboration on these events follows.

Soon after coming to office, the government set up a Joint Ministerial Working Party, convened by the Ministers of Education and Social Welfare, to make recommendations on the transfer of statutory responsibility for childcare services from the Department of Social Welfare to the Department of Education. Its main recommendations were:

- To transfer of childcare services, with the recommended date of 1 April 1986; and
- To fund childcare staffing, training, advisory/support services and to strengthen early childhood education in the Department of Education.

Two issues could not be resolved (the funding of private centres and accountability measures).

**Ministerial Forum on Early Childhood Care and Education**

In December 1985, the Joint Ministerial Working Group report was taken to a Forum on Early Childhood Care and Education, convened at Parliament by the Minister of Education. The Ministers of Education and Social Welfare made a joint announcement that the transfer of childcare administrative services would occur, but not until 1 July 1986 to allow legislation to be changed. The other recommendations were to be considered in the 1986 Budget round. Forum participants formed discussion groups to recommend on the following topics: delivery systems, funding, training, advisory support, administration, and meeting community needs. The integration meant that government funding would be transferred from the government’s Social Welfare Budget to the Education Budget for staffing and operations.

Early the next year, legislative processes were set in train. Just in time to be included in the legislation, Barnardo’s New Zealand, the main provider of family day care services in New Zealand, went to the chief executive of the Department of Social Welfare and said they wanted family day care administration to be transferred to Education as well. Barnardo’s felt it would be strategically advantageous to ‘swim with the tide’ and join all other early childhood care and education services. This request did not please the Department of Social Welfare, but it was agreed to.

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8 Parents of children with a disability assumed that early childhood care and education services would offer them the same rights, although the law did not say this explicitly.
The decision also set in train some refocusing for voluntary organisations (NGOs) that provided services for young children with disabilities. The Crippled Children’s Society (later, renamed CCS) and Intellectually Handicapped Children’s (IHC) society knew that “mainstreaming” legislation was to come into force from 1989. The first organisation decided to phase out running segregated services and encourage its member families to enrol their children in “mainstream” ECS, where they would receive support from CCS and other specialists; whereas IHC decided to continue in segregated settings, whilst recognising that they would come under the Department of Education after the transfer of childcare administration had occurred.

**Structural change**

As background, it is interesting to note that in 1972 a new government department, the Department of Social Welfare, had been established to administer any government function with a welfare label. The Department of Social Welfare was formed from the amalgamation of the Social Security Department and the Child Welfare Division of the Department of Education. The Child Welfare Division - including childcare administration - was transferred from the Department of Education into the new department even though childcare centres were not primarily about child protection or welfare. Apparently because those working with childcare centres in the Child Welfare Division had been ‘ring-fenced’ within the Department of Education, without structural contact with those responsible for “pre-school education”, no-one acted to retain this group within the Department of Education. Co-location was not sufficient.

Fourteen years later, childcare administration returned to Education. The structural change, manifested in the transfer of childcare files, funds and officials to the Department of Education, was a necessary but not sufficient change for childcare to be treated in an even-handed manner alongside other early education services. However, it set the context for further changes to address equity issues in the early childhood care and education sector and to ensure quality provision.

In 1986, the ‘water-shed’ year, childcare administration was transferred back to the Department of Education. This involved a change in legislation, records being shifted to the Department of Education, and the merger of field staff responsible for childcare services, and those responsible for kindergartens and playcentres. The Department of Education became the new employer of the officials who licensed and monitored childcare centres and who had been previously employed by the Department of Education. This caused some concern amongst Department of Social Welfare managers related to the transfer of staff and the loss of a positive component of their work. It also impacted on the seniority of at least one manager in Social Welfare.

There were new structures and lines of report for all ECCE field staff, as they were assigned to the Regional Offices of the Department of Education that previously had had no jurisdiction over ECCE services. Formerly, officials responsible for advising kindergartens and playcentres had been located in provincial Education Boards. The merged teams were accountable to a new senior regional manager in each of the three regional offices of the Department – managers who had to have knowledge and experience in ECCE to be appointed. They reported to the Director of Early Childhood Education in the head office of the Department of Education (see Chart 1 below).
Chart 1: Department of Education, 1987

DIRECTOR -GENERAL

Assistant Director-General

Secretary of Schools

Secretary

Regional Superintendent

Regional Senior Education Office ECE (RSEdO (ECE))

DEdO ECE (4)

District Teams

RSEdO(ECE)

District Teams

RSEdO(ECE)

District Teams

SEdO(ECE)

SEdO(ECE)

EdO EdO EdO EdO EdO

REGIONS AND DISTRICTS

NATIONAL OFFICE

20
A few short years later, as part of wider education reforms, the ECCE field teams were fragmented. The story, in summary, is this. In 1987-88, Cabinet decided to reform the administration of education in New Zealand. Schools, and tertiary education institutions, became self-managed by the principal and local trustees, rather than being managed by officials. (The large majority of early childhood services were already self-managed.) The new Ministry of Education was responsible for granting licences, approving charters and delivering funding, as well as developing government policy. Another government department, the Education Review Office (ERO), was made responsible for reviewing compliance with government regulations and each service’s own charter objectives and practices. Several new government agencies were set up to provide advice and support or services to schools and families.

As the school reform policies began to emerge, the Cabinet Social Equity Committee set up a Working Group on Early Childhood Care and Education, chaired by Anne Meade. The green paper developed by the working group, called *Education to Be More*, was published in September 1988. By December, Cabinet had accepted most of its recommendations. The policies were announced early the following year in a statement called *Before Five* (1988). One new policy was the addition of another government-funded agency: the Early Childhood Development Unit.

Those in the ECCE field teams of 1986 to 1989 had a choice of new employers in 1989 when the Department of Education was disestablished, and the teams split up.

**Before Five reforms**

The 1989 education reforms had significant consequences for the ECCE field teams. They were fragmented, as officials in the outgoing Department of Education had to choose between positions in the Ministry of Education, Education Review Office and Early Childhood Development Unit. Those with expertise in special education could also consider applying for a position in the Special Education Service. The critical mass of ECCE administrators at national level was markedly diminished – the Ministry was ironically described as going from a “floor to a drawer” in ECCE by Helen May, (1991) because the division of ECE officials in the Department had occupied the equivalent of a floor in an office block whereas only a Chief Advisor ECE was visible in the new structure.

These reforms proved to be an important opportunity for improving the status and resources for childcare as most of the new policies made no distinction between different types of ECCE services. For example, the 1989 Budget announced that all ECCE services would receive the same per child, per hour grant, with an extra weighting for children under 2 years of age, as ECS were required to have a higher ratio of educators for the youngest children. (The per-child funding model in the early childhood sector is consistent with the EFTS (equivalent full-time student) funding model developed for schools when schools became self-managing entities in 1989. The same funding model was applied to tertiary institutions from the same date.) The 1989 Budget also announced that the Department of Social Welfare would continue to pay a means-tested fees subsidy to reduce the costs of early education to low-income families.

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9 A decade or so later the Early Childhood Development Unit and Special Education Service were merged back into the Ministry of Education. That is another story.
families and/or those with high health/disability needs. Funding equity for childcare services had come at last. A new innovation was the introduction of charters to be developed by each ECCE service (setting out its objectives, policies and practices) wanting the new government funding. (Charters also became a feature of schools and tertiary institutions after 1989. They were part of the education reforms.)

In working out the details of the Before Five reforms, one of the 1989 implementation working groups was tasked with shaping the policy details for children with special educational needs. It was a happy coincidence that the so-called ‘mainstream’ policy began in the same year as the Before Five policies; otherwise pre-schoolers with disabilities may have been overlooked as education administrators grappled with the complexity of numerous children with disabilities being moved by their parents from segregated schools and units to regular schools in the same year as schools became self-managing and the central structures all changed.

Equal treatment for childcare services in the education reforms was both a blessing and a disadvantage – the main disadvantage was too little was done for years to help childcare centres employ qualified teachers and catch up pedagogically with kindergartens.

**Training and qualifications**

Training issues had started to be addressed in May 1985 at a week-long course with selected members coming from a wide range of ECCE backgrounds. The outcomes wanted in five years included:

- Integration of childcare and kindergarten training,
- Qualification paths from different types of training to the [qualification] needed,
- A core curriculum for training courses,
- Equity in funding training for different training providers,
- Parity of salaries for those with the same qualification.

The 1985 Forum on Early Childhood Care and Education gave strong support for the extension and integration of early childhood education training courses. (Since 1972 all primary teachers had 3-year training programmes, but kindergarten teachers had 2 years of training. The Department of Education funded 1 year courses for child care personnel.) After the Forum, two government working parties on training were set up – one focused on kindergarten and the other on childcare.

Little action followed the training recommendations from the Forum and the two working parties. The relevant sections in the Department of Education demonstrated low commitment to this new agenda as that group of officials knew little about the benefits of ECCE. However the endorsement from the Forum and the working groups reinforced the Minister of Education’s thinking about the direction for policy change. The Director General of Education was also supportive. When employment discussions on pay parity for kindergarten teachers came to an early closure in 1986 because their training and qualifications were not comparable with those of schoolteachers, the Minister of Education acted. He directed officials to progress three-year training for kindergarten teachers and integrated training for childcare.
workers and kindergarten teachers. Cabinet supported his advice. In 1987, 3-year integrated training courses were introduced in colleges of education.

This placed New Zealand at the international forefront of progressive thinking on tertiary early childhood training. Most countries were, and still are, confounded by separate track training for services historically set up as either care or education. ... [T]here was some scepticism in childcare circles whether colleges of education could transform their kindergarten orientation to be inclusive of the needs of childcare. (May, 1997, p.23)

There were (and still are) some employers who resisted investing in training for higher qualifications and staff becoming registered teachers – usually for financial reasons. More details about integrated training are provided in Section 5 of our report.

4. Process and transition at local level

The reforms brought no change for local government involvement in ECCE. Traditionally, local governments in New Zealand have not had a role in the provision of ECCE, or its administration, and nothing changed in 1986 following the transfer of childcare to Education and nothing changed in 1989 following the major education reforms.

Community groups have traditionally been the providers of most ECCE services and they were still the dominant group in the late 1980s and 1990s by a large margin. Local or regional committees govern kindergartens and playcentres, and national trustees are the governors of all kohanga reo. The balance in ownership and governance has been shifting in the last decade: most new services are education and care centres or home-based schemes, and the majority of education and care centres (62 percent in 2009) are privately owned. Of the privately-owned centres, 27 percent are owned by chains or corporations.\footnote{At the time of writing, the liquidator of one of the largest chains (ABC) proposed selling these centres to pay creditors; for further comment see later in this paper. The sale did not eventuate.}

The Before Five policies did not discriminate between types of service or ownership of services. All licensed and chartered services – regardless of type – received the same per child, per hour grant-in-aid, and all were brought under the same regulations. All could access the same advice and support from the Early Childhood Development Unit, and were ‘inspected’ by the Education Review Office. A new development was young children with special needs being able to access multidisciplinary teams with specialist knowledge and a range of additional resources through the Specialist Education Services regardless of the type of ECCE services attended.

The even-handed approach continued in the 1990s. When a draft early childhood education curriculum was introduced in 1993, it was for all ECCE services and for infants and toddlers as well as young children.
5. Consolidation and consequences

The main changes are listed below and explained further later in our report.

**Figure 2: Chronology of reports and changes since the integration of childcare**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Report of the Working Party on Three Year Training for Kindergarten Teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>New policy: integrated three-year training for childcare and kindergarten services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Education to be More: Report of the Early Childhood Care and Education Working Group (green paper)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Before Five: Early Childhood Care and Education in New Zealand (white paper)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Government Review of Te Kōhanga Reo report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Six Before Five implementation working party reports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Funding formula common to all ECS, including kōhanga reo, introduced, with commitment to increases in stages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Staged plan for common qualifications requirements for childcare and kindergarten services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Staged funding increases stopped. Infants’ grants-in-aid reduced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Draft document, early childhood curriculum Te Whāriki, published following wide consultation with the ECE sector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>The Combined Early Childhood Union o Aotearoa was merged into the New Zealand Education Institute (a union for primary teachers and school support staff)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Quality Funding Working Group, incentivising qualified staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Future Directions published</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Strategic Plan for ECE Working Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Pathways to the Future launched: a 10-year strategic plan for ECE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Kindergarten teachers began a staged process to attain pay parity with school teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>ECE teachers in education and care centres began a staged-process towards pay parity where negotiated by their union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>20 hours free ECE implemented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Legislation of the principles and strands of Te Whāriki</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This section describes new reforms and the processes for implementing major changes between 1986 and 2002. The year 2002 marks the release of the 10-year plan for ECE policy reforms – known as Pathways to the Future/ Ngā Huarahi Arataki, (Ministry of Education, 2002.) Our content covers:

- The transfer of childcare administrative responsibilities,
- Integrated training programmes,
- Before Five policies,
- The transfer of Te Kōhanga Reo from Department of Māori Affairs to the Ministry of Education, and
- *Te Whāriki, early childhood curriculum*.

**Transfer of administrative responsibilities for childcare services**

In the transition period of 1986, officials in the Department of Education experienced a very big increase in workload. There was a considerable work to be done internally, as well as ensuring all administrative functions were performed effectively externally for ECCE services. The early childhood division’s objectives for the year included:

- To complete a plan for the transfer from the Department of Social Welfare to the Department of Education,
- To develop a training/induction package for staff in the restructured division,
- To review and modify the staff manual.

Internally, there was an influx of staff moving between departments, and new management in the early childhood division. File systems for records for childcare services had to be developed. A structure had to be designed for the Head Office of the Department of Education, as well as for regional offices. Against advice from at least two working groups, the Director of the division in Head Office was located down on the fourth tier from the Director General. Appointments processes, salary determinations, systems development, and office buildings arrangements all needed attention in a short time span. Some of these were not finalised until several months after the transfer of childcare responsibilities.

Externally, administrative functioning needed to continue smoothly. Departmental guidelines had to be revised and staff training given to ensure consistent handling of procedures occurred nationwide. Shortly before 1 July 1986, new guidelines were issued to all childcare services describing the procedures for payment of grants for trained staff, and procedures for grants to childcare centres, family day care schemes and other recipients. These guidelines were also important for the induction of departmental officials with responsibilities for childcare administration, including finance and property clerks, as well as the ECCE field staff.

**Implementation of Integrated Training Programmes**

In 1987, 3-year integrated training programmes were introduced in colleges of education. These courses led to a Diploma of Teaching (early childhood education), which became regarded as a ‘benchmark’ early childhood qualification for teachers working in both kindergartens and childcare centres (Meade, Podmore, May, Te One, & Brown, 1998; Moss, 2000). At that time, three-year programmes for a Diploma of Teaching was the model for primary school teachers, whereas most secondary school teachers completed a one-year graduate diploma of teaching after graduating with a three-year degree. The early education Diploma programmes were designed to be comparable with Diploma programmes for primary teachers.

The change to integrated training was implemented by a staged plan over three years. Two teacher education institutions began integrated training per year. In each case, an implementation committee met several times at the teacher education institution/s concerned to plan the programme curriculum (but not the actual courses) and draft policy for entry criteria, practicum arrangements, and graduate competencies. As teacher education was controlled to a considerable extent by the Department of Education in the 1980s, departmental officials had a considerable say in the guidelines for these short-life committees but, as a range of interests were represented on each implementation committee, their decisions varied somewhat.
The integrated training programmes were quickly adopted by the sector, and the majority accepted the Diploma as the ‘benchmark’ qualification. From 1990 onwards there was also an expansion of post-graduate courses in early childhood education offered by the universities. For many teachers, upgrading their lesser qualifications to the benchmark qualification set them on a path of life-long learning involving post-graduate Masters degrees. There have also been noticeable increases in the number of candidates completing doctoral studies on ECCE topics.

There are 21 New Zealand Teachers Council approved ECE teacher education providers (as at August 2008) accredited to offer recognised qualifications. The providers comprise: seven university colleges/ faculties of education, two wananga, 11 seven polytechnics, four private providers and Te Tari Puna Ora o Aotearoa/ New Zealand Childcare Association. (TeachNZ, Ministry of Education).

Latterly, university providers of teacher education have upgraded their programmes, offering degrees in teacher education. The degree programmes for early childhood teachers are generally equivalent to programmes for primary school teachers, indeed some have considerable integration of courses for the two types of teachers. One university offers a teaching degree for teaching children aged 0 to 8 years.

All teacher education providers and their programmes must be accredited and approved by the New Zealand Teachers’ Council (an agency set up in the 1989 education reforms to set standards for the profession, accredit providers, approve programmes and register teachers). The Teachers’ Council makes no distinction between teachers who work in different sectors (early childhood, primary or secondary) for registration purposes. (Note, however, that the Ministry of Education only pays grants at qualified teacher levels to ECS when the staff have a specialist early childhood qualification. This policy distinction recognises the importance of specialist training for working with very young and vulnerable children.)

**Implementation of Before Five policies**

As was the case for the reforms in the administration of the schools and tertiary sectors, a Before Five implementation unit was set up in the Department of Education. There were eight Before Five working groups to give advice on implementation: The Correspondence School; National Guidelines, Charters and Licences; Bulk Grants, Discretionary Grants and Loans; Staffing; Qualifications, Accreditation, and Training; the Early Childhood Development Unit; Special Education; and Property. On each one there was a mix of officials, early childhood services management, practitioners nominated by unions, and academic researchers. The main types of services – kindergarten, childcare, playcentre, and kōhanga reo – were also represented.

The implementation working group reports were completed by the end of April 1989, and by late May Cabinet had confirmed the decisions for the reformed administrative system. The implementation units, and the new structures once started, were responsible for administering the new policies and procedures set out in the Before Five document and in the Cabinet decisions.

**The transfer of Te Kōhanga Reo to the Ministry of Education**

Nga kōhanga reo Māori-language immersion centres were developed with a stated *kaupapa* (purposes) that focused on: *te reo* (the language – speaking in Māori), and *whānau development* (strengthening extended family arrangements, and *mana motuhake* (“the spirit of Māori autonomy” – achieving Māori control over Māori resources) (Ka’ai, 1991, pp. 40-42).

11 Māori universities.
These purposes illustrate how the kōhanga reo, a Māori initiative, was seen as more than a language nest or early childhood service (Royal Tangaere, 1996). It was inevitable that some questioned the appropriateness of the administrative transfer of kōhanga reo from the Department of Māori Affairs to the Department of Education proposed in association with the Before Five policies. Representatives of the movement spoke against the proposed transfer in 1988, as they felt they were the smallest organisation to ‘feed’ and their allocation in the Education Budget could get lost. Their submission endorsed the principle of equity of funding being proposed. However, the submission concluded:

We do not believe there is, at this stage, the depth of expertise within the Ministry of Education, at all points of the proposed delivery structure to suitably serve the needs of Kōhanga Reo. (Te Poho-Orawiri Kōhanga Reo, Te Whakaruruhau Kōhanga Reo, 1988, p. 7)

In 1988 there was a government review of the kōhanga reo movement. The Government Review Team (1988) reported that the “administrative structure is appropriate for the moment, and is still developing in response to needs. Financial and cultural accountability arrangements are satisfactory” (p.47).

In April 1989, when Cabinet was finalising the funding models and other details of the Before Five policies, it received the Government Review of Te Kōhanga Reo report from the Review Team. It decided to consider kōhanga reo funding separately. Officials from a range of departments met and recommended to Cabinet that kōhanga reo grants-in-aid be given to the Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust for allocation, (not to local centres or regional associations as was the case for other ECE services).

The grants for kōhanga reo were to come from the Education Budget from 1 July 1990. The implication of the last decision was the Ministry of Education would have to work with the Ministry of Māori Affairs in developing relevant policy. In addition, officials anticipated that the Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust would devolve its responsibilities to īwi (tribal) bodies in 1994; a decision that has never been implemented even though it was reiterated in a 2001 review by a government and National Trust joint working group.

An early childhood curriculum for all, 1993, 1996

New Zealand was one of the first countries in the world to develop a national early childhood education curriculum. The integration of both childcare and kōhanga reo into Education influenced the scope and style of that curriculum. It is for children aged from birth to 5 years; and it had “its beginnings in Māori pedagogical and philosophical beliefs” (Te One, 2003, p. 24). If childcare services had not been under the Ministry of Education, the curriculum probably would not have applied to them.

Te Whāriki/Early childhood curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1996) emerged following wide consultation by the Co-Directors of the project (Margaret Carr and Helen May) with practitioners, and from a strong consultative partnership between the developers and representatives of the Kōhanga Reo National Trust, Tamati and Tilly Reedy (Carr, May, Podmore et al, 2002; Reedy, 1993, 1995). It became clear during the trial period from 1993 that the early childhood community strongly supported the curriculum framework (May & Podmore, 2000). Reaction could have been otherwise
as, up until then, “childcare centres, the kindergarten movement and Playcentre associations had developed their own distinct approaches to curriculum” (Te One, 2003, p. 21).

Anne Smith (2003) regards the introduction of New Zealand’s early childhood education curriculum as “an important step in making the integration of early childhood services a reality. A curriculum provides a theoretical basis, goals, and philosophies for early childhood practice. … A curriculum model promotes a shared understanding and language in early childhood …” (p.2).

The title Te Whāriki (suggested by Tamati Reedy) translates from the Māori language as “a woven mat for all to stand on”. Te Whāriki has four overall principles. Five strands shape the outcomes for children: Belonging – Mana Whenua, Well-being – Mana Atua, Exploration Aoturoa, Communication – Mana Reo, and Contribution – Mana Tangata. In the curriculum document itself, the point is made that “the Whāriki concept recognises the diversity of early childhood education in New Zealand (Ministry of Education, 1996, p. 11). However, Joy Cullen points out that that diversity may contribute to teachers’ difficulties in implementing socio-cultural teaching practices (Cullen, 2003, p. 273)

The strands of Te Whāriki were woven into charter requirements when these requirements were revised in 1998. A decade later the principles and strands of Te Whāriki were enshrined in legislation. (Amendment to the Education Act, 2008) Close connections have been developed between the curriculum framework, children’s assessment, and processes for teachers’ self evaluations. (Carr, 2001; Carr, May & Podmore et al, 2002; Ministry of Education, 2004) Introduction of the assessment exemplars has been accompanied by government-funded professional development focused on assessment of socio-cultural teaching and learning.

6. A new reform

Pathways to the Future policies

By the mid-1990s, a range of people were expressing concern about quality and inequalities in relation to childcare, and the degrading of many Before Five policies after a new government revised them behind closed doors. A project known as “Future Directions” was initiated by the New Zealand Educational Institute (NZEI/Te Riu Roa – the combined union for early childhood and primary school teachers). Its purposes were to research and consult about the areas of concern and to develop some proposals to address them. Membership of the project team included representatives from kōhanga reo, some Pacific migrant groups, and the main early childhood groups (with the exception of private-sector childcare services).

Key goals were to achieve: universal funding for ECE services; policies developed in partnerships involving government, providers, parents and practitioners; and a strategic plan for ECE because ad hoc policy changes in the 90s had caused significant difficulties. The Future Directions report (New Zealand Education Institute, 1996) influenced the Labour Party prior to its election. Soon after Labour
formed a coalition government, the government established a Ministerial working group in 2000 to develop a 10-year comprehensive plan for ECE policies.

The working group of 31 members, convened by Anne Meade, reported to the Minister of Education in October 2001. Their report to the Minister set out four main future directions:

- Increased participation, engagement and access,
- Collaborative relationships (to support quality),
- Improved quality,
- Sustainability of services.

There were three major themes to the policy proposals: enhancing policies and settings to facilitate the full implementation of *Te Whāriki*; changing systems to better coordinate the contributions of key adults to children’s early learning and development; and transforming the role of government so that ECE is provided in partnership with government. The proposals were that government set up some services itself and be far more proactive in planning and support. All the proposed strategies treated kindergarten and education and care centres in an even-handed way (although some variations were proposed for parent-run services: playcentres and nga kōhanga reo).

Following Cabinet consideration of the working group recommendations, *Pathways to the Future: Ngā Huarahi Arataki, a 10-year strategic plan for early childhood education*, was launched (Ministry of Education, 2002). It clearly signalled government commitment to continued generous access to quality ECE for infants and young children (Te One, 2005). It did not go as far as promising government ECS, but the then Minister’s Foreword foreshadows a more active role for government.

“... [S]uccessful implementation very much depends on the Government working closely with the early childhood education sector. We all have a role to play in seeing the sector as a whole progressing towards the goal of providing every child the opportunity to benefit from quality early childhood education. (Ministry of Education, 2002)

In the opening pages, a paragraph about the biggest shifts that were expected included a promise of:

Greater involvement by Government in ECE, focusing particularly on communities where current participation in quality ECE is low. (Ibid., p.3)

The 10-year plan has three key goals: to increase participation in quality ECE services, to improve the quality of ECE services, and to promote collaborative relationships. The document notes major shifts in direction to achieve these goals. They include:

- revised funding and regulatory systems to support diverse ECE services to achieve quality ECE
• the introduction of professional registration requirements for all teachers in education and care services and co-ordinators in home-based services to make the standards the same as those already in place in schools and kindergartens
• better co-operation and collaboration between ECE services, parent support and development programmes, and education, health and social services
• greater involvement by the government in ECE, focusing particularly on communities where current participation in quality ECE is low. (Ibid., p. 8)

The 2002 policy decision to require all teachers in education and care centres to be qualified and registered (like kindergarten teachers) by 2012 needed a range of initiatives to make it achievable, such as scholarships and Ministry payment for relievers whilst partially-trained staff attend teacher education courses. The former Minister of Education, Trevor Mallard, explained that “we decided that children in ECS should not have staff with lower qualifications than primary schools” (personal communication, March 2009). In 2009, Minister Tolley changed the target for qualified and registered teachers to 80 percent by 2012 retaining the incentives for training and qualifications.

The changes in the funding model and regulatory systems took 2-3 years to formulate, because they turned out to be substantial and entailed implementation working groups and widespread consultation. In 2005, 20 hours free ECE was announced. The regulatory and funding projects, and work to increase the percentage of children participating in ECE services, dominated the Ministry of Education’s work-plan for ECE from 2002 to 2008.

In 2008, early childhood education administration was grouped together in the Ministry of Education (rather than ECE administrators being distributed across divisions). A Group Manager ECE was appointed in the third tier of management in recognition of the significance of ECE in the education system. This review of positions has not, in itself, effected closer relationships between ECE and special education specialists; nor has the implementation of the 10-year strategic plan.

Chart 2 outlines the organisational structures in the two main departments responsible for education: the Ministry of Education and the Education Review Office.
7. Consequences of integration and subsequent developments

Integrating concepts of education and care

The integration of childcare into the Department of Education in New Zealand was preceded by the use of an integrating concept of “early childhood care and education” (ECCE), for example in the titles of several working groups in the 1980s. Around the time the draft version of *Te Whāriki, early childhood curriculum* was released (1993), “early childhood education” (ECE) again became the integrating concept and official term as people took for granted that early education involved care as well. Early childhood education continues to be used as the generic term covering the diverse range of types of ECE services in New Zealand.

Terminology to describe some specific types of centres has changed since integration, with a clearer focus on the education component. For example, since the release of *Pathways to the Future*, “childcare centres” became officially known as “education and care centres”.

Integration impact on the lives of children and families

Following integration, a subsequent development was an increase in participation in ECE services. Moreover, the tide had turned and childcare became the preferred type of service. As reported in a previous publication:

In 1989, at the time of the major reforms to the administrative system for education in NZ, approximately 90% of four-year-olds, 61% of three-year-olds, and 40% of all children under the age of five attended an early childhood program. … Less than a decade later, nearly all four-year-olds and over 80% of three-year olds were enrolled in some form of early childhood education. It is estimated that over half of NZ children aged 0 to 5 years were enrolled. Childcare centres became the dominant service. Enrolments were concentrated in center-based childcare (36%), kindergartens (29%), and playcentres (11%). (Meade, 2000, pp. 83-84)

By 2007, 64.7% of children aged 0 to 5 years were enrolled in ECE services and the majority were enrolled in education and care centres (54% of those enrolled) (Bushouse, 2008, p. 67). Enrolments in this type of service climbed to 56% by 2009. The increased participation in education and care centres/childcare can be attributed to the increased participation of women in paid work, and improved levels of government subsidy for this type of service making attendance more affordable.

Alongside the growth in education and care centres/childcare was another trend, the rise of the kōhanga reo. The first kōhanga was opened in 1982, and by 1990 there were 618 kōhanga reo services operating. During the period from 1990 to 1999, the numbers of children enrolled at kōhanga reo continued to increase, on average by 2.3% each year. In 1990 there were 10,108 children and, by 1999, there were 12,383 children enrolled at the kōhanga reo (Ministry of Education, 2000a). From that date,
however, enrolments decreased. Since 2003, the majority of enrolled Māori children have been in ‘mainstream’ ECE services.

There were related notable increases in the number of Pasifika (Pacific Islands) children participating in ECE during this period. Between 1990 and 2000, the overall number of Pasifika children enrolled in ECE services increased by 80.9%, from 5,937 in 1990 to 10,741 in 2000 (Podmore, Sauvao, & Mapa, 2001). Then by 2007, there were 11,634 Pasifika children enrolled: 9,993 in licensed centres, and 1,641 in licence-exempt services (Ministry of Education, 2008). Numbers of Asian children are now increasing rapidly.

Figures for children with disabilities and additional needs are only available from 1998 when the Ministry of Education assumed direct responsibility for providing specialist services (after a stand-alone specialist agency was merged with the Ministry). The main visiting services for children in ECS include speech language therapy, educational psychologists, and early intervention teachers (who work as multi-disciplinary teams). Education support workers can be allocated to assist teachers in ECS, usually on a part time basis. Table 3 shows that the numbers of children given additional support increased between 1998 and 2001. Since then, the numbers have been similar each year, despite the increases in overall enrolments.

Table 3: Children with disabilities supported by Special Education services

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Children aged 0-5 years supported by Special Education specialists</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>4,911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>9,133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>10,418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>11,237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>11,368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>11,096</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>11,441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>11,603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>11,241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>11,608</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Personal communication with Ministry of Education, February 2009.

Note: the reason for the increase in numbers from 1999 and 2000 is unclear. One explanation is that there was a change in database management; an alternative is there was a jump in case numbers after the Special Education Service merged with the Ministry of Education around the turn of the century.

Most children in New Zealand participate in ECE before starting school, but for many, the numbers of hours of participation have been relatively low. The “20-hours free” policy, a funding initiative implemented in July 2007, provides up to 6 hours per day, with a maximum of 20 hours per week free ECE for children in teacher-led services (education and care centres, kindergartens, and some kōhanga reo). The intention was to “reduce the cost barrier” and thereby increase enrolments and/or the number of hours that children are able to attend ECE (Ministry of Education, 2007b).

There are administrative rules connected to “20-hours free” that should result in more regular attendance amongst those whose attendance has been patchy.
As well as increasing numbers of children and their hours, this policy has triggered changes in some kindergartens, namely, many have changed from offering 15-hours per week in half-day sessions to 6 hour days. The 30-hour weeks mirror school opening hours.

The kōhanga reo movement notes that “20-hours free” has provided more funding to support their delivery of 30 hours of Māori-language immersion education per week.

It is hard to find data that capture trends in participation in ECE services for children with special education needs.

**Impact of the changeover on education subsystems**

**Public Expenditure on ECE**

There is evidence that the level of public expenditure on ECE services escalated after the new policy initiatives of *Before Five* (Lange, 1988) and *Pathways to the Future* (Ministry of Education, 2002). Recently, ECE expenditure by government has increased markedly in order to implement the goals and strategies of the strategic plan. In 2001/2002 government expenditure on ECE (in grants to ECS and fees subsidies to families) was NZ $400 million (GST excluded), by 2006/07, ECE expenditure had increased to around $750 million (GST excluded), and by Budget 2009 it was $1.1billion. The expenditure now amounts to approximately 0.6% of GDP, up from 0.32% of GDP in 2001/2002. The increased expenditure reflects both increased demand for longer-hours of ECE and the cost-driver funding model whereby government has compensated for the increased remuneration for increased numbers of qualified and registered teachers in education and care/childcare services. Cost-driver funding means the government pays per child per hour grants to services that vary in amount according to the proportion of qualified teachers on the staff.

**Training and remuneration of staff**

During the past two decades, there have been several major changes to the training and remuneration of staff. There was a staged increase in regulatory requirements re training and qualifications for those in childcare, leading in 1988 to integrated training for teachers working in childcare/education and care centres and kindergarten. Feminism and professionalism have been identified as the two drivers for the increased requirements and training targets.

Since integrated training began, “there has been continued growth in the number of students in, and graduates from, early childhood teacher education” (Ministry of Education (2007a, p. 40). These programmes lead into teacher registration.

From December 2007, it became a regulatory requirement for teacher-led centres to have a minimum of 50 percent of their teaching staff holding a recognised ECE qualification. In 2002, 39 percent of teachers in ECE services held a recognised early childhood education qualification, and by July 2006 this had increased to 50 percent (although not all services had 50 percent). Only a handful of ECE services needed to go onto provisional licences in 2008 because they did not yet meet the requirement.

Since the integration of ECE teacher education, improvements to remuneration for ECE teachers have been agreed. These negotiations were helped by a strategically-
important change to the ECE union structure in 1994 when the Combined Early Childhood Union of Aotearoa merged with NZEI/Te Riu Roa making NZEI/Te Riu Roa the combined union for early childhood and primary school teachers, and the largest education union in the country. Pay parity amongst its members went onto its agenda soon after that date, and gained traction when *Pathways to the Future* policies were announced.

In 2002, kindergarten teachers began a staged process to attain pay parity with school teachers, which has been fully implemented. Then in 2004, ECE teachers in community ‘not-for-profit’ education and care centres also began a staged process towards pay parity. Later in 2009, the process for these teachers will be complete. Private owners of centres usually match the pay scales of those who have achieved pay parity via their union’s actions in order to recruit qualified and registered early childhood teachers. It is unlikely that the pay parity process and improved pay for childcare teachers would have occurred if the Ministry of Education had not been responsible for all ECE services.

**Integration and programme quality**

Integration was important for the development of several initiatives towards higher quality ECE. If there had not been prior integration of services under Education, it is unlikely that New Zealand would have had a curriculum as innovative and as widely inclusive of early childhood education services as *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996). In 2008, as part of the new legislative environment, the curriculum framework (the four principles and five strands of *Te Whāriki*) was mandated for all licensed ECE services.

Following integration, and the development and uptake of *Te Whāriki*, innovative approaches were developed to assess children’s experiences, and for teachers’ self-evaluation. The Learning Stories approach to assessment (Carr, 2001) was elaborated in a series of resources – *Kei Tua o te Pae: Early Childhood Exemplars* (Ministry of Education, 2004). By 2007, 80 per cent of ECE services were engaging with *Kei Tua o te Pae* (Ministry of Education, 2007a). Self-review guidelines for ECE evaluations were also developed and distributed to all licensed and chartered ECE services (Ministry of Education, 2006).

Both of these resources position children as confident and competent learners and emphasise their strengths and interests. Professional development was crucial to support teachers to engage in depth with *Te Whāriki*, (Cullen, 2003) and is also expected to be key factor in the effective uptake of the new resources for assessment and evaluation. An early evaluation of the *Kei Tua o te Pae* professional development programme funded by the Ministry of Education shows that, among case study services, the quality of assessment practices improved following professional development (Stuart, Aitken, Gould, & Meade, 2008). However, the Ministry has noted that the dominant approach to assessment – narratives in the form of Learning Stories (Carr, 2001) - focuses on children’s interests with little attention being paid to celebrating milestone achievements (which are important to note for children with special needs).

In several ways, professionalism among early childhood teachers has grown during the last two decades (Dalli, 2008a, 2008b). The main lift has been for teachers in
education and care/ childcare services who – in the past - had colluded with those who believe that training and qualifications are not important for those who ‘mind babies’. In addition, the multi-disciplinary teams, that go out to support teachers and parents as they work with children with additional needs in ECE services, are seen as model communities of practice amongst specialist professionals.

In addition, the ECE Centres of Innovation programme, implemented as part of the quality goal of the strategic plan, has challenged teachers’ practice, fostered teachers’ research development, led to strong engagement with the programme, and is of growing interest overseas (Ministry of Education, 2002, 2007a). An external evaluation of this programme is in progress.

**Integration and wider social objectives**

Since integration, parents’ participation in the paid workforce has increased (see section 1, introduction). This increase has been supported by policy initiatives towards accessible, quality ECE. The “20-hours free” policy was a bold new initiative in 2007 to foster social inclusion through more children being present at and participating in ECE services. After the 2008 elections, the policy was renamed: the ‘20 hours ECE’ policy. Attaching parent support and development programmes to ECE services is another initiative to increase ‘presence’ and ‘participation’ in ECE services. These programmes aim to increase child and parent learning in the process.

Another recent development, *Choices for living, caring, and working*, was announced by the (then) Prime Minister in August 2006. It aims to provide “a continuum of support that meets the needs of families … depending on the nature of their caring responsibilities” in order to “achieve good outcomes for children and families”, “enable people to balance work and care”, promote “gender fairness in paid work”, and “increase productivity and economic growth” (Haines, 2007, pp. 22-23). While acknowledging New Zealand’s increasingly high quality and affordable ECE, the *Choices* work programme will develop a 5-year action plan for quality out-of-school services.

The New Zealand government has not developed policies for health services to be co-located in ECE settings, but many ECE services do ensure that children on their roll have their vision and hearing checked once or twice during their pre-school years. The new “Before School Checks” will make them universal for all 4 year olds. The checks will bring health personnel through the door of all ECE services.

**Evaluations of the changeover**

There was no systematic evaluation of the administrative changeover per se. However, key policy reforms since the transfer of childcare to Education, most notably the 10-year plan initiatives (Ministry of Education, 2002), are undergoing a series of external evaluations (King, 2008; Mitchell, Royal Tangaere, Mara & Wylie, 2006; Mitchell, Royal Tangaere, Mara, & Wylie, 2008). King (2008), for example, investigated the impact of ‘sustainability’ on ECE quality and participation outcomes. Sustainability was defined largely in financial terms, and incorporated affordability of ECE for families, demand, teacher supply, and a cost effective regulatory framework. He concluded:

Sustainability of ECE services is an important precondition to participation and quality. The majority of additional ECE funding
during the period of this evaluation was associated with quality (registered teachers) and the available evidence suggests this funding has been successful in increasing the proportion of registered qualified teachers while avoiding negative impacts on participation (p. 80).

Early indications from ECES are that, since the introduction of the “20-hours ECE” policy, enrolments (in terms of total hours for all children) are increasing (Froese & Jenkins, 2008) and children aged 3 and 4 years are attending longer with more exposure to ECE.

Table 4: Changes in participation in licensed ECE services following the introduction of “20 hours free” to kindergartens and education and care centres

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2008</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enrolments</td>
<td>163,085</td>
<td>164,521</td>
<td>165,254</td>
<td>171,138</td>
<td>176,993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change over previous year</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average hours of attendance</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change over previous year</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Remember the policy was introduced in mid-2007. Table 4 shows it quickly began to have an effect on enrolments and hours of attendance. The impact was far more noticeable in 2008.

In 2007, the Ministry held a symposium to evaluate the progress of the 10-year plan. The proceedings (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 38) note that:

Improved quality has been supported by high levels of engagement by services in initiatives to improve quality and increased numbers of qualified and registered teachers. From 31 December 2007, teacher-led, centre-based education and care services [childcare services] will be required to have 50 percent of their staff holding relevant recognised early childhood teaching qualifications. On July 2006, 58% of teacher-led services had already met the target. A critical factor in the ECE sector’s commitment to the ECE Strategic Plan has been government’s undertaking to fund the strategy. … Expenditure has almost doubled over the first five years of the strategic plan.

What is being described above is the use of government funding and regulation to bring childcare services up to the same standard as kindergartens that have required qualified teachers for decades. It is a very bold strategy in international terms, and costly. However, at last inequities in quality are being addressed.

8. Lessons, implications and remaining challenges

Looking back – some lessons from New Zealand

Brenda Bushouse (2008) has provided an external perspective on the major changes that have occurred in ECE in New Zealand. She talks about “periods of convergence”.

37
In recent years, most occasions for convergences in the ECE sector have been government sponsored. However, the integration of childcare and education in 1986 involved more groups and more effort over a long period of time. It needed a national constituency to develop. In the 1970s and 1980s, the constituency was diverse, yet the message became consistent. The constituency included ECE services, unions, feminist organisations, and children’s rights advocates who gave the same message. Their message – their discourse – was that childcare entailed education as well as care of children and a stronger emphasis on education would benefit children. This, in turn, shaped a wider discourse of acceptance of childcare.

The mechanism for convergence in the 1980s, and again this century, has been government-sponsored working groups asked to do strategic planning. A lot was invested in the Early Childhood Care and Education working group that presented Cabinet Social Equity after several months’ work with a report called *Education to Be More* (1988). A much larger working group produced a report for the Minister of Education in 2001, containing the sector’s recommendations for a 10-year strategic plan for early childhood education/

Structures may be necessary, but they are not sufficient. Evidence and good argument have been crucial in getting the messages heard. History has also shown us in New Zealand that ECE policy reforms will not gain traction until a Minister and senior officials in government recognise the value of ECE and ‘champion’ the policy improvements. When there has been positive movement forward, bi-partisan political support is important for maintaining the improvements. Increasingly, the leaders want research evidence before they will become ‘champions’. Academics—from home or abroad—who can provide evidence and clear written or visual messages have been significant in providing the evidence and in shaping the arguments.

Language is important, especially integrating concepts. Across the decades the *education* of young children in childcare was increasingly emphasised. The term “care and education” was important in the late 1970s and early 1980s to acknowledge that childcare and pre-school services constituted one sector. In the current decade, the *care* of young children in kindergartens has come into prominence again. In sum, the language used in discussing integration (and other policy changes) have socialised people to understand that *care and education* go together.

There have been “periods of divergence” as well. Apparently paradoxically, these periods can come after a giant leap forward for all in the sector. The ECE services tend to focus inwards as they do the hard work of implementing policy change and do less joint work externally. For example, a period of “divergence” happened after the *Before Five* policy reform and was exacerbated by the new government in 1991 reducing funding for infants and toddlers and halting the staged increase in qualified teachers in childcare services.

**Advantages and disadvantages**

One of the main lessons to be learned from New Zealand is the importance of making the structural change first. If childcare administration had not been moved to Education, many subsequent policies of significant benefit to infants, toddlers and young children would probably have applied only to children and services under the auspices of Education. The list of policies includes:
• the application of the early childhood curriculum, *Te Whāriki* for all children, including infants and toddlers
• assessments that are credit based, not deficit focused
• reviews by the Education Review Office focused on the *educational* experiences of children
• mainstreaming of children with special education needs in all services, supported by multi-disciplinary teams employed by the Special Education Service/Group Special Education
• same per child, per hour grants in aid for all children regardless of which ECE service they attend
• teachers trained to the same standard as kindergarten teachers are employed in education and care services and more and more registered teachers are in each setting
• generous professional development provision for ECE teachers and educators
• pay parity with school teachers being staged in for all registered ECE teachers
• parent support and development programmes have been intertwined with a number of ECE services, including education and care services
• centres of innovation have included a number of education and care services that have inspired the sector with their innovative teaching and learning.

These policies have brought substantial advantages for children, families and teachers in education and care/childcare services. In the baseline evaluation when data were collected in 2004, the main early gains were in children’s participation (Mitchell, Royal Tangaere, Mara & Wylie, 2008).

They have been accompanied by an increase in professionalism amongst teachers. Teachers follow a code of ethics and most want to engage in life-long learning. Their talk is about teaching and learning, family involvement, curriculum and pedagogy.

But there are a few disadvantages to integration and the education emphasis. For example, commentators remark that some initial teacher education providers have not responded sufficiently well in their coverage of infants and toddlers in their programmes. If childcare workers were trained separately, would the nature and extent of coverage of infant and toddlers be better, or as in-depth? It is hard to know. The authors of this paper are not recommending separation.

**Less tangible consequences**

There has been a shift in attitudes amongst the public about the value of ECE that seems to emanate from Education departments being responsible for all ECE services. Attending an ECE centre is now accepted – it is what every child does. Parents are relaxed about using ECE services; there is no longer stigma or guilt about their children attending.

Moreover, parents have changed their perception of ECE services. Improved documentation of learning, using socio-cultural assessment approaches (Carr, 2001), means that parents now come to see and know that learning starts in the early years, not when their child starts school. New entrants’ teachers are noticing the deep learning that has been occurring in ECE services too.
“Schoolification” has not been an issue in New Zealand to date partly because the ECE sector has actively avoided it. However, the separation of the sectors has had costs for children - they have big adjustments to make during their transition between settings, as the environments and pedagogical practices in the two sectors have become increasingly different. Some improvement is imminent, because when the *New Zealand School Curriculum* was revised recently (Ministry of Education, 2007c) the developers adopted some key concepts from the early childhood education curriculum such as the principles and the concept of competency. Schools are beginning to look to ECS for guidance, for example, about how to foster children’s competence. The Ministry is also developing text resources to help those involved in transitions from ECS to schools.

Early childhood teachers are recognising how much learning occurs around routines like nappy changing.

**Presence and participation**

Associated with both the shift in attitude, and the changing role of parents, there has been a shift in length of time children spend in ECE services and in the intensity of their participation – children start attending ECE services younger and they attend for longer hours. Policies to promote participation in all types of ECE services have drawn in populations that were under-represented in the past.

**Challenges to be faced**

The preparation of this paper revealed some gaps in research that need addressing, particularly in relation to children with special needs.

Central government has paid considerable attention to structural policy in the last 20 years, in particular to teacher qualifications. Less has been invested in what is called “process quality” in the literature. Remember, however, that research shows a strong connection between teachers holding ECE qualifications and indicators of good process quality (Podmore & Meade, with Kerslake-Hendricks, 2000). The curriculum, *Te Whāriki*, and the considerable investment by government in professional development facilitators to introduce the new curriculum and, more recently, to introduce assessment approaches (Ministry of Education, 2004), compatible with the innovative curriculum, have been the main ways government has worked to lift “process quality”.

Each change in regulations pertaining to education and care/childcare services has increased the focus on the educational experiences of children participating in these services. The 1985 regulations made an educational programme (unspecified) mandatory in childcare services. The *Before Five* charter requirements for Ministry funding became very connected to *Te Whāriki* when the charter objectives were revised in the late 90s. *Pathways to the Future* regulatory changes include legislating *Te Whāriki*, which happened in 2008. Now the challenge is for local schools and ECE services to better align their pedagogy following the alignment of their curricula.

A dependency relationship seems to have developed as government has increased its role in ECE. The first response to problems that arise in the ECE sector tends to be: “Let’s request more government funding.” As one interviewee for this paper reflected:
Has the Ministry given out “too many fish” instead of giving out “fishing rods”? Should more be done to “show people how to fish” for themselves? Kōhanga reo leaders have been aware of this tendency for seeking more and more funding since they were given Before Five funding.

Collaborative relationships are still not adequate. The system is not serving families with children with special needs optimally. Frequently these families are still making their way up multiple paths in the absence of integrated services in local areas. As well, socio-cultural assessment approaches can mean identification of children with additional needs does not happen as early as it could for optimal intervention.

The system is not supporting transition from ECE services to schools well: “[the] strength of collaborative relationships was largely dependent on the willingness individual services to make connections, and those services to reciprocate.” (Mitchell, Royal Tangaere, Mara & Wylie, 2008, p. 3)

Ownership of ECE services/facilities could become a significant issue, given the increase of corporate owners, such as ABC and Kidicorp. ABC Australia has not been immune to the weaknesses in the financial sectors of most countries, and it went into liquidation in 2008. Initially its New Zealand services were put up for sale by the liquidators, but this option was not pursued once it was shown that ABC New Zealand was ring-fenced from ABC Australia. Easy-Mind, a large private home-based ECE service in New Zealand, went into liquidation in early 2010. These events have triggered greater interest in ownership and governance of early childhood facilities and services.

History in our country, and around the world, has shown us that challenges to progressing the provision of high quality ECE often come after changes of central government. Maintaining a constituency that works together and voices their shared rationales in the interests of children appear to be the keys to addressing such challenges.

**Conclusion**

There is no doubt that the most recent policy reforms have ‘privileged’ education and care/childcare services. There has been very significant investment in bringing childcare staff up to kindergarten standards through qualifications and registration processes, and associated remuneration. Investment in professional development of existing staff in education and care services has also been high. The list goes on.

The Education Review Office now mainly invests its resources into evaluating the quality of the educational experiences received by children.

These many and varied investments were necessary for the education system to live up to the promises made around the time childcare was integrated with Education – promises about the benefits to children if they participated in good quality early childhood care and *education* services. Until pedagogical (process) quality in education and care services was/is attended to, those promises were/are hollow and there is potential for harm.
These many and varied investments in education and care/childcare services are necessary because of the increase in enrolments in these services – more than half of New Zealand’s pre-schoolers attend childcare/education and care services, and they attend for longer hours and for more years. Leadership in this sub-sector is vital.

By 2009, New Zealand has a set of policies that mean all types of services in the ECE sector attend to:

- the interests of the child
- the interest of the parents and wider family
- the interests of society.
References


Main types of ECEC Services (in alphabetical order)\textsuperscript{12}

\textbf{Licensed ECE services} are premises used for the education and care of children that meet licensing requirements. All premises used regularly for the education or care of three or more children aged under 6 years must be licensed, except where specifically exempted by the Minister of Education.

\textit{Education and Care Centres}: Provide full-day or part-day education and care for children aged from birth up to school entry. There are diverse ownership, governance and delivery arrangements—some are community-based, some privately owned. They are a teacher-led service. (Different names may be applied to individual education and care centres, for example: crèches, private kindergartens, a’oga, punanga reo, and childcare centres).

\textit{Home-based childcare}: Also known as family day care, these services provide early childhood education for small groups of children in a caregiver/educator’s or a child’s own home. Home-based care services are grouped together in networks which are supervised by co-ordinators who are registered teachers.

\textit{Kindergartens}: Operate as community-run ECE centres, mainly for 3- and 4-year olds, and mostly sessional. (Some kindergartens now include 2-year-olds and a few now operate for full days). The teachers are College or University graduates, and the services are governed by regional associations. Kindergartens are a teacher-led ECE service.

\textit{Ngā Kōhanga Reo}: These school-hours centres, administered by Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, incorporate the total immersion of children from birth to school age in the Māori language, culture, and values. The educators and administrators are parents or elders of the children.

\textit{Pacific Island early childhood centres} operate in Pacific languages at least part of the time, to develop and maintain Pacific languages and cultures. Immigrants (or their descendents/family members) from small Pacific nations are the educators and administrators).

\textit{Playcentres}: Operate as parent-cooperative, sessional centres, where the educators and administrators are parents of enrolled children. Families manage and implement the educational programme. Playcentres belong to regional associations affiliated with the national New Zealand Playcentre Federation Inc.

\textit{The Correspondence School} early childhood services: The Correspondence School is a national school that offers distance early education programmes for children aged 3

\textsuperscript{12} The terminology for services in this glossary is current, whereas the terminology in Section 2 reflects historical language.
to 5 years who are unable to attend, or have limited access to, an early childhood service.

**License-Exempt ECE Groups** are services that have been issued an exemption from licensing requirement. More than half of the children attending must have a parent present.

Source:

**Types of ECEC “workers”**

**Early childhood teacher (Kaiako):** A teacher/educator in an early childhood service.

**Provisional Registered Teacher (ECE)** Students graduating from a NZ Teachers Council approved programme of early childhood/early years education who meet registration requirements may apply to the NZ Teachers Council for provisional registration. The path to full registration includes completion of 2 years teaching and an advice and guidance programme, and meeting NZ Teachers Council criteria.

**Registered Teacher** A teacher fully registered by the NZ Teachers Council.

Source:


**Current Term used for ECEC**

**Early childhood education (ECE)** This term came into consistent use around the time of the publication of *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996) after more than a decade of fairly widespread use of *early childhood care and education*. 