

# **An Evaluation of New Zealand's Targeted Individual Entitlement Scheme**

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## **Background**

New Zealand's Targeted Individual Entitlement (TIE) scheme was established in 1996 to enable children from low-income families to access private education. Families whose taxable household income is less than NZ \$25,000 per annum (approximately \$16,000 Canadian<sup>1</sup>) and who are not asset rich<sup>2</sup> are eligible for this voucher program. The Ministry of Education pays the participating private schools 110 percent of the national average cost of education for each TIE student they take<sup>3</sup> and pays the families an allowance of between NZ \$900 and NZ \$1100 to cover non-tuition expenses. TIE was introduced as a pilot scheme for three years in 1996, and after being studied by the authors and deemed successful by the government, was given funding in 1998 to continue indefinitely.

The scheme is a targeted choice scheme, as it provides support specifically for students from low-income families who would normally attend state schools. The TIE scheme gave explicit direction to schools that the selection should give all students an equal chance of being selected, rather than being targeted at academically able students. It offers an all-or-nothing entitlement and does not involve sliding scales of entitlement according to family income. A new scheme called Maori<sup>4</sup> Enhanced Targeted Individual Entitlement—Whakapiki Taurira—was started in 2000 and will be described at the end of this chapter.

The TIE scheme was designed to extend parental choice into the private sector and has produced much debate about the privatization of education and the desirability (or otherwise) of alternative funding schemes such as voucher systems. The state remains the main provider of education in New Zealand. Schools in New Zealand are either described as state, state integrated,<sup>5</sup> or private (independent).<sup>6</sup>

The TIE scheme, therefore, stands as a trial of an alternative form of state-funded education, albeit on a very small scale. It provides the opportunity for a small number of students to choose a school they would not otherwise have had the opportunity to attend by creating entitlements to education funding that can be transferred from the state sector to the private sector. It is a small project alongside the other reforms within the state system of education in New Zealand that have been characterized by 3 features: parental choice, per-student funding formulae, and self-managing schools (Wylie 1999).

The scheme is similar to other schemes adopted elsewhere, such as the Assisted Places Scheme (APS) in England, or the Milwaukee private-school choice experiment in the U.S.A. All three schemes used public funding to make private schooling available to students from low-income families. These schemes are often described as voucher schemes.

This study looks at how successful the TIE scheme has been from the perspective of children, parents, school administrators, and teachers, as well as how successful it has been in achieving the government's goals. The results of this study, however, cannot be used directly to support or discredit arguments about the merits or demerits of voucher schemes at the larger system level.<sup>7</sup>

The evaluation of the TIE scheme was conducted over three years, the first three cohorts of families being followed from when they joined the scheme until the end of 1998 (or their exit from the scheme). Questions were addressed to participating schools, parents, and students. For schools, the focus was on their satisfaction with the scheme and on the progress of the children, any problems and how they might be addressed, and how the process of selecting students was carried out. For parents, the focus was on the background of the families, on the scheme's success at providing parental choice, and on their child's progress. For children, the focus was on their adjustment to and satisfaction with their school. Three reports (Smith & Gaffney 1997; Gaffney & Smith 1998; Gaffney & Smith 1999) give detailed results of each year of the evaluation. This chapter gives an overview of the findings.

## **Research Questions**

The study sought to answer the following questions:<sup>8</sup>

- (I) Selection and Recruitment: Is the TIE scheme successful in recruiting and selecting the group of students that the Ministry is attempting to target?
- (II) Schools—Satisfaction, Problems, Resources: To what extent are schools satisfied with the success of the scheme from their point of view and from the point of view of the child's progress?
- (III) Families—Characteristics, Satisfaction, Problems: What sort of families participated in the scheme and how satisfied are they with their child's progress? If there were problems what were they?
- (IV) Child Well-being: How do children perceive their school situation?

*Results* The results are summarized under four headings across each of the three years of data.<sup>9</sup>

### ***(I) Selection and Recruitment of Families***

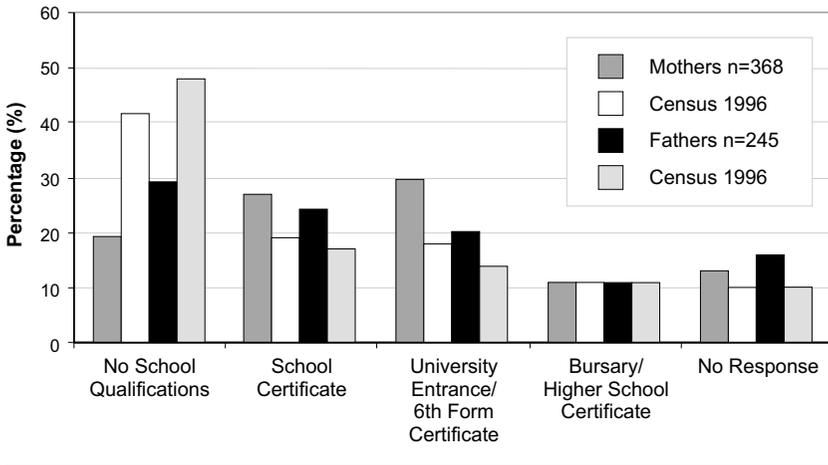
This section describes the families who joined the scheme and then looks at the wider group of applicants and who was successful in gaining a place in the scheme.

The families selected into the scheme were often single parents, reasonably well educated and from a range of socio-economic backgrounds. Half were of New Zealand European (Pakeha) ethnicity and the other half consisted of Maori, Asian, and European-born parents. There was a very large proportion of single parents (nearly two-thirds compared to a quarter in the general population) among the TIE families. The median income for participating families was \$15-20,000 compared to the 1996 Census median income for two-parent families with dependent children of \$45,900 and for single-parent families with dependent children of \$14,300.

Families who participated in the TIE scheme were generally better educated at the secondary school level than the general population, as shown in Figure 1, but they were not more likely to have been to a private school than the general population.

The scheme was greatly over-subscribed with many more families making applications than there were places available. There were 604 applications for 1997, 524 for 1998, and 415 applications for 1999. Half

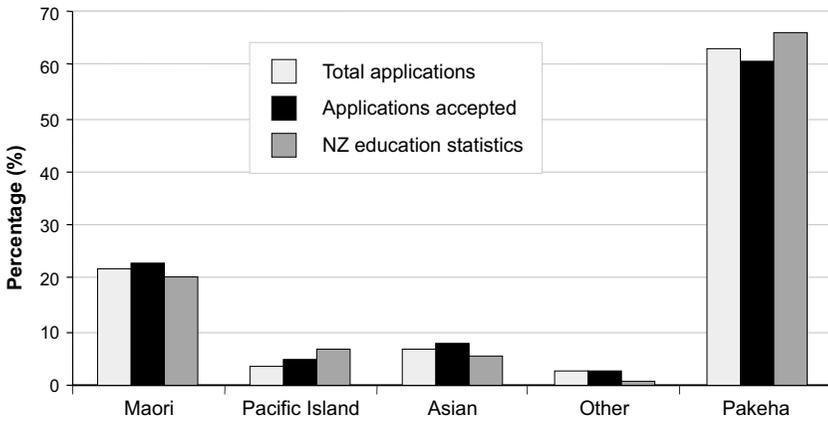
**Figure 1** Highest Secondary School Qualifications of Parents and Caregivers



the TIE students were accepted at the elementary level and half at the secondary level, which was the intention of the scheme.

Overall the scheme was successful in recruiting Maori and Asian students relative to other groups, since they were better represented amongst TIE families than in the education statistics (Ministry of Education 1998, p. 4) (See Figure 2). New Zealand European (Pakeha) and

**Figure 2** Ethnicity of student applicants



Pacific Island students participated less than the statistics predicted. Figure 2 shows the percentage of applicants across the total number of applications made and places accepted.

## (II) Schools

Participating schools were as diverse as the TIE students they accepted. Of the 51 schools that had TIE scheme students in 1998, 23 were elementary, 11 were secondary, and 17 composite (years 1-13). Of these same schools 12 were boys only, 10 were girls only, and 29 were co-educational. Table 1 provides some other background information about TIE scheme schools. There was quite a variation in enrolment size and number of teachers. Just over half of the schools had rolls within the 25 to 300 range. Some schools offered a number of students full-fee scholarships that might be equivalent to TIE scheme places, while many others offered a number of partial-fee scholarships.

It is difficult to characterize the schools when they reflect a diverse range of approaches to education. However, when principals were asked why their school participated in the TIE scheme a large majority, three quarters, said it was to help poor children benefit from private schooling or whatever it was that defined the school as different from state schools. For some schools that was a Christian education or a particular approach to curriculum.

The Independent Schools Council (ISC) was responsible for allocating a number of TIE places from the pool of 160 available each year

**Table 1** Some Characteristics of School Sample (n=45)

Characteristics (number of responses)	Mean	SD	Minimum	Maximum
Roll size (51 – based on Ministry of Ed 1997 Stats) <sup>10</sup>	377.1	312.3	27	1346
Number of teachers (42)	27.1	23.4	2	94
Percent of income from fees <sup>11</sup> (34)	82.7	18.1	20	100
Number of part fee paying scholarships (36)	10.3	16.2	0	84
Number of full fee paying scholarships (39)	2.6	4.6	0	24

to interested private schools. The main criterion for schools was that they teach the New Zealand state-school curriculum. Schools would make a request to the ISC for a number of places, according to which they would be allocated a number of places, usually from 1 to 15. The median allocation was between two to four over the period of the trial.

About half of the principals commented that they were restricted in the number of places they could offer because of the demand from fee-paying students. The number of applications schools received over the trial tended to decrease, from a median high of 15 in the first year to a median of 8 applications for the 1999 year. For small schools with class size restrictions, matching applications to the year levels where places were available was difficult.

### *School Satisfaction*

Despite minor reservations, the majority of principals and teachers were very positive about the success of the TIE scheme. They felt that the scheme provided excellent opportunities for the educational success and personal development of the students, and more choice for families on low incomes. In a small number of cases principals identified real benefits for the school as well as for students because the students had contributed so much to the schools.

Both principals and teachers were very positive about the progress of the TIE scheme students within their schools, with principals tending to be even more enthusiastic than teachers. There was support from some principals for the view that the scheme had broadened the cultural and socio-economic base of the school. Most principals and teachers thought that the scheme had benefits for the TIE students, and half thought that there were benefits for the fee-paying students as well.

There was near full agreement from principals and teachers that the scheme should continue at its present level both across the country and at their own school. Indeed they were very happy to expand the scheme so that a larger cohort could begin each year, but few principals felt that their own school would be able to take more students.

Principals and teachers generally thought that TIE scheme students were happy and fitted into their schools very well. They found the students' academic progress and extra-curricular involvement to be similar to, if not better than, other students at the school. This assessment was based on principals' and teachers' perceptions recorded on a rating

scale as opposed to the systematic collection of student assessment data.<sup>12</sup> Parents also held this perception that children were progressing well.

The problems associated with the TIE scheme were financial pressure on the families and the schools, especially restrictions on the full participation of students in extracurricular activities because of lack of income. There were also a few cases of social problems for students from low-income families in schools where other students were economically advantaged. There was a strong feeling among principals that the income eligibility criteria for participation in the scheme needed to be revised upwards. There was also some discomfort about the situation for siblings, since only one child per family could participate in the scheme, which was considered unfair. Principals also felt that funding in general should be increased to the families and/or the schools. A few schools suggested different advertising strategies for the program.

Each year a number of TIE scheme students left the scheme because they had either completed their schooling or withdrawn. Eleven per cent of the first and second cohort and one per cent of the third cohort withdrew from the program. Withdrawals occurred for many reasons, including families leaving the locality, health reasons, or difficulties outside or inside the school. Outside difficulties may refer to difficulties with travelling to school or negative attitudes from those outside the school. Internal difficulties included financial pressures, such as the cost of participating in school activities, and social harassment.

Most schools reported that there was a cost to participating in the scheme in forgone revenue. This is because the TIE scheme entitlement received by schools was in most cases less than fees paid by fee-paying families. For elementary year level places (years 1-8) this works out to a median cost to a school of NZ \$1,585 per student and at the secondary level (years 9-13) a median cost to a school of NZ \$2,500 per student for the 1998 year. This cost to schools assumes all TIE scheme places would have been filled with full-fee paying students. Schools receive 110 percent of the average cost of educating a student in a state school. The extra 10 percent reflects the extra funding low-decile schools<sup>13</sup> receive based on the socio-economic status of their students. Private schools receive a government grant per pupil of about 20 to 40 percent of what state schools receive.

Over the years of the trial, government subsidies to private schools have increased, especially at the secondary level. Private schools now

**Table 2** Number of TIE scheme students attending each TIE School

Number of TIE students	Number of schools
0	3 <sup>14</sup>
1-5	25
6-10	10
11-15	9
16-20	4
21-25	1
26-30	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>54</b>

receive up to 40 percent of what a state school receives for senior secondary school students. So over time the schools have been receiving an increasing ratio of government subsidy for fee-paying students against the amount they receive when taking a TIE scheme student. The schools are aware of the financial costs that they incur from accepting TIE scheme students, and some set a limit of how much money they will forgo and therefore how many TIE scheme students they will take.

#### *Publicity and Recruitment*

Over the three years of the study, about half of the schools reported that publicity for the TIE scheme had been sufficient to generate enough applications. Over time fewer of the schools advertised themselves (68 percent in 1996 down to 43 percent in 1998), which seemed to result from their wish not to generate too many applications for the small number of TIE places they had been allocated. They felt that this created disappointment for families who did not get a place. Schools that did not use criteria-based selection for fee-paying students disliked having to find criteria to select TIE scheme students. It seems likely that the number of applications to the program would have been considerably greater if it had been publicized more widely.

Over the years, schools have only slowly increased the number of TIE students on their rolls because of limitations in the schools' capacity. The explanation for this slow increase is partly space restrictions, but finance was also a major factor. The majority of schools reported

that they lost income by providing a TIE scheme place, when a fee-paying student could fill it. Two thirds of the schools said there was a limit to the number of TIE students they could take (median 13, range 1 to 50).

1999 was the first year of the scheme when it had not been possible to fill all 160 places from the 415 applications. 149 places were accepted but three applicants withdrew over the summer school holidays, leaving 146 students beginning the scheme in 1999. There are a number of reasons, beyond school capacity constraints, why not all places were filled. For example, there were fewer schools to choose from because at least five of the private schools integrated in the previous year. In 1997 there were 604 applications and in 1998 there were 524. So in 1999 there were fewer applications to draw on. There were also changes to the application process so that there was less time to make sure students filled all available places. The application process for families begins in early August, and families know by early September if they have been successful, with confirmation of acceptance (upon assessment of household income) in early October, four months before the school year starts. In previous years, unfilled places were reallocated right up until the beginning of the school year at the end of January.

### *(III) Families' Satisfaction with the Scheme*

Families generally had very positive perceptions of the TIE scheme and most parents and children agreed that the children were happy, doing well academically, and participating in extracurricular activities. About half of the families coped financially with the extra costs of attending a private school, but 40 percent had serious financial difficulties. Causes of dissatisfaction related to issues such as access for siblings to the scheme and recent changes to the administration of the scheme, such as the later delivery of the allowance to families.

TIE families usually had little choice of private schools. The small number of schools in the scheme meant that only about a fifth of families had more than one private school to choose from. For many families choice was constrained because there was only one suitable school (to match the age and gender of the student) within reasonable travelling distance, and many of the schools were offering places at specific levels. Some schools specified only a single year level for the TIE scheme place or places they were offering.

### *Reasons for Applying*

When the families were asked why they joined the scheme, about half of them referred to the TIE scheme as an opportunity to get a better education. Just under a fifth of families said they had always wanted to send their child to the particular school and that the TIE scheme presented an opportunity to do this. Some of the reasons given to account for this preference were that they wanted their child to go to a single sex school or a school that would support Christian beliefs similar to their own.

When contrasting their private school with the state school their child would have attended, families consistently referred to smaller classes (40 percent); individual attention and discipline (both 25 percent); better teachers and teaching (20 percent); and better resources (10 percent) as reasons for preferring their private school. When asked if there were any reasons for avoiding the state school their child would have most likely attended, the most common reason was that they did not like the school's social environment (25 percent). Twenty percent had no particular reason, and 10 percent wanted to avoid the type of students attending state schools.

### *Family Satisfaction*

Over 90 percent of TIE families were satisfied with the educational and social progress that their children were making. The benefits most likely to be mentioned were improved confidence, self-esteem and maturity; higher achievement and motivation to succeed, and greater participation in extracurricular activities. Over a third of families reported no problems from participating in the scheme. The problems that were reported included increased workload for the children (10 percent), the child's poorer economic resources (compared to other students) (10 percent), and the negative attitudes of students and teachers at the new school (5 percent).

Most families were very positive about their child's private school, and over time this satisfaction was maintained. Parents and caregivers were asked to comment on the types of activities and resources available, how well their child was getting on with others in the school, the amount of work, and the ease of changing schools. In comparison with their child's previous school, the parents rated the private schools very positively on most criteria. Schools were rated as similar to the previous state school on how well the children got on with other students.

The only feature parents perceived as worse was the difficulty in getting to school each day, which reflects the likelihood of travelling much longer distances to a private school.

Families were given an allowance to cover extra costs such as travel, uniforms, and participation in school activities. Families were provided NZ \$900 if their child was at the year 1-8 level of school (elementary) and NZ \$1,100 if at the year levels 9-13 (secondary). About 50 percent of the families from the first two cohorts reported that the allowance was adequate to cover their extra costs. This was an improvement on their first year when the initial cost of uniforms was a major consideration. About 40 percent of the families reported that the allowance was inadequate in 1998 and that they were carrying a debt over from the previous year<sup>15</sup> in the scheme.

There was provision in the scheme for schools to charge families the difference between what the Ministry of Education entitlement covered and the school fees. Only two schools adopted this practice. This practice of charging TIE families the difference in tuition fees led to two withdrawals from one of the schools. In general, however, schools have shown themselves to be very flexible in finding a solution when families inform them of financial problems. Only two students have ever withdrawn from the scheme because of financial difficulties.

One major issue families raised over the last two years of the scheme was the criteria that only one child from each family could participate in the scheme at any one time. In the first year of the scheme this criteria was not used, and eight sets of siblings were able to join, seven families with two children and one with three. While restricting families to only one child increases the number of families who can participate, the families and schools do not favour this approach. Many of the schools see themselves as working with families rather than individual children and have an expectation that all children from a family will participate in a school. This restriction also creates tensions for the families who must decide if it will be fair to send one child to a private school and not another. For families with multiple children who take on the challenge of joining the scheme, this policy increases the number of schools and systems they have to deal with, and creates complex family travel arrangements. This is a bigger issue for elementary aged children because they are more dependent, and their schooling requires a lot more input from parents and caregivers.

Aside from these minor issues, the majority of parents and caregivers of TIE children judged the TIE scheme very successful.

#### *(IV) Student Well-being*

A large majority of TIE students were happy with the program and glad to be attending their new school. Students cited friends, good relationships with students and teachers, and academic achievement as their reasons for their high level of satisfaction with the TIE scheme. On those occasions when things were not going well for students, they referred to the same aspects: not having friends, getting on badly with classmates or teachers, or lack of achievement at school.

Overall the students were very positive about their new schools in terms of: facilities, resources and activities, their teachers, and the other students. Though they were less positive about the level and amount of work required in the new school, most students felt that the level of work was better than at their previous school. Children rated the following features of their new school as much better than their previous school: resources and activities, getting on with other students, and helpfulness of the teachers. Like their parents, their only real criticism was that some found it harder to get to school. In general, while both parents and children were very positive about the TIE schools, the parents were more positive than the students.

There was general agreement among principals, teachers, and parents that the students were doing very well academically, fitting in well socially into their new schools and participating well in extracurricular activities. Principals, teachers, and parents all agreed that students were happy. Students also generally reported that they were happy. We received five times more comments about aspects that made students happy at their private school than aspects that made them unhappy. The most cited reasons for satisfaction were achieving well at school (25 percent), having friends (22 percent), and getting on well with students (39 percent) and teachers (18 percent). These were the same aspects that caused unhappiness at school, i.e., not having friends (3 percent), getting on badly with classmates (16 percent) or teachers (5 percent), or lack of achievement at school (5 percent).

Student enjoyment of school centred on participating in favourite classes and sports activities, having the support of teachers, and a generally positive social environment at school. Students mentioned disliking difficulties they experienced with other students, the amount of work, and the hours of schooling (which for some was exacerbated by travel requirements). Overall, student satisfaction and well-being were favourable.

## **Conclusions**

The findings indicate that the scheme was successful in facilitating access to private schooling for a small number of low-income New Zealand families.

The families who participated in the scheme tended to be headed by a single parent, relatively well-educated, of low income and middle socio-economic status. The TIE families included a similar percentage of Maori to the general population so targeting of Maori children was successful. The scheme was also successful in facilitating access for students from ethnically diverse families.

Both parents and students were highly satisfied with the TIE scheme. Most felt that their children were better off educationally in the private school than in their previous state school. While the number of schools that families could apply to was limited, it did allow this small group of families to choose schools outside of the state system. The reported satisfaction with the scheme was much stronger than any problems with it.

The schools, too, were highly supportive of the scheme, and the TIE students were perceived to have progressed as well as or better than fee-paying students. The schools perceived the scheme to be very beneficial to the students and families. They supported the growth and continuation of the scheme despite concerns over the loss of income the school incurred as a result. While schools would have liked to see the scheme expand, very few thought that their own school could take many more TIE students. Because a relatively large number of private schools integrated into the state system in 1998, the capacity of private schools to absorb more TIE students is limited.

As a result of the preliminary findings of this research the government deemed the TIE scheme a success and decided to continue funding it indefinitely. A change in government at the end of 1999 saw no new students enter the scheme after the year 2000.

## **The Maori TIE Scheme**

In 1998, it was announced that a new scheme would be set up for the indigenous people of New Zealand, the Maori. It is called the Maori Enhanced Targeted Individual Entitlement—Whakapiki Taurira. As a group, Maori students are underachieving in the New Zealand education system, and one of the Ministry's main goals throughout the nineties has

been to look for ways to address this achievement gap. Participants in the Maori TIE scheme must have a household income of less than \$25,000 and must identify themselves as Maori. The money provided need not be used in a private school, and the purposes for which it can be used were unspecified. The selection of students for this scheme was centralized, not done through the schools themselves. Another major difference between this scheme and the original TIE scheme was that the money provided was added to what the schools already received for educating these students.

Applications were made available in places frequented by Maori families who might benefit from the scheme. The Ministry of Education received 3,400 applications for the 130 places available. This was four to five times the number that the TIE scheme received each year. Indeed, there seemed to be a separate group of families wanting the Maori TIE as opposed to the earlier TIE scheme option. Only 12 of the applications were for private schools and none of these were successful.

It was left open-ended as to how families could use the funds, but it was suggested that funds might cover school fees, travel, after-school activities, and information technology. The main criterion for selection was that the students would attend a school with a credible Maori Language and Culture Program. Those families most in need, that is, those students in single-parent families or difficult housing circumstances, were given priority. In addition, attempts were made to improve access to curriculum opportunities, and priority was given to students from rural areas, those likely to have dropped out if they had not been able to change schools, and those who might reach their potential with extra tuition. The selection committee tried to provide the best return on the funds by offering them to students who would use them to change schools.

Of the 130 places given, 88 percent were provided to students attending Maori boarding schools. One hundred twenty-two of these students were going to secondary schools, leaving only 8 at the elementary level. Some changes to the criteria are expected to be made in order to improve the selection process, and some attempt will be made to increase the number of successful elementary applications. Due to a change in government, it is unclear whether the Maori TIE scheme will continue.

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## Notes

- 1 At the time of writing the New Zealand dollar was equivalent to approximately 64 cents Canadian.
- 2 The term asset rich was never defined in the information sent to parents applying to the scheme. Nevertheless, all applicants to the scheme had to sign a form that said "My household has few assets".
- 3 In 1998 this was NZ \$4051 for year 1-6 students, NZ \$4496 for year 7-8 students, NZ \$6299 for year 9-10 students and NZ \$7088 for year 11-13 students with additional allowances being paid to families for uniform and other costs (\$900 for elementary and \$1100 for secondary students).
- 4 The term Maori is used to describe the indigenous people of New Zealand.
- 5 There are 306 state integrated schools in New Zealand. These schools follow the state curriculum requirements, retaining their 'special character' (e.g. religious observances) but with the proprietors providing the accommodation while the state pays day-to-day expenses, including teachers' salaries. This option was brought about by the Private Schools Conditional Integration Act of 1975, which allowed independent schools to gain access to more state funding but at the same time allow them to retain their special character. The Catholic schools in New Zealand came under the state integrated designation in the early 1980's.
- 6 The July 1998 School Statistics show that enrolments at private schools totalled 24,836, or 3.4 percent of the New Zealand school population. That year, 118 of the 2779 schools in New Zealand were independent schools. Just over half of the independent schools are in New Zealand's three largest cities of Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch. The schools in these three areas take just under three quarters (72.6%) of the students enrolled at independent schools in New Zealand.
- 7 Arguments about alternative funding arrangements such as 'vouchers' have been vigorous. Advocates for such schemes have argued they will: increase parental choice; provide valuable competition between schools and so improve quality; allow parents to exit from inferior schools; get rid of the monopoly of

state education and increase equity because of increased choice for poor families; promote parent affiliation to schools; and reduce administration costs. Opponents have criticized them as an attack on state schools because of the negative impact on state schools (which may run down and lose critical mass); the loss of a public agenda for education (e.g. cultural or civic values); lack of equity of access and easier access for families with cultural capital; the need for bureaucracy and regulation; and accentuating individualistic and meritocratic ideals rather than social cohesion.

- 8 A Postal Survey with separate questionnaires designed for principals, teachers, parents and year 7-13 students was undertaken each year. In order to provide qualitative data more likely to give a richer understanding of the issues for parents, children and schools, and allow issues to be explored in depth, the study included a small sample of schools and families from two areas, who were interviewed face to face. One area was chosen in the first year and the other in the second year of the study. No new interviews were conducted in the final year. Follow-up interviews with participants from the first two cohorts were conducted each year by phone with interviewees. All of the principal and parent interviews took place within the school and most of the student and family interviews took place at home.
- 9 All three cohorts of families are reported as one group. In the main the cohorts are very similar but any significant differences between the three cohorts will be noted.
- 10 The numbers in brackets refer to the number of responses to this question. It was, however, possible to get roll size figures for all 51 schools from the Ministry of Education. The July 1997 figures were used from the Ministry of Education (1998) Directory of NZ Schools and Tertiary Institutions, January 1998.
- 11 This figure does not include the government subsidy.
- 12 There are no academic assessment tools used by all New Zealand schools except national exams that occur at the end of year 11 & 13. Year 13 is the final year of high school in New Zealand.
- 13 New Zealand schools are given a ranking from 1 to 10 based on the socio-economic status of the families that contribute to a particular school. A ranking of 1 reflects a low SES school and 10 a high SES school.
- 14 These schools have previously had TIE scheme students but currently don't.
- 15 The debt amounted to an average of \$562 for those who were in their second year, and an average of \$736 for those who were in their third year. These figures do not include data from the nine per cent of families who had a child boarding, for whom it was never anticipated that the allowance would meet their boarding costs.