

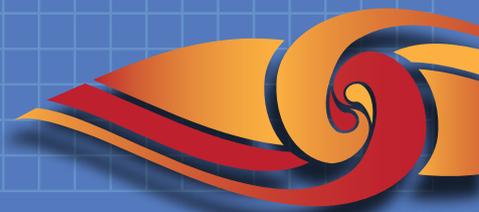
PROJECT:

CLIENT:

the
BLUEPRINT
for tertiary education
TE KAUPAPA WHAIORANGA



TERTIARY EDUCATION UNION TE HAUTŪ KAHURANGI O AOTEAROA
TEU - THERE'S A PLACE FOR YOU



Te Kaupapa Whaioranga: The blueprint for tertiary education was prepared by Dr Sandra Grey (Victoria University of Wellington), Dr Charles Sedgwick (independent scholar), and Jo Scott (Policy Analyst) for the Tertiary Education Union Te Hautū Kahurangi o Aotearoa

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13 November 2013

Te Kaupapa Whaioranga

The blueprint for tertiary education

Te Kaupapa Whaioranga: hei pou arataki i te mātauranga Māori ¹

Tēnā koutou, tēnā tātou, e ngā kaihautū me te kotahitanga o te mātauranga rangarua, rangatoru.

Tēnā koutou, tēnā tātou, e ngā kaihautū me te kotahitanga o te mātauranga rangarua, rangatoru.

He taonga nui ki a tātou, Te Kaupapa Whaioranga e hikitia nei e Te Hautū Kahurangi o Aotearoa.

He karakia mai ōku tūpuna, o te tupua, te tawhito, o te ao kōhatu:

“Turuturu te kawa

Whakamana te kawa

Ko te kawa ora

Ko te kawa nā wai?

Ko te kawa nā Tangaroa takapau whāriki

Ī Papatūānuku e takoto nei

Ka pipī ake i raro i ōna taranga

Eke panuku, eke Tangaroa

Haere mai te toki!”

Nā Te Huirangi Waikerepuru me Tengaruru Wineera

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Preamble: The principles for tertiary education

Every good system is founded on a sound and agreed blueprint – a blueprint that sets out the design and functions of the system, and the relationships, connections and responsibilities that exist within it. *Te Kaupapa Whaioranga* is our blueprint for tertiary education:

- a. It provides us with a way to think about the system, to understand the problems within it, and to discuss and debate these issues with others.
- b. It provides us with a new framework for the tertiary education sector that focuses on the system as a whole and its interrelationships with all parts of society.
- c. It is a call for action – individually and collectively, within our institutions, and as citizens.

As the education, research, and support staff working in the system, we assert that all decision-making guiding the direction of the tertiary education sector must be built on *Te Kaupapa Whaioranga* which demands that to maintain the health of a system (in this instance, the tertiary education system), the total wellbeing of the system must be addressed. If any one part is not sufficiently nourished, the system as a whole eventually breaks down. This concept also recognises that the tertiary education system is part of, and must contribute to, a much more complex system – our society, the environment and the economy.

A commitment to *Te Kaupapa Whaioranga* will ensure that current and future generations of New Zealanders have a strong, robust, and autonomous tertiary education sector which provides them with the skills, knowledge, and aptitude to be critically engaged in all aspects of life.

Within *Te Kaupapa Whaioranga* is the concept of 'toi te mana' which refers to the extent that the tertiary education system acts as a framework for ensuring that we are a society that is critically engaged, technically and intellectually adept, passionate and creative life-long learners, ready to meet both the challenges of the world we live in today and in the future.

Te Kaupapa Whaioranga contains five specific principles necessary to ensure that total wellbeing for the sector, and those participating in it, is maintained. All who engage in debating the direction of the sector (both from within and without) should use these principles as their blueprint on which to base critically engaged debate, decision-making and actions.

Principle 1: Mana atua, mana tangata

This principle demands that all decisions being made by and for the sector ensures whaioranga for those who participate in the sector – the total wellbeing of all staff and students. Decision-making must be based in whakanui; should foster kōtahitanga; and promote ōritetanga. That is, decision-making must be based in respect for oneself and others; unity and inclusiveness; and attitudes and processes that promote equity, equality, and democracy.

Principle 2: Mana whenua

This principle demands that decisions being made by and for the sector foster ahikā – the interrelation of people and the land, including whether such decisions support a sense of tūrangawaewae for all individuals and groups, fostering a sense of place and belonging. The outcomes of decision-making must result in the creation of engaging work and study environments which in turn foster te taiao - innovation and creativity.

Principle 3: Mana motuhake

This principle demands that decisions being made by and for the sector foster a sense of tino rangatiratanga. In fostering this leadership, self-determination and responsible autonomy, it is crucial that all staff and students in the sector will have the opportunity for whakamana in all aspects of their work – they must have authority, power, and influence over this work. Added to this, all decisions being made by and for the sector must foster whakahaere – the enactment of the role of critic and conscience in society, as set out in the Education Act 1989.

Principle 4: Ahu Kāwanatanga

This principle demands that decisions being made by and for the sector encourages mahi tahi – in all aspects of their work, staff and students must be able to develop collaborative approaches and collective contributions.

Principle 5: Mana Tiriti

This principle demands that decisions being made by and for the sector foster the partnership relationship as described in Te Tiriti o Waitangi, including tikanga, and āhuatanga Māori - Māori customs and protocols and ways of being and doing. Daily practices, institutional rules, and government policy must foster the legislative requirements that pertain to participation, protection and partnership.

The analysis and calls for change that follow in the substantive sections of Te Kaupapa Whaioranga have been informed by the above principles.

The principles have been used to review our current tertiary education system, to reveal its shortcomings, and to give us the direction for a new path for the sector that will work for current and future generation of New Zealanders. We are confident that by using these principles, we have created a blueprint for change that can guide a national debate aimed at rebuilding the foundations of our public tertiary education system.



“I would like to see more equity in the provision of tertiary education in New Zealand leading to all of our people achieving their potential personally and professionally.”

Carol Soal, Aoraki Polytechnic

Introduction: Claiming tertiary education as a public good

The New Zealand legacy

The application of the principles of *Te Kaupapa Whaioranga* means tertiary education at all levels is and must be a public good. Treating tertiary education as a public good means the system belongs to all of us, we all contribute to it, and we are all responsible for it. But all around us we see decision-making that points in the opposite direction – where the system has been appropriated to become the vehicle serving a small number of individuals and vested interests, with no recognition of the fundamental right to public tertiary education, and no recognition of the reciprocal responsibility we have as individuals to contribute back to our society.

The struggle in New Zealand for a national education system is captured in Fraser and Beeby's words - that every child, rich or poor, rural or urban has a 'right, as a citizen, to a free education' to the limits of their capability². While Fraser and Beeby were speaking about compulsory schooling, we contend that this view is equally applicable to tertiary education because it speaks to the transformative power of education and its role in reducing inequity and contributing to lifelong learning opportunities that allow us to fulfill our potential as individuals and as members of whānau/families and communities.

The international legacy

Not only is this history being ignored by current political and institutional leaders, but also this country's long commitment to international covenants that seek to

enshrine basic rights and obligations for citizens and governments. New Zealand was one of 51 countries that signed the United Nations Charter in 1945 which includes the following:

Article 26: Right to education

1. *Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages.*

Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

2. *Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.*

3. *Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children³.*



"Minister Joyce is intervening in a council system that is working well. He offers no rational basis for this intervention. He hasn't cited any study or precedent to support his case. All of this seems to be based on some kind of strange unimaginative faith in outmoded ideas about efficiency. Universities are multifaceted institutions that serve the community in multiple ways. A quality education requires more democracy not less."

Brett Nicholls, University of Otago

The *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* ratified by New Zealand on the 28 December 1978 notes that:

(c) Higher education shall be made equally accessible to all, on the basis of capacity, by every appropriate means, and in particular by the progressive introduction of free education (Part III, Article 13 (2c))⁴.

The market-driven legacy

The aim for equality - at the very least of opportunity if not outcome - in education and particularly the tertiary sector has now been destroyed, replaced by a market philosophy predicated on 'survival of the fittest'. This market philosophy has been imposed on many parts of New Zealand society. The result has been increasing inequality, with the old adage 'the rich get richer, the poor get poorer' becoming a stark reality in this country.

[T]he increase in inequality [in New Zealand] between 1985 and the late 2000s was the largest among OECD countries with the exception of Sweden and where share of wages and salaries in total household income saw a marked decrease between the mid-1980s and the mid-2000s- especially for low income households - by more than 11 percent⁵.

These inequalities are evident in, and exacerbated by, the market principles used to drive New Zealand's tertiary education policy and process, such as recently-announced changes to eligibility criteria for student loans.

In addition, the legislated requirements for academic freedom in our tertiary education system seem to have become relics of the past rather than active principles guiding decision-making, teaching, learning, and research - and instead have been supplanted by market imperatives.

Students and academic staff were once given the responsibility of academic freedom 'to question and test received wisdom, to put forward new ideas and to state controversial or unpopular opinions'⁶. This right has been curtailed, along with the institutional freedoms specified in the same section of the Act.

All tertiary institutions must share the characteristics specified in this legislation of being '(iv) a repository of knowledge and expertise: (v) [accepting] 'a role as critic and conscience of society;'. However this requirement is no longer evident in the decision-making and actions of successive New Zealand governments and their agencies. Rather, tertiary education and research has been re-constructed as a private good, with its primary purpose being to contribute to economic growth, and to privately-owned business and industry.

The transition from education as a public good to a private benefit can be seen in the policies of successive governments. In 2001 the Associate Minister of Education of the Labour/Alliance Government announced the 'paradigm shift' for the 'country's major public investments in building the skills and capability needed for the future':

... the focus of the tertiary education system will now be to produce the skills, knowledge and innovation that New Zealand needs to: transform our economy; promote social and cultural development; and meet the rapidly changing requirements of national and international labour markets ... the tertiary system needs to be more explicitly aligned with wider government goals for economic and social development⁷.

By 2010 the National-led Government's plan was to make the tertiary education system 'more relevant and more efficient, so that it meets the needs of students, the labour market and the economy'⁸. Successive government policies have directed the tertiary system primarily to serve these goals and the 'evolution and growth of industries'⁹.

By 2013 the Minister for Tertiary Education demands institutions 'contribute to the Government's focus on improving New Zealand's economic outcomes'¹⁰. Tertiary education is now increasingly seen as a private good:

It is a passport to success for individuals in our society, and supports wider economic growth and prosperity as skilled people are essential to the success of business and other organisations¹¹.

There is a token reference in the latest 2013 draft *Tertiary Education Strategy* to the importance of reflecting ‘our wider expectations for tertiary education’ improving ‘outcomes for individuals and society as a whole’, getting at-risk young people into a career’, boosting achievement of Māori and Pasifika’ and ‘improving adult literacy’. Nevertheless, the ultimate ‘long-term focus areas’ are to improve competitiveness, support business, innovation, and ‘delivering skills for industry’¹². Despite this rhetoric, we contend that business and industry can never guarantee or be synonymous with the public good because their purpose is expressly different – to make a profit for shareholders or owners.

The focus on the ‘Business Growth Agenda’ sees the latest draft *Tertiary Education Strategy* almost devoid of any reference to teachers, support staff, students, and the general public – rather it contains endless funding outcomes focused on improving ‘the performance and value for money’ of the sector, ensuring the ‘system targets needs’¹³. The draft *Tertiary Education Strategy* does not prioritise free and equal rights to education for all citizens, maintaining the role of education as critic and conscience of society, nor improve the working conditions of staff. It does not even contain overall goals of ‘[s]uccess for all New Zealanders through lifelong learning; creating and applying knowledge to drive innovation [and] stronger connections between tertiary education organisations and the communities they serve’¹⁴.

Assertions found in statements emanating from Government, the sector, and the public show acceptance of the premise that education is a privilege not a right for both students and staff working within the tertiary education system. The Minister for Tertiary Education in 2011 told media that students exercising their democratic right to protest should ‘keep their heads down lest they draw attention to their relatively privileged position in hard economic times... because actually most people probably think you are doing okay’¹⁵. Such assertions compel the public to see the value of a tertiary education entirely in economic terms, which can be measured with accounting models that pass for accountability.

The ideal, the reality, and why we need to rebuild tertiary education

As the staff working in the tertiary education sector, we are no longer willing to accept such market ideals for our tertiary education system, and we will no longer



“Let’s get rid of the barriers to success and focus on putting people back at the centre of our reason for being educators.”

Jackie McHaffie, Wintec

allow policies and decisions that turn tertiary education into a collection of private goods and private costs. This is not only a denigration of past struggles in education but a constant cause of a cultural unease, disrespect and blame that is destroying the quality of our public tertiary education system. As Campbell¹⁶ has stated, we must seek a path to overcome claims by the Government of growing unaffordability of tertiary education, and challenge policy that only funds those areas of academic endeavor that ‘deliver quantifiable economic returns.’

It is time to undo the damage caused by market approaches to tertiary education. The ill-effects of market approaches were set out in a 2001 Tertiary Education Advisory Committee report to Government which noted that the tertiary education sector was suffering

from '[r]isk aversion, compliance mentality, change fatigue and low morale, perverse incentives that promote homogeneity, mediocrity and credential inflation, lack of inspired leadership, lack of research on tertiary education itself'¹⁷.

Firstly, the struggle to rebuild tertiary education as a public good for all citizens begins by (re)stating and thereby retrieving the ideals of education. The principles of *Te Kaupapa Whaioranga* embody this because they focus on the whole system, recognise our collective responsibility for its wellbeing and our individual rights to access and participate in whatever way we choose. Government, business and the pundits of economic development do not own the assets of the New Zealand education system, nor provide the funding - they belong to us all. Therefore we all have the right and responsibility to have our voices heard about what we want and expect of our tertiary education system.

Secondly, we must set out the core problems that have permeated the whole tertiary education sector. While the ills of the sector are well known in our institutions – by the staff who work within them and the managers responsible for operation of the sector – they are largely unknown or ignored by the broader population, by business interests and more significantly by students. Hindsight and insight are necessary to comprehend changes that are necessary if we are to have an equitable, accessible tertiary education system in the future; a future that belongs to all New Zealanders.

Thirdly, on the basis of this analysis we present our calls for change across the tertiary education sector, calls for change based on the principles set out in the preamble and focused on the way the tertiary education system can positively impact on the wellbeing of all New Zealanders, fostering in them a sense of belonging and place. Our calls for change are aimed at ensuring all who are part of the tertiary education system are able to work collaboratively and are empowered to take their rightful place in democratic decision-making in the sector. Finally, our calls for change will enable staff and students to responsibly take up their right to be the critic and conscience of society. This is a right that is essential if we are to have an equitable and democratic future.

The fundamentals for rebuilding our public tertiary education sector and the incremental changes called for in this blueprint are relatively limited; however we believe they should underpin a public debate about our tertiary education system. And if these changes are enacted they will ensure all staff, students, whānau/families, communities, business large and small, and in fact our whole society, will benefit from the public good that is tertiary education.

Part 1. The ideal public tertiary education system

Our public tertiary education system belongs to us all

The ideal tertiary education system, based on *Te Kaupapa Whaioranga*, is one that is a coordinated, unified, independent system, accessible to and affordable by all, as a public good and at the public's cost. To enact the principles of mana atua, the following are needed:

- a. Publicly owned institutions set up to directly benefit society, and by virtue of this, all individuals in society. They are a long-term investment in our society, with the primary purpose of making a contribution to all social life, rather than ensuring profit for business owners or shareholders¹⁸.
- b. A vibrant tertiary education system that serves all individuals, equipping them for active participation in society, and allowing society to benefit from the strength and vitality of this involvement. In the words of the Tertiary Education Commission, in the Briefing to the Incoming Minister of Education, education must be '... positive for the learner and meet the needs of the relevant part of the wider community'¹⁹.
- c. Our tertiary education system must be able to deliver the appropriate range of tertiary education opportunities building on the skill, aptitude and knowledge levels of students in all regions and communities. It must provide a vibrant network of institutions to ensure that all individuals can participate in tertiary education. During the course of their study, students must be able to see, understand and experience their culture and world-view, reflected through a range of modes of learning, research and practice.

Our public tertiary education system must be autonomous

Our tertiary education sector must create and disseminate knowledge, technical expertise, and

research findings which serve our entire society as well as the global community, a task which can only be carried out if tertiary education institutions and all who are involved in them are able to experience genuine responsible autonomy²⁰ and academic freedom. The right to responsible autonomy and academic freedom is necessary so that the sector, in all its manifestations, carries out its crucial function as the critic and conscience of our society as specified in the Education Act 1989.

To enact the principles of mana motuhake, the following is needed:

- a. Responsible autonomy and academic freedom means that governance of the sector reflects and celebrates the diversity found in our society; upholds the objects of the Education Act 1989; and, ensures education and pedagogy are at the heart of teaching and learning decisions, no matter whether they involve the acquisition of skills or knowledge through theory or praxis. Central to good governance in the tertiary education sector is an acceptance that responsible autonomy is the only way to ensure the sector serves the best interests of the entire New Zealand public.
- b. Responsible autonomy and academic freedom is put into practice through ensuring democratic participation of staff, students, and community representatives in all levels of governance of the sector, in accordance with Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Those affected by decisions must be involved in the decision-making. In particular, academic decisions around the quality of research projects, funding allocations, and curriculum should be made in collegial forums by all research and teaching staff.
- c. Our public tertiary education system must preserve a broad base of research, inquiry, investigation, and scholarship, as well as the capacity to investigate and challenge the decisions and actions of all sectors of our society (including those who generate knowledge, as well as business and political leaders).

- d. It must allow for research opportunities and development, as well as critical thinking which reflects the diversity of our society. It must address current issues by allowing imaginative explorations of our whole society and our global community. A world fraught with problems needs the collaborative intellect of all to find solutions. Therefore government and/or industry must not be permitted to decide where research priorities for the tertiary education sector lie.

Above all, we must have a tertiary education system that flourishes, and supports staff and students to be creative, dynamic, and innovative – the principle of *mana whenua* in action. These ideals are captured eloquently in the 1929 writings of noted philosopher (and a wise, experienced, and from all accounts, reflective teacher) Alfred Whitehead. His words about the purpose of the university should guide all tertiary education institutions:

The justification for a university is that it preserves the connection between knowledge and the zest of life, by uniting the young and the old in the imaginative consideration of learning. The university imparts information, but it imparts it imaginatively. At least, this is the function



“As a nursing lecturer, I know that education is a social good that translates into healthy outcomes for individuals and society.”

Tina Smith, UCOL

which it should perform for society. A university which fails in this respect has no reason for existence. This atmosphere of excitement, arising from imaginative consideration, transforms knowledge. A fact is no longer a bare fact: it is invested with all its possibilities. It is no longer a burden on the memory: it is energizing as the poet of our dreams, and as the architect of our purposes.

Imagination is not to be divorced from the facts: it is a way of illuminating the facts. It works by eliciting the principles which apply to the facts, as they exist, and then by an intellectual survey of alternative possibilities, which are consistent with the principles. It enables men to construct an intellectual vision of a new world, and it preserves the zest of life by the suggestion of satisfying purposes. Youth is imaginative, and if the imagination can be strengthened by discipline, this energy of imagination can, in great measure be preserved through life.

The tragedy of the world is that those who are imaginative have but slight experience, and those who are experienced have feeble imaginations. Fools act on imagination without knowledge; pedants act on knowledge without imagination. The task of the university is to weld together imagination and experience ²¹.

Part 2. The reality of tertiary education in New Zealand

The tertiary education sector is plagued with a malaise that has damaged not only the very philosophy that informed its origins and development, but the collective endeavours of staff, their managers, and the institutions to which they belong. This malaise has extended to include disrespect and even distrust of the sector by politicians, sector leaders, technocrats and perhaps even the public. The impact of this malaise must be understood by communities, staff, and students if we are to rebuild our public tertiary education system.

The sector's tale

Over the last three decades, the entire New Zealand education sector has been subjected to the requirements of free market engagement –the neoliberal agenda – which brings with it continuous financial and managerial pressures²². The former generates underfunding, falling full-time equivalent staff numbers, increasing staff: student ratios, increased fees, course closures, growing class sizes, institutional insecurity over competition for funds and other resources, and insecurity for staff and students. The latter often result in never-ending restructuring of positions, constant reviews, deregulation and re-regulation, pressure to find cheaper modes of course and programme delivery, relentless planning and the attendant requirements of micro-management and reporting demands.

The financial constraints are evident in the steady decline in public funding of the tertiary education sector (see Table 1) and result in a shortfall between the cost of running the sector and what the Government is prepared to invest²³. This gap has occurred because the tertiary education budget has flat-lined, while the costs of running our institutions have increased at an average of six percent each year since 1994²⁴.

This decline in public funding comes at a time when more students are entering the tertiary education system. Increasing enrolments mean the percentage of the 18 to 24 year old cohort enrolled in tertiary education institutions rose from 20.5 percent to 31.9 percent between 1990 and 1998, with participation leveling out at 29 percent of 15 to 24 year olds in 2012²⁶.



"Ka whakarērea te puha, ka whai ki te matariki."

James Houkamau, Whitireia Polytechnic

Added to the rise in student numbers, workloads in the sector have increased, including areas such as administrative, technical, professional, and student support. Governments in recent years have been quick to applaud increases in Research Degree Completions, external income, and institutions increasing their share of world-indexed publications and citations of research²⁷. In short governments have demanded more for less from the tertiary education sector; this has both immediate and long term consequences.

Table 1: Treasury forecasts for tertiary education expenditure current 2009-2016 ²⁵

(\$million)	2009 Actual	2010 Actual	2011 Actual	2012 Actual	2013 Forecast	2014 Forecast	2015 Forecast	2016 Forecast
Tertiary education expenses	4,564	4,465	3,991	3,795	4,119	4,123	4,087	4,104

In the short-term, financial constraints focus institutional managers and governing bodies on generating revenue opportunities. This consequent short-term planning, driven by a reward system for successful providers who show increased 'productivity and ... economic performance' is deemed to be consistent with economic growth²⁸.

These financial pressures mean that only those courses that are 'economic' in the narrowest sense are being encouraged. Demands for economies of scale have led to the cancelling of classes and majors with small enrolments. The demands have even seen closure of whole programmes of study in regional and rural communities. There is an air of uncertainty surrounding regional provision of tertiary education.

One story which demonstrates the importance of regional provision and the difference learning in-context makes not only to an individual, but to their family and community comes from Rural Education Activities Programmes (REAPs):

We had one family on the East Coast where one member of the family enrolled in a REAP programme and that led to three generations of the family participating in adult education. Four of the five family members have now graduated and developed a love of learning. The grandfather, three daughters, one son and one mokopuna, all participating in tertiary education through wānanga. This shows the importance of learning amongst familiar people in a familiar environment.

There are numerous stories like this that demonstrate the need to defend tertiary education provision, including the role of REAPs and regional institutes of technology/polytechnics (ITPs), in New Zealand's smallest and most isolated communities.

Another immediate impact is the way the sector has chosen to respond to demands to do more with less, through a system of micro-management at all levels of decision-making and action. Managerial pressures emanate from governments setting targets based on economic cost-benefit analyses; from the demands of business to meet immediate skills shortages; and from demands to find immediately commercialisable innovations. The sector responds to a Minister who has

an eye on short-term economic needs²⁹, and changes the way tertiary education is provided in order to cut costs (for example doing less 'in-class' time in favour of 'flexible' on-line teaching and learning). The focus on cost-cutting has entered the realm of the absurd – in one institution, teaching staff were required to return spent whiteboard markers before they would be allocated a new one for their class. Examples like this are replicated in various guises throughout the sector, as institutions and departments try to cut costs at every opportunity.

The micro-management of the tertiary education sector is most evident in the ever-growing number of performance funding models foisted upon it. Emphasis has been increasingly placed on performance and performance indicators (research outputs, student retentions, progressions, and completions, and the acquisition of external funding), planning, and auditing processes.

Performance measures, such as the Performance Based Research Fund (PBRF), are notable for their high compliance and transaction costs. The cost of counting and measuring the research carried out in the sector using the PBRF was \$52.1 million between 2006 and 2012³⁰. The cost of this counting and measuring is reflected in the 2013 Budget, where the only real growth in Government funding for the sector has been to pay for compliance measures. Between 2012 and 2013 the cost of 'managing the Government's Investment in the Tertiary Education Sector' rose by \$8 million, this in a Budget where the money going into the core of the tertiary education sector – teaching – was cut by \$1 million³¹.

Performance measures are not only costly to taxpayers; they result in the narrowing of goals and the inevitable institutional 'gaming' of the process that follows. After all, 'the way the game is scored, shapes the way the game is played'³². Those working in the sector have seen colleagues who are deemed to be underperforming in relation to the Government's research performance measure, having to resign on the understanding they will be re-hired after the PBRF round is completed; staff put on fixed term agreements to avoid being counted for PBRF measurements; and potential staff not being employed to avoid them being included in final scores allocated for research performance.

The focus on counting research outputs across the sector also means senior researchers are regarded as having high 'economic value', meaning some institutions have avoided appointing junior staff in favour of hiring of established and high ranking senior staff³³. This skews the age profile of the sector, which will cause acute staffing shortages for the future³⁴.

Narrowed goals due to performance targets are evident across the tertiary education sector. The focus on counting research outputs has led to a de-valuing of the importance of teaching, of establishing and maintaining community links, and of maintaining the broadest possible research profile in an institution³⁵. There has been an over-emphasis on prioritising research expertise over teaching expertise in some institutions, even in areas where teaching must be practice-based. In teacher education, this has resulted in highly experienced teacher practitioners being 'phased out' in favour of educational theorists. Research supports the notion that teacher education should include substantial opportunities for student teachers to rehearse teaching vignettes with critique and coaching from teacher educators³⁶. Loss of the expertise of teacher practitioners limits the passing on of this practice-based knowledge.

Micro-management and Government steering cuts into the core of the tertiary education sector as critic and conscience of society. This requirement has been progressively removed from performance objectives since 2002, for as Jones et al note, the role is 'troubling, given the ongoing need for universities to balance this role against demands for research and knowledge that supports specific social and economic agendas'³⁷.

Trust to do one's job is no longer a quality of collegial respect engendered by responsible autonomy and intellectual craftsmanship, but is rather a scarce commodity conferred by hierarchy and social control³⁸. Top-down line management is now the norm across the tertiary education sector; we have lost the holistic and inclusive view of tertiary education embodied in the five principles of *Te Kaupapa Whaioranga*.

Funding shortfalls, rising numbers of students, increased expectations of how many 'outputs' staff will produce, top-down managerialism, and increased compliance measures imposed by Government in the name of 'accountability' have impacted on all tertiary education institutions. While these all appear as short-term and immediate in their application, they have long-term implications for the very nature of the public tertiary education system.

The institutional tale

The financial constraints imposed on the sector mean that every tertiary education provider has in the past two decades found themselves in competition with other similar providers - for students, revenue from research funds, and private research funding. This competitive process was initiated by the 'bums on seats' full time

EFTS funding model of the 1991 National Government and later the three-year funding cycle implemented by the Labour Government. The forced competition in this funding model resulted in course duplication, and escalating marketing costs. These costs have continued to rise, even though Government has capped the number of students that each institution can enroll. In 2005 the marketing costs for institutions overall was \$28 million. By 2012 this figure increased to just over \$36.8 million, as the competitive mindset remains³⁹.

The ever-shrinking budgets of tertiary education institutions, coupled with Government demands for 'innovation' to meet ever-changing needs of the economy, means there has been continuous change in the sector. Sadly it is often change driven by fads, rather than sound research, education, and teaching knowledge. We are warned by Thwaites⁴⁰ to be wary of fads, such as the 'infatuation with digital technologies' where '[e]ducation has become a marketer's dream as researchers promote the advantage of iPhones in the classroom, iPads in the home, online portfolios, the classroom Facebook, or various other forms of social networking. Digitised technologies have become the "opium of the masses" of research currently investigating and promoting, but rarely critiquing, the educational value of these commodities.'



"I aspire to contribute to a tertiary sector that builds social tolerance, resilience and sustainability without dampening the spirit of inquiry or bowing to the demands of more powerful political or economic interests."

Jack Heinemann,
University of Canterbury

Our tertiary education institutions are driven to respond as 'knowledge factories' providing reservoirs of new knowledge for business and industry to tap into. There is a drive to increase focus on, and funding for, commercialisable research⁴¹. This type of research outcome has obvious benefits in terms of revenue for institutions and meeting specific needs for business and industry. An increased focus on the economic or commercialisable means we risk ignoring important

social, cultural, and environmental requirements for knowledge generation and scholarship⁴². For example, in the health sector, health-care research seldom has a direct commercial link, yet as in other sectors, Government funding streams are either reducing or becoming increasingly focused on commercialisable projects. In 2013 the Health Research Council Ethics Summer Studentships invitation listed possible research areas, including a new focus to ‘maximise the benefits of health research’, indicating a much stronger focus on being able to prove research impact⁴³.

Institutions repeatedly respond to Government underfunding with austerity measures and pressure on staff to do more for less. This is bolstered by performance measures surrounding research and teaching which create never-ending pressure to produce ‘outputs’. Work that cannot be easily counted, measured, made a matter of compliance or budgeted for is considered superfluous to the job. This work is often discontinued or shifted to casualised staff.

While many inside the tertiary education sector have expressed concern about the counting and measuring being undertaken, non-compliance within such a system has high costs in terms of personal stress, possible impacts on career progression, and in terms of the constant threat of out-sourcing and contracting⁴⁴.

This approach to tertiary education means that the lives and actions of both staff and students are being shaped by market forces and managerial demands, rather than by individual and collective commitment to providing, supporting and participating in quality teaching, learning and research.

The student’s tale

The life of the student has of course changed in recent decades. Many of the changes have their genesis in the decision to charge fees for tertiary education study, fees which keep rising for most students by four percent every year. This means that average student fees rose 38 percent between 2006 and 2011⁴⁵. The result of fee rises is that students enrolled for one year in 2000 borrowed an average of just under \$4000. By 2011 this had risen to \$7,630⁴⁶.

Part of the explanation rest with institutions that have increased fees at the maxima allowed, to make up a shortfall in Government funding⁴⁷. More recently, international students have become the means for meeting the budget shortfall in tertiary education. The Government lauds the international ‘education industry’

which contributed \$545 million in 1999, and by October 2013, \$2.6 billion (from services delivered in New Zealand and overseas). Government aims to increase this to \$5 billion by 2025⁴⁸. International students sadly fit into the same Government rationale for all tertiary education – primarily as a contributor to the economy via export earnings.

The rise in tertiary education fees is not the only reason that students and student life have changed in recent decades. Students have been repeatedly told they are making a private investment in their education, meaning education has been wrongly articulated and perceived as:

- a. A private good serving the individual needs of students who compete for unknown jobs in an unpredictable market.
- b. A private good serving profit-making industry and business that are not required to guarantee there will be jobs for graduates.

As a result, many students understandably feel they have no responsibility to our society or the institution, despite the fact that they only pay a quarter of the actual costs of their tertiary education⁴⁹.

The ‘private good’ mantra for tertiary education has also produced a crisis in personal indebtedness for students. As of March 2013, 714,942 ‘student borrowers’ owed \$13.5 billion (on average \$18,883 each)⁵⁰.

Students borrow not only to pay their fees, but also often to finance the cost of living – rent, food, clothing, and utilities – because financial support is non-existent or inadequate. To be entitled to a full student allowance, a student’s parents’ combined earnings must be less than \$55,027.96 per year. And students aged 25 years and under miss out on support altogether if they live at home and their parents earn over \$80,000 in total.

Even if a student does qualify for the maximum allowable income of \$208 and works for 15 hours per week while studying, the student will have a total income of \$13,690 to live on. The cost of living near tertiary education institutions can range from \$12,000 a year to \$24,000 depending on location, for annual rent, food, and utilities costs – not a sum most families have as discretionary income each year. The reality for most students is found in a university study guide⁵¹:

Problem: Despite using the Student Loan or getting an allowance, your total shortfall for weekly living costs plus all

other expenses (emergencies, books, flat bonds, course related costs for example) could add up to more than \$10,000 per year⁵².

The difference between student incomes and the costs of living means that one in six final year students were living in absolute financial distress: unable to afford basic accommodation, food and housing, according to the 2011 Graduate Longitudinal Study⁵³.

Young New Zealanders have resigned themselves to the financial hardship and the 'inevitable' indebtedness that studying brings. A University of Waikato student quoted in an article on 'Waikato's billion-dollar student loan burden'⁵⁴ expects a debt of \$45,000 when he finishes his degree. He was quoted as saying even though the loan "freaks him out" he considers it an investment: 'I know that if I want a decent job as a teacher, I'm going to have to spend a bit of money to get that.' Another student stated: 'It's just one of those things that unless you're lucky enough to have a massive trust fund and pay cash for your fees, it's just one of those things in life and you have to suck it up. If you want to better your life, pay the money'⁵⁵.

The assumption, of course, in the above is that there are jobs and reasonable pay after a student graduates, both questionable assumptions. Youth unemployment in New Zealand is high (17.1 percent in 2013)⁵⁶ and wages for young people are low, lower than even the Government expected. The Finance Minister has been quoted as saying that student loan repayments were lower than expected, since graduates earned less than forecast⁵⁷.

The Government's response to labour market failure and the high level of youth unemployment is to assert that there is a disconnection between what students are choosing to study and what will get them jobs. The Minister has been recorded as saying 'students are seeking employment in areas where there are too many workers already and a focus on engineering and IT is needed'⁵⁸. However, governments often do poorly in predicting skills shortages and anticipating or responding to labour market needs.

The current focus on over 700,000 student loan borrowers (101,000 of whom live overseas) can and does only lead to a punitive response on the part of the Government. The punitive responses include: increasing repayment requirements; eradicating incentives for early repayments; reducing accessibility to sections of the community (there is no access to loans for those over 65 and reduced access for those over 40); and the

'clawback' of debt by spending \$7 million of taxpayers' money on a tracing system to bring overseas nonpayers to court⁵⁹. Minister Joyce has noted: 'These initiatives have a running return where, every \$1 we spend, \$11 is collected back ... the risk of conviction and the effects that would have on further travel and inconvenience of being turned away at the airport should deter people'⁶⁰.

The punitive attitude to students is also found in the way institutions are being instructed to deal with non-completing, struggling, part-time or mature-aged students. Rather than investing in student support, changes to allowances and loans means those who are struggling or who return to study later in life are finding themselves excluded. Life-long learning for all is not seen as economic.

This fails to recognise that students often struggle with their tertiary studies because of the competing demands being placed on them. The reduction of year-long courses to 12 week blocks condenses lecture material and tutorials, creating timetabling issues for students, as well as the constant pressure of multiple assignments due at the same time. In addition, the necessity of part-time work to survive financially makes for a less than

THE COST FOR ONE YEAR OF A BA AT THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND

(A history over the lifetime of a 24-year-old student)

1989 -	\$516
1990 -	\$1,250
1995 -	\$1,848
2000 -	\$3,360
2005 -	\$3,785
2010 -	\$4,501
2013 -	\$5177

A tenfold increase.

Meanwhile a Dentistry student at The University of Otago now pays \$31,000 per year and a plumbing student at Whitireia NZ pays \$6,205.

conducive environment for anything other than a very formulaic learning process.

This individualisation of students and their disconnection from society has been deepened by the Government's actions to depoliticise and disempower them⁶¹. Legislation to remove compulsory student association membership signaled to students that they are not even responsible for each other. Removal of students from institute of technology/polytechnic councils (and the threat of removal from university and wānanga councils), reinforces the idea that students are 'consumers' of credentials, rather than full-participants in their tertiary education institutions with full rights and responsibilities⁶².

Students are getting less (in terms of the whole education and learning experience) while paying more. They are indebted and disconnected. All of this has effects on their futures and on the health of our whole society. A 2010 NZUSA survey showed that students know their 'private investment' will affect their futures. Students felt the negative economic effects of student loans would affect their ability to buy a house (72 percent), save for the future (65 percent), and their decision on when and whether to have children (45 percent of respondents, and 24 percent respectively)⁶³. Those who govern and administer the current situation of students offer no respite, even though their experience of a former free education system and all that provided in terms of life-long outcomes was so very different.

The staff's tale

If the current tertiary education system drives students to trade life-long debt, part-time work and contracted learning time for credentials and unknown jobs, it is also having an effect on the lives and decisions of staff. The system redirects staff towards satisfying prescribed outcomes, pursuing research agendas for the sake of institutional kudos and commercial gains, trading pedagogical inquisitiveness for individual self-preservation and scarce promotions, while constantly abiding to managerial demands. This is not an accusation of personal frailty, but a condemnation of a system of management that erodes ideals of sociability, collegiality, collaboration and genuine scholarship.

The current environment surrounding tertiary education staff is one driven by a programme of constant change, regulation, and invention of new means of compliance. Disciplines/subjects have been amalgamated; courses,

prerequisites, and majors have been dropped or changed; and, the administration of tertiary education institutions altered.

Staff and students are no longer involved in decisions that affect changes in their careers and lives. Their involvement is replaced by managerial expediency driven by distrust. The professionals interested in education are being pushed aside in favour of managers interested in balanced books and key performance indicators⁶⁴.

The core of educational staff activity predicated, in the past, on the importance of relations to students, each other, responsible institutional behaviour, respect for scholarship in the most generalised sense, and a genuine connection to community has dwindled to a pre-occupation and focus on prescribed outputs. Real work makes way for repetitive compliance work for individual staff. The Performance Based Research Fund (PBRF), Education Performance Indicators and Performance Development Career Plans are all prescribed requirements for monitoring of individuals. These models are not in place to ensure the development and contribution of every staff member to their full capability, but to supply management with the means of evaluation and control.

As noted earlier, performance measures and monitoring have led to narrowed institutional and staff goals. This is evident in the PBRF as '... universities needed assurance that the academics they employ were likely to be successful in research and so contribute to research funding and research reputation'⁶⁵. ITPs and universities now employ a higher proportion of 'principal lecturers' and 'senior lecturers and professors'⁶⁶. The PBRF has become one of the drivers which has ensured that there is decreasing space for the mentorship and encouragement of young academics, as the Government refuses to bear the cost of career development.

The results of the demand for senior research-intensive staff and efficient spending of public funding has also driven institutions to employ part-time and casual staff to offset the costs of the former⁶⁷. Itinerant, casualised and disconnected tertiary education sector staff are unable to engage with colleagues, institutions, and students. This means the community of institutions becomes fragmented, and the sense of collegiality lost. '[E]xcessive reliance on short-term staffing poses a quality risk, a 'disincentive for staff to undertake some kinds of other valuable activities such as quality teaching, community service, technology transfer and dissemination activities' and further that the PBRF system may additionally 'distort selection and promotion processes in favour of research outcomes'⁶⁸. The critical absence of any career

path for younger academics because of casualisation produces further instability and unease.

The tasks of continually counting and measuring outputs have been added to the workloads of tertiary education staff and institutions over the last two decades. The work of counting, budgeting, quantifying, form filling and box ticking pre-made instructions and decisions is ubiquitous. General staff, academics, teachers, and students must fulfill outputs - whether they are research dollars, books, articles, skills, and grades - not as a representation of their quality of mind, genuine concerns of scholarship or an improved society, but because of instructions, quotas, and the market mentality.

There has been a decline in the number of academic staff since 2005⁶⁹. This means workloads for these staff, represented by student: staff ratios, have also increased dramatically. In 2000 the overall ratio for universities, wānanga and institutes of technology/ polytechnics, was 16.2 (EFTs) students for each academic staff member (FTE). By 2012 that ratio rose to 19.5. In the wānanga sector, this ratio was much higher at 16.7 in 2000 and 32.9 in 2012, reflecting the increase in student numbers from on-line delivery⁷⁰. Extra students per academic staff member mean more assessments, marking, and mentoring, regardless of whether a programme is on-campus or online. At one polytechnic, the drive to maximise the staff: student ratio meant that trades tutors faced the health and safety risk of a tutorial of twenty young students combined into a single workshop set up with only sixteen desks. Inevitably, this impacts negatively on the sector⁷¹.

A state of constant review has also been imposed on the tertiary education sector, ranging from whole curriculum reviews of a whole institution, to individual reviews of majors or programmes of study, to reorganising the workloads and types of work individual staff are carrying out. This constant reviewing is unsettling, destabilising, and affects hundreds of staff and thousands of students every year, creating high levels of stress⁷². In September

REVIEWS AND REDUNDANCIES

DURING FEBRUARY 2013 THERE WERE:

54

REVIEWS, AFFECTING

580

TEU MEMBERS

THERE WERE

157

REDUNDANCIES

IN THE LAST TEN MONTHS.

2013, TEU organisers dealt with 45 reviews at 17 different institutions, with at least 10 redundancies resulting. This is a common statistic for the sector, repeated month in, month out, year after year.

Whilst engagement with community is recognised as a key part of the role of tertiary education institutions, staff in the sector report difficulties in establishing and maintaining these links, unless the institution perceives a direct financial benefit as a result of the relationship:

The focus here for community engagement is whether the relationship is going to generate any revenue – there is no emphasis on whether it will enhance teaching and learning⁷³.

Finally, some research staff are being asked to redirect their research focus. Research is now evaluated on the basis of nominated outputs and contributions to the status of an institution, the international research environment, or peer esteem, rather than the creation of a quality, generalist mind directed to the improvement of humankind.

Successive governments have narrowed the purpose of New Zealand's tertiary education system; underfunded the sector; and fundamentally changed the way the public, students, government agencies, institutional managers, and even some staff view tertiary education, from the belief that education is a right, accompanied by responsibilities, to the view that it is primarily a private good.

The expectation is to do more for less under a mantra that equates change with improvement, austerity with accountability. The once cherished values and responsible autonomy of the entire tertiary education sector, as the embodiment and purveyor of intellectual craftsmanship, have been threatened and undermined. Any sense of respect, inclusion and collegiality has been replaced by competition, insecurity, uneasiness and in the worst cases, indifference and apathy.

Part 3. Rebuilding our public tertiary education system

As was noted in the introduction, we are no longer willing to accept market ideals pushed on to tertiary education by Government as the sector's guiding principles, nor steering of the sector to merely meet the demands of the economy - principles which turn tertiary education into a private good and the learning process into a private cost. Rather we are seeking to reassert the fundamental principles that education (at all levels) is a public good.

Therefore we seek the public's support for *Te Kaupapa Whaioranga* and the changes needed to rebuild our public tertiary education system in order that it benefits all New Zealanders.

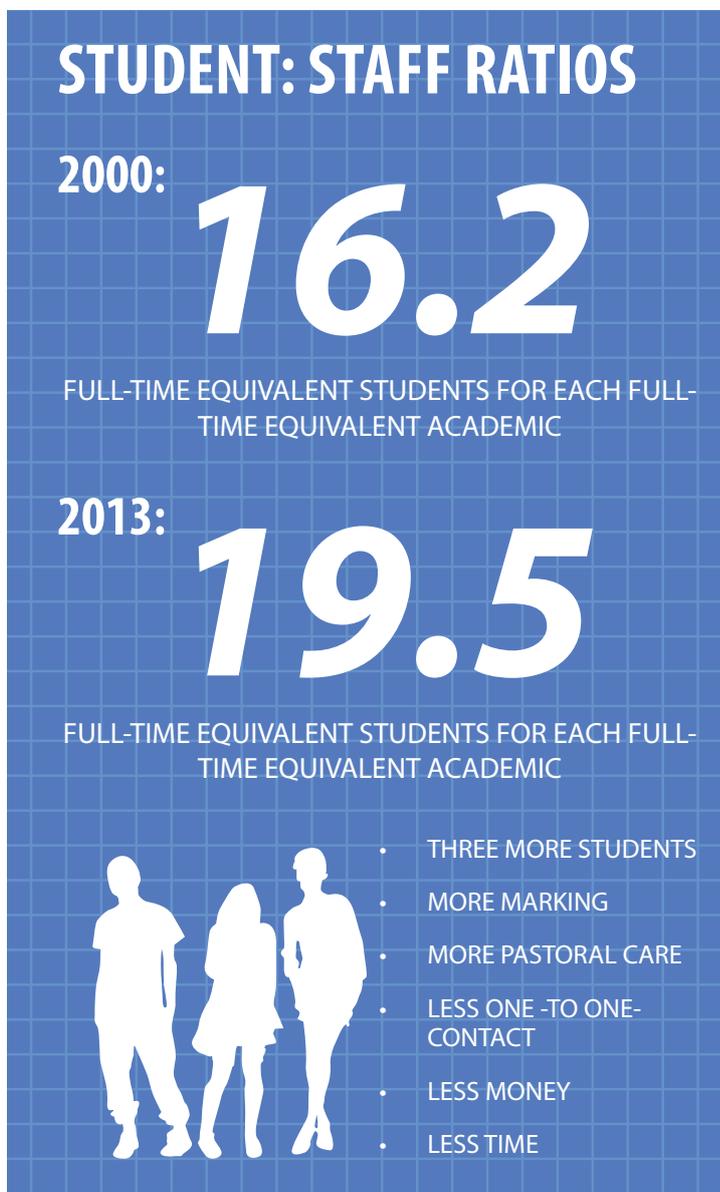
The question is - how can we make this a reality? This is the challenge for the sector, our society, and our politicians.

A paradigm shift is needed, using the principles of *Te Kaupapa Whaioranga*, to ensure the sector can respond to and take responsibility for creating critically engaged citizens who can address current and future challenges in our society, environment, and economy, both locally and globally.

This shift is presented in the proposals below, which outline the fundamental changes needed in order to rebuild our public education system for every New Zealander - rich or poor, rural or urban. We present both fundamental claims and the first steps needed to rebuild our public tertiary education system for staff, students, managers, public servants, politicians, and the public to debate - with the warning from those inside the sector that change must happen, change that reclaims education as a public good.

The public which funds the tertiary education system is responsible for setting the broad direction of the tertiary education sector through elected representatives, but the public must trust the expertise, knowledge, and commitment of tertiary education sector staff to make education and research decisions that serve us all.

As we stated in the opening of this blueprint, any actions must maintain the health of the entire tertiary education system - they must be centred around the five principles of *Te Kaupapa Whaioranga* - because if any one part of the system is not sufficiently nourished, the system as a whole will break down. This means the first steps to rebuilding our public tertiary education system must be focused on the entire sector.



Part 4. A manifesto for our public tertiary education system

We assert that tertiary education is a public good - the system belongs to all of us, we all contribute to it, and we are all responsible for it.

Access to life-long learning in publicly funded tertiary education institutions is a basic right for all New Zealanders.

The fundamentals needed to rebuild our public tertiary education system

We assert that as a nation we must be prepared to change the funding model for the tertiary education sector and alter the processes used for decision-making in and for the sector. The changes we outline below must occur if we are to make access to tertiary education a reality for all. We are committed to ensuring the next generation of New Zealanders has the right to enjoy a free and high-quality education.

1. The fundamentals for funding our public tertiary education system

We must ensure that tertiary education provision receives adequate funding at all levels, in all communities, and for all learners whatever their current skill aptitude and knowledge levels.

- 1.1 Adequate public funding is mandatory to ensure appropriate staffing levels⁷⁴ and quality working conditions for all who work in the sector. The conditions of employment for all staff are the conditions of learning for all students.
- 1.2 Adequate public funding is mandatory to ensure that current and future learners can concentrate on their studies rather than on economic survival.

2. The fundamentals for decision-making for our public tertiary education system

We must ensure that within our tertiary education institutions all staff and students have responsible autonomy and academic freedom.

- 2.1 Students, staff, and communities must be collectively responsible for decision-making that affects them – that is in all decisions around teaching, learning, and research.
- 2.2 Staff must be collectively responsible for ensuring the teaching, learning and research carried out within our public tertiary education institutions is of the highest quality and meets the needs and demands of our complex society.

The first steps to rebuilding our public tertiary education system

Our proposals for the first steps towards rebuilding our public tertiary education system focus on funding public tertiary education providers, removing competition in the sector, and improving student financial support. The first steps also focus on returning the sector to a collegial and democratic decision-making model.

1. The first steps with regard to funding

We assert that the Government on behalf of all New Zealanders must:

- 1.1 Take steps to renew our commitment as a nation to public tertiary education, by:
 - ensuring taxpayer funding goes to publicly owned tertiary education providers⁷⁵; and,

- removing competition in the tertiary education system which results in (amongst other things) funding being wasted on major marketing budgets.

1.2 Take steps to provide adequate financial support to students, by:

- raising the parental income threshold for student allowances. We suggest a starting point of approximately \$74,000⁷⁶ and the cut off point to approximately \$102,000 for students living at home and approximately \$109,000 for students living away from home; and,
- increasing the amount student-loan borrows can access for living costs.

2. The first steps with regard decisionmaking

We assert that the Government on behalf of all New Zealanders must:

- 2.1 Take steps to return to more collegial, responsible, and democratic decision-making processes:
- by ensuring that at least one third of the seats on governing bodies in the tertiary education sector are occupied equally by staff, student, and community representation; and,
 - through the Minister of Tertiary Education, facilitating and funding quarterly meetings to debate the strategic direction and health of the entire tertiary education sector, meetings that would include equal numbers of:
 - Student representatives (democratically elected via student unions)
 - Staff representatives (democratically elected via representative unions)
 - Vice-chancellors and chief executives
 - Chancellors/council and board members

The next steps to rebuilding our public tertiary education system

Our proposals for the next steps towards rebuilding our public tertiary education system focus on future-proofing funding for the sector, addressing caps on student fees, and improving staff: student ratios. The next steps also propose removal of performance-based funding models.

1. The next steps with regard to funding

We assert that from 2015 the Government on behalf of all New Zealanders must:

- ensure that funding to public tertiary education is inflation proofed, so that the increased costs in the sector are matched by increased public funding contributions;
- move the cap for domestic student fee increases to 2 percent⁷⁷ and introduce a cap on fee increases for international students of 4 percent; and,
- fix the staff: student ratios at a maximum of 1:19 (by increasing staff numbers, not reducing access)⁷⁸.

2. The next steps with regard to decisionmaking

We assert that from 2015 the Government on behalf of all New Zealanders must:

- remove performance based models of funding and replace these with a high trust model for public tertiary institutions centred on peer reviewing to ensure quality provision and audited annual report for public accountability.

The savings and costs for the first steps to rebuilding our tertiary education system

Our first steps towards rebuilding our tertiary education system include both savings and costs for New Zealand taxpayers, which we have provisionally calculated using available information⁷⁹.

Steps which will result in savings for taxpayers to reinvest in tertiary education

Our tertiary education institutions spend in excess of \$30 million annually on advertising to encourage students to enroll. This funding should be re-directed to teaching, learning, and research.

A further saving will be made from removing competitive processes required in some funding pools, for example with regard to Level 1 and 2 funding. Currently institutions seeking competitive funding have to enter tendering process which takes up staff time and public resources. If the public and Government renewed their commitment to public tertiary education provision



“Tertiary education should inspire students to become life-long learners as they build their capabilities in a supportive, vibrant and dynamic learning environment.”

Philip Bright, Waiariki Polytechnic

by ensuring taxpayer funding goes to publicly owned tertiary education providers tendering processes would be unnecessary and staff time could be redirected to core teaching and research tasks.

Tertiary education institutions and government departments spend considerable funding on monitoring, compliance, and performance auditing machinery in the current low trust model imposed upon the tertiary education sector. While we are strong advocates for ensuring quality provision in the tertiary education sector, performance measures are no guarantee of quality. Strong peer reviewing and collegial governance practices are internationally accepted as a way of ensuring quality teaching, learning, and research. We see no reason why at least half of the money put in to ‘managing the Government’s investment in the tertiary education sector’ could not be saved if the Government abandoned unnecessary and unhelpful counting and measuring of ‘outputs’ such as Education Performance Indicators.

‘Managing the government’s investment’ as set out in Vote Tertiary Education for 2013/14, cost taxpayers almost \$41.2 million in compliance costs. The estimated transaction costs for universities and the Tertiary Education Commission associated with just one monitoring system – PBRF – was around \$8.6 million per year. Saving even half these compliance costs in the tertiary education sector would be a saving of over \$20 million per year.

Staff and student representation on governing bodies in the tertiary education sector is about ensuring democratic and responsible decision-making. However, if further reason is needed to ensure staff/student representation is returned or retained, there are small cost savings to be made if Ministerial or other appointees who sit on the councils/boards are reduced or removed. Ministerial and other appointees are each paid between \$6,000 and \$18,500 every year while staff and student representatives are usually unpaid (their role is about service to their educational community and their profession).

Steps which have no cost to taxpayers

Changing the way decision-making happens within institutions is cost-neutral as staff are already spending significant amounts of time in meetings, often with little or no decision-making power. Returning power to staff forums such as academic boards, teaching and learning committees, and promotions committees is crucial for ensuring that the principles of institutional autonomy and academic freedom are enacted.

Changes in tertiary education provision funding that create an additional cost to taxpayers

Three parts of our manifesto centre on increasing government funding to meet increasing costs of providing tertiary education – inflation proofing funding; reducing student fees; and, setting an upper limit for staff student ratios.

Inflation proofing tertiary funding

The Treasury's own inflation and investment figures for tertiary education indicate that about \$959 million⁸⁰ of additional funding would be needed in 2014 if the costs of running the sector caused by inflationary pressures were to be met.

Student fees

Currently some of the rising costs in tertiary education are being met by institutions increasing student fees annually. This cannot continue. As a first step we have proposed the maximum allowable fee rise for domestic student be reduced to 2 percent. This means additional public funding will be needed to meet the shortfall this would create in revenue for tertiary education institutions.

The cost of tuition met out of public funding for 2014/15 will be \$2,421 million (70 percent of the total cost of education) and students will pay fees of around \$1037 million (30 percent of the total cost of tertiary education). If institutions were to increase the fees paid by students by the currently allowable maximum of 4 percent that would mean an additional \$41.48 million going to the sector as revenue in that year. If the government was to halve the fee increase to 2 percent and pick up the additional costs, then taxpayers would be funding a little over \$20 million extra for tertiary education.

Staff: student ratios

The final major cost to the sector with regard to growing costs but shrinking budgets comes from our proposal to stop the ever increasing ratio of students to each academic staff member. The underfunding of the sector and ongoing drive to 'do more with less' has seen increases in the number of students to each academic staff member. In 2010 (the latest year for which actual

figures are available), there were 12,620 academic staff in the tertiary education sector and 249,091 students (both calculated as full time equivalents). That is a ratio of 19.7 students to every academic staff member.

If we chose as a country to ensure that the staff: student ratio did not continue to rise, and were to set a maximum of 19 students to every academic staff member (a 19:1 ratio) and presuming student numbers remain relatively constant, we would need to fund an additional 490 staff by 2015. With the average personnel expenditure (defined as salary plus infrastructural costs) in the tertiary education sector calculated as being \$83,659, the public would need to agree to the provision of a little under \$41 million extra to ensure more staff can be hired⁸¹.

What do the costs mean for New Zealanders?

While more work must be done to finalise the costs and savings which can be made from rebuilding a public tertiary education system, it is important to reflect on what the initial steps are likely to cost overall.

With some savings and a number of additional costs, the public will have to agree to spend around \$1 billion⁸² above current funding levels to rebuild our public tertiary education system. Core Government expenditure for 2013 was \$70 billion; we are proposing changes that would raise core expenditure to \$71 billion. This is a 1.4 percent increase in Government (our) spending overall.

Another way to consider this is to decide what the level of spending in the tertiary education sector should be as a percentage of our Gross Domestic Product. Overall as taxpayers and as private citizens (through loans and up-front fees) we contribute 2.6 percent of GDP to tertiary education; the proposals we have put forward as an immediate step towards rebuilding tertiary education as a public good would lift that contribution to 2.9 percent⁸³. This would not be out of line with other OECD nations. Canada and the United States spend between 2.4 percent and 2.8 percent of their GDP on tertiary institutions⁸⁴.

Since we have maintained that tertiary education is a public good then costs should be shared by all New Zealanders and as such they should be funded out of changes to our progressive taxation system.

Steps with regard to student support with a cost to taxpayers

More research and debate with students is needed before detailed costings are developed with regard changes to student financial support. However, we do want to acknowledge that staff in the sector have seen the devastating effects of financial hardship on students in recent years – students abandoning studies because of the cost; students working up to 15-20 hours a week in part-time, low-paid jobs just to make ends meet financially, but in doing so being forced to neglect their studies; and, students living in poverty conditions. Therefore as a nation we must seriously think about and debate what we are creating for our current and future generations of citizens. Changing this picture will require additional taxpayer funding to be put into student financing. Our two proposals at this stage centre on loans and allowances.

By increasing what students can borrow for living costs as part of their student loan, there will be a small administrative cost to taxpayers. However, it is likely that most students who would seek additional student loan funding for their living costs will already be borrowers, therefore the major cost is to the individual in the nature of a personal debt.

In the short term, the most significant increase in expenditure with regard to student support in this blueprint is the proposed changes to the parental income thresholds which determine who can get a student allowance. Our proposal to change the parental income threshold to \$74,000 before rebates on allowances begin should be set in light of the fact that the average household income in 2012 was \$81,227⁸⁵. Most families on average incomes will know that they find it difficult to save money towards their children's education, particularly when students' living costs are upwards of \$12,000 per year.

How many families would have young people eligible for student allowances in some form under our proposed threshold? In the last published census (2006) around half of New Zealand families earned over \$70,000 a year; all of these families would be excluded from receiving a full allowance for children studying in a tertiary education institution⁸⁶. Given that wages and salaries will have increased since 2006, this is likely to be an even higher number of families.

Also we need to think as a nation about how few students currently are receiving allowances, or are receiving inadequate financial support, hence the major poverty and deprivation outlined earlier in this report. Under the current rules with the \$55,000 threshold for rebating on student allowances, we are, as a country providing financial support to 96,000 of the 422,000 students enrolled in formal tertiary education⁸⁷, with the average level of support just \$5,740.

The ongoing process of rebuilding public tertiary education

The proposals we have set out in this final part of *Te Kauapapa Whaioranga* and the steps toward rebuilding our public tertiary education system are only a beginning. There are a number of other fundamental system-wide changes that must be costed and seriously considered in the coming decade.

We assert that from 2020 the Government on behalf of all New Zealanders must:

- a. Increase student allowances to 40 percent of the average wage
- b. Set the staff: student ratio at 1:17

And from 2025 the Government on behalf of all New Zealanders must:

- a. Increase student allowances to 60 percent of the average wage
- b. Set the staff: student ratio at 1:15

We look forward to a robust, critically engaged, and timely public debate on the future of our tertiary education system. The future of our society, our children, and our grandchildren depends on making a commitment to learning now and into the future.

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Greetings to the leaders, staff, and students of the tertiary education sector.
Focusing on education for all under the Treaty of Waitangi, inclusive of all.
The focus on the blueprint (life, health and wellness) by TEU is very significant to all.
A traditional ritual process from my elders and their cultural context:
*“Secure the principles and processes
For integrity, authority and wellness
To all receiving this gift of life
To whom does this law belong?
To Tangaroa, the sacred mat
Encircling Earth Mother beneath us
As this water rises above our feet it is
Tangaroa carrying the seed of life
Welcome nature’s gift!”*
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76. This figure is based on a living wage. Our assertion is that two living wages would allow parents to begin making a contribution to their child's tertiary education.
77. Roughly the level at which inflation has been tracking.
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