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## **STABILITY AND CHANGE IN A MATURE PRIVATE HIGHER EDUCATION INDUSTRY**

### **ABSTRACT**

For the last 25 years it has been legally possible for private providers to deliver diploma and degree programs in New Zealand. Over this period these providers have contributed significantly to the growth of the country's higher education sector. The purpose of this paper is to look at the current state of New Zealand's private higher education providers; especially how they have performed in more recent years since the Global Economic Crisis in 2008. New Zealand's private higher education providers have a number of characteristics that distinguish them from the government run providers which has enabled them to survive as niche providers in the face of strong competition from the latter.

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## INTRODUCTION

Over the years the growth of enrollments in private higher education has taken place at a varied rate across the world. This has meant that in some countries it now accounts for a major portion of student enrolments. Generally the largest growth of the sector has occurred in those countries where there has been a rapid growth in demand for higher education, while at the same time government funding constraints has meant an under development of the public sector. Countries in the Middle East, Eastern and Central Europe, Latin America and parts of Asia are typical of this trend. A great deal of this growth has occurred because of the expansion of commercial orientated, at times for-profit higher education providers (Levy 2006; Kelly 2001; Kinser & Levy 2005). In more recent times some researchers have questioned how sustainable this type of growth is in the long term given that countries eventually see a slackening off of demand growth, and an eventual building up on the public sector (Levy 2013; Kinser 2013).

Although there were before 1989 private schools in New Zealand, as well as some private vocational education providers, private higher education did not exist before that year. It was in 1989 that a range of reforms took place which enabled the private sector to be created, and later establish itself as a small, but important part of New Zealand's higher education sector. The New Zealand example of private higher education differs from that of many countries in that the country is a developed one and the private sector after 1989 faced considerable competition from a mature and well developed public sector. After an initial burst of growth the private sector was able to consolidate itself as a stable part of the higher education system.

In this paper tertiary education is taken to mean all Certificate, Diploma, Degree and Post-Graduate level programs. Higher education is defined as being all those sections except those at the Certificate level (New Zealand Qualifications Authority 2014). By this definition in 2013 there were 265,362 equivalent, full-time students (EFTS) in higher education in New Zealand (Table 1). Demand for higher education grew steadily through the 1980s and 1990s, but in the 2000s has tended to steady off (Table 1). The 2013 level of enrollments makes New Zealand fairly typical by the standards of developed countries in terms of higher education participation. New Zealand has higher education qualified proportions of the workforce that are similar to those in Australia and the United Kingdom and higher than the OECD average (OECD 2012; UNESCO 2012). In New Zealand in 2013 most higher education students were enrolled in government owned and run providers. Of the students enrolments in 2013 in higher education 38,964 EFTS were enrolled by private providers.

The provision of private higher education in New Zealand developed considerably over period during the 1990s. Before 1989 the only educational providers in that country that were permitted to deliver diploma, degree and post-graduate level programs were government-owned

providers. The *Education Act 1989*, changed this situation and allowed for the delivery of higher education programs by private education providers for the first time (New Zealand Qualifications Authority 2014). This private sector expansion in the 1990s took place in the face of competition from a mature public higher education sector there dated its origins back to the nineteenth century. This competition meant that there was limited scope for the private providers to increase their enrolments, however, the private sector was able in the 1990s to establish itself in a limited, niche position in the market.

Since the early 2000s the tendency has been for the growth of the private sector to have stabilized somewhat, and for the sector to concentrate more fully on niche sections of the market. In establishing themselves the private higher education providers in New Zealand have developed special characteristics that make them different from those under government ownership. The purpose of this paper is to discuss some of the recent trends in the delivery of private higher education in New Zealand. This paper, therefore, provides an analysis of the changes that have occurred since the publication of a similar paper in 2005 (Abbott 2005a). In doing so it will determine if the main findings of the 2005 paper have stood up over time. Since the Global Economic Crisis in 2008 demand for student places in higher education in New Zealand has strengthened at a time of fiscal stringency.

## HIGHER EDUCATION POLICY IN NEW ZEALAND

The present formal structure of tertiary education in New Zealand was created during the period of economic reform that occurred in the late 1980s. When this reform took place the New Zealand tertiary education sector, and its higher education sub-component, was a system that had been long established, although with a very rigid formal structure. At the time the system was one where qualifications were exclusively delivered by government-owned providers with a large degree of central control. There were at the time six government-owned universities which had the exclusive right to deliver degree and post-graduate degree programs. In addition there were government-owned, and departmentally controlled, polytechnics which delivered vocational diplomas and certificates, as well as departmental controlled colleges of education, which delivered teacher-training diplomas.

The role of the private providers in tertiary education in New Zealand before 1989 was a decidedly peripheral one, as they were legally prohibited from delivering diploma, degree or post-graduate level programs of any mind. In the late 1980s the New Zealand, Department of Education commissioned a report on the state of private education at the tertiary level and found that there were 42 separate private tertiary education providers in New Zealand, offering 101

courses (New Zealand, Department of Education 1987; Guerin 2003; Education Directions Ltd 1997). These private sector provided courses, the Department reported, were vocational in nature and included such fields as office technology, management training, office skills secretarial work, hairdressing, beauty therapy, English language, art and craft, aviation, photography, dance, cookery and religious studies.

Private education providers in affect were only allowed to undertake the delivery of programs that the government providers were not interested in. This form of government monopoly over the provision of higher education was common in a number of developed countries at this time, and in the New Zealand case followed the British example. It is noteworthy that under this system not only were private providers not permitted to compete with government-owned providers the same was also true of the government institutions with each other. Polytechnics and colleges of education, for instance, were not permitted to deliver degrees in competition with the universities.

This restraint of competition was a general feature of New Zealand economic life before the 1980s. Up until the 1980s much of New Zealand's economic life had restraints imposed on the degree of competition in markets. Import quotas existed until the mid-1980s, as did many licenses on the production of a range of products and well as foreign exchange controls. Economic reform was undertaken after an exchange crisis in 1984 and included the deregulation of financial markets, the lowering of trade barriers, the abolition of many industry subsidies, the corporatization and privatization of government-owned businesses and the freeing up of the labor market. The trend of government economic reform from 1984 onwards was to free up various sectors of the New Zealand economy to competition and to make greater use of market mechanisms to allocate resources. The general reform of higher education in New Zealand that occurred from 1989 onwards was very much a part of the reform of the New Zealand economy, between 1984 and 1993 and followed this general trend in economic reform to a large degree.

The general microeconomic reform of the 1980s in New Zealand involved a number of different principles, a few of which were important when they were applied to the higher education sector. These included:

- providers should be given local autonomy in their day-to-day operation and not be run under government departmental control;
- there should be a separation of regulatory, policy and operational functions when it came to providers; and
- there should be a degree of competitive neutrality both between government providers themselves and with those of the private sector.

Government-owned providers in New Zealand in the 1980s across New Zealand were restructured and in the process embodied these three principles. The government-owned businesses such as the post, rail and telecommunications services, for instance, were separated from the government departments that had previously run them and were established as separate corporations under boards of directors. In a number of cases they were later privatized. Regulatory functions were generally lodged in separate statutory authorities and policy functions were retained in government Ministries or Departments. Any restrictions that existed that prevented competition between private and government-owned companies in the reformed industries were eliminated. In New Zealand, for instance, although the post office remained in government-ownership in has been from the late 1980s a separate corporation, which competes fully with private sector mail and parcel carriers and is a purely commercial-orientated company with no policy or regulatory functions.

The reforms of the tertiary education sector in 1989 tended to reflect these three aspects of reform. The Hawke Report (1988), when it reported on the state of New Zealand tertiary education in the late 1980s on behalf of the government recommended, the introduction of these three principals into the operation of the educational providers so that they would make them more responsive to market demand.

The main way in which the policy was implemented in the case of the tertiary education sector was to take the colleges of education and the polytechnics, which were directly controlled by the Department of Education, and were given institutional autonomy and the right to deliver degree programs if they wished, as long as they were able to pass a newly created formal accreditation process. In doing so the principal of competitive neutrality between these providers and the universities was created. Similar funding arrangements were also introduced to support the delivery by these providers of degree programs.

In introducing the principal of competitive neutrality between government-owned providers it was also extended to private providers (as it was in other contexts such as post and telecommunications) as well. This gave private education providers much greater scope to compete with the government sector (Abbott 2000, 2005a; Abbott & Ma 2008). The *Education Act 1989* allowed for private providers to create and then deliver diploma and degree-level courses, following the same accreditation process that was established for the government providers. This embodied the view of competitive neutrality between providers and at the time funding arrangements were created to fund the delivery of diploma and degree sources by private providers.

In terms of regulation, the Department of Education, which had previously had jurisdiction over the administration of tertiary education was disbanded. It was replaced by a Ministry of

Education that became responsible for the development of education policy for the Government. The new Ministry was originally made responsible for the granting of government funding to the education providers (including private ones); although in the late 1990s this responsibility was transferred to the Tertiary Education Commission, which was created for this purpose. From the old Department of Education was also created the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA), which replaced a number of bodies (the Authority for Advanced Vocational Awards, the Trades Certification Board, and the Vocational Training Board) and was given the formal role of accrediting the new diploma and degree programs of the polytechnics, colleges of education and the private providers. These changes created a system where there was a clear, and formal division between policy, regulation and operation of the sector. In creating the accreditation regime, the extension to the private providers was to give them both benefits and costs. Accreditation by the NZQA gave the private providers a greater degree of creditability with students and also meant that the private providers have been eligible for government funding. On the minus side, the accreditation of qualifications does create expensive red-tape for the private providers.

The amount of funding that has been made available for the expansion of the private sector has varied since 1989. From Table 2 it can be seen that the bulk of government funds provided to the tertiary education sector goes to the universities. Funding to tertiary education providers is based on the number of equivalent full-time students enrolled up to an agreed ceiling (with the Ministry of Education) and the Performance-Based Research Fund grant which is based on a score of six-yearly audits of research. In the 1990s the amounts allocated to fund student places in private providers rose steadily, although this growth tended to slow down and stabilize over time (see Table 3). The National Party when it was in office tended to increase the allocation of funding to the private sector during the 1990s but after it lost office in 1999 the Labour Party Government placed restrictions on this funding growth. After 1999 the Government capped the amounts granted to the private sector and requested private providers provide more evidence to show that they were creating programs that were not already provided by existing providers. This move tended to reinforce the pressures on the private providers to seek niche markets in the higher education sector in New Zealand. When the National Party returned to office in the late 2000s it did allocate slightly more funding to the private sector but tended to retain the restrictions that had been put in place by the Labour Party Government.

The funding that was provided to the private providers was less, per student, than that of the government-owned providers. This was so the funding would cover the operating costs of private education providers but not any capital works (as the funding was for government providers). The greater funding to the government education providers is a reflection of the fact

that the government retains ownership of the capital assets of public providers and not the private providers.

Increasingly the government began to also try to link funding of higher education providers with their research output. The universities because of their far greater research output attracted the bulk of these funds, although small amounts were granted to the private providers.

In 1989 when making the legislative changes no restrictions were made on the basis of the profit-status of the private education providers. In a number of countries there are still restrictions on the creation of for-profit private higher education providers to operate (Kinser and Levy 2005). In New Zealand the *Education Act 1989*, in setting the legal framework for private tertiary education providers in that country made no mention of the profit status of the private providers. This was in line with the government's commitment to competitive neutrality between different types of providers. Although in New Zealand for-profit and not-for-profit education providers are treated differently in terms of taxation laws, this is true across all sectors of the New Zealand economy. *The Education Act* itself does not mention the profit status of private providers at all and so any differences that arise because of profit status are dealt with in the general taxation legislation.

Finally in the 1989 legislation there was no prohibition on a private institution calling itself a university as long as it could meet a government process of accreditation. This provision was applied equally to both private institutions and government-owned ones such as the polytechnics. In practice since 1989 only one institution has achieved conversion to university status; that being the Auckland University of Technology, which converted from a government-owned polytechnic in 1989 (some government polytechnics and colleges of education were also taken over by universities). Since then no private institution has sought university status, although some overseas universities offer in New Zealand programs with private partners (Abbott 2005b).

## THE PRIVATE SECTOR

The private education sector in New Zealand experienced steady growth throughout the 1990s and up until the mid 2000s, after which it leveled off. The number of students in terms of EFTS enrolled in private higher education in 2013 in New Zealand stood at 38,964, or 14.7 per cent of the total number in higher education (see Table 1). In 2013 there were over 300 formally registered private providers in New Zealand. This compares to a government sector made up of only eight universities, 18 polytechnics, and three *wananga* (New Zealand, Ministry of Education, Education

Counts). New Zealand formerly had a number of colleges of education; however, these have merged with universities. Three wananga were established in the 1990s which are government-owned providers which deliver education programs an emphasis on Maori culture. Given the large number of private providers, compared to the number of students enrolled, the private providers tend, on average, to be of far smaller size than their public counterparts. This is line with international trends (PROPHE 2014; Levy 1992; Levy 2003).

Compared to the government-owned sector the private providers also tend to be more specialized in character and concentrates on providing programs in niche areas. This is a product of both their far smaller size, and therefore narrower range of offerings, but also because the government providers in expanded substantially in the 1980s and 1990s which left only a restricted range of opportunities for private providers. Although the broad growth of demand in the 1990s helped the New Zealand private sector to grow by demand-absorbing, enrolment numbers in private higher education sector also tended to grow on the basis of the creation of a number of small providers catering to demand in niche areas. This meant that there was scope for the sector to grow, but only to a certain level, after which further opportunities to expand have tended to disappear.

Another aspect of the growth of the private sector is its heavy reliance on qualifications in the diploma, rather than the degree level of higher education. Since 1989 the polytechnics, and colleges of education have developed new programs mainly at the degree level. In one case the Auckland Institute of Technology (once New Zealand's largest polytechnic) converted to university status and largely vacated entirely the area of diploma provisions. Other institutions such as the Wellington Polytechnic and the colleges of education were merged with existing universities, which also encouraged them to concentrate on degree rather than diploma level education. Other polytechnics also decreased their emphasis on diploma level education. All together this trend has provided the private sector with a larger niche in the market and is reflected in the distribution they have in enrolments between diploma and degree level education.

Table 4 provides data for the private and public higher education sectors in New Zealand and their relative concentrations on diploma and degree levels. As can be seen from the table the private providers have over 35 per cent of all diploma enrolments in New Zealand compared to only three per cent of degree enrolments. This trend is perhaps not surprising. Given the historical background of the private providers in vocational education, it to be expected that they would expand their enrolments in areas where they already had some experience and legitimacy. In addition there has been a tendency in recent years for the polytechnics to shift their emphasis away from traditional vocational courses towards the development and delivery of degree level programs. This has helped to provide a small, but sustainable gap for the private sector to exist

in. It has however made it difficult for the private providers to make much impact on the provision of degree level programs.

The profile of the private higher education providers, therefore, is influenced to a degree by the activities of the government owned providers. The rigorous expansion of the polytechnics and their aggressive diversification into the delivery of degree programs has left the private providers with restricted opportunities in this field. It has, however, helped to create an opening for private providers at the diploma level.

The smaller private providers tend to be fairly narrow in what they offer compared to their government counterparts. Table 5 provides data on enrolments in private and public higher education according to field of study of those enrolments. The students enrolled by private providers in higher education at the diploma level are mainly in the fields of business and IT. At the post-graduate level enrolments are small and dominated by students enrolled in business programs. Most are enrolled in an MBA program in a single institution. At the degree level business students are important, as are the numbers enrolled in society and culture programs, IT, the creative arts and education.

In a number of countries the growth of the private higher sector has helped to create opportunities for students from traditionally unrepresented groups in higher education. Table 6 provides data on the ethnic breakdown of students enrolled by both in private and public higher providers. These figures show that there is a slightly higher proportion of enrolments in private providers of Maori and Pacific Island students. This is a reflection of the fact that a number of private education providers specialize in the delivery of programs that target students of those ethnic groups. This emphasis on the part of private providers, however, is not as great as it is in some countries. The development of the government-owned *wananga*, which cater especially for students of Maori origin, has reduced the scope for this type of expansion in New Zealand.

Finally Table 7 provides a breakdown of staffing levels of both public and private providers in the tertiary education sector as a whole for 2013 in New Zealand. According to the statistics there is little difference between the male/female mixes of staff at the different types of providers.

Overall private higher education providers in New Zealand are relatively small, focus on diploma rather than degree or post-graduate degree studies, and concentrate on vocational courses at the diploma level such as business and IT. Although expansion of the sector was strong during the 1990s this has stabilized in recent years. The role of private higher education in New Zealand is, therefore, similar somewhat to that of other countries that have a mature education system. They do not provide mass education so much, but instead cater for niche markets in a number of

specialized areas such as business and IT (Levy 1982, 2003). This means that there is a market for their services, but it is a limited one.

## RECENT YEARS

During the 1990s the policy of the government, through most of the 1990s was one first of tolerance of the private sector, then one of promotion and the growing extension of funding to the sector. At this time it was accepted by the government that private providers would compete directly with the public providers, both for funding and for students.

This attitude changed somewhat in 1999 when the Labour Party returned to office. Gradually from 2001 a freeze on funding levels to the private sector was imposed. The view of the government then was that funding should be more restricted to the private sector and directed towards those providers that could show that they were meeting demands that were not adequately being met by the government sector. In doing so the Labour Party Government differentiated itself from the National Party Government of the 1990s, by expressing the view that private higher education should not attempt to duplicate the activities of public providers. Instead the government thought that private providers should offer programs that complement those provided by government providers. The Labour Party Government was still willing to fund private providers, but only to a limited degree, and mainly to areas that were inadequately provided for by the government sector.

The degree to which this change in policy impacted on the private sector is difficult to determine as the private providers themselves do tend to move into areas for which there is public demand, but which the public providers are reluctant to cater for. In some ways the Labour government's policy was just encouraging a trend further that was already taking place.

When the National Party returned to office at the 2008 election it was thought that this would lead to increases in funding for the private sector and a loosening of restrictions on the private sector applications. This in general did not occur, partly because of the financial restraints placed on the government after the 2008 global financial crisis and partly because of the general acceptance of the National Party of the previous government's attitude to private education.

From 2008 onwards the growth of the New Zealand economy slowed, with it contracting in the year 2009. Unemployment rose from under four per cent at the beginning of 2008 to over eight per cent in early 2010 (Statistics New Zealand 2010). Higher levels of youth unemployment led to increased demand for places in higher education in 2009, which the Government financed in the short term but as the fiscal position deteriorated spending constraints were imposed. After

almost a decade of budget surpluses the fiscal position moved into deficit in 2009, a situation which has subsequently persisted (New Zealand, Treasury 2009). At the same time international student numbers in New Zealand began to decline which reduced enrolments.

Funding levels to the private sector were increased slightly by the Government, but given the fiscal restraints on the government the Labour introduced restraints were largely retained. To some degree, therefore, there has been a settling down of the policy positions of the various governments the entire tertiary education sector after the changes that were undertaken during the late 1980s and early 1990s (New Zealand Tertiary Education Commission 2014). Although student demand for higher education since 2008 has been high, this has been counter-balanced by a decline in international student numbers.

This settling down of the policy environment has meant that to some degree the private providers have been able to consolidate their position in the market. Growth in numbers across the tertiary education sector was slower in the 2000s than in the 1990s and so the private providers have had to be as efficient as possible to survive. There is some evidence that the private providers have been able to improve their level of efficiency during the 1990s and 2000s, and this has probably helped them to survive (Talukder 2011).

## CONCLUSION

In the 2000s the private higher education sector has settled down and now attracts a fairly stable level of student demand. In doing so the private sector has established some unique characteristics that distinguish it from the government sector. Private providers largely cater for niche demands, in highly specialized fields of study rather provide mass provision of higher education.

The situation in New Zealand is, therefore, one in which most higher education is provided by a mature and developed government sector, where providers are few in number and large in size. Alongside of this sector there is a place for private higher education providers in the longer term, even if it is a limited one. In the face of substantial competition from a well funded, mature public higher education sector the scope for further growth is limited. There is, however, a place for private higher education, even in a country that has a developed and mature public higher education sector as there are always still going to be some areas which will be under provisioned, which will provide some scope for the development of private providers. To a large degree the situation that was reported on in 2005 has remained substantially unchanged even though there has been considerable turmoil in international markets (Abbott 2005a). The evidence from recent

years in New Zealand seems to indicate that in developed countries, with developed government owned higher education sectors, there is a niche market for private education, although there are also limits to its expansion.

**Table 1: New Zealand higher education sector student enrollments 2006, 2013 (Levels 5 to 10)**

	2013		2006	
	EFTS No.	EFTS %	EFTS No.	EFTS %
Universities	130,912	49.3	124,990	46.2
Polytechnics	71,127	26.8	76,039	28.1
Colleges of education	na	na	3,764	1.4
Wananga	24,362	9.2	23,676	8.8
Private	38,964	14.7	42,027	15.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>265,364</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>270,496</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: New Zealand, Ministry of Education, Education Counts. Levels 5 to 10 includes Diploma, Degree and Post-Graduate qualifications. EFTS – Equivalent full-time students. Wananga – Government-owned Maori providers.

**Table 2: Government tuition funding of tertiary education providers (Levels 1 to 10)**

	2010 \$m	%
University	1,038	54.4
Institutes of Technology & Polytechnics	550	28.8
Wananga	159	8.3
Private	162	8.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,909</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: New Zealand, Ministry of Education, Education Counts.

**Table 3: Government tuition funding of private tertiary education providers**

Year	\$m	EFTS funded places
1992	2	363
1993	3	1,435
1994	5	2,703
1995	6	2,362
1996	7	1,969
1997	7	2,123
1998	7	2,178
1999	17	9,187

Year	\$m	EFTS funded places
2000	90	15,833
2001	134	22,881
2002	156	26,510
2003	121	19,420
2004	126	20,507
2005	132	23,100
2006	133	22,400
2007	143	23,000
2008	152	23,800
2009	161	24,400
2010	162	23,900

Source: New Zealand, Ministry of Education, Education Counts.

**Table 4: New Zealand students enrolled in higher education 2013**

		2013	% of total
Public	Diploma	36,801	62.2
	Degree	141,987	96.9
	Honors/post-graduate	36,613	94.2
	Masters	14,169	97.4
	Doctorate	8,303	100.0
	Total	237,873	89.0
Private	Diploma	22,369	37.8
	Degree	4,552	3.1
	Honors/post-graduate	2,236	5.8
	Masters	380	2.6
	Doctorate	0	0
	Total	29,537	11.0
Total	Diploma	59,170	
	Degree	146,539	
	Honors/post-graduate	38,849	
	Masters	14,549	
	Doctorate	8,303	
	<b>Total</b>	<b>267,410</b>	

Source: New Zealand, Ministry of Education, Education Counts.

**Table 5: New Zealand private higher education; enrolments by fields of study, 2013**

	Post-Graduate	Degree	Diploma	Total	%
Natural & Physical sciences	0	210	830	1,040	3.2
Information technology	80	290	3,590	3,960	12.0
Engineering & Related	10	30	850	890	2.7
Architecture & Building	0	0	140	140	0.4
Agricultural & Environmental	50	70	110	230	0.7
Health	20	710	2,110	2,840	8.6
Education	530	2,250	4,350	7,130	21.6
Business	690	550	6,460	7,700	23.4
Society & Culture	1,750	1,170	6,540	9,460	28.7
Creative Arts	50	470	3,360	3,880	11.8
Food, hospitality & Personal Services	10	0	3,370	3,380	10.3
Mixed field programs	0	80	2,670	2,750	8.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,120</b>	<b>4,730</b>	<b>25,120</b>	<b>32,970</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: New Zealand, Ministry of Education, Education Counts.

**Table 6: New Zealand ethnic percentage breakdown of domestic higher education students 2010**

	Private	Public	Total	Private %	Public %
European	16,739	155,526	172,265	59.0	62.6
Maori	5,155	30,028	35,183	18.2	12.1
Pacific	2,193	14,058	16,251	7.7	5.7
Asian	3,318	36,785	40,103	11.7	14.8
Other	982	12,130	13,112	3.5	4.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>28,365</b>	<b>248,549</b>	<b>276,914</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: New Zealand, Ministry of Education, Education Counts.

**Table 7: Total staff by gender 2013**

	Male	Female	Total	Male %	Female %
Universities	10,258	13,532	23,790	43.1	56.9
Polytechnics	4,295	6,429	10,724	40.1	59.9
Wananga	673	1,138	1,811	37.2	62.8
Private	2,850	4,207	7,057	40.4	59.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>18,076</b>	<b>25,306</b>	<b>43,382</b>	<b>41.7</b>	<b>58.3</b>

Source: New Zealand, Ministry of Education, Education Counts.

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