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**Education in Country and City  
New South Wales**

**John Wilkinson**

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**Education in Country and City**  
**New South Wales**

by

**John Wilkinson**



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## **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

- Evidence exists of differences, in levels of achievement, between country and city students in New South Wales (pp.1, 13-14, 22-25)
- Governments have attempted to respond, to perceived differences in performance, by instituting programs to enhance achievement (pp.15-21)
- Researchers have pointed to high staff turnover as a contributing factor to differences in performance, between country and city students (p.26)
- Retaining students, to year 12, appears to be a particular issue in providing education to students in rural areas (pp.23-25)



## 1. INTRODUCTION

In 1980 the Wran ALP government established an education commission. In 1984 the commission presented a report entitled, *Listening and Responding: A Review of Education in Rural New South Wales*. The commission described its work as “the first comprehensive review of education in rural New South Wales”. The report found that,

there are qualitative. . .differences between rural and urban communities. Rural communities in general have. . .reduced access to education opportunities. . .<sup>1</sup>

This paper attempts to examine this assertion as far as New South Wales is concerned. It tries to establish whether there are differences between urban and rural students, in the state, and what factors may be involved.

## 2. THE ORGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF SCHOOL EDUCATION IN NSW

### (a) The Years Immediately after the British Arrival in Australia

Just over five years after the arrival of the British in Australia, during the term of the second governor (Captain John Hunter: 1795-1800), the salaries of school teachers began to be funded by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Not long afterwards, under the third governor (Captain Philip King: 1800-1806), the customs duties began to be used as a source of revenue for schools. Under the sixth governor (Major General Lachlan Macquarie: 1810-1821), a quarter of the customs duties were devoted to education and used to fund state primary-level schools which charged no fees (the Public Charity Schools). By the fourth year of Macquarie’s governorship, there were 15 Public Charity Schools. During the term of office of the eighth governor (Lieutenant General Ralph Darling: 1825-1831) a Church and Schools Corporation was established by means of which the Anglican Church took control of all public education in the colony (and to which 85% of all public revenue, for educational purposes, was delivered). By 1829 nearly 25% of a total of 5,754 children under 12 attended corporation schools. There were also 15 private schools in the Sydney area.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Education Commission of NSW, *Listening and Responding: A Review of Education in Rural New South Wales* (Education Commission of NSW, Sydney, 1984), pp.1-2.

<sup>2</sup> Alan Barcan, *Two Centuries of Education in New South Wales* (University of NSW Press, Sydney, 1988), pp.10-14,22-23,27; NSW Department of Education, *Sydney and the Bush: A Pictorial History of Education in New South Wales* (NSW Department of Education, Sydney, 1980), p.14.

In 1833, under the ninth governor (Major General Sir Richard Bourke: 1831-1837), the Church and Schools Corporation was abandoned and Bourke suggested the introduction of a system of education based on the recently established Irish National System or INS (Ireland at the time still being a possession of Britain). The INS had been established in 1832 by Edward Stanley (then Secretary for Ireland) and had arranged for children of all denominations to be received by all schools receiving government grants. Furthermore, as Bourke himself wrote, the INS was one where “no religious instruction is given by the master” but “approved extracts from scripture are read. . .on one day in the week by the ministers of the different religions, attending. . .to instruct their respective flocks.” Opposition from non-conformist protestant faiths caused Bourke to abandon this plan but, after the Legislative Council approved passage of the *Church Act 1836* (which provided for state aid to the Anglican, Catholic and Presbyterian churches), Bourke decided (on the basis of the Act) to provide government aid to Anglican, Catholic and Presbyterian schools.<sup>3</sup> Eleven years later, in the second year of the term of the eleventh governor (Sir Charles Fitzroy: 1846-1855), the situation was that (as Alan Barcan has described), “The only schools receiving state aid were. . .the denominational elementary ones.” In 1847, for instance, the following denominations received the following amounts of money:

**Amounts of Government Money Received for Education by the Principal Denominations: 1847<sup>4</sup>**

Anglican	£7,264
Catholic	£3,232
Presbyterian	£1,995
Methodist	£888

In 1848, in the third year of governorship, Fitzroy decided to reintroduce Bourke’s plan for a system of education based on Stanley’s INS. As the NSW Department of Education described,

Fitzroy appointed a board of national education to establish common schools based on the [INS]. . .the decision was a compromise, by which it was agreed that government schools offering secular subjects and non-denominational scripture lessons, and open to visiting clergy for religious instruction, would be established mostly in rural districts, while a Denominational School Board (appointed the day after the national board of education) would distribute government funds to the four existing systems of church schools.<sup>5</sup>

After 1848 the number of schools began to grow. Both government and church school

<sup>3</sup> Barcan, op.cit., pp.32-33.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p.50.

<sup>5</sup> NSW Department of Education, *Sydney and the Bush*, p.44.

numbers expanded as the following table indicates:

**Numbers of Government Schools in New South Wales: 1866-1872<sup>6</sup>**

	<i>Schools (mostly one-teacher)</i>	<i>Students</i>
1866	259	19,258
1872	691	46,458

**Numbers of Denominational Schools in New South Wales: 1866-1872<sup>7</sup>**

	<i>Schools</i>	<i>Students</i>
1866	317	35,306
1872	211	33,564

**(b) The Expansion of Government-Provided Primary School Education under Henry Parkes**

In Victoria, in 1872, the colonial government led by James Francis (a sometime president of the Melbourne Chamber of Commerce) obtained passage of a bill entirely abolishing government aid to church schools, as well as establishing a department of public instruction and making education compulsory. Shortly afterwards prominent figures in New South Wales began to agitate for the introduction of similar legislation under the slogan “free, compulsory and secular”<sup>8</sup>. Politicians, in the colony, were initially hesitant to replicate the Victorian example but their resolve was hardened when the Catholic church entered the lists. In 1879 the then archbishop of Sydney (Roger Vaughan) issued a pastoral letter denouncing any move to introduce the Victorian measures and describing schools founded on secular principles as “seed plots of future immorality, infidelity and lawlessness”. In response Henry Parkes, who had only attained the position of colonial secretary the year before, introduced a bill for public instruction in New South Wales.<sup>9</sup> The following year Parkes obtained passage of what became the *Public Instruction Act 1880*. As described by the NSW department of education one hundred years later, in its official history of education in the state,

The *Public Instruction Act 1880* has provided the framework for education in New South Wales ever since. By this act the state assumed full responsibility for primary education and for the first time accepted some responsibility for secondary

<sup>6</sup> Denis Grundy and F.F.F. Yuan, “Education and Science” in Wray Vamplew (ed.), *Australians: Historical Statistics* (Fairfax, Syme and Weldon, Sydney, 1987), p.330.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Barcan, op.cit., p.122.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p.140.

education; authority was transferred. . .to a minister of public instruction heading a department. . .answerable to the parliament. . .<sup>10</sup>

Primary schooling, despite incurring a charge of 3 pence per week per pupil (under the new legislation), was the principal beneficiary of Parkes's efforts. As Alan Barcan recorded,

The first six state high schools opened in 1883, one for each sex at Sydney, Bathurst and Goulburn. Two more opened at Maitland the following year. The schools at Sydney and Maitland prospered. . .[but] the two high schools at Goulburn and the boys school at Bathurst closed by the end of 1886.<sup>11</sup>

As the *Official Year Book of New South Wales 1914* later reported,

Except for the work of the high schools in Sydney and in Maitland, secondary education has remained the province of denominational or private schools.<sup>12</sup>

### **(c)The Expansion of Private Schools in New South Wales**

During the prosperous years of the 1880s, many of (what are now) the GPS schools were established: St. Ignatius (Catholic) in 1880; St. Joseph's (Catholic) in 1881; and Sydney Church of England Grammar in 1886. Newington College had already been established in 1863. Privately provided education for girls, in New South Wales, also expanded during the 1880s with the founding of Abbotsleigh (Anglican) in 1885; Methodist Ladies College in 1886 and Presbyterian Ladies College in 1888.<sup>13</sup>

### **(d)The Expansion of Government-Provided Secondary Education**

In 1891 the Australian Labour Party (ALP) first entered the NSW political scene: gaining 35 seats in the 1891 colonial elections. Thirteen years later, while still in opposition, the ALP introduced a bill to make both primary and secondary education free for all students. The then premier, Joseph Carruthers, initially refused to give his approval to the bill but then himself obtained passage of the *Free Education Act 1906* and abolished fees for primary school education.<sup>14</sup> This led to a further increase in the number of primary schools in New South Wales, as illustrated in the following table:

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<sup>10</sup> NSW Department of Education, *Sydney and the Bush*, p.98.

<sup>11</sup> Barcan, op.cit., pp.152-153.

<sup>12</sup> John Trivett, *The Official Year Book of New South Wales 1914* (NSW Government, Sydney, 1915), p.159.

<sup>13</sup> Peter Spearritt, *Sydney's Century: A History* (University of NSW Press, Sydney, 2000), p.194.

<sup>14</sup> A.R. Crane and W.G. Walker, *Peter Board: His Contribution to the Development of Education in New South Wales* (Australian Council for Educational Research, Melbourne, 1957), p.171.

### Government Primary Schools in New South Wales: 1906-1926<sup>15</sup>

1906	2881
1926	3,333

Four years after primary education became exempt from fees, the ALP won the 1910 state elections and James McGowen became premier. A year later McGowen abolished fees for education at high schools and, another year afterwards, he obtained passage of the *Bursary Endowment Act 1912* which provided bursaries (to eligible students) for education at high schools. The McGowen government (1910-1916) and later the Storey government embarked on a rapid expansion of high schools in the state. George Fuller's Nationalist-Country Party state government (1922-1925) reintroduced fees for high school education but the following Lang government (1925-1927) abolished them.<sup>16</sup> As Smith and Spaul wrote in 1925, "Since 1911. . .secondary education. . .growth has been phenomenal."<sup>17</sup> This is indicated by the growth in high schools, in New South Wales, between 1911 and 1922:

### Government High Schools 1910 - 1922<sup>18</sup>

	Number of Government High Schools	Number of Students
1910	5	1,168
1916	19	5,228
1922	29	14,006

#### (e) Increase in Education Expenditure as a Proportion of the NSW Budget

During the prosperous 1920s further expansion was made possible by a conscious determination, on the part of both conservative and ALP state governments, to decidedly increase the proportion of the state budget devoted to education. Both Fuller's Nationalist-Country government, and Lang's government, devoted about 25% of expenditure to education. Conservative state governments cut back expenditure on education, in the aftermath of the 1930s depression, but the level of spending was gradually restored by the ALP state governments of the 1940s-1960s. Alan Barcan has detailed this as follows:

<sup>15</sup> Denis Grundy and F.F.F. Yuan, op.cit., p.338; *The Official Year Book of New South Wales 1927-1928* (NSW Government, Sydney, 1929), p.193.

<sup>16</sup> Barcan, op.cit., pp.206-208.

<sup>17</sup> Smith and Spaul, op.cit., p.254.

<sup>18</sup> S.H. Smith and G.T. Spaul, *History of Education in New South Wales 1788-1925* (George B. Philip, Sydney, 1925), pp.254-255; Alan Barcan, *A Short History of Education in New South Wales* (Martindale Press, Sydney, 1965), p.228; NSW Department of Education and Training, *Government Schools of New South Wales: 1848-2003* (NSW Department of Education and Training, Sydney, 2003), p.210.

**Proportion of NSW Budget Devoted to Education: 1927/1928 - 1962/1963<sup>19</sup>**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Consolidated Revenue Expenditure</i>	<i>Education Expenditure</i>	<i>Proportion Devoted to Education</i>
1923/24	£15,216,561	£4,000,324	26%
1927/28	£19,155,238	£4,846,451	25%
1938/39	£54,963,000	£5,438,000	9.9%
1948/49	£95,918,000	£11,422,000	11.9%
1958/59	£239,727,000	£46,032,000	19.2%
1962/63	£312,444,000	£67,996,000	21.8%

**(f)Expansion of Public Schools in NSW on the basis of Increased Government Spending**

The increase in the education component of the state budget laid the foundations for the dimensions of the current government school system in the present-day. Even in the last ten years, the proportion of funds spent by the state government, on education, remains around 25%, as shown by the following table:

<sup>19</sup> Alan Barcan, *A Short History of Education in New South Wales*, p.275; Alan Barcan, *Two Centuries of Education in New South Wales*, p.213; *The Official Year Book of New South Wales 1927-1928*, pp.407-408.



**Spending on Education and Training as a Proportion of NSW State Budget:  
1996/97 – 2006/07<sup>20</sup>**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Education/Training</i>	<i>Budget Total</i>	<i>Education/Training Percentage</i>
1996/97	\$5.3 billion	\$22.2 billion	24%
1997/98	\$5.4 billion	\$23.8 billion	23%
1998/99	\$6.5 billion	\$26.7 billion	23.5%
1999/00	\$6.9 billion	\$23.6 billion	29%
2000/01	\$7.6 billion	\$31.9 billion	24%
2001/02	\$8.6 billion	\$34 billion	25.5%
2002/03	\$9.8 billion	\$36.1 billion	27%
2003/04	\$10.2 billion	\$38.4 billion	27.5%
2004/05	\$11 billion	\$40.6 billion	27%
2005/06	\$11.4 billion	\$42.9 billion	27%
2006/07	\$11.8 billion	\$45.2 billion	25.5%

The numbers of primary schools, and high schools, over the years can be detailed as follows:

<sup>20</sup> NSW Treasury, *Budget 1996-1997: Budget Summary* (NSW Treasury, Sydney, 1996); NSW Treasury, *Budget 1997-1998: Budget Summary* (NSW Treasury, Sydney, 1997); NSW Treasury, *Budget 1998-1999: Budget Summary* (NSW Treasury, Sydney, 1998); NSW Treasury, *Budget Statement 1999-2000: Chapter 4 General Government Sector Expenses* (NSW Treasury, Sydney, 1999), p.4-8; NSW Treasury, *Budget Statement 2000-2001: Chapter 4 General Government Sector Service Delivery* (NSW Treasury, Sydney, 2000), p.4-3; NSW Treasury, *Budget Statement 2001-2002: Chapter 4 General Government Sector Service Delivery* (NSW Treasury, Sydney, 2001), p.4-2; NSW Treasury, *Report on State Finances 2002-2003* (NSW Treasury, Sydney, 2003), pp.2-16 – 2-19; NSW Treasury, *Report on State Finances 2003-2004* (NSW Treasury, Sydney, 2004), pp.2-16 – 2-19; NSW Treasury, *Report on State Finances 2004 – 2005* (NSW Treasury, Sydney, 2005), pp.2-16 – 2-19; NSW Treasury, *Report on State Finances 2005-2006* (NSW Treasury, Sydney, 2006), pp.2-16 – 2-19; NSW Treasury, *Budget Statement 2006-2007: Chapter 9 Government Finance Statistics and Uniform Reporting Framework* (NSW Treasury, Sydney, 2006), p.9-28.

### Numbers of NSW Government Primary and High Schools: 1925-2005<sup>21</sup>

<i>Year</i>	<i>Primary Schools</i>	<i>High Schools</i>	<i>Combined Student Numbers</i>
1925	1,995	34	318,646
1930	2,008	48	365,501
1935	1,984	53	371,068
1940	1,937	66	350,348
1945	1,872	83	338,868
1950	1,851	90	385,303
1955	1,974	126	496,550
1960	2,445	184	595,655
1965	2,354	266	668,630
1970	2,057	310	786,474
1975	1,805	332	789,126
1980	1,757	357	799,121
1985	1,746	370	761,017
1990	1,704	381	743,186
1995	1,715	388	755,707
2000	1,713	393	761,836
2005	1,718	397	741,578

#### (g) The Further Expansion of Private Schools in New South Wales

After the passage of the education acts, in Victoria and then New South Wales, private schools no longer received government aid. As Brian Caldwell and his colleagues have written,

The passing of the late nineteenth-century legislation. . .abolished state aid to non-government schools. . .<sup>22</sup>

In the early 1960s, however, Menzies (who had become prime minister in 1949 – following the election of his Liberal Party /Country Party Government) decided to accede to repeated requests (particularly from the Catholic Church) for the reintroduction of government aid for denominational schools. In 1961 a Catholic Bishops conference, held in Sydney, issued an unreserved demand for government aid for Catholic schools. Two years later, in June 1963, the NSW state ALP conference passed a resolution that the federal government should provide assistance to any school which was considered to have inadequate science

<sup>21</sup> NSW Department of Education and Training, *Government Schools of New South Wales: 1848-2003* (NSW Department of Education and Training, Sydney, 2003), pp.213-214. Figures for 2004-2005 supplied by the NSW department of education.

<sup>22</sup> Brian Caldwell, Pam Dettman, Jessica Harris, R.J.W. Selleck and Ian Wilkinson, *A History of State Aid to Non-Government Schools in Australia* (Department of Education, Science and Training, Canberra, 2007), p.19.

facilities. Five months later, during the November 1963 federal election, Menzies announced that, if re-elected, his government make use of section 96 of the constitution (allowing the federal government to make specific purpose grants to the states) to provide federal government assistance for science laboratories in non-government schools. In May 1964 (five months after regaining office), Menzies obtained passage of the *States Grants (Science Laboratories and Technical Training) Act 1964*. Although the sum of money provided for in the act was relatively small (£1.25 million), Menzies' legislation laid the groundwork for a significant expansion of government aid for private schools.<sup>23</sup>

Following the ALP victory in the election of 2 December 1972, Gough Whitlam, less than two weeks after becoming prime minister, appointed a Schools Commission to advise the new government on the needs of all Australian schools (government and denominational). In May 1973 the commission present its first report and, a month later, the Whitlam government accepted its recommendations. Essentially the commission recommended a substantial increase in the amount of federal money devoted to schools (a sum of \$660 million dollars for 1974-1975): to be spent on the basis of the state of resources available in schools. Of the \$660 million, the commission recommended that over \$200 million be devoted to non-government schools. Eventually the additional funds were approved when the Whitlam government obtained passage of the *States Grants (Schools) Act 1973*. The legislation, as well as providing substantial federal funds for government schools, also provided additional funds for 734 non-government schools.<sup>24</sup>

In the late 1970s the Fraser government oversaw a considerable expansion of federal government assistance for private schools: using the Commonwealth Schools Commission (established by the previous Whitlam government) to do so. Over 300 new non-government schools were set up during the Fraser governments term in office (1975-1983).<sup>25</sup> As Don Smart later commented,

Under Fraser, between [late] 1975 and 1983. . .Commonwealth government funding of government schools dropped by 24 per cent in real terms, whilst private schools enjoyed a real increase of 87 per cent. . .[this led to a] dramatic growth in new private schools. . .<sup>26</sup>

Even though the ALP (when re-elected to federal office in 1983) initially declared its intention to reverse the Fraser government's spending focus (with its leader, Bob Hawke, declaring in his election policy speech that an ALP government would reduce the Fraser government's assistance to "wealthy private schools endowed with resources far above those in any other schools"),<sup>27</sup> the ALP soon modified its stance after the election. In 1984,

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid., pp.19,26,31.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., pp.55,58-59,62-63,68,71.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p.126.

<sup>26</sup> Don Smart, "Education" in Brian Head and Allan Patience (eds.), *From Fraser to Hawke* (Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, 1989), p.307.

<sup>27</sup> Caldwell, et.al., op.cit., p.111.

Hawke co-chaired a nationwide meeting of Catholic bishops, regarding the maintenance of government aid to denominational schools. A year later the Hawke government introduced a new basis for estimating government aid to non-government schools: the Education Resources Index (ERI) which measured the income available, from private sources, to a denominational school. The index was based on a scale of 1 (low level of need) to 12 (high level). As Brian Caldwell and his colleagues pointed out, “Under the ERI, Catholic schools . . . were funded at relatively high levels – category 10 or above.” Indeed by the mid-1990s, 60% of all non-government schools were Catholic schools.<sup>28</sup>

In 1996 the Hawke-Keating period of ALP federal government came to an end and the newly elected Liberal Party/National Party federal government (led by John Howard) decided once more to change the basis for providing federal funds to private schools. In 1999 the federal education minister (David Kemp) announced that federal funds to denominational schools would be distributed (from 2001 onwards) on the basis of Socio-Economic Status. SES would measure the capacity of communities (effectively parents) to provide income. In the early years of the twenty-first century, the Howard government earmarked over \$500 million for Catholic schools and over \$500 million for other “disadvantaged” private schools. Catholic schools, however, did not begin to receive federal funding, on an SES basis, until 2004.<sup>29</sup> According to Caldwell and his colleagues,

Catholic . . . schools would receive a 37 per cent increase in funding compared to the 2001-04 quadrennium and a \$362 million increase compared to the amount that would have been available under the 2001-04 arrangements. . .<sup>30</sup>

Partly as a result of the accumulation of federal assistance over the last forty and more years, there has been a constant increase in the number of private schools in New South Wales, as the accompanying table indicates:

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<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.118, 122, 140, 153-154.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.156,161, 167.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p.167.

### Private Schools in New South Wales: 1925-2005<sup>31</sup>

<i>Year</i>	<i>Schools (Primary and Secondary)</i>	<i>Enrolments</i>
1925	730	68,342
1930	730	91,231
1935	755	91,124
1940	739	102,350
1945	733	111,841
1950	740	130,790
1955	780	160,029
1960	828	196,583
1965	820	214,619
1970	790	221,533
1975	794	218,868
1980	799	230,384
1985	841	270,793
1990	850	287, 437
1995	865	300,614
2000	901	334,693
2005	912	367,247

<sup>31</sup> Denis Grundy and F.F.F. Yuan, op.cit., p.340; *The Official Year Book of New South Wales 1926-27*, p.269; *The Official Year Book of New South Wales 1930-31*; pp.416-417; *The Official Year Book of New South Wales 1957*, pp.584; *The Official Year Book of New South Wales 1961*, p.541; *The Official Year Book of New South Wales 1971*, pp.966-979; *The Official Year Book of New South Wales 1973*, pp.616,629; *The Official Year Book of New South Wales 1976*, p.709; *The Official Year Book of New South Wales 1982*, pp.162-163; *The Official Year Book of New South Wales 1988*, p.108; *The Official Year Book of New South Wales 1993*, p.71; *The Official Year Book of New South Wales 1997*, p.74; Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Schools 2007*, ABS Catalogue 4221.0 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra, 2008), pp.7,13.

### 3. ASSESSING THE DIFFERENCES IN ACHIEVEMENT BETWEEN COUNTRY AND CITY STUDENTS

#### (a) Current Proportions of Students (Government/Non-Government) in Rural NSW

In the opening years of the twenty-first century the Commonwealth Grants Commission (CGC) produced a draft assessment paper relating to school children in rural parts of Australia. The following figures were derived, by the CGC, for children attending school in country areas of NSW

#### Primary Students in Government and Private Schools in Metropolitan and Country NSW: 2006-2007<sup>32</sup>

Metropolitan Primary Students (Government and Private)	626,921
Country Primary Students (Government and Private)	67,873
Country Primary Students as a Percentage of State Total	10.8%

#### Secondary Students in Government and Private Schools in Country and Metropolitan NSW: 2006-2007<sup>33</sup>

Metropolitan Primary Students (Government and Private)	529,251
Country Secondary (Government and Private)	80,780
Country Secondary Students as a Percentage of State Total	15.2%

On an overall level, the greater proportion of NSW country students continue to be enrolled in government schools. As Warren Grimshaw wrote, in his 2002 report on NSW non-government schools:

in the last ten years. . .Sixty per cent of the growth [in non-government schools] was in Sydney and the Sydney-Newcastle-Wollongong conurbation. Non-government secondary schools tend to be concentrated in the Sydney metropolitan area and are almost non-existent in the western half of New South Wales.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Commonwealth Grants Commission, *Report on State Revenue Sharing Relativities 2008 Update: Working Papers*, vol.3, *Assessment Results: Transport of Rural School Children* (Commonwealth Grants Commission, Canberra, 2008), p.8.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Warren Grimshaw, *Review of Non-Government Schools in NSW: Report 1* (NSW Department of Education, Sydney, 2002), p.34.

### (b) The Extent of Variation Between Country and City: Australia-Wide

In 2002, Kylie Hillman and Gary Marks produced a briefing paper for the Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER). Hillman and Marks examined several research reports (produced by ACER) published in a series of Longitudinal Surveys of Australian Youth (LSAY). Hillman and Marks surveyed contrasting samples of metropolitan and non-metropolitan 14-year old students for the years 1975, 1980 and 1989 (metropolitan being defined as a capital city with a population of more than 100,000). For 1995 they surveyed a contrasting sample of 9-year old students. On the basis of their survey, they presented the following results in literacy and numeracy (as measured in standardised tests):

#### Metropolitan and Non-Metropolitan Differences in Literacy (Samples of 14-year old and Nine year-old Students): 1975-1995<sup>35</sup>

<i>Survey Year and Age/School Year of Sampled Students</i>	<i>Metropolitan</i>	<i>Non-Metropolitan</i>	<i>Difference</i>
1975 (Age 14)	67.1	64.0	3.1
1980 (Age 14)	66.8	63.6	3.2
1989 (Age 14)	66.5	65.9	0.7
1995 (Year 9)	64.8	63.9	0.9

#### Metropolitan and Non-Metropolitan Differences in Numeracy (Samples of 14-year old and Nine year-old Students): 1975-1995<sup>36</sup>

<i>Survey Year and Age/School Year of Sampled Students</i>	<i>Metropolitan</i>	<i>Non-Metropolitan</i>	<i>Difference</i>
1975 (Age 14)	64.9	61.9	3.0
1980 (Age 14)	66.2	63.6	2.6
1989 (Age 14)	63.4	62.3	1.1
1995 (Year 9)	64.8	63.4	1.4

### (c) Specific Location as Factor in Achievement: Australia-Wide

In 2000 the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) inaugurated the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA): a study to find out how well students, close to finishing the compulsory component of their schooling (year 10

<sup>35</sup> Kylie Hillman and Gary Marks, *Rural and Urban Differences in Australian Education* (Australian Council for Educational Research, Melbourne, 2002), p.2.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

in Australia), were prepared for adult life. The first PISA survey was carried out in 2000. In Australia a group of 15-year old students, from 231 schools, were surveyed for the study. Geographic location was included as a component of the survey. Students were given a two-hour test to determine their abilities in reading, mathematics and science. The results of the survey indicate some significance of geography, as a factor in performance, as indicated below:

**15-Year Old Student Scores (by School and Geographic Location): PISA 2000<sup>37</sup>**

<i>Location</i>	<i>Reading</i>	<i>Maths</i>	<i>Science</i>
Major Cities	535.2	537.9	531.6
Inner Regional Australia	525.6	531.2	527
Outer Regional Australia	498	507.6	500.1
Remote/Very Remote Australia	471.8	513.9	481.2

**(d) Variations between City and Country: New South Wales**

During previous years, various bodies have attempted to collate statistics on the contrast in performance between metropolitan and non-metropolitan students in New South Wales. In 1990 the national board of employment, education and training published figures for year 12 completion rates, in NSW, during the 1980s. During the first half of the 1990s, the NSW government provided figures (in official publications) for completion rates in 1993. Estimates were also produced in the NSW parliament itself. The figures, for these three separate years, were as follows:

**NSW Estimated Year 12 Completion Rates (Metropolitan/Non Metropolitan):  
1984 - 1993<sup>38</sup>**

	<i>1984</i>	<i>1989</i>	<i>1993</i>
Metropolitan	41%	48%	66%
Non-Metropolitan	35%	45%	60%

<sup>37</sup> John Cresswell and Catherine Underwood, *Location, Location, Location: Implications of Geographic Situation on Australian Student Performance in PISA 2000* (Australian Council for Education Research, Melbourne, 2004), pp.1,4.

<sup>38</sup> National Board of Employment, Education and Training, *Towards a National Education and Training Strategy for Rural Australians* (Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1990), p.18; NSW Department of Education, *Rural Education and Training Plan 1994-1997* (NSW Department of Education, Sydney, 1994), p.6; Hansard. NSW Legislative Assembly. 17 October 1995, p.1821.



#### 4. RECENT ENDEAVOURS TO ASSIST RURAL STUDENTS

##### (a) Federal Government and the Disadvantaged Schools Program/Country Areas Program

In 1973 the Whitlam government's schools commission established the Disadvantaged Schools Program (DSP): a program of assistance available to both rural and urban schools. According to researchers from the federal department of education, science and training (DEST), writing in 2003,

This program provided extra resources to schools in low socio-economic localities where a pattern of low school performance, poor retention rates and low career aspirations had developed. The program [aim] was to improve students' learning outcomes in identified disadvantaged areas.<sup>39</sup>

The program continued throughout the terms of office of the Whitlam, Fraser, Hawke and Keating governments. In the last year of the Keating government, the total amount of money provided for the DSP was \$66.5 million: with NSW receiving \$24.2 million.<sup>40</sup>

In 1976, in the first year of the Fraser government, the Commonwealth Schools Commission recommended the formation of a new section of the DSP. The Disadvantaged Country Areas Program (DCAP) was established, a year later, as a pilot program. Funding for the DCAP was quite small: \$4.11 million in 1977 rising to just under \$5.1 million by 1980.

In 1980 the NSW component of the DCAP was \$1.8 million. On an overall level, according to Shirley Randall, the 1980 federal government expenditure on the DCAP amounted to "0.76 per cent of the. . . Commonwealth government expenditure on schools."<sup>41</sup>

During the late 1970s, 87% of students in NSW country areas (considered to be disadvantaged) were in government schools. Shirley Randall, in 1980, provided the following figures for enrolments in schools in disadvantaged areas of NSW:

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<sup>39</sup> Department of Education, Science and Training, *National Evaluation of the Country Areas Program: 2002-03* (DEST, Canberra, 2003), p.6.

<sup>40</sup> Colin Boylan and John Davis, "Sustaining Small and Rural Schools in New South Wales Australia and Ontario Canada", paper presented at the *89<sup>th</sup> National Rural Education Association Convention*, Tucson (Arizona), 24-28 September 1997.

<sup>41</sup> Shirley Randall, "The Disadvantaged Country Areas Program: A Program Designed to increase Social and Educational Equity for Rural Children", paper presented to the *21<sup>st</sup> Annual Conference of the Australian College of Education*, Brisbane, 15 May 1980.

### Enrolments in Schools in Disadvantaged Country Areas of NSW: 1979<sup>42</sup>

Government School Enrolments	15,000
Non-Government School Enrolments	2,200

During the seventh year of the Fraser government (1982) the DCAP was formally separated from the Disadvantaged Schools Program and simply titled the Country Areas Program (CAP).<sup>43</sup>

During the first three years of the Keating government (1992-1994) the CAP was divided into two components. According to DEST,

The state and Northern Territory Education departments. . .administered the Country Areas General Component (CAGC) through state, regional and local committees to ensure effective parent and community involvement. Payment of CAGC funds was conditional on the education authorities meeting certain requirements. CAGC funds increased from \$13.5 million in 1993 to \$14.7 million in 1994. The Country Areas National Component (CANC) operated as an additional source of funds to address specific government priorities. The objectives of the CANC were to support secondary school retention in specific areas. . .<sup>44</sup>

In 1996 the total CAP allocation, for the year, was \$15.39 million: with NSW receiving \$3.8 million.<sup>45</sup>

#### (b)NSW Government and the Rural Schools Plans of the late 1980s and mid-1990s

In 1988 the Greiner government established a ministerial advisory committee on rural education (chaired by Richard Bull MLC). The following year, in response to submissions to the committee, the Greiner government announced the introduction of a Rural Schools Plan (RSP). The plan provided, amongst other initiatives, for the following:

- Rural teacher education scholarships (25 in 1989) at a cost of \$5.7 million
- Spending by the Teacher Housing Authority to upgrade teacher accommodation in rural areas (at a cost of \$11 million in 1989)
- Additional spending on school buildings in the north-west, west and south-west of

<sup>42</sup> Randall. Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> *National Evaluation of the Country Areas Program: 2002-03*, *ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p.7.

<sup>45</sup> Boylan and Davis, *ibid.*

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NSW (\$30 million in 1989)<sup>46</sup>

Five years later, in 1994, the Fahey government announced the introduction of a Rural Education and Training Plan (RETP). While the RETP was primarily focused on assistance to technical and further education, in rural areas, there were some initiatives specifically for primary and secondary schools in country areas. \$11.6 million was set aside, in 1993-1994, for new computers; for training staff to use the computers; and for computerised library systems.<sup>47</sup>

## 5. ONGOING PROGRAMS OF ASSISTANCE FOR RURAL STUDENTS

### (a) Country Areas Program

In 1997, during its second year in office, the Howard government abandoned the Disadvantaged Schools Program, but retained the Country Areas Program.<sup>48</sup> The Country Areas Program continues to function as an avenue of assistance for rural schools in Australia. In 2006 the approximate Australia-wide funding for CAP was \$22 million: with NSW receiving around \$6 million<sup>49</sup>. In New South Wales there are six district offices, of the NSW department of education, which have CAP-funded schools within their area of operations. These offices are:

- Batemans Bay
- Broken Hill
- Deniliquin
- Dubbo
- Moree
- Wagga Wagga

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<sup>46</sup> NSW Department of Education, *Rural Schools Plan* (NSW Department of Education, Sydney, 1989), pp.3,5.

<sup>47</sup> NSW Department of Education, *Rural Education and Training Plan 1994-1997* (NSW Department of Education, Sydney, 1994), p.6.

<sup>48</sup> Robert Ayres, "Government Policies and Processes for the Support of Education for Disadvantaged Students in Australian Schools", paper presented at the *Association of Active Educational Researchers Conference* 2003.

<sup>49</sup> See *Australian Programmes for Schools: Quadrennial Guidelines 2005-2008* at [www.dest.gov.au](http://www.dest.gov.au).

There are a far greater number of CAP-supported primary students, in New South Wales, than CAP-supported secondary students. In 2006 the number of students, assisted by the Country Areas Program, was as follows:

**CAP-Supported Students in Government Schools in New South Wales: 2006<sup>50</sup>**

Students in CAP-Supported Government Primary Schools	13,717
Students in CAP-Supported Government Secondary Schools	8,254

In 2008 there were 151 CAP-Funded government primary schools, and 18 CAP-Funded government high schools, in New South Wales, as indicated in the tables below:

**CAP-Supported Government Primary Schools in New South Wales (by District Office): 2008<sup>51</sup>**

Moree	40
Deniliquin	30
Batemans Bay	28
Dubbo	26
Wagga Wagga	18
Broken Hill	9

**CAP-Supported Government Secondary Schools in New South Wales (by District Office): 2008<sup>52</sup>**

Moree	5
Deniliquin	4
Batemans Bay	3
Dubbo	3
Broken Hill	2
Wagga Wagga	1

<sup>50</sup> NSW Department of Education and Training, *Annual Report: Statistical Compendium* (NSW Department of Education and Training, Sydney, 2006), p.9.

<sup>51</sup> see NSW Country Areas Program (Policy and Guidelines) at [www.cap.nsw.edu.au](http://www.cap.nsw.edu.au).

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

### (c) Priority Schools Funding Program

In 2001, following the federal government's abandonment of the Disadvantaged Schools Program, the Carr government introduced a Priority Schools Funding Program (PSFP). Schools selected for PSFP funding have high proportions of people in low socio-economic status.<sup>53</sup> The PSFP is jointly funded by the federal government's Strategic Assistance for Improving Student Outcomes Program (SAISOP) and by the NSW government itself. In 2004, for example, the federal government contributed \$20.1 million, while the Carr government contributed 280 additional teaching positions for PSFP schools.

A high proportion of PSFP-funded primary schools are in rural districts of New South Wales, while the proportion of PSFP-funded secondary schools is significantly lower. This is illustrated by the following tables:

#### **PSFP Funded Primary Schools in Rural Districts of NSW (Proportions of State Total): 2008<sup>54</sup>**

PSFP Funded Primary Schools (State Total)	573
PSFP Funded Primary Schools in Rural Districts	271
Percentage of PSFP Funded Primary Schools in Rural Districts	47.3%

#### **PSFP Funded Secondary Schools in Rural Districts of NSW (Proportions of State Total): 2008<sup>55</sup>**

PSFP Funded Secondary Schools (State Total)	84
PSFP Funded Secondary Schools in Rural Districts	33
Percentage of PSFP Funded Secondary Schools in Rural Districts	39.2%

In some rural districts, PSFP-funded schools are a high percentage of all schools – while in other areas they are not. The proportions of PSFP-funded schools, in each of the individual rural districts of New South Wales, is as follows:

<sup>53</sup> Philip Holmes-Smith, *School Socio-Economic Density and its Effect on School Performance* (NSW Department of Education and Training, Sydney, 2006), p.30.

<sup>54</sup> NSW Department of Education, *Priority Schools Program: 2008 Survey* (NSW Department of Education, Sydney, 2008), p.8.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

**Government Primary and Secondary Schools in North Coast Rural District  
(approx.): 2008<sup>56</sup>**

Non-PSFP Primary	109
Non-PSFP Secondary	24
PSFP Primary	117
PSFP Secondary	13
Proportion of PSFP Primary Schools in District	52%
Proportion of PSFP Secondary Schools in District	35%

**Government Primary and Secondary Schools in Western Rural District (approx):  
2008<sup>57</sup>**

Non-PSFP Primary	83
Non-PSFP Secondary	25
PSFP Primary	52
PSFP Secondary	6
Proportion of PSFP Primary Schools in District	38.5%
Proportion of PSFP Secondary Schools in District	19.5%

**Government Primary and Secondary Schools in Hunter District (approx.): 2008<sup>58</sup>**

Non-PSFP Primary	54
Non-PSFP Secondary	9
PSFP Primary	25
PSFP Secondary	4
Proportion of PSFP Primary Schools in District	32%
Proportion of PSFP Secondary Schools in District	30%

<sup>56</sup> See *Priority Schools Program – List of Eligible Schools 2005 to 2008* at [www.det.nsw.edu.au](http://www.det.nsw.edu.au).

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

**Government Primary and Secondary Schools in New England District (approx.):  
2008<sup>59</sup>**

Non-PSFP Primary	61
Non-PSFP Secondary	13
PSFP Primary	28
PSFP Secondary	4
Proportion of PSFP Primary Schools in District	31.5%
Proportion of PSFP Secondary Schools in District	23.5%

**Government Primary and Secondary Schools in Riverina District (approx.): 2008<sup>60</sup>**

Non-PSFP Primary	111
Non-PSFP Secondary	26
PSFP Primary	30
PSFP Secondary	1
Proportion of PSFP Primary Schools in District	21.5%
Proportion of PSFP Secondary Schools in District	4%

**Government Primary and Secondary Schools in Illawarra District (approx.):  
2008<sup>61</sup>**

Non-PSFP Primary	116
Non-PSFP Secondary	21
PSFP Primary	19
PSFP Secondary	5
Proportion of PSFP Primary Schools in District	14%
Proportion of PSFP Secondary Schools in District	19%

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

## 6. EVALUATION OF CAP AND PSFP ASSISTANCE

### (a) Country Areas Program

#### *Primary Schools*

As outlined above, the majority of CAP-supported students are in primary schools. The statistical compendium section, of the NSW department of education annual reports, provides for the performance of CAP students. The results for CAP-supported primary students in the year 5 Basic Skills Test (BST) for numeracy skills, and the BST for literacy skills, were as follows:

#### **Mean BST Literacy Scores (Year 5): 2002-2006<sup>62</sup>**

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
All Students	57.8	57.5	57.4	57	57.3
CAP Government School Students	55.7	55.6	55.4	55.2	55.1

#### **Mean BST Numeracy Scores (Year 5): 2002-2006<sup>63</sup>**

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
All Students	60.2	60	60.7	60.4	61.5
CAP Government School Students	57.5	57.9	58.5	58.2	58.8

#### *Secondary*

In the second half of the 1990s the Council on the Cost of Government (CCG) - established by the ALP government (led by Bob Carr) after it gained office in 1995 - produced a number of reports on government department services. One particular report was on school education. The CCG report examined performances, by CAP students, in the three main strands of the higher school certificate. The results were as follows:

<sup>62</sup> NSW Department of Education and Training, *Annual Report (2006): Statistical Compendium*, p.20.

<sup>63</sup> NSW Department of Education and Training, *Annual Report (2006): Statistical Compendium*, p.20.



**CAP Government Secondary Schools in Rural New South Wales – HSC  
Performance against the State Mean (State Mean = 1): 1994- 1997<sup>64</sup>**

	1993	1994	1995	1996
English – All NSW Government Schools	0.93	0.93	0.93	0.94
English –CAP Government Secondary Schools	0.87	0.90	0.88	0.87
Maths – All NSW Government Schools	0.94	0.94	0.94	0.95
Maths –CAP Government Secondary Schools	0.89	0.88	0.87	0.87
Science - All NSW Government Schools	0.94	0.95	0.95	0.95
Science –CAP Government Secondary Schools	0.89	0.90	0.86	0.85

The CCG also provided the following statistics for year 7-12 retention rates in secondary schools funded by the Country Areas Program:

**CAP Government Secondary Schools in Rural New South Wales – Average  
Apparent Retention Rate (Years 7-12): 1994- 1997<sup>65</sup>**

	1994	1995	1996	1997
Year 12 Retention Rate	50.6%	48.7%	48.4%	43.7%
Percentage Difference from State Rate	-15.9%	-16.5%	-14.9%	-19.2%

In the twenty-first century, these trends appear to persist. The performance of CAP students in the department's Secondary Numeracy Assessment Program (SNAP), for year 8, were as follows:

**Mean SNAP Scores (Year 8): 2002-2006<sup>66</sup>**

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
All Students	88.7	87.4	87.8	87.7	87.2
CAP Government School Students	86.8	85.2	85.6	85.9	84.6

<sup>64</sup> Council on the Cost of Government, *NSW Government Indicators of Service Efforts and Accomplishments: School Education* (Council on the Cost of Government, Sydney, 1998), p.78.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p.75.

<sup>66</sup> NSW Department of Education and Training, *Annual Report 2006: Statistical Compendium* (NSW Department of Education and Training, Sydney, NSW 2006), p.26.

The performance of CAP students in the department's English Language and Literacy Assessment Program (ELLA), for year 8, were accordingly:

**Mean ELLA Scores (Year 8): 2002-2006<sup>67</sup>**

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
All Students	89.8	90.3	90.4	90.5	90.4
CAP Government School Students	88.6	88.9	88.8	88.3	88.5

Overall year 7-12 retention rates, in the twenty-first century, are still lower than the overall rate for the state, as the department's figures also illustrate:

**Apparent Retention Rates for Full-Time Students in NSW Government Schools (Year 7-12): 2002-2006<sup>68</sup>**

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
All Students	63.8	65	65.8	65.8	65.1
CAP Government School Students	47.5	48.8	43.7	45.6	41.3

**(b) Priority Schools Funding Program**

*Primary*

In regard to the schools in the PSFP, the trends are similar to those for the CAP. At a primary school level, the performance of PSFP students in the department's BST (literacy and numeracy) were accordingly:

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<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p.23.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p.27.

**Mean BST Literacy Scores (Year 5): 2002-2006<sup>69</sup>**

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
All Students	57.8	57.5	57.4	57	57.3
PSFP Government School Students	55.3	54.9	54.8	54.4	54.5

**Mean BST Numeracy Scores (Year 5): 2002-2006<sup>70</sup>**

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
All Students	60.2	60	60.7	60.4	61.5
PSFP Government School Students	56.9	56.8	57.5	57	58

*Secondary*

The performance of PSFP students in the department's Secondary Numeracy Assessment Program, for year 8, were as follows:

**Mean SNAP Scores (Year 8): 2002-2006<sup>71</sup>**

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
All Students	88.7	87.4	87.8	87.7	87.2
PSFP Government School Students	84.5	83.8	83.7	84.2	83.1

The performance of PSFP students in the department's English Language and Literacy Assessment Program (ELLA), for year 8, were accordingly:

**Mean ELLA Scores (Year 8): 2002-2006<sup>72</sup>**

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
All Students	89.8	90.3	90.4	90.5	90.4
PSFP Government School Students	86.6	87.5	87.3	87.5	87.4

Overall year 7-12 retention rates, in the twenty-first century, are still lower than the overall rate for the state, as the department's figures also illustrate:

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid., p.20.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., p.26.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., p.23.

**Apparent Retention Rates for Full-Time Students in NSW Government Schools  
(Year 7-12): 2002-2006<sup>73</sup>**

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
All Students	63.8	65	65.8	65.8	65.1
PSFP Government School Students	54	55	56.4	55.5	52.9

## 7. CONCLUSION

The above survey of country students, contrasted with their metropolitan counterparts, seems to bear out the conclusions of Sue Helme and her colleagues at the University of Melbourne (expressed in a 2007 study of rural educational inequality), that “differences between rural and urban locations receive little attention. Yet, in many systems, inequalities of place are both persistent and powerful.”<sup>74</sup>

In considering the factors that may alleviate this situation, some argue that a higher percentage of funds should be devoted specifically to improving the performance of schoolchildren in rural areas. Another factor, highlighted by Helme and her colleagues, is staff turnover. In their opinion,

Staffing difficulties. . .constitute a significant barrier to higher retention and success rates. . .Difficulties with recruitment and retention mean that higher proportions of country teachers tend to be inexperienced, while few choose to stay beyond the minimum period.<sup>75</sup>

Helme and her colleagues have examined data from the NSW department of education relating to teacher turnover rates amongst PSFP schools on a regional basis. Their statistics, for 2004, are as follows:

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid., p.27.

<sup>74</sup> Sue Helme, Stephen Lamb and Anthony Welch, “Rurality and Inequality in Education: The Australian Experience” in Marie Duru-Bellat, Stephen Lamb and Richard Teese (eds.), *International Studies in Educational Inequality, Theory and Policy*, vol.II, *Inequality in Education Systems* (Springer, Dordrecht, 2007), p.271.

<sup>75</sup> Helme, et.al., p.283. Professor Malcolm Skilbeck and Dr. Helen Connell have echoed these remarks in their report, for the federal government, on retaining effective teachers. According to Skilbeck and Connell, “attracting teachers to rural and isolated schools and retaining them there is generally acknowledged to be a pressing issue”. See Malcolm Skilbeck and Helen Connell, *Attracting, Developing and Retaining Effective Teachers: Australian Country Background Report* (Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra, 2003), p.20.

**Teacher Turnover Rates for PSFP Schools by Region in NSW (Measured by the Number of New Teachers as a Percentage of All Teachers): 2004<sup>76</sup>**

Inner Regional	30.8%
Major City	34.6%
Outer Regional	46.5%
Remote	53.3%

Given that nearly half of all PSFP primary schools are in rural districts, and over one-third of PSFP secondary schools are likewise, the above figures suggest that a substantial number of rural students, in New South Wales, are affected by constant staff turnover. As Sue Helme and her colleagues have commented:

staff turnover. . . is very high in [PSFP] schools in outer regional and remote locations. Indeed, in these schools, on average, every second teacher moves on after one year. Such high staff turnover means that discontinuity is a constant feature of students' schooling experience.<sup>77</sup>

In conclusion it is worth remembering that, in the new century, education does not exist by itself simply as a matter for investigation. It has been positioned by the present federal government at the forefront of the future of Australia. In January 2007, as leader of the opposition, the present prime minister Kevin Rudd (who himself attended school in a rural district) delivered a speech, to the Melbourne education research institute, entitled *An Education Revolution for Australia's Economic Future*. In his speech he declared that,

what is needed for the 21<sup>st</sup> century is an education revolution. . . a revolution in the quantum of our investment and a revolution in the quality of our education resources. . . Education is the pathway out of poverty. It is the pathway to a career, security and decent standard of living. . . No matter where you are from, or how much money you have, you should still get a great education. . .<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Helme, et.al., p.283.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Kevin Rudd, *An Education Revolution for Australia's Economic Future*, speech delivered to the Melbourne Education Research Centre, 23 January 2007.

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