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Closing pathways: refugee-background students and tertiary education

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Recent changes to policies and funding for tertiary education are exacerbating an already difficult situation for refugees aiming to earn university degrees. No one intended to create the barriers that the refugee-background community faces; government agencies continue attempts to improve educational outcomes for those who arrive as refugees. The root causes of this situation are the complexity of the refugee situation and a lack of holistic knowledge about this diverse group of New Zealand residents among policy makers and educators. In addition, the complexity of interactions among policy changes and refugee situations has prevented any single agency from predicting outcomes of its policies for refugee-background students. In this paper, I discuss how new policies interact with a range of existing barriers faced by refugees pursuing degrees and how, without urgent attention, this will constrict or close pathways into and through university study. I further suggest that the strongest foundation for an effective program to provide equitable access to university education is including refugee-background students among those groups who receive equity consideration.

Keywords: refugee; education; university; equity; resettlement; New Zealand

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Introduction

'Treating everyone the same can be discriminatory' (Hannah 1999, p. 163). The speaker was a Bosnian refugee student in Australia but he succinctly describes the situation for refugee-background students entering tertiary study in New Zealand. An already difficult situation has been exacerbated as policy decisions made by government agencies, including the Ministry of Education (MOE), come together with enactment practices by the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) and implementation by Tertiary Education Institutions (TEI) in ways that close or severely constrict pathways to and through university study for students from refugee backgrounds. Two pivotal changes during 2010–11 are the termination of Refugee Study Grants and the initiation of managed enrolment policies necessitated by the TEC's more robust policing of already existing caps on enrolments. Other changes include reduced funding for assessment and placement advice, the transfer of transitional programs out of universities to other tertiary providers, and more stringent restrictions in Study Link policy on dropping and changing courses, combined with equity policies that omit refugee-background students.

There is little statistical data to document the impacts of the changes in the tertiary sector on students already disadvantaged by refugee and resettlement experience, or to support a claim for their formal designation as an equity group. An irony of the situation is that it is impossible to collect sound and comprehensive statistical data to provide a mandate for educational institutions to collect entry and

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progress data. Data demonstrating the need for bridging[1] courses to help students transition to tertiary education are, however, currently being compiled by the National Refugee, Migrant and International Education Team at the MOE Education. Preliminary analysis of data for 2010 school leavers (MOE 2011) indicates that of refugee-background students who had five or fewer years in New Zealand schools, only 34.4% achieved National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) qualification at level 2 or above.[2] Entry for university degree study requires NCEA level 3 or above. The now cancelled Refugee Study Grants previously helped students pay for bridging courses. Places within those courses are now restricted by caps on enrolment, informed by priorities in the 2010–15 Tertiary Education Strategy (TES).

No one intended to create the barriers that refugee-background students now face. The MOE aims to 'provide New Zealanders of all backgrounds with opportunities to gain world-class skills and knowledge' (MOE 2010, p. 6). Yet existing pathways are closing without new paths to university degrees for refugee-background students. I argue that the complexity of the refugee situation and the lack of holistic knowledge about this relatively small group of New Zealand residents are the root causes of the lack of equitable access to university education, and that the complexity of interactions among policy changes and refugee situations has prevented any single agency from predicting the outcomes of its policies for refugee-background students.[3] To demonstrate this, I discuss the way new policies interact with a range of existing barriers faced by refugee-background students pursuing university degrees and how, without urgent attention to the results, these policies will restrict refugee-background students' opportunities for successful university study.

The impacts of current changes are being felt across the entire range of education, from adults with little or no English, to refugees who arrived intending to enrol in postgraduate programs and young people who arrived in New Zealand as children. Here I focus on access to degree programs because this is an area where refugee circumstances have received insufficient attention among policy makers and because New Zealand's refugee communities[4] need to know that there is a place for their students of high academic potential to train for and assume leadership roles. I further suggest that recognizing refugee-background students as a group requiring equity consideration is fundamental to achieving aims stated by the MOE in the TES, including 'providing targeted services to create an inclusive environment for a diverse student body' (MOE 2010, p. 6), 'help[ing] young people to achieve to their highest potential' (MOE 2010, p. 2), improving cost-effectiveness of the sector, and providing a world class workforce.

The case here draws on information collected through a number of initiatives of the Victoria University Network to Support Refugee Background Students and research done by its members (Horner et al. 2006; Evans et al. 2008; Roberts 2010). The majority of the data (and all quotations not identified with a specific source) were collected as part of Empowering Study for Refuge Background Students (ESRBS) project (O'Rourke et al. 2009; O'Rourke et al. 2010), including my own contribution of 10 structured interviews, approximately 20 open-ended interviews, and a large number of group discussions, informal interviews, and participant observation with refugee-background students. In addition, information has been gathered from refugee community leaders, people who work with refugees in a variety of paid and volunteer roles, VUW Student Services staff and educators in universities and transitional programs.

Becoming a refugee

In its 2010 annual report, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) identifies 15.6 million refugees worldwide.[5] Officially one becomes a refugee when s/he is recognized as meeting the criteria set out in the

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1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, as a person who:

> . . .owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.[6]

In practice, people become refugees by fleeing situations where the threat to life and well-being has become intolerable. Definitions, policies and statistics cannot capture the psychological, physical and social trauma and disruption that refugee-background students have confronted. One family, whose son still suffers physical and emotional injuries inflicted by the Myanmar army during periods of forced labour, fled by boat to Thailand, then achieved refugee status and entry into New Zealand through the intercession of a New Zealand volunteer. One university student fled Iran and lived in constant fear in a Syrian city, well within the power orbit of Iran, while waiting for UN resettlement. A young woman from Afghanistan attempted to continue her schooling during her family's flight from the Taliban but progress was limited by continual relocation; she had to study in three different languages before arriving to begin again with New Zealand English. Another young woman tells of rape during her solo flight from Somalia into Kenya. All have left homes, family, their place of belonging and the culture they were socialized into. These are the starting points of individual pathways into New Zealand and its tertiary education system.

Refugee-background students in New Zealand

Each year, about 1200 refugees, including 750 from the UNHCR quota programme, are admitted to New Zealand. For these refugees, equitable access to education is extremely important, whether for themselves or their families. Education is a basis for self-sufficiency and participation within New Zealand society, but before that, it is a way to return to normalcy and hope (Sinclair 2001, cited in McBrien 2005, p. 338). New Zealand's refugee-background student population is extremely diverse in terms of ethnicity, language, age, educational history, English proficiency and the degree and types of trauma they experienced as refugees. Yet, as university students, they share a number of similarities that cross these divisions. Among similarities ESRBS staff have observed in our interactions with these students are resilience, intellectual curiosity and a high motivation to use their education to give something back—to their families, to their countries and culture, and to New Zealand for offering them safety, security and opportunity. Other commonalities are found in broadly shared barriers to accessing these opportunities.

It is widely agreed that proficiency in New Zealand English is a key problem for refugees. Research at VUW (Horner et al. 2006; Evans et al. 2008; O'Rourke et al. 2009; Roberts 2010) confirms that weakness in academic English is a primary concern. However, the writers of those reports and others have observed that addressing language alone is not sufficient to support refugee-background students through completion of their degree programs (cf. Joyce et al. 2003). I argue that this requires a comprehensive approach addressing a number of interdependent concerns which I address under four headings developed in consultation with students and community leaders:

- weak academic English, coupled with good spoken English;
- lack of cultural and social capital appropriate to tertiary study in New Zealand;
- trust and safety issues rooted in refugee experience trauma;
- lack of a sense of belonging.

How these issues are compounded by the precarious financial situations of many refugee-background families is illustrated by a refugee-background secondary school student:

> I sometimes feel no one really understands me. Like I will wake up and find it is all a dream. Sometimes in class I spend the whole day worrying about my mum who is working two jobs, one in a supermarket and as a cleaner at night. I have no computer at home so I never get to finish my assignments on time, I worry about my English, and I don't know who I can talk to without being judged. I am keeping to myself a lot these days. Other students think I am being rude, but they don't know what I am going through (Johnstone & Kimani 2010, p. 9).

Obstacles to educational success rooted in previous refugee experiences are compounded by the ways in which arriving quota refugees are integrated into New Zealand. After six weeks at Mangere Reception Centre in Auckland, refugees are settled at a location determined by Housing New Zealand and Refugee Services. School-age children are enrolled in classes according to age, rather than prior schooling or English proficiency. Based on language assessment and lack of prior school attendance, attempts may be made to place older children a year or two below their age grade but the New Zealand system allows little flexibility in this regard.

At the launch of the Somali Graduate Journal (Abdi 2009), a young man who had graduated with Honours in a management program said, 'I had no English and I was put in 4th form. Sometimes I felt like a deaf person'. He went on to say that he could not read his textbook when he enrolled at university. He took stock, did bridging education, excelled at his renewed studies, and landed in a job at a major accounting firm. Many arrive in similar circumstances. Not all negotiate them so successfully. A young woman from the Horn of Africa spoke of shame, rather than disability, in relating her experience of entering a fourth form class with little English. Humiliated by her lack of language skill, she avoided class whenever she thought she would have to speak.

The same issues are experienced in different ways by both refugee students who enter the school system and those who arrive with more advanced qualifications and attempt to enter the tertiary system. Further, these problems persist across a span from high school, through transition programmes, into and through university study. It is important to recognize the cumulative effects through these stages, because the practices in one stage create both barriers and strengths in the next.

Refugee-background students and university

For many refugee-background students, the pathway to university can be long. One optimal pathway to degree study previously included MCLaSS (2010) offered by the Multicultural Learning and Support Service, followed by a year-long language and literacy skills course at Massey University (Wellington), moving to the English Proficiency Programme and finally Foundation Studies at VUW, where courses are designed to help students acquire the study and social skills necessary for the New Zealand university system while building their academic English. The costs in time and money often appear daunting for people who feel they have already lost many years of their lives as well as their financial resources.

Apart from not getting English and skills training, refugee-background students who enter without formal transitional support miss out on socialization into the university community. These students enter without a support group and have not had the coaching to access student services. Study grant students were often sent, or even taken, by their teachers to financial, student learning, and career services. ESRBS research found that those who enter without assistance are much slower to access these, usually not until their second or even third year. Despite lacking quantitative data on

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comparative success rates, interviews suggest lower pass and retention rates among students who directly enrol into degree programmes.

Even refugee-background students entering bridging programmes need support structures to help them deal with obstacles including language, administration, and their perceptions of exclusion by other students and lack of willingness to help from tutors (O'Rourke et al. 2009, O'Rourke et al. 2010). Added to language difference, cultural differences in communication mean these students need support in coping with bureaucracy and even with professionals there to assist them.

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Closing pathways to the Bachelor's degree

The current actions and inactions which are closing pathways to degrees for refugee-background students include:

- termination of Refugee Study Grants;
- reduced funding for assessment and advice;
- TES preference for tertiary provider specialization, including moving bridging programmes out of universities;
- a hard cap on EFTS[7] places—moving from no extra funding for enrolments beyond the cap to harsher disincentives to institutions which accept students beyond the number funded;
- raised enrolment criteria for degree programs as TEIs attempt to hold down EFTS;
- reduced places for bridging programs as TEIs shift enrolments towards current TES priorities;
- more stringent restrictions in Study Link policy on dropping and changing courses;
- unevenness of the responses of TEIs to the new funding environment which may introduce geographic inequalities;
- equity policies that omit refugee-background students.

Several of these measures are laudable if they are viewed in isolation but raise problems in the refugee-background context. For example, more stringent enrolment criteria which ensure that students entering university are more likely to succeed will benefit students as well as staff and budgets. However, in the context of restricted funding for bridging programs and reduced funds for assessment and placement advice, this further disadvantages already disadvantaged students. For currently designated equity groups (Maori, Pasifika, disability, lower socioeconomic status), safeguards are built into the system through additional support and the monitoring of progress (MOE 2010). Refugee-background students have not been given such protection in spite of facing similar barriers.

Weak academic English, coupled with good spoken English

Many refugee-background students exhibit a 'spiky profile' (Roberts 2010): weak academic English coupled with better spoken English (DEEWR 2011). In addition to the consequences for essay writing and subject mastery, a weakness in vocabulary and the reading of academic English require a large time investment for even simple tasks. ESRBS research indicates that students' oral fluency can work against them as advisors overestimate their abilities. Further, when students receive incorrect advice, the negative effects are compounded by their lack of networks with cultural knowledge about the university, and by their reluctance to challenge the authority of the advisors. Feelings of shame and guilt also lead to a reluctance to seek help. Turner and Fozdar (2010, p. 376) have found that refugee-background students are often unaware of the disadvantages inherent in their refugee, educational, linguistic, and cultural history. Where structural barriers exist that limit their achievement, many students see only their own shortcomings.

The reluctance to seek help also stems from feelings of shame and guilt arising from the stigmatization of refugees. Stigma attached to 'refugee' is the subject of on-going research in

the social sciences (e.g., Malkki 1995, 1996; Agamben 1998; Kumsa 2006; Ticktin 2006). The effects of the stigmatization are salient for both the needs of refugee-background students and the difficulties in collecting accurate quantitative data about them. Interviews and the experiences of the network and research teams at VUW indicate that the fear of stigma and discrimination often keeps refugee-background students from accessing support. Internalization of this stigma is also a basis of the lack of belonging that hinders study.

Lack of cultural and social capital appropriate to tertiary study in New Zealand

Many students arriving at university are bewildered, so universities run orientation programs. Yet new students not coached by siblings or friends who have been through it are unlikely to access even that. Two young men who were interviewed illustrate the problem. The first is a bright young Somali man who dropped out during his first term and briefly ended up in the criminal justice system. He told me, 'They sent me a list of times and rooms and I went, but I didn't know what to do'. I asked if he had gone to orientation. 'No, and that's on me. But I didn't know what it was'. Lest we think that this is the behaviour of a dropout not really trying, we can look at the response of a now successful student who struggled with the same issues. When asked if he went to orientation, he said 'Not until my second year. I didn't understand what it's for'.

A lack of cultural capital relevant to New Zealand universities (e.g., understanding of the system, the terminology, and the cultural practices for stating needs, requesting help, and communicating) is exacerbated by the lack of social networks effective in this context. Refugee-background students often lack both peers with university experience and adult role models. They suffer from the 'first in family effect' (Clarke 2010, p. 9), a problem also for students from lower decile schools and lower socio-economic status and segments of the Maori and Pasifika student populations (Madjar et al. 2010), all of whom are recognized as needing extra assistance by both the MOE and VUW. Similar support for refugee-background students is needed if they too are to achieve their potential.

Trust and safety issues rooted in the trauma of refugee experience

McBrien (2005) notes that, '[t]rauma experienced during flight, in refugee camps, and during resettlement causes many refugees to become distrustful or fearful of people in authority'. This may result in a lack of trust of teachers (Igoa 1995), and may contribute to a reluctance to participate (Hynes 2003), or to consult staff, difficulties in dealing with bureaucracy, and the lower likelihood of using support services (Horner et al. 2006; Evans et al. 2008; O'Rourke et al. 2009; Roberts 2010).

In the quote given above, a secondary school student worried about who she could talk to without being judged. My interviews show the same fears inhibit university students from seeking help or participating in class. Trust issues arising from the refugee experience are only strengthened by interactions with insensitive peers and even instructors. Three female interviewees reported being excluded from study groups within tutorials. One young woman told of repeatedly being ignored by members of an assigned discussion group; when she tried to share her views, others turned away and continued their own discussion. Being prepared and understanding the material is no guarantee against humiliation: two young women told of an instructor responding to a refugee-background student's comments with 'a very good point from a most unlikely source'.

Whether based on prior trauma, current discrimination or distorted perceptions of current dangers, the lack of trust has on-going negative consequences for refugee-background students, including decreased likelihood of getting early and accurate advice on career

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and educational planning (cf. Clarke 2010), low involvement in joint learning activities, or a reluctance to seek the very support that might help them. In this situation, it would be helpful to have the active recruitment into peer and assistance groups similar to that used for Pasifika students.

Lack of sense of belonging

The subject of belonging is too broad to cover in detail here but it is important to include because it is an area students raised and because it bears on the importance of maintaining bridging programmes within the university. Apart from decreasing the quality of the university experience and lowering the chances of academic success, the lack of a sense of belonging creates a major demand on refugee-background students' time. Based on several years of involvement in youth leadership and after school study programmes, A. Awad (pers. comm. August 2010) of the New Zealand National Refugee Network reports that students spend a high proportion of their time on campus trying to build social connections, 'trying to fit in'. While it might be argued that all students suffer the same angst, for refugee-background students, the issue is more fundamental, for their lack of belonging extends beyond the campus, to their attempts to integrate into New Zealand society.

Effects of recent changes

After recent cuts, refugee-background students face the reduced availability of assessment, career/education advice, bridging programmes and funding; at the same time, they face harsher penalties for changing programmes, dropping courses and course failure. The Starpath Project at Auckland University has found that 'students with less than ideal preparation... were often forced to change their plans and adjust their aspirations in terms of what they could achieve', and concluded that 'the fact that some students require more than one year to find their way suggests a need for stronger transitional support both early in their student experience and in the period between the first and second year of study' (Madjar et al. 2010, p. 4). ESRBS data suggest that the transitional support needed for refugee-background students includes the assessment of skills, frank advice about the need for improved academic English (cf. Turner & Fozdar 2010, p. 376) and career and study planning. Funding for this type of support is one of the casualties of the cutbacks begun in 2009.

Assistance in finding the best pathway into university study is perhaps the most critical issue for refugee-background students but to benefit from this planning assistance, many students need access to bridging programmes. Unfortunately, the changes listed above are limiting the availability, timeliness and user-friendliness of entry into bridging programmes. Financial support for adequate language and New Zealand educational skills courses was completely eliminated. In December 2010, a team of five refugee-background students working with ESRBS found that students in their communities were revising their study plans because of this loss of funding. My earlier interviews confirm the importance of these grants and the bridging study they have supported, as have statements gathered by others throughout the refugee support sector. The MOE has recognized the gravity of the situation with regard to ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) and, in mid-2011, approved funding for the next four years to allow approximately 400 refugees and their family members to study towards an ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) qualification in mainstream tertiary education without paying fees. This very welcome initiative does not, however, go beyond English acquisition to provide for other bridging courses.

Even if funding were not an issue, places in appropriate programs may not be available. In the current tertiary strategy, the MOE supports specialization by TEIs, with Polytechnics as providers of bridging education that

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assists 'progression to higher levels of learning or work through foundation education' (MOE 2010, section 3.1). To comply with the MOE's priorities, universities must move out of bridging education for domestic students, even where their own courses are better-suited for successful degree-level study. Transitional programmes within the university are more likely to address all the barriers discussed above. Many of the courses offered by Polytechnics are designed as preparation for specialized programs such as health care, rather than the broad background required for degree programmes. The need for a sense of inclusion and confidence that one belongs at university is one of the key reasons that Shaw (2010) believes university-based bridging programmes are the preferable option for all students in transition to university, a view supported by the experience of Clark (2010). University-based bridging also provides what Shaw calls the 'ontology' of the university student, a way of thinking, a sense of belonging and integration into the culture and social networks of the campus. Programmes such as VUW's Foundation Studies, although not designed for refugees, simultaneously address all the barriers to refugee-background students' university success given above.

The new environment poses a threat to bridging course availability, not only at universities but by all providers. Polytechnics are also limited in funding and can only provide more places in preparation courses by eliminating places elsewhere. Threatened with further funding reductions if they overrun their target enrolment, TEI's make hard decisions about 'investing' the number of EFTS funded by TEC to best meet the new strategic funding priorities. At the 2010 Bridging Educators Conference, several Polytechnic participants reported their CEOs saying that current policy meant their only choice is to favour higher-level programs and reduce places in foundational courses.

Creating equity for refugee-background students

Refugee-background students are a resource. Not identifying those with potential and supporting them into and through university education is not cost-effective for the country as a whole. Currently, equity policies in education at both ministry and provider level fail to recognize the systemic disadvantage arising from the refugee experience. The omission of refugee-background students from the list of equity groups arises from two factors: the lack of recognition of the educational, cultural and socio-economic challenges they face, and the lack of incentives and funding support from MOE to meet these.

Policies of VUW and University of Auckland, both of which have clearly stated equity policies on their websites, illustrate this. At Auckland, the Undergraduate Targeted Admission Scheme applies to Māori, Pacific and Disabilities students, and a student equity team creates outreach events for Māori students, Pacific students and Women in Science and Engineering.[8] Victoria University identifies five equity groups for targeted actions: Māori students and staff; Pacific students and staff; students and staff members with disabilities; men, or women, in disciplines or professions in which they are under-represented; and students from socio-economically disadvantaged backgrounds. The principles guiding VUW equity policy could include refugees. 'These principles include respect and inclusiveness, ensuring fairness and making sure that barriers, overt or covert, which stand in the way of under-represented groups are eliminated wherever possible' (VUW 2010, p. 1).

MOE designation of refugee-background students as an equity group will provide both a mandate for universities to address the needs of refugee-background students and the support to do so. In recognition of the higher costs that can be associated with supporting equity students, TEC provides specific equity funding to assist in improving access and achievement for Māori and Pacific students and students

with disabilities (VUW 2009, pp. 9–10). The programmes already in place for Maori and Pasifika students may serve as models for refugee-background student support. The TES includes strategies for Pasifika students that would be equally applicable to students from refugee communities:

> Tertiary education providers and ITOs need to focus on how they can assist Pasifika students to progress to and achieve at higher levels of study. This will involve working with Pasifika community groups and improving pastoral and academic support, learning environments, and pathways into tertiary education (MOE 2010, p. 12).

Not providing equitable support for refugee-background students to undertake and complete degree programs impacts not only the individual students' educational progress but also their adjustment to New Zealand, their families, their communities, and ultimately the social fabric of New Zealand.

Several New Zealand ministries spend money on the resettlement and integration of quota refugees. Education is recognized by refugee resettlement planners as a critical basis for self-sufficiency, including employment and the ability to move out of government housing. Research done overseas suggests that grants for bridging programs contribute to refugee student success, not only at school but in the workforce. For example, a report from the United Kingdom on the likelihood of differences in the education and employment attainments between refugees who received educational grants and those who did not concludes that: '[f]rom the research results it is clear that refugees who received grants were both more likely to complete their courses successfully and more likely to find employment than those who did not receive grants' (Ilmolelian 2005, p. 40).

Current social research points to a feedback relationship between inequality, levels of trust in society and the functioning of civil society. Wilkinson and Pickett (2010, p. 56) have demonstrated links between inequality, especially income inequality, and lowered levels of trust in society, while Putnam (2000) has highlighted the importance of trust to cooperation in civic society. Trust based on the perception of equality is good for the health of the economy as well as that of society.

Conclusion

Giving everyone a fair go is a core New Zealand value. This is a key part of our identity and our image in the world. To achieve the aim of 'providing New Zealanders of all backgrounds with opportunities to gain world-class skills and knowledge' set out in the TES 2010–15 (MOE 2010, p. 6), it is not sufficient to lay the opportunities out on the table. It is also necessary to make sure everyone can reach the table.

In this paper, information has been provided about barriers that keep refugee-background students from taking their place at the university table, including their fears that they are unwanted or do not belong at that table. Recent changes to New Zealand's tertiary policies and practices are constricting or closing pathways into and through university education. The inclusion of refugee-background students among the groups given equity support is a fair and a cost-effective means to address the barriers they face. Because the numbers involved are comparatively very low, the real costs of giving them equity consideration and monitoring their outcomes can also be relatively low. The costs of not doing so are, on the other hand, relatively high.

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Notes

1. Bridging education, also referred to as transitional study, prepares students for tertiary education. In Australia similar programmes are called enabling programmes.
2. Permission to use limited data from working documents was given by National Refugee, Migrant and International Education Team.
3. A new refugee resettlement strategy being developed in 2011 aims to clarify lines of responsibility and accountability.
4. Although 'community' is a problematic term in regard to either the refugee-background population as a whole, or refugee-background communities defined by ethnicity or country of origin (O'Rourke 2010), I use it here because it is a term in use by government agencies (e.g., DOL 2009), and refugee groups themselves.
5. http://www.guardian.co.uk/news/datablog/2010/jun/15/refugee-statistics-unhcr accessed 15 September 2010.
6. http://www.unhcr.org.au/basicdef.shtml accessed 31 October 2010.
7. EFTS (equivalent full time students) are the basis of funding for tertiary courses; each enrolment in a class is counted as a specified fraction of 1 EFTS. These are currently strictly limited by TEC.
8. http://www.auckland.ac.nz/uoa/home/about/eo-equity-office/eo-information-for-students/eo-equal-educational-opportunities-office accessed 20 February 2011.

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