

Money can't buy you love but can it buy you a better education? Analysis of VCE Results 2015 and financial data

Executive summary:

It is often claimed as fact that private schools outperform public schools. New analysis of MySchool data and 2015 Victorian Certificate of Education year 12 results by Dr David Zyngier of Monash University Education Faculty shows that public schools with similar Index of Community Socio-Educational Advantage (ICSEA) rankings have very similar VCE results as private schools. However these public schools achieve these results with far less funding.

Dr Zyngier has analysed the VCE results "school ladder" by grouping both private and public schools into bands of 50 based on their VCE ranking and then comparing both their VCE results and school based data including funding.

The average ICSEA for all secondary schools in Victoria was 1027 (above the national average of 1000). 91% of private schools have an ICSEA over 1000 with only 32% of public schools are over 1000. This further confirms the Gonski Review finding that over 80% of disadvantaged students are attending public schools.

Top performing public schools (excluding select entry schools) actually outperform private schools with similar ICSEA rankings. The median VCE score of these public schools is actually slightly above the private schools. Public schools had 18% of VCE scores over 40 or more (out of 50) compared to 17% in these private schools.

The per cent of LOTE (Languages Other Than English) students in the top performing private schools is 13% compared to 49% in these public schools while the staff student ratio for the top performing private schools was 1:10 compared to 1:13 in public schools. The non-teaching staff student ratio was 1 to 22 in private school compared to 1 to 50 in public schools.

When it comes to funding, private schools in this category on average outspend public schools by almost \$9000 per student.

On average in top performing private school parents paid almost \$24000 per student (Korowa for example charged \$32000 in 2013 and \$40,000 in 2016) for year 12 while parents in public schools paid less than \$1300. The total government capital funding in both systems was almost the same. However total capital expenditure per student in private schools outstrips public schools by \$13,000 or three times

The same pattern of academic results, funding and expenditure is repeated for public and private schools in the lower achievement bands.

Band 1 (1-50 rank)

The average ICSEA for private schools in this band is 1158 while in public schools it is 1061. Given the very large discrepancy in both funding and resourcing in top performing private schools compared to public schools as well as the Socio-Educational Advantage of the

private schools the difference in median VCE scores of 4 marks indicates that there is little return (in academic results) on both private parent and public money invested.

Band 2 (51-100 rank)

The average ICSEA for private schools in this band is 1093 while in public schools it is 996. Given their socio-economic advantage the difference in median VCE scores of 1 mark only indicates that there is an extremely poor return (in academic results) on both private parent and public money invested where more than 50% of private schools actually receive double the amount of funds from government than they charge parents.

Band 3 (101-150 rank)

The average ICSEA for private schools in this band is 1044 while in public schools it is 978. Given their socio-economic advantage the difference in median VCE scores of 1 mark indicates that there is again an extremely poor return (in academic results) on both private parent and public money invested in private education.

Significantly 90% of these private schools received more money from government sources than from parent contributions, while 38% received more than 75% of their recurrent student funding from public sources. One has to question whether these private schools are actually public in all but name.

Band 4 (151-200 rank)

The average ICSEA for private schools in this band is 1018 while in public schools it is 962. The difference in median VCE scores of 4 marks between private and public schools reflects the wide socio-economic gap impacting on the results of students in public schools. 100% of these private schools received more money from government sources than from parent contributions, while 70% received more than 75% of their recurrent student funding from public sources.

Conclusion

When it comes to funding, private schools on average outspend public schools by almost \$4000 per student with almost 50% of private school funding coming from federal and state funds.

Significantly private school parents are paying on average over 15 times the amount paid by public school parents for year 12. Significantly the average total capital expenditure (government funding plus private sources) in private schools was \$14,058 per student in 2013 compared to only \$6,586 in public schools.

Spending more money on students and on school building, playing fields, rowing sheds, music centres and swimming pools seems to make no difference at all when students have similar social and economic status.

When all other things are held equal it seems the only factors here that are actually making the difference are the teachers and the students in public schools who defy expectations and labels

Introduction: Is Australia High Equity? Has Education Funding Increased?

A new [report](#) just published by the Department of Education in NSW has found “We aren't as equal as we think”. It concluded that the ability of Australians to move beyond the socioeconomic status of their family was almost as restricted as those in the US and the UK, which have some of the lowest rates of mobility in the Western world.

Other [research](#) shows that 1115 of the nearly 3000 private schools receive more income than the average public school through fees, donations and in particular government (public) funding and that these schools received a total of \$2.1 billion in Commonwealth funding in 2013. In Victoria public schools receive on average \$2000 less than the national average.

Federal politicians including the previous PM Abbott, his replacement Malcolm Turnbull, and former federal Minister for Education Christopher Pyne and current Minister Simon Birmingham repeatedly have stated that while the federal government is spending more on education than ever in the past it is not just about the money. A new [review](#) of research studies has found that money matters in education. It shows that there is strong evidence of a positive relationship between school funding and student achievement and that particular school resources that cost money have a positive influence on student results. As well, more equitable allocation of funds between schools increases equity in student outcomes.

The newly appointed secretary of the federal department of education Michele Bruniges, currently head of the NSW Department of Education, will become the nation's top education bureaucrat overseeing schools, higher education and childcare policy. She is on the [record](#) as saying:

"To those who say Australia has poured money into education with little to show for it, let me say the evidence is clear that levels of investment in this country have lagged behind other countries despite data showing that education produces tangible benefits for students and the economy ... [A]ctual Australian expenditure on education as a proportion of GDP has been substantially lower than the OECD average. More was spent on schooling in 2013 than 2000 because the inputs involved in education cost more and there were more students to educate. In real terms over this period, the tangible resources available to students grew by less than the overall economy."

Those who argue in favour of public funding for private schools claim that private schools are more efficient and academically outperform public schools. So what is the actual return on investment for parents when it comes to private schools. The conservative side of politics believes there is no equity problem to address in Australian education. The Liberal Party relies on conservative researchers' evidence denying any causal link between socioeconomic status and student academic outcomes.

The best-performing education systems are those that combine equity with quality. They give all children opportunities for a quality education.

The OECD [reports](#) that Australian “school funding has lacked transparency and coherence, and outcomes of numerous studies have shown the difficulty in determining how individual schools are funded. Expenditure on educational institutions as a percentage of GDP (for all educational levels combined) is below the OECD average, with a higher share from private sources than the OECD average”. Further OECD data indicates that we have a less equitable education system than the likes of Russia, Kazakhstan, Indonesia, Qatar and Mexico and that fifteen-year-olds from our poorest quarter of students are on average 2.5 years behind those from our richest quarter. The performance of our students from Tasmania and the Northern Territory falls into the Low Quality/Low Equity category.

The OECD [recommends](#) that to create a more equitable (and excellent) education system, countries need to provide adequate resources to address disadvantage, and to secure high-quality teaching in disadvantaged schools. These recommendations are backed by research showing that needs-based funding can close achievement gaps, and that the presence of able and committed teachers is the biggest predictor of students’ educational success.

The [future](#) of public education in Australia is at stake. Funding policies have for too long neglected the concept of need and foregrounded the principle of entitlement. This has led to increasing amounts of public money going to private schools, with a consequent expansion of that sector at the expense of public education.

Under current Coalition government policy, we have [continued to see](#) an increasingly privatised education system. Previous federal minister Christopher Pyne is on the [record](#) as stating that “we have a particular responsibility for non-government schooling that we don’t have for government schooling. The emotional commitment within the federal government is to continue to have a direct relationship with the non-government schools sector. I think the states and territories would prefer that as well.”

What data is available¹?

Based on the most recent financial and other demographic data available (2013) from the MySchool website and school rankings of all Victorian schools that offered VCE in 2015 from the Better Schools website (<http://bettereducation.com.au/results/vce.aspx>) politicians, education bureaucrats and particularly parents will be very surprised to learn that spending more money on a child's education is not necessarily a guarantee of better academic results, when that money is spent on already over funded private school education. In fact the opposite is closer to the truth. When comparing the results of 217 non-government schools (Catholic and Independent) to the 266 public schools that offered VCE in 2015 (excluding schools with fewer than 20 students taking VCE and TAFEs offering VCE units) the median VCE study score (out of a maximum of 50) for public schools was 27 out of 50 while that for non-government schools was 31 out of 50.

The following analysis begins with an overview comparing averages of major data from both school systems. I then present an analysis of “like” school results. This is followed by a detailed analysis of the performance of schools based on their VCE ranking 1-50; 51-100;

¹ Many thanks to my research assistant Carole Lanting who made this possible through her diligence in data collection.

101-150; and 151-200. The analysis concludes with commentary about what these data mean for the future of education.

Overall averages

The average Index of Community Socio-Educational Advantage (ICSEA)² for all secondary schools in Victoria was 1027 which is above the national average of 1000, while that of private schools' was 1075. 198 (91%) out of 217 private schools have an ICSEA of 1000 or more, with the highest being Scotch College in Hawthorn (1203) and the lowest Islamic College in East Preston (958). Government schools' average ICSEA was 948 with only 86 (32%) of 266 public schools having an ICSEA over 1000 with Mac.Robertson Girls' High (1176) a select entry school the highest and Robinvale P-12 College the lowest at 863. This further confirms the Gonski Review finding that over 80% of disadvantaged students are attending public schools.

The average per cent of LOTE students in all these schools is 24%, while private schools was 25% and public schools 23%.

The average number of VCE students in schools in both systems was 181, while average teacher to student ratio in private schools was 12 while that in public schools was 13. The average support staff to student ratio in private schools was 29 compared to 49 in public schools. The higher level of non-teaching staff in private schools is significant as these staff are able to more adequately support the work of teachers and students in areas such as supervision, yard duty, administration of results, and even things like making tea and coffee, photocopying, collating student reports and other administrative tasks done by classroom teachers in public schools.

When it comes to funding, private schools on average outspend public schools by almost \$4000 per student with the amount of money available (income from parent contributions, government transfers and donations) per student in 2013 of \$17,020 in private schools (of which \$8,321 was from federal and state funds) and \$13,176 in public schools (of which \$11,742 was from government sources).

Significantly private school parents are paying on average over 15 times the amount paid by public school parents in year 12 (\$11,534 compared to \$751). On average private schools receive \$3,490,610 in capital funding from government sources while public schools receive one-third more at \$4,482,937. Significantly however the average total capital expenditure (government funding plus private sources – mainly from school fees but also including investments and donations) in private schools was \$14,058 per student in 2013 compared to only \$6,586 in public schools.

1. Comparing VCE results of "Like" (similar ICSEA) schools

Excluding Melbourne, Mac.Robertson, Nossal, Suzanne Cory High Schools and John Monash Science School (select entry public schools) the 2015 results data shows that public schools

² ICSEA a measure that enables meaningful comparisons to be made across schools. It has been developed specifically for the My School website and measures key factors that correlate with educational outcomes where the average ICSEA is 1000

with similar ICSEA rankings have very similar VCE results as private schools with the same ICSEA rank but receive far less in funding. Schools such as Princes Hill Secondary College, Balwyn High School, University High School, and Box Hill High (ICSEA from 1143 to 1128) actually on average outperform private schools with similar ICSEAs (Caulfield Grammar School, Ivanhoe Girls' Grammar School, Eltham College, Woodleigh School, and Mentone Grammar) with public schools' median VCE score of 34 compared to 33 in private schools. Public schools had 18% of VCE scores over 40 or more (out of 50) compared to 17% in these private schools.

Staff student ratios in the above public schools are 1 to 15 compared to 1 to 10 in private schools. The number of LOTE students is 49% in public compared to 13% in similar private schools yet the students in the public schools still outperform their elite private school peers. Comparing the amount of money actually spent to achieve those results the gross recurrent income per student (2013) in private schools was double that of these public schools (\$21, 696 compared to \$11920). Total capital expenditure by these private schools was almost three times larger and amounted to \$27m while public schools spent \$10.8m.

Public schools with an average ICSEA of 1111 (McKinnon SC, Albert Park College, Camberwell High School, Melbourne Girls College,) had a median VCE score of 32 with 13% of students receiving scores of 40 or more. Similar private schools (Alphington Grammar School, The Hamilton and Alexandra College, St Paul's Anglican Grammar School, Our Lady of Sion College) averaged 31 as a median VCE score and 9% of students achieving 40 or more. In this ICSEA band public schools had a staff student ratio of 1:15 compared to 1:11 in private schools. The number of LOTE students is 41% in public compared to 35% in similar private schools. Comparing the amount of money actually spent to achieve those results the gross recurrent income per student (2013) in private schools was 50% more than public schools (\$15, 733) compared to \$ 11, 523). Total capital expenditure by these private schools was more than twice as large and amounted to \$10.3m while public schools spent \$4.8m.

The same pattern of academic results, funding and expenditure is repeated for public and private schools in lower ICSEA bands.

Summary

Spending more money on students and on school building, playing fields, rowing sheds, music centres and swimming pools seems to make no difference at all when students have similar social and economic status. In fact there is plenty of research that demonstrates that if the private school children were in public schools there would be no change in their academic results. It is the cultural and social and economic advantage of coming from well-educated and well financed parents that make all the difference to academic outcomes.

At the lower bands of ICSEA the same results are also found. Socio-economic status makes all the difference to academic results - public schools are able to outperform or equal similar private schools with fewer resources, larger classes and less support. When all other things are held equal it seems the only factors here that are actually making the difference are the teachers and the students in public schools who defy expectations and labels.

2. Comparing the top performing schools

Analysis

Comparing the results of the top 50 private and public schools shows that Median VCE Study Score was 35 in the private schools and 31 in the public schools. When one takes into consideration that the average Index of Community Socio-Educational Advantage for non-government schools was 1158 while that for public schools was just above the national average at 1061 these results are clear refutation that private schools outperform their public school peers even before socio economic advantage is taken into consideration. The per cent of LOTE (Languages Other Than English) students in the top performing private schools was 23% compared to 37% in public schools while the staff student ratio for these private schools was 1 to 10 compared to 1:13 in public schools. The non-teaching staff student ratio was 1 to 22 in private school compared to 1 to 50 in public schools.

How much was spent to get these results?

When it comes to funding, private schools in this category on average outspend public schools by almost \$9000 per student (or 58% more) with the amount of money available (income from parent contributions, government transfers and donations) per student in 2013 of \$21,500 in private schools (of which \$5,177 was from federal and state funds) and \$12,500 in public schools (of which \$10,500 was from government sources).

On average in 2013 private school parents paid almost \$24000 per student (Korowa for example charged \$32000 in 2013 and \$40,000 in 2016) for year 12 while parents in public schools paid less than \$1300. The total government capital funding 2009-2013 on average for these top performing schools in both systems was almost the same (\$3,637,573 private and \$3,866,441 in public schools). However when comparing total capital expenditure per student in 2013, private schools outspend public schools by \$13,000 or three times (\$18,702 was spent by private schools compared to \$5,053 in public schools).

Summary

Given the very large discrepancy in both funding and resourcing in these top performing private schools compared to public schools as well as the Socio-Educational Advantage of the private schools the difference in median VCE scores of 4 marks indicates that there is a very poor return (in academic results) on both private parent and public money invested in what is an overfunded private school system.

3. Comparing schools ranked 51-100 in VCE results

Analysis

Comparing the results of the next 50 private and public schools shows that Median VCE Study Score was 32 in the private schools only one mark above that achieved in public schools. When one takes into consideration that the average Index of Community Socio-Educational Advantage for non-government schools was 1093 while that for public schools was below the national average at 996 these results again are clear refutation that private schools outperform their public school peers even before socio economic advantage is taken into consideration. The per cent of LOTE (Languages Other Than English) students in the private and public schools was 23% while the staff student ratio for these private

schools was 1 to 12 compared to 1:13 in public schools. The non-teaching staff student ratio was 1 to 22 in private school compared to 1 to 48 in public schools.

How much was spent to get these results?

Private schools in this category on average outspend public schools by almost \$8000 per student (or 63% more) with the amount of money available (income from parent contributions, government transfers and donations) per student in 2013 of \$20,200 in private schools (of which \$7,862 was from federal and state funds) and \$ 12,762 in public schools (of which \$11,346 was from government sources).

On average in 2013 these private school parents paid for year 12 per student \$12,854 (Geelong Grammar was the most expensive and charged \$34,000 in 2013) while parents in public schools paid \$807.

However some of the private schools received extremely generous government (public) contributions. For example Sirius College, a non-denominational school in Broadmeadows with an ICSEA of 1024 received \$12,262 per student from government while parents only contributed less than \$3,500 in fees. This school also received almost \$7.2m in government capital grants (2009-13) and in 2013 alone spent \$ 21,589 per student on capital expenditure. Nunawading Christian School with an ICSEA of 1122 received \$21m in government capital grants (2009-13) while student fees were just under \$4,000 they received almost \$7,000 from government funds. Even Wesley College with an ICSEA of 1173 charging parents over \$25,000 in 2013 received almost \$4,000 per student from government funding and \$3.5m in capital funding (2009-13).

The total government capital funding (2009-2013) on average for these second ranked private schools was \$3.2m compared to \$4.7m in public schools which is to be expected. However when comparing total capital expenditure per student in 2013 there is a difference of \$7,000 or more than double (private schools \$13,681 compared to \$ 5,954 in public schools).

Summary

Given the very large discrepancy in both funding and resourcing in these second ranked private schools compared to public schools as well as the Socio-Educational Advantage of the private schools the difference in median VCE scores of 1 mark only indicates that there is an extremely poor return (in academic results) on both private parent and public money invested in what is an incredibly generous and overfunded private school system where more than 50% of private schools actually receive double the amount of funds from government than they charge parents one has to actually ask are these private schools or public?

4. Comparing schools ranked 101-150 in VCE results

Analysis

Comparing the results of the next 50 private and public schools shows that median VCE Study Score was 30 in the private schools only one mark above that achieved in public

schools. When one takes into consideration that the average Index of Community Socio-Educational Advantage for non-government schools was 1044 while that for public schools was below the national average at 996 these results again are clear refutation that private schools outperform their public school peers even before socio economic advantage is taken into consideration. The per cent of LOTE (Languages Other Than English) students in the private was 26% and 29% in public schools. The staff student ratio for private schools was 1 to 12 compared to 1:13 in public schools. The non-teaching staff student ratio was 1 to 31 in private school compared to 1 to 41 in public schools.

How much was spent to get these results?

In 2013 private schools in this category on average outspend public schools by less than \$2000 per student (\$14,186 in private compared to \$12,880 in public schools as income from parent contributions, government transfers and donations). The amount of money from federal and state funds in private schools was \$9,258 while public schools received more at \$11,666 from government sources.

On average in 2013 these private school parents paid \$7,763 for year 12 per student (St Margaret's School Berwick Grammar Campus was the most expensive and charged \$25,000 in 2013) while still receiving \$6,650 from public funds per student and over \$21m in capital funding from government 2009-13. The lowest year 12 fees was at Killester College in Springvale where parents paid only \$2,345 but each student received over \$12,000 from governments. Illim College, an Islamic school in Broadmeadows with an ICSEA of 992 received \$ 13,275 in government funding while their parents only contributed just over \$4,000 per student in year 12. Parents in public schools contributed only \$596 per student.

However some of the private schools received extremely generous government (public) contributions. For example Marymede Catholic College in South Morang, with an ICSEA of 1031, had a capital expenditure of \$30m and received almost \$9.4m in government capital grants 2009-13) and in 2013 alone spent \$18,000 per student on capital expenditure. Sirius College - Keysborough Campus, with an ICSEA of 1024 received \$7.2m in government capital grants (2009-13) while student fees were under \$3,500 they received over \$12,000 from government funds.

The total government capital funding (2009-2013) on average for these third ranked private schools was \$ 3.8m compared to \$3.5m in public schools. However when comparing total capital expenditure per student in 2013 there is a difference of \$6,665 or more than double (private schools \$11,992 compared to \$ 5,327 in public schools).

Summary

Given the very large discrepancy in both funding and resourcing in these third ranked private schools compared to public schools as well as the Socio-Educational Advantage of the private schools the difference in median VCE scores of 1 mark only indicates that there is an extremely poor return (in academic results) on both private parent and public money invested in what is an incredibly generous and overfunded private school system.

Significantly 90% of these private schools received more money from government sources than from parent contributions, while 38% received more than 75% of their recurrent student funding from public sources. One has to question whether these private schools are actually public in all but name.

5. Comparing schools ranked 151-200 in VCE results

Analysis

Comparing the results of the next 50 private and public schools shows that median VCE Study Score was 29 in the private schools and 26 in public schools. When one takes into consideration that the average Index of Community Socio-Educational Advantage for non-government schools was 1018 while that for public schools was well below the national average at 962 these results again are clear refutation that private schools outperform their public school peers even before socio economic advantage is taken into consideration. The staff student ratios was 1:13 in both systems. The non-teaching staff student ratio was 1 to 31 in private school compared to 1 to 37 in public schools.

How much was spent to get these results?

In 2013 private and public schools in this category on average spend similar amounts per student (\$13,303 in private compared to \$13,243 in public schools as income from parent contributions, government transfers and donations). The amount of money from federal and state funds in private schools was \$10,473 while public schools received slightly more at \$11,936 from government sources.

On average in 2013 these private school parents paid \$ 4,915 for year 12 per student (Hillcrest Christian College in Clyde North was the most expensive and charged \$ \$8,820 in 2013) while still receiving \$ 8,085 from public funds per student and over \$9.5m in capital funding from government 2009-13. The lowest year 12 fees was at Marian College in Ararat with an ICSEA of 1007 where parents paid only \$2,345 but each student received over \$12,000 from governments. Bayview College in Portland with an ICSEA of 1038 spent \$15,177 per student and received \$ 10,473 in government funding while their parents only contributed \$ \$6,980 per student in year 12. Parents in public schools contributed only \$668 per student.

However some of the private schools received extremely generous government (public) contributions. For example Sacred Heart College in Yarrowonga, with an ICSEA of 1007, received \$ 13,143 per student from government funds while parents contributed just \$3,538 per student. Emmanuel College in Altona North with an ICSEA of 1037 received the most government capital funding (2009-13) of \$10.6m and \$ 8241 per student from government but only \$4820 from parents in year 12.

The total government capital funding (2009-2013) on average for these fourth ranked private schools was \$3.7m compared to \$4.5m in public schools. However when comparing total capital expenditure the private schools more than doubled the expenditure of the public schools \$10,816,396 to \$ 4,943,116. . However when comparing total capital expenditure per student in 2013 there is a difference of \$4,545 (private schools \$11,728 compared to \$7,183 in public schools).

Among the public schools Sunshine College (ICSEA 921) received the most government funds per student of \$16,707 while Rowville Secondary College (ICSEA 1008) received the least government funding (\$9,316) per student.

Summary

Given the very large discrepancy in both funding and resourcing in these fourth ranked private schools compared to public schools as well as the Socio-Educational Advantage of the private schools the difference in median VCE scores of 4 marks indicates that there is an extremely poor return (in academic results) on both private parent and public money invested in what is an incredibly generous and overfunded private school system.

Significantly 100% of these private schools received more money from government sources than from parent contributions, while 70% received more than 75% of their recurrent student funding from public sources. One again has to question whether these private schools are actually public in all but name.

The future of education in Australia

Educational failure imposes high costs on society. Poorly educated people limit economies' capacity to produce, grow and innovate. School failure damages social cohesion and mobility, and imposes additional costs on public budgets to deal with the consequences – higher spending on public health and social support and greater criminality, among others.

For all these reasons, improving equity in education and reducing school failure should be a high priority in all OECD education policy agendas.

Federal Education Minister Simon Birmingham recently [repeated](#) the furphy that state and federal spending on schools grew by more than 100% in real terms between 1987-88 and 2011-12. This clever accounting includes the massive boost to school building programs that was part of the Labor government's response to the world fiscal meltdown.

The [National Reports on Schooling](#) in Australia show that government spending per student in Australia was A\$8,115 in 1999-2000 (\$11,731 in 2012) and \$13,544 in 2008-09 (\$14,637 in 2012). That is a real increase of only 24.7%. Over the same period government expenditure on education as a percentage of total government expenditure in Australia actually fell from 14.2% to 12.9%.

According to World Bank [figures](#), Australia's spend on education as a proportion of GDP, around 5%, has [remained largely constant](#) over that time (2000- 2013).

While Commonwealth funding for non-government schools rose from around \$3.50 for each dollar spent on public schools to around \$5 between 1997 and 2007, in the past decade government funding to independent schools has increased by [112%](#).

According to the OECD definition Australia has three types of public education – fully funded by the public (government schools), majority funded by the public (low fee private and systemic Catholic schools) and minority funded by the public (elite private schools that include some high fee Catholic schools).

In fact, Canberra now gives more money to private schools than it does to universities – more than \$36 billion in federal funds went to non-government schools in the period 2009-2013. Recent [research](#) predicts that most Catholic schools will soon receive more public money per student than public schools.

Federal government funding for high-fee private schools is today six to ten times greater than the additional funding provided to disadvantaged schools.