2

New to school
Supporting secondary school students who move schools during the school year

Barbara Mackay

Abstract

School mobility is a widespread problem in the student population of New Zealand secondary schools. It is an ongoing concern for schools, teachers, families, communities, and for students themselves. This article explores the reasons for the movement of secondary school students who change schools frequently. An understanding of the factors influencing this mobility is vital for school counsellors and others involved in pastoral care, because of the potentially related difficulties that may develop. Students may have varied and complex needs and the professionals involved will be better equipped and more responsive if they have this knowledge and understanding. Working with the pastoral care network, teaching staff, and the wider school community, school counsellors can have a further role in advocating for these students.

Keywords: Secondary school students, school mobility, pastoral care, school guidance counsellors

Secondary school students live their lives within complex arrangements of relationships between home, school, church, cultural, sporting, and community groups. Moving school is an individual or family response to changes in any of these contexts or relationships. Frequent movement, prompted by residential and/or family changes, further disrupts relationships. This kind of upheaval, combined with the developmental changes and challenges of adolescence, means that the potential vulnerability of students who have changed schools is high. Public debate on this issue tends to focus on the socioeconomic circumstances, lifestyles, and

parenting practices of families, and mobility is often described as the problem of poor families and poverty. Affected adolescents tend to be referred to as being at risk and causing difficulties for schools and teachers.

This article explores the reasons for the movement of secondary school students who change schools frequently. However, the literature cannot tell us of the lived experiences that adolescents face when they leave a known situation for the unknown. Unfortunately, there is little current research about secondary school students and transience in the New Zealand context to further inform discussion.

Defining and naming the issue

The Ministry of Education (2016) defines students as transient if they move school twice or more within the school year. However, Gilbert and Bull (2005) suggested that transience occurs if students move three or more times in two years, or if they move schools at non-standard times. This transience and residential mobility is a perennial concern for schools (Child Poverty Action Group, 2014).

In New Zealand schools, such young people are commonly called "transient," "itinerant," "nomadic," "peripatetic," and/or "boomerang." The terms used by schools to describe the effect of pupils moving in and out of school also include "turbulent," "problematic," and "disruptive" (Lee, 2003). Such language can unfortunately define attitudes towards these students and stigmatise them.

The number of students who move frequently

The Ministry of Education (2016) publishes the official data tables for New Zealand schools. In the period 2009–2014, for each year, nearly 5,000 students moved school, 3,000 changed schools twice, and 20 students did so five times or more. In the most extreme situations, students have moved ten or more schools in a year. Gilbert (2005) identified several students who had been enrolled in 14 or 15 different schools throughout their secondary years.

A significant element in the rates of school movement for primary schools is their decile rating: 30% in Decile 1 schools compared to 5% in Decile 10 schools. Figures for secondary students show that they move at half the rate of primary school students (Gilbert, 2005). The Ministry of Education (2016) has confirmed that for secondary school students, the highest rate of movement is for 13- and 14-year-olds.

Why students move schools frequently

Most pupil mobility is generated by residential movement linked to personal, social, economic, or political circumstances rather than school factors (Dobson & Pooley, 2004). The circumstances are likely to be extreme or unavoidable, involving family relocation, family breakup, or changes to housing. Families may move for positive reasons such as educational or employment opportunities or extended family obligations and support, or for negative reasons such as family violence or breakup, loss of affordable housing or overcrowding (Gilbert, 2005). However, it is important to explore these reasons more fully.

Is it because of poverty?

Children and adolescents from low-income backgrounds are at a disadvantage, faced with many difficulties and adverse circumstances, and schools in low-income areas are more likely to have higher rates of movement among their students. Therefore, poverty, as a factor in school mobility, was explored by Gilbert and Bull (2005) and more recently by the Child Poverty Action Group (2014). Both sets of researchers found there was a high correlation but not a causal relationship with frequent school changes. While there is general agreement that students in low-decile schools have the highest mobility rates, it is important to remember that despite different characteristics such as decile rating, size, type, and region, all schools have students who move around (Child Poverty Action Group, 2014; Hodgen & Wylie, 2002).

In addition, any assumption that poverty and low academic success are inevitably joined has been challenged by Muller and McKenna (2016). Gibb, Fergusson, and Horwood (2012) also found that there was no causal link between poverty and student transience in New Zealand.

While income measures are commonly thought of as definitive, Salmond, Crampton, King, and Waldegrave (2006) showed that these do not describe the different living conditions experienced by low-income families and households. "Some poor families are more asset-rich than others, some have better networks and community supports, some have high-status work connections, and some have existed successfully on a low income for longer than others" (Salmond et al., 2006, p. 1474).

International studies have also failed to establish poverty as a causal factor. The effects of poverty are multiple, cumulative, and play out in different ways. It is

important not to oversimplify complex processes (Johnson, 2002).

Is it about housing?

Housing is a difficulty for many families. House prices and rents are high, home ownership rates are low, and there is significant shortfall in the number of new houses being built. The number of houses that are available for low-cost rental has decreased, and rents have risen at a faster rate than wages (Hickey, 2016). The cost of houses nationally is continuing to rise at a rate of 7.3% (Gibson, 2018). These factors impact on many people, but most severely on those who are on a fixed income or low wages (Johnson, 2012). Severe housing deprivation is defined by Amore (2016) as "severely inadequate housing due to a lack of access to minimally adequate housing." It is estimated that more than 30,000 New Zealanders are severely housing-deprived (Statistics New Zealand, 2015a).

The lack of affordable houses is identified as a significant factor in mobility and transience in New Zealand (Child Poverty Action Group, 2014). As McLeod (2014) noted, "Children in low-decile schools are likely to be living in rental accommodation so they face insecure tenure" (p. 2), consequently they are more likely to move frequently. Morrison and Waldegrave (2002) studied urban residential mobility in Wellington and confirmed the relationship between the rent hierarchy and relocation. Families with children are less likely to be wanted by landlords; families living in poverty are more likely to live in rented accommodation of lower quality and less stability of tenure (Boston & Chapple, 2015). Families who are on the waiting list for accommodation exist in a state of transition and tension. Sustaining their community links and relationships, including schools for the children, is problematic for them when they have little involvement in decisions about where the housing will be (Espiner & Ferguson, 2015).

The lack of affordable and emergency housing has resulted in overcrowding and homelessness (New Zealand Council of Social Services, 2016; Salvation Army, 2015). Homelessness, as defined by Statistics New Zealand (2015b), includes living in a dwelling that has no tenure or has a short and non-extending tenure. "Families are sleeping in overcrowded houses, garages or cars, and the situations of most concern are the ones that involve children and young people" (Espiner & Ferguson, 2015). Amore (2016) found that more than half of the homeless people in New Zealand are families with children. Homelessness, substandard housing, and overcrowded houses all pose a serious risk to the physical, social,

and emotional wellbeing of students and their families. There is a flow-on effect on both school attendance and school connectedness for students. Associated with this is the lack of resources such as uniforms, stationery, and electronic devices needed for school work (Binning, 2010).

Recent changes to the Social Housing Reform Act have allowed tenancies to be periodic as well as fixed term. Current advice from the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment (2018) through their Tenancy Services is that fixed-term rental agreements have security of tenure, but periodic tenancies do not. Landlords can issue 90-day eviction notices without giving a reason to the tenant, and can also issue 45-day notices if they need the property for themselves or family members. Families who are subjected to a 90-day eviction have little time to make arrangements for school children and adolescents. Increased volatility in the private rental market has developed as well. Discussing the implications of this uncertain tenure, Howden-Chapman (2015) noted:

> *The current policy of increased tenure insecurity leads to increasing residential and school transience among very low-income families with children. Children do best when they can stay at one school, building strong relationships, rather than being forced to move because of insecure tenancy. (p. 90)*

Is it about family?

Another reason for students to move is when women and children leave their house or family home after experiencing emotional, physical, and/or sexual violence. The standard of living of these women and children who leave violent relationships drops significantly (Fanslow & Robinson, 2010). This can make finding another house difficult. If family and friends cannot support the family by offering accommodation, the alternatives are refuges and emergency housing (Women's Refuge website). These alternatives are temporary and often involve more changes of housing or schools for the children and adolescents in the family. The organisational sequelae to family changes have been identified as less stability and increased residential and school mobility (Fonby & Sennott, 2013). Adolescents who are living in unstable or insecure homes can face challenging and risky situations and there can be detrimental consequences for both school behaviour and school attachment (Fonby & Sennott, 2013).

Because of family violence, Oranga Tamariki, the child protection agency, may

remove children and young people from the family. An article in the *Weekend Herald* on April 2, 2016 detailed a young woman's experience of being shifted to different foster homes and schools when she was in the care of Oranga Tamariki. She described the fear of "never knowing if you were going home after school or if the social worker's car was waiting for you. Another home, another school."

Other aspects

In New Zealand, there is a regional aspect to the student mobility discussion: employment was more likely to be a main reason given by principals in provincial areas; housing in Auckland, Tauranga, and Nelson regions; and family issues in the West Coast, Taranaki, Northland, and Gisborne regions (Hodgen & Wylie, 2002). Rural communities tend to experience irregular changes in school rolls due to days such as moving day (when share-milkers move farms) and days when the children in a family help out on the farm. But with recent changes to larger corporate farms and fewer share-milkers comes a growing concern about the permanent effects on rural schools and students. When students move around with their families in increasing numbers, the rural classrooms empty (Trebilcock, 2016).

Finding a place to live is one of the indicators of settlement for refugees and new settlers. It is common for families to move several times once they arrive in the country (Department of Labour, 2004). Research has found that after three years, many families had lived at more than three addresses and several had lived at five or more. For the school-aged children of immigrant families this has meant multiple changes of school (Department of Labour, 2004).

Interestingly, the international literature also reports communities that move as a matter of choice and/or cultural priorities. These communities develop their own schooling systems, based on particular models of education which they apply wherever they go. Such groups include families from the United States armed forces, circus or travelling show people, and Travellers people in Europe (Henderson, 2007).

Positive reasons why students move schools frequently

In some New Zealand communities, high rates of school mobility are not necessarily connected with high rates of residential movement (Bull & Gilbert, 2007). Many of the highly mobile students in Bull and Gilbert's study were moving in and out of the same schools or other schools in the same general area.

This reflects a finding of Morrison and Waldegrave (2002), that most people move only short distances, reflecting income bands, and it was also evident in a small quantitative study I undertook recently (Mackay, 2017). For some of the students I talked with, it was a change of residence that was the reason for moving school; they moved when the family were either forced to shift, or were offered better housing. But for others, the change was only of school; neither housing nor family changed. This meant they had existing links within their community of friends, family, and church. These students said that settling into the new environment was easier when there was congruence with previous school settings (Mackay, 2017).

Students exerting personal agency can also be an influential factor when shifting schools. The outcome will depend on the reasons for moving and what involvement the student has had in the decision-making process (Child Poverty Action Group, 2014). Black (2006) has suggested that the reasons students consider for moving schools are either reactive or strategic responses. Some decisions involve moving to a "better" school, or to one that is closer, or to one that offers different subject choices; alternatively, they may involve moving away from bullying and social difficulties. Or, in the situation of one 14-year-old girl who moved from one part of her extended family to another and also changed schools, she was choosing a "better life" (Mackay, 2017).

What change means

Within the ecological context of Bronfenbrenner's (1996) model, individuals are said to develop a sense of place, and that supports wellbeing and belonging. Fullilove (1996) described this as the psychology of space. There are three psychological processes involved:

1. Place attachment, which is the interaction with the place;
2. Familiarity, which is the development of detailed cognitive knowledge of the place;
3. Place identity, which is the development of a sense of self in relation to the place.

Familiar landmarks, neighbourhoods, schools, and houses hold meaning and continuity (Fullilove, 1996). Turangawaewae is a related concept that is significant for Mäori and is increasingly understood by others in the New Zealand community. Turangawaewae can be translated as "a place to stand" and brings meaning to places of connection and empowerment (Durie, Hoskins, & Jones, 2012). Sudden

or continual changes within the family environment may cause displacement. When an adolescent or child experiences such geographic displacement, there is likely to be a consequent loss of their sense of belonging, thus contributing to feelings of grief.

How schools manage transient students

School culture

Schools are culturally and individually unique, as well as differing between primary and secondary levels and between state and integrated status (Stoll, 1998). School culture is reflected in the organisational arrangements, the ways in which staff and students work together, and how the teaching/learning relationship works. How students relate to each other and how wellbeing is fostered in the school are important too. Understanding the culture of a school is important for students who have already attended several other schools. Kenny, Walsh-Blair, Blustein, Bempechat, and Seltzer (2010) noted that students felt an increased sense of belonging when they perceived a school as a safe place, both physically and emotionally. If the school culture is not hospitable, enabling students to experience a sense of belonging, their achievement will suffer (MacNeil, Prater, & Busch, 2009).

Black (2006) found that transient students in America took beween four and six months to develop school engagement. This period was also a time of increased vulnerability for truancy, absenteeism, and dropping out, and was an indication of poor attachment to the new school. In New Zealand, Bonell (2015) looked at the social spaces in our secondary schools. While some social spaces were accessible and safe, he found those spaces that were "unowned" became hotspots for aggressive behaviour. Students who are new to a school need to be given this informal or "insider" information as well as the more standard or formal information about the location of places such as the cafeteria, the deans' offices, and the Guidance Department.

In their *Youth '07* report, Denny, Robinson, Milfont, and Grant (2009) discussed social climate factors in secondary schools. They found that the size of school was significant for students who moved frequently. While a larger student body means a wider range of opportunities, it can also mean a more complicated school environment to negotiate for a student who is new. A smaller school may

offer a more easily understood organisation, whereas in moving to a significantly larger school, students can feel lost. Students from smaller schools were more likely than students from larger schools to report feeling part of their school in the *Youth '07* study.

Role of the teacher

Gilbert and Bull (2005) looked at how schools managed the arrival of mobile students. An increase in administrative tasks was associated with late starts to the school year. This could complicate classroom teachers' ability to plan and implement effective programmes. For teachers, integrating new students into the classroom also meant that the social dynamics of the class needed to be managed as well as establishing the learning needs of the new students. It is perhaps not surprising that students who move school during the year rather than at the beginning are more likely to be regarded negatively by teachers in the receiving school (Temple & Reynolds, 1999). The effect is to reduce the stability and predictability of the teacher/student relationship.

McLeod (2014) interviewed teachers at primary schools where large numbers of students were moving during the year. They found that there was a financial burden involved in supporting the children, related to the provision and loss of stationery, textbooks, and library books. The teachers also talked about extra time involved in introducing the student and family to the school and getting them into classroom programmes. Overall, teachers and schools are perceived as most adversely affected when student movement is high (Bull & Gilbert, 2007).

It is concerning to note that Denny et al. (2009) found that teachers in low-decile schools in New Zealand had poorer perceptions of their students, including transient students. Sciara (2012) assessed the role of student teachers working in disadvantaged schools with high transience. In his study, Sciara noted that the majority of student teachers came from middle-class orientations, and there was little in their own personal experience which prepared them for negotiating the issues of teaching disadvantaged children. There was concern with stereotypical thinking and low expectations (Sciara, 2012), the effects of which seemed exacerbated with transient students.

As a balance to this, Alcorn and Thrupp (2012) explored the impact of effective teaching in New Zealand primary school contexts. The teachers and principals

interviewed in this study all said that they tried to address diversity among their students and believed they could make a difference to student achievement. Teachers who are strategically supportive can ease transitions by negotiating social issues such as developing friendships and providing protection from bullying (Lee, 2003). It would be interesting to see what similar research with secondary school teachers might find.

Denny et al. (2009) suggested that when schools take a wider contextual view and tease out the diversity of students' experiences, there is more likelihood of improved academic outcomes. The effect of mobility on students can be lessened when schools adjust their expectations (Lee, 2003). Teachers and students can work together to achieve well beyond the level expected on the basis of economic factors. In doing so, they can challenge the suggestion that there is direct causation between poverty and negative academic performance.

Family involvement

Bull and Gilbert (2007) found that partnerships between families, communities, and schools are highly valued by the schools. They look for congruence and support from home over concerns such as lateness, attendance, and disruptive behaviour (Alcorn & Thrupp, 2012). However, Kenny et al. (2010) and Gilbert and Bull (2005) identified a statistically significant difference in mobile families' involvement and engagement with school. Bull and Gilbert (2007) found that relationships with the families of students who moved frequently not only took longer to establish but were also more difficult to maintain than those with families that maintained a stable place of residence.

The timing

The timing of students' arrival at a school can be significant (Grigg, 2012). If it was during the academic year rather than at the beginning, there would be lower achievement growth. Grigg (2012) costed this loss as approximately 6% of expected annual achievement growth or ten days of instruction.

Academic achievement

New Zealand researchers (Bull & Gilbert, 2007; Gilbert & Bull, 2005) looked at the educational achievement of students who move schools. Predictably, they found strong connections between low mobility and high scores in reading, writing,

and mathematics. There was also a strong connection between high mobility and lower scores in mathematics and some social skills. However, such differences are not predictive of the academic attainment of students. The Child Poverty Action Group (2014) has noted that there are many reasons for poor educational outcomes other than transience, and as Gilbert and Bull (2005) observed, "It is very difficult to disentangle the effect of frequent movement from the large number of other factors associated with low income that could influence educational attainment" (p. 25).

Students

Kenny et al. (2010) found few differences when they compared mobile and stable students on criteria such as their sense of belonging to school, and their feelings about their teachers, schoolwork, and school. In Denny et al.'s (2009) research, students from low-decile schools were more likely to report feeling part of their school and more likely to report that people at school cared about them than were students from higher decile schools. However, students who moved from well- to less well-resourced schools feared that their academic efforts would not pay off, and that their futures would be affected.

Peer relationships

Research by Brown (2012) underlined the key role of friendship in settling into the school community. Friendships can have several positive effects. These relationships provide an emotional resource in which a friend shares worries and concerns, allow inclusion in activities, and may give protection from bullying. The formation of friendships during the early period of school transitions was found to support motivation and adjustment. However, if new students are targeted by bullying and exclusion when they arrive at a school, their distress may be considerable. Their responses will vary, depending on past experiences.

Isolation from peers will limit an adolescent's capacity to develop the social skills needed to build friendships and establish social networks. Brown (2012) suggested that for new students, lunchtime and breaks can be particularly difficult if they have no one with whom they can sit and interact. She also found that, compared with a group of non-mobile children, new friendships made by transient students were likely to be unstable and short-lasting. As a student in another study said, "At my first school I had friends, but it was harder in my next schools

and now I just don't try. I sit by myself and just get on" (Mackay, 2017). The experiences of mobile children increase the complexity and challenges involved in the making and sustaining of friendships. The effort, skills, and dispositions needed by transient students to make stable friendships are seldom acknowledged. As Ngatai said, "Students who move frequently may become quiet and develop a mind-set that means they don't want to make friends or engage in clubs or sports for fear they will move again" (Espiner & Ferguson, 2016).

Activities

While spending time with friends is one of the main reasons adolescents participate in organised activities, friends and friendship groups are also a reason for staying with an activity (Simpkins, Vest, Delgado, & Price, 2012). Furthermore, adolescents who participate in school-based extracurricular activities have higher rates of adjustment than adolescents who do not participate (Simpkins et al., 2012). Participation in non-academic activities such as music, art, drama, sports, and cultural groups increases the likelihood of relationships with peers and adult role models and is closely involved in making and sustaining friendships.

The important role of pastoral care

The vulnerable students who are at the heart of this discussion need to be supported by the width and breadth of the guidance network in the school. These students are seldom a comfortable fit in their new school and they may lack an understanding of the norms, values, and customs of the school. In 1997, the Education Review Office (ERO) suggested that "schools that were effective at meeting the needs of transient students were found to have an overall approach made up of well-developed systems, positive relationships and a responsive school culture" (p. 16). Therefore all the professional staff in a school who share responsibility for guidance in complementary ways, albeit with different skills, will need to be involved in the wellbeing of these students (Ministry of Education, 2017).

In this work, school counsellors should take the lead. In developing positive relationships with the students and in recognising the effects of multiple changes on their lives, they can give the students support that is both individual and personal. By listening to the stories that shape the students' lives, they can recognise and affirm their emotional needs and strengths. They are also able to liaise with staff across the school and, if need be, liaise with family/whānau and/or a previous

school, and access resources both within and outside the school, to address each student's needs.

There is some urgency to this, as the literature suggests it can take most students four to six months to settle (Black, 2006). Casey, Getz, and Galvin (2008) found that when adolescents experience stress and trauma such as multiple changes, there are associated structural and functional changes in the prefrontal cortex of the brain. From this, they noted that affected adolescents appear to be predisposed to engage in risk-taking behaviours at a significantly higher level than other adolescents.

To add to this complexity, there is, for each student, a question about whether it is the shifting that is problematic, or other factors associated with the shift. For example, approximately 20% of New Zealand adolescents experience changes to the structure of their family (Gulliver & Fanslow, 2016). The impact of this stress, as well as hormonal changes, peer pressure, and the complexity of a new school environment, affects the development of each adolescent differently (Fonby & Sennott, 2013). Some students will be grieving and dealing with feelings of loss and the meaning and implications of the changes in their lives. If they are left to assimilate themselves into the school, drawing on their own resources entirely and without effective support, there will be variable results.

The ability of a school counsellor to respond may depend on the identification of the student/s. New students may be unsure of the social acceptability of seeing someone for guidance and counselling (Education Review Office, 2013). However, support can come from classroom teachers, deans, or peers, by noticing a student who may be quiet or withdrawn and communicating to them that support is appropriate and available. The ability of a counsellor to focus on the needs of transient students and respond may also depend on workload. In practical terms, it may seem very difficult, if not impossible, when the workload that is placed on counselling staff is too great and when there is a lack of resources dedicated to the provision of guidance and counselling within a school (Education Review Office, 2013).

Conclusion

There has been little research about students who have moved schools frequently or at irregular times during the school year. However, these students are present in all secondary schools, whether they are identified or not. Given the knowledge the

literature provides, it seems essential for pastoral care teams to consider a system of recording and notifying key staff when such a young person is new to the school. It is possible that a programme to support these students could be implemented in every school, and a further article will address in detail the development of such a programme.

References

Alcorn, N., & Thrupp, M. (2012). Uncovering meanings: The discourses of New Zealand secondary teachers in context. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, *47*(1), 107-121.

Amore, K. (2016). Severe housing deprivation in Aotearoa /New Zealand: 2001-2013. *He Kainga Oranga /Housing & Health Research Programme.* Wellington, NZ: University of Otago.

Binning, E. (2010, May 18). Transient students struggle to catch up. *New Zealand Herald.*

Black, S. (2006). Stabilizing schools with kids on the move. *The Education Digest*, *72*(3), 46-51.

Bonell, C. (2015, January 24). How schools influence young people's health: Evidence from systematic reviews. *Starship Wednesday Paediatrics Update.*

Boston, J., & Chapple, S. (2015). *The child poverty debate: Myths, misconceptions and misunderstandings.* Wellington, NZ: Bridget Williams Books.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1996). *The ecology of human development by nature and design.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Brown, C. (2012). Exploring how social capital works for children who have experienced school turbulence: What is the role of friendship and trust for children in poverty? *International Studies in Sociology of Education, 22*(3), 213-236 doi:org.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/10.1080/09620214.2012.737688

Bull, A., & Gilbert, J. (2007). *Student movement and schools: What are the issues?* Unpublished report prepared for the Centre for Research, Evaluation and Social Assessment. Retrieved from www.nzcer.org.nz

Casey, B., Getz, S., & Galvin, A. (2008). The adolescent brain. *Developmental Review, 28*(1), 62-77. doi: 10.1016/j.dr.2007.08.003

Child Poverty Action Group (2014). *The revolving door: Student mobility in Auckland schools.* Retrieved from http://www.cpag.org.nz/assets/publications/transcience.pdf

Denny, S., Robinson, E., Milfont, T., & Grant, S. (2009). *Youth '07: The social climate of secondary schools in New Zealand*. Auckland, NZ: University of Auckland.

Department of Labour. (2004). *Migrants' experiences of New Zealand. Pilot survey report.* Wellington, NZ: Author.

Dobson, J., & Pooley, E. (2004). *Mobility, equality and diversity: A study of pupil mobility in the secondary school system*. London, UK: UCL, Migration Research Unit.

Durie, M., Hoskins, Te K., & Jones, A. (2012). Interview: Kaupapa Māori: Shifting the social. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies, 47*(2), 21-29.

Education Review Office. (1997). *Students at risk: Barriers to learning*. Wellington, NZ: New Zealand Government. (Available online at www.ero.govt.nz)

Education Review Office. (2013). *Improving guidance and counselling for students in secondary schools.* Wellington, NZ: New Zealand Government. (Available online at www.ero.govt.nz)

Espiner, G., & Ferguson, S. (2015, November 24). Emergency housing numbers double [Radio broadcast]. *Morning Report*. Radio NZ.

Espiner, G., & Ferguson, S. (2016, July 13). Increasing student transience disrupts learning [Radio broadcast]. *Morning Report.* Radio NZ.

Fanslow, J., & Robinson, E. (2010). Help-seeking behaviors and reasons for help seeking reported by a representative sample of women victims of intimate partner violence in New Zealand. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 25*(5), 929-951.

Fonby, P., & Sennott, C. (2013). Family structure instability and mobility: The consequence for adolescents' behaviour. *Social Science Research, 42*(1), 186-201. doi: 10.1016/j.ssresearch.2012.08.016

Fullilove, M. T. (1996). Psychiatric implications of displacement: Contributions from the psychology of space. *American Journal of Psychiatry, 153*(12), 1516-1523. doi: 10.1176/ajp.153.12.1516

Gibb, S. J., Fergusson, D. M., & Horwood, L. J. (2012). Childhood family income and life outcomes in adulthood: Findings from a 30-year longitudinal study in New Zealand. *Social Science & Medicine, 74*(12), 1979-1986. doi: 10.1016/j.socscimed.2012.02.028

Gibson, A. (2018, June 17). Auckland house prices drop 2.2 percent as market cools. *New Zealand Herald*.

Gilbert, J. (2005). *Educational issues for communities affected by transience and residential mobility: Report on Phase 1 (2003-2004)*. Wellington, NZ: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

Gilbert, J., & Bull, A. (2005). *Educational implications for communities affected by transience and residential movement.* Wellington, NZ: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

Grigg, J. (2012). School enrolment changes and student achievement growth: A case study in educational disruption and continuity. *Sociology of Education, 85*(4), 387-401.

Gulliver, P., & Fanslow, J. (2016). *Understanding research on risk and protective factors for intimate partner violence.* Auckland, NZ: New Zealand Family Violence Clearinghouse, University of Auckland.

Henderson, R. (2007). Educational issues for children of itinerant seasonal farm workers: A case study in an Australian context. *International School of Inclusive Education, 8*(3), 293-310.

Hickey, B. (2016, August 13-19). Auckland's halo effect. *New Zealand Listener.*

Hodgen, E., & Wylie, C. (2002). *NZPF2001 Transience survey: NCER analysis check.* Wellington, NZ: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

Howden-Chapman, P. (2015). *Home truths: Confronting New Zealand's housing crisis.* Wellington, NZ: Bridget Williams Books.

Johnson, A. (2002). *A study of student transience in South Auckland primary schools.* Auckland, NZ: Child Poverty Action Group.

Johnson, A. (2012). *Adding it all up: The political economy of Auckland's housing.* Salvation Army Social Policy and Parliamentary Unit. https://books.google.com/books/about/Adding_It_All_Up.html?id=2PzWMgEACAAJ

Kenny, M., Walsh-Blair, L., Blustein, D., Bempechat, J., & Seltzer, J. (2010). Achievement motivation among urban adolescents: Work hope, autonomy support, and achievement-related beliefs. *Journal of Vocational Behaviour, 77*, 205-212.

Lee, A. (2003). *Transience: Students' perspectives.* Unpublished master's thesis, University of Auckland.

Mackay, B. (2017). *"It's so hard being new again": Exploring the experiences of secondary school students who have changed schools frequently: How the use of photography can elicit meaningful talk.* Unpublished master's research portfolio, University of Auckland.

McLeod, E. (2014, April 28). The terrible toll of transience. *Education Aotearoa*, 2-8.

MacNeil, A., Prater, D., & Busch, S. (2009). The effect of school culture and climate. *International Journal of Leadership in Education, 12*(1), 73–84.

Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment (2018). *Tenancy Services*. https://www.tenancy.govt.nz/.../key-rights-and-responsibilities

Ministry of Education. (2016). *Education counts*. Retrieved from https://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/indicators/main/…

Ministry of Education. (2017). *Te Pakiaka Tangata: Strengthening student wellbeing for success*. Retrieved from www.education.govt.nz/school/student-support/student-

wellbeing/guidelines-for-the-provision-of-pastoral-care-guidance-and counselling-in-secondary school/

Morrison, P., & Waldegrave, C. (2002). Welfare reform and the intra-regional migration of beneficiaries in New Zealand. *Geoforum, 33*(1), 85-103.

Muller, J. W., & McKenna, M. C. (2016). *World literacy: How countries rank and why it matters*. New York, NY: Routledge.

New Zealand Council of Social Services. (2016, June). *The vulnerability report, 22*, 1-20.

Salmond, C., Crampton, P., King, P., & Waldegrave, C. (2006). NZiDep: A New Zealand index of socioeconomic deprivation for individuals. *Social Science & Medicine, 62*(6), 1474–1485. doi: 10.1016/j.socscimed.2005.08.008

Salvation Army Social Policy & Parliamentary Unit. (2015). *Every child's right to housing*.| www.salvationarmy.org.nz/socialpolicy

Sciara, F. (2012). Student teaching in disadvantaged areas: Some special considerations. *Supervisors Quarterly, 4*(2), 7-10.

Simpkins, S. D., Vest, A. E., Delgado, M. Y., & Price, C. D. (2012). Do school friends participate in similar extracurricular activities? Examining the moderating role of race/ethnicity and age. *Journal of Leisure Research, 44*(3), 332-352.

Statistics New Zealand. (2015a). *Perceptions of housing quality in 2014/15*. ISBN 978-0-908350-02-5 (online). http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/people_and_communities/housing.aspx

Statistics New Zealand. (2015b). *New Zealand definition of homelessness: 2015 update.* ISBN 978-0-908350-07-0 (online). Retrieved from www.stats.govt.nz.

Stoll, L. (1998, Autumn). School culture. *School Improvement Network's Bulletin,* 9-14.

Temple, J., & Reynolds, A. (1999). School mobility and achievement: Longitudinal findings from an urban cohort. *Journal of School Psychology, 37*(4), 355–377.

Trebilcock, K. (2016, February 9). *Supporting Gypsy Day students.* AgriHQ. https://agrihq.co.nz/#

Women's Refuge New Zealand. https://womensrefuge.org.nz