Chapter 5. Organisational arrangements in England, Scotland and Wales: how the systems work

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A framework of analysis – political eras and the education state

A description of organisational arrangements for education and training in any particular country provides an important but partial picture. What it cannot show is how policy is formulated and enacted. This chapter attempts to illustrate the dynamics of governance arrangements in the different countries of the UK. We suggest that the relationships between various actors and agencies and the interplay between different levels of the system can be analysed through the concept of the ‘education state’. This allows us to explore how organisational and policy relationships are configured, who exercises power and the scope for action by education professionals. We also argue that different national ‘versions’ of the education state can best be understood as part of a wider historical framework.

According to Hodgson and Spours (2006), the education state can be seen to comprise a range of national, regional and local structures, institutions and key groups or individuals. These include centres of political power (e.g. the Number 10 Policy Unit in England), Parliaments or Assemblies, government departments, regulatory and quality assurance agencies, quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisations (quangos), including funding bodies, regional and local government and public and private education providers. The concept of the education state goes beyond purely governmental institutions to capture the significant role of a set of major players within the contested landscape of education policy (Ball, 1990; Ozga,
2000). Key social partners and education pressure groups, such as professional associations, teacher unions and think tanks, as well as the education media and influential individuals, all of whom exercise different degrees of political power and influence at different points in the policy process, can play a major role within this expanded concept of the education state.

The balance and relationship between all of these components differ in the four countries of the UK. In England and Northern Ireland, for example, there is a greater role for quangos, whereas in Wales local government has retained greater influence and in Scotland the college sector continues to enjoy a prominent position. Each of the three country accounts below will provide examples of different approaches to the organisation of the education state and in the final part of the chapter we will draw out the implications for the way in which education and training policy-making is conducted and shapes the respective systems. While Northern Ireland did not feature as a specific national case in the research seminars, its current approach to policy-making is noted in the final section of this chapter.

It is important to set current models of the education state in each of the countries of the UK within an historical perspective. This allows us to see what was already happening prior to parliamentary devolution, what has taken place since and how these affect the dynamics of education and training policy in the UK. We use the concept of ‘political eras’ (Hodgson and Spours, 2006), because this locates education policy and structures within a wider historical, socio-economic and political analysis. The term political eras describes a period of politics and policy-making framed by three major factors - underlying societal shifts and historical trends which influence the ‘shape’ of the education and training system; the dominant political ideology of the time, which affects the parameters for reform; and national and
international education debates which either support or contest the dominant ideology.

Throughout the seminar series that gave rise to this book, policy-makers, researchers and practitioners repeatedly asserted that governance arrangements in England had changed significantly over the past three decades, while in Scotland and Wales they had not. This assertion rests on an analysis that suggests that England has experienced a long political era of neo-liberal reform, beginning in the early 1980s under the Conservatives and arguably continuing in an adapted form under New Labour. Neo-liberalism and its associated reforms, it was claimed, did not take root in the other two countries to the same extent. As a result, the shape and dynamics of the education state changed more dramatically in England than in Wales or Scotland. The three case studies outlined below provide accounts to illustrate the degree to which this assertion holds true.

As we saw in Chapter 1, education policy in England was increasingly centralised and politicised from the early 1980s (Raffe and Spours, 2007). Powers were remorselessly concentrated in the hands of ministers and the Prime Minister, who used arms-length agencies (e.g. the Learning and Skills Council) and a variety of powerful policy levers (e.g. funding, inspection, targets and performance tables) to influence the behaviour of education institutions. At the same time, individual education providers were given greater autonomy from local government via college incorporation (UK Parliament, 1992) and local management of schools (UK Parliament, 1988). Policy centralisation was accompanied by privatisation and marketisation (Ball, 2007) as private providers (e.g. Tribal) took on roles that would previously have been undertaken by higher education institutions, Her Majesty’s Inspectorate and local authority advisory services. At the same time schools, colleges and independent learning providers were encouraged to compete for
learners. Local authorities, education professionals and teacher unions were marginalised in the policy process, particularly at the point of policy formulation (Coffield et al. 2008). Scotland and Wales, on the other hand, while affected by this political era of neo-liberalism prior to devolution, were able to retain a more traditional social democratic approach to policy-making with a greater role for local partners and education professionals (Raffe, 2007). It could be argued that this position has remained or even increased over the last 10 years, going some way to explaining key differences between the ‘education state’ and how it operates in each of the three countries.

The remainder of this chapter contains four sections. The first three describe the organisational arrangements in England, Scotland and Wales respectively, raising issues about the nature and role of the state, the main policy players, the impact of patterns of participation in education and training and the relationship between national, regional and local governance and institutional configurations. Each account highlights implications for the conduct of policy and its effects on learners, educational professionals and wider stakeholders, such as employers. Reflections on these three accounts (also making brief reference to Northern Ireland) will form the basis of the final section. Here we reflect on the differing approaches to the education state, the extent to which these have led to greater divergence between the constituent parts of the UK in the provision of post-compulsory education and lifelong learning, and the competing pressures for convergence or divergence in the current political and economic climate.
Organisational arrangements in England

Stuart Gardner

Introduction

This account describes the organisation of post-compulsory education and training in England at government level and the intermediaries between government and local authorities or learning providers. It covers a period of significant investment in education and training, both for young people (aged 16-19) and adults (aged 19+), during which participation in learning by young people reached the highest levels ever and there was a major shift in the focus of state support for adult learning.

Current structural and organisational arrangements

The organisation of the post-compulsory education and training system in England in the period 1997 to 2010 saw numerous changes at government level. The Labour Party was in government throughout that period, until the general election of May 2010, which resulted in a Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition Government.

In 1997 all post-16 education and training policy fell under the Department for Education and Employment (DfEE); this covered all learning in schools, further education and sixth form colleges, higher education institutions, local authority adult education and private training providers.
In 2001 the employment functions were transferred to a newly created Department for Work and Pensions (DWP), with the DfEE becoming the Department for Education and Skills (DfES). In 2007 the DfES was split into two new departments; the Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF), which was responsible for education and training up to the age of 19, and the Department for Innovation, Universities and Skills (DIUS), with responsibility for education and training post-19. In 2009, DIUS was renamed the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills (BIS), taking on additional responsibilities, and in 2010, following the change in government, DCSF was renamed the Department for Education (DfE).

Whilst the responsibility for policy was at departmental level, the planning and funding of education was delivered through intermediaries. In 1997, the planning and funding of post-16 education (other than higher education) was the responsibility of the Further Education Funding Council (FEFC), a non-departmental public body; whilst training came under the aegis of some 72 Training and Enterprise Councils (TECs) across England, all of which were established as private companies, usually limited by guarantee.

In 2001, the functions of the FEFC and the TECs were merged into a new non-departmental public body, the Learning and Skills Council (LSC), and in 2010, the LSC was abolished and three new bodies established: the Young People’s Learning Agency (YPLA), a non-departmental public body; the Skills Funding Agency (SFA), an executive agency within BIS; and the National Apprenticeship Service (NAS), a service within the SFA.

The inspection regime has been subject to less change over the period from 1997, but has not been entirely immune. Throughout that period, school sixth forms have been inspected by Ofsted, a non-ministerial government department. Private training
providers were inspected by the Training Standards Council (TSC) and colleges, including sixth form colleges and local authority adult education services, were inspected by the FEFC. In 2001, the FEFC’s responsibilities for the inspection of education up to the age of 19 transferred to Ofsted, and its responsibilities for the inspection of training for those over the age of 16 and for adult education moved to the newly formed Adult Learning Inspectorate (ALI), which also took over the TSC’s responsibilities. For most further education colleges, this meant that inspections were undertaken jointly by Ofsted and ALI, until 2007, when the latter was abolished and its responsibilities transferred to Ofsted, which thus became responsible for the inspection of all education and training in England.

For 16-18 year olds, the DfE Secretary of State publishes an annual grant letter setting out the funding available and key priorities for that funding. The YPLA allocates funding on behalf of the Secretary of State for young people in school sixth forms and academies, sixth form colleges, general further education colleges, independent training providers and for young offender institutions. For adult provision, the BIS Secretary of State publishes annually a skills investment strategy, setting out the funding available and the planned numbers of learners across a range of programmes. The SFA works with colleges, training providers and employers to agree allocations to each of those providers and, on behalf of the DfE, works with local authorities on 16-19 Apprenticeships. The SFA also has responsibilities for performance management of the providers it funds. The NAS works directly with employers to ensure that sufficient Apprenticeship places are available (see Figure 5.1).

(Figure 5.1 about here)
The providers

State-funded post-compulsory education and training is delivered by a wide variety of providers, but primarily by further education colleges (including sixth form colleges and a range of specialist colleges such as land-based), schools, private training organisations (including charitable organisations and for-profit businesses), employers and local authorities (for adult education). The pattern of provision varies widely across the country, with some areas having sixth forms in all their schools, other having sixth form colleges and general further education colleges, and others having tertiary colleges, which provide all learning post-16 for the area. In most areas, however, the picture is more mixed, with some schools having sixth forms in areas with sixth form colleges. Between them, in 2008-09, these providers delivered education and training to over 4.8 million learners, of whom just under 1.5 million were aged 16-19.

The learners were spread between those different providers broadly as indicated in Table 5.1.

(TABLE 5.1 ABOUT HERE)

In addition, some 120,000 learners, distributed throughout the system, were on provision supported by the European Social Fund (LSC, 2008).

The figures above relate only to those young people and adults whose learning was supported by state funding. Whilst detailed numbers are not known, a significant number of adult learners fund their own learning on provision, which either does not lead to a qualification or where the qualification is not eligible for funding. Finally, around 200,000 overseas students (i.e. from outside the European Economic Area)
enter the UK annually for study purposes, studying higher education, further education and at language schools (Hansard, 2009).

Participation rates in education and training by young people aged 16 and 17 showed little change in the period 1997 to 2005, at around 84 per cent of the cohort: by 2009 the rate had risen to 92 per cent (DCSF, 2008). Other than around six per cent of the cohort who were in independent schools, those learners were fully funded by the state. Underneath the headline figures, the proportion of those in part-time learning fell from 8.3 per cent in 1997 to 4.5 per cent in 2008, although that figure is expected to rise as more young people in employment undertake part-time learning as the age of compulsory participation is raised.

**Key debates**

**The organisation of learning providers**

The wide variety of ways in which post-16 learning providers are organised in different local authorities in England reflects an apparent reluctance on the part of the national government to become involved in planning at local level.

The FEFC was, as its name implies, a funding council, whose primary function was to fund the strategic plans of further education colleges. The remit letter to the LSC from the Secretary of State, stated that: ‘For the first time, the planning and funding of all post-compulsory learning below higher education will be integrated’ (DfEE, 2000), and one of its first actions was to begin strategic area reviews of provision, to identify gaps and overlaps and, by implication, to take action to fill the gaps and
remove duplication of provision. One of the early outcomes of those reviews was a proposal in late 2003 by the LSC to close school sixth forms in Carlisle and to replace them with a sixth form college. That proposal led to a storm of protest and an adjournment debate in the House of Commons, and was subsequently withdrawn. Shortly afterwards, the DfES announced that there should be a ‘strong presumption’ that successful and popular specialist schools should be allowed to develop new sixth forms. The LSC’s planning role seemed to be over as far as schools were concerned. Strategic area reviews also covered provision for young people in further education colleges and with training providers. Structural changes to those providers are always less contentious than for schools, but even so any changes were relatively minor and responded to demand from the providers, with no strong national steer from Ministers.

One major change has been the introduction from 2002 of Academies, state-funded but independent schools, with the programme introduced primarily to replace under-performing secondary schools, mainly in deprived areas. By 2010, there were over 200 Academies, with ministers at the time expressing an aspiration for that number to rise to 400, which would be over 10 per cent of all secondary schools in England. The first Act introduced by the Coalition Government in May 2010 sought to expand the programme greatly, to include high-performing secondary schools, as well as primary and special schools, with the Secretary of State, Michael Gove, stating that he expected most schools to become Academies.

**The curriculum for young people**

In terms of the curriculum for young people, recent years have seen a continuation of a debate, which has been going on for over a century – the place of vocational
education and training in the curriculum. A major review of the curriculum for 14-19 year olds, chaired by Mike (now Sir Mike) Tomlinson, recommended that the existing framework of qualifications for young people should be replaced by a single framework of Diplomas, with qualifications such as the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) and the General Certificate of Education Advanced level (GCE A level) examinations being withdrawn. These Diplomas would all involve a significant element of applied learning and the recommendations envisaged that they should, ultimately, incorporate Apprenticeships (Working Group for 14-19 Reform, 2004). The government did not accept the Tomlinson recommendations in full, but instead introduced a set of Diplomas alongside GCSEs and GCE A levels and other existing qualifications for 14-19 year olds.

In December 2008, the Secretary of State for Children, Schools and Families established the Joint Advisory Committee for Qualifications Approval (JACQA), to be jointly chaired by the LSC and the Qualifications and Curriculum Development Agency, with a remit to keep under review the funding eligibility of qualifications. The aim was that, by 2013, the qualifications offer for 14-19 year olds should be based on four learning routes of Apprenticeships, Diplomas, Foundation Learning and general qualifications (GCSEs and GCE A levels). For a qualification to be eligible for public funding all that was required was that the awarding organisation should meet certain criteria, and so should the qualification itself. In its first report, setting the baseline, JACQA found that over 300 awarding organisations offered between them over 18,000 qualifications that were eligible for funding for 14-19 year olds, of which some 12,500 qualifications had no 14-19 year old enrolments and a further 3,500 had less than 100 (LSC, 2010). JACQA recommended that by August 2012 public funding should be withdrawn from such qualifications.
Funding provision for adults

Before 2001, funding for adult education and training was split between local authorities (for adult and community learning), TECs (for work-based learning) and FEFC (for provision in colleges). Data on student numbers, even where they were collected, were not collated centrally.

These three strands were brought together in 2001 with the creation of the LSC. At that time there was an expectation that, for adult learners, either they or their employer would contribute 25 per cent of the cost of their learning, except for those on a range of benefits and for basic skills learners. From 2003, and in particular with the publication of the Leitch Report on Skills (Leitch, 2006), government policy on adult education came to focus on improving the skills of the adult workforce. Fee remission was extended to cover adults studying for their first full Level 2 qualification (at the equivalent of five GCSE grades A*-C) and those aged 19-25 studying for their first full Level 3 qualification (at the equivalent of two GCE A Levels), and at the same time the assumed fee level was increased incrementally towards a figure of 50 per cent from 2010-11. The combined effect of those changes saw an estimated fall in the numbers of adults on programmes for personal and community development learning, which was often not qualification based, from 840,000 in 2003-04 to 585,000 on 2010-11 (House of Commons, 2009).

In 2007, the LSC introduced new funding models which split the funding for adult learning into three distinct elements (LSC, 2007). Personal and community development learning was re-named ‘adult safeguarded learning’, which reflected a commitment to maintain the funding level, although without any increase to reflect inflation this meant that learner numbers would continue to fall. The remaining budget was split between ‘adult responsive’ (responding to demand from adults for personal
development programmes) and ‘employer responsive’ (responding to demand from employers), with an investment strategy for the period 2008-09 to 2010-11 which would see the numbers of learners on adult responsive learning fall from 1.45 million to 1.12 million whilst those on employer responsive learning would rise from 1.43 million to 1.72 million (BIS, 2009).

**Future direction of policy**

History suggests that there will be further significant changes in organisational structures at government and intermediary level, but little at local authority or institutional level. The new departmental arrangements have not had time to demonstrate whether they are working effectively, but there are tensions in a system in which many further education colleges receive the majority of their funding from the YPLA, while the performance management of those colleges is the responsibility of the SFA.

The JACQA work on reviewing existing qualifications for young people and the national rollout of Diplomas are both taking place in the context of ensuring that suitable qualifications are available to enable all young people to remain in learning until at least age 18. The main uncertainties in this area are around the level of take-up of Diplomas (and of their acceptance by employers and higher education) and how young people in employment will undertake the required part-time learning.

For adults the general direction of policy seems set to continue, with increasing government emphasis on skills for the workforce. It is likely that this will be
accompanied by a growing expectation of a greater contribution from employers to the learning of their workforce.

Organisational Arrangements in Scotland

Jim Gallacher

The policy context

It has been noted in Chapter 3 that there have been two significant phases of policy development in lifelong learning in Scotland in recent years.

The first phase occurred after the UK election of a New Labour Government in 1997, and the establishment of the Scottish Parliament in 1999. Under these devolutionary arrangements the funding and national governance structures increasingly began to diverge from those found in England. An important characteristic of the policy framework in Scotland has been the extent to which lifelong learning continued to be a key aspect of the policy agenda, while in England it was increasingly being replaced by a growing emphasis on skills. Associated with this emphasis on lifelong learning, there has been a strong stress on collaboration. These approaches are designed to facilitate the development of a more seamless tertiary education system, in which there will be more opportunities for learners to move between different parts, thus widening the range of learning opportunities available.

A second policy phase can be recognised as having been introduced when a minority Scottish National Party (SNP) Government was elected in 2007. This government
has placed greater emphasis on skills, associated with its political agenda of establishing sustainable economic growth, which would underpin an independent Scotland. There has also been a continued recognition of the importance of the wider aspects of lifelong learning, which is now seen as something stretching from 'cradle to grave'. The focus is no longer just on post-compulsory education.

**The organisational context**

The policy context outlined above, with its emphasis on lifelong learning and collaboration as central pillars, has supported the emergence of a number of organisations and initiatives, which have helped shape the landscape.

Firstly, the establishment of a joint funding council for further and higher education can be noted as a development of considerable significance. The Scottish Further Education Funding Council (SFEFC) had been established in 1999, to sit alongside the Scottish Higher Education Funding Council (SHEFC), with the responsibility for funding and supporting the work of the Scottish colleges. However in 2005, following a recommendation from the Scottish Parliament's Inquiry into Lifelong Learning (Scottish Parliament, 2002), the Scottish Funding Council for Further and Higher Education (SFC) was established. The legislation to create the new council made clear that an important objective was to develop a more cohesive and effective system of tertiary education in Scotland. It has put in place a national framework for the governance of the college sector in Scotland, which is now quite different from that which exists in England and in many other parts of the world. Different funding methodologies operate for the colleges and the higher education institutions (HEI), but an important feature of the Scottish system is that all funding for both further and
higher education level courses goes directly to the colleges. This differs from the more complex system in England, which often involves indirect funding. Associated with this, English colleges have been subject to greater fluctuation and insecurity in their funding (Parry, 2009). These arrangements have enabled Scottish colleges to develop as a robust and confident sector, which provides a wide range of lifelong learning opportunities from adult basic education to degree level.

A second and more recent collaborative development has been the establishment of Skills Development Scotland (SDS) in 2008. This can be seen as an expression of the interest of the SNP Government in pursuing its agenda for the establishment of a sustainable economic base for Scotland. This body was created by bringing together the national training programmes funded by Scottish Enterprise and Highlands and Islands Enterprise, Careers Scotland and the Scottish University for Industry. It now has responsibility for a wide range of skills development related activities. These include Modern Apprenticeships, information advice and guidance, literacy and numeracy campaigns, and financial support for part-time learners through Individual Learning Accounts (ILAs). Its budget for 2010-11 is £198.2 million. The provision of an all-age information, advice and guidance service, and of financial support through ILAs is important feature of the Scottish system, although these initiatives predated the establishment of SDS.

A third organisation, which has been of major significance in shaping the provision of post-compulsory education and lifelong learning, is the Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA). This was established in 1998 through the merger of the Scottish Examinations Board, which was responsible for the schools based qualifications (Highers and Standard Grades), and the Scottish Vocational Education Council, which had responsibility for college-based and work-based qualifications (National Certificates, Higher National Certificates and Diplomas (HNC/Ds), and Scottish
Vocational Qualifications (SVQs)). A further distinctive aspect of the Scottish system of post-compulsory education and lifelong is, therefore, that it now has one body which is responsible for developing, validating and awarding all qualifications, both ‘vocational’ and ‘academic’, other than those conferred by the universities.

The fourth organisation, which has been important in attempting to create a more coordinated system of education and training, has been the Scottish Credit and Qualifications Framework (SCQF), established in 2001 with co-operation from stakeholder bodies. As a result of their involvement, all the main qualifications in Scotland have now been credit rated and included in the SCQF. A considerable volume of work has also been undertaken to include systems for the recognition of prior learning within the framework. The aim has been to create a more flexible lifelong learning system and to ensure that people find it easier to gain credit for any learning they have undertaken and move from one part of the education and lifelong learning system to another.

A fifth organisation influencing developments in both the school and college sectors is Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Education (HMIE). The role of HMIE as the main agency for quality assurance in both the school and college sectors has been maintained in Scotland, although it became an independent executive agency in 2001. This can be seen as another example of the more evolutionary change in Scotland when compared with other parts of the UK. The Inspectorate is not only responsible for quality assurance in schools and colleges, but also has an important role in the development of educational policy and practice in both sectors.

These five organisations can, therefore, be seen as creating the national framework within which post-compulsory education and lifelong learning is being provided within Scotland. All these organisations are in some sense new, in that they have been
created since 1997 and, with the exception of SQA, have been established post-devolution. However, they can also be seen to represent an evolutionary process of change, which builds on earlier developments and organisations, and in which the encouragement of collaboration to create a more integrated system has been an important element.

**The providers**

The main providers of post-compulsory education and lifelong learning, apart from the HEIs, are Scotland’s Colleges. These are now known by this name rather than as further education (FE) colleges, reflecting the fact they all provide a significant amount of higher education (HE) level work, which averages around 10 per cent. They presently number 43 and will receive £690 million in funding from the SFC in 2010-11. Many of these colleges can be seen as ‘community colleges’ in that they provide a wide range of courses for the communities they serve. One indication of this role is the age range covered; just under half of all students (49%) are aged 25 or over, while a third are in the 16-24 age group (SFC, 2010a).

There are also a number of more specialist colleges, including land-based and city-centre colleges, such as the Glasgow College of Nautical Studies, although these specialist focuses will also be combined with more general provision. Unlike in England, there are no sixth form colleges and while many institutions will provide opportunities for students to study for SQA Highers (the main school leaving qualification), the extent of this provision is limited (around 2% of all students). However, a schools/college initiative was established by the Scottish Executive in 2005 to encourage co-operation between schools and colleges, and provide
additional learning opportunities for school aged pupils (Scottish Executive, 2005). Associated with this, 19 per cent of college students are under the age of 16.

Table 5.2 provides an overview of participation in Scottish Colleges over the past ten years.

(TABLE 5.2 ABOUT HERE)

It can be noted that the overwhelming majority of students (around 90%) are on FE level courses and these numbers have continued to increase over the past 10 years. However, only 10 per cent of these students are full-time, compared with the 54 per cent of HE level students, so the contribution of FE level students to full-time equivalent student numbers in colleges is much lower. Given that we have suggested that many of these colleges can be seen as ‘community colleges’, it is not surprising that the FE level courses cover a very wide range of provision. This includes courses offering the first steps towards returning to education and ones which provide opportunities to progress to higher level study. Colleges also have a significant role in the provision of S/NVQs, which are work-based qualifications. A growth of SVQs at Level 3 has been associated with the increase in Modern Apprenticeships over this period. Apprentices registered on these programmes rose from around 10,000 in 2000-01 to over 26,000 in 2008-09 (SDS, 2010). However, while S/NVQs are an important part of the vocational provision at FE level in the colleges, they accounted for just 6.4 per cent of all students in 2008-09. It can also be noted that a fairly large proportion of students (41%) are on courses which do not lead to any recognised qualification, although almost all of these students are part-time. In a number of cases these courses will be developed in co-operation with local authority community learning and development staff and will be provided in community settings.
Table 5.2 also shows that in 2008-09, 10 per cent of students were on HE level courses. However, as a result of the relatively high numbers of full-time students in this group, HE level courses are a much more significant aspect of college provision than these headline figures might suggest. HE provision in the Scottish colleges differs from England and other parts of the UK in significant ways. In the first place, with 21 per cent of all undergraduate level students in Scotland studying in the colleges, they account for a relatively high proportion of HE level students overall (Scottish Government, 2010). Secondly, almost all of this provision has been for qualifications developed and validated under the auspices of SQA. In 2008-09, students on SQA HNC/Ds accounted for 82 per cent of those on HE courses, while those on degrees accounted for only about one per cent (SFC, 2010b). Franchising or other forms of partnerships with the universities have not been a feature of this growth of HE in the college sector and Foundation Degrees have not been developed as a policy initiative in Scotland. However, the figures also show that there has been a significant decline in the numbers of HE level students in the colleges over the past 10 years.

While the colleges are the main providers of post-compulsory education and lifelong learning, there is another significant group of training providers, which operate mainly in the private sector, although they also include employers in both the public and private sectors. It is difficult to obtain accurate, systematic and up-to-date data about these providers. Osborne and Turner (2002) have offered an analysis of the role of private training providers (PTPs) in Scotland based on data provided by SQA and City and Guilds for the period 1996-97 to 1998-99. From this they identified around 300 PTPs and around 19,000 students who were registered with them. By 2008-09 there were over 25,000 students registered for SVQs awarded by SQA with a range of training providers, employers and others, and a further 12,000 registered for VQs awarded by other agencies. This gave a total of just over 37,000 candidates for VQs
registered with organisations other than colleges, a figure considerably in excess of the 32,500 registered in the colleges. The role of these training providers within the vocational education and training sector in Scotland is therefore of considerable importance.

**Key issues and challenges**

As has been indicated above, Scotland has seen a process of evolutionary change in which successive political administrations have encouraged greater collaboration between agencies to create a more coherent system of lifelong learning, with an increasing emphasis on skills utilisation in the period since 2007. However, questions remain regarding the impact of these policies and these help define some of the issues and challenges for the future.

The first set of questions relates to the arrangements for the funding, governance and planning of post-compulsory education and lifelong learning in Scotland. We have noted above that the SFC was established in 2005 with a responsibility for the funding of all further and higher education in Scotland, and a remit to ensure that a more coherent system of tertiary education is developed. We have also noted that SDS has been established more recently with a remit to develop the skills agenda in a more effective way. Part of this remit is to fund the Modern Apprenticeship programme in Scotland, and many of these apprentices attend college as part of their training. At present there is a joint skills committee for SFC and SDS, but an important question for the future will be how these two national organisations can work together to ensure that post-compulsory education and lifelong learning is provided most effectively and an appropriate skills strategy is implemented. This will
have implications for identifying the skills needed in a changing economic context and the training needed to provide these skills, requiring all organisations to work even more collaboratively.

The contribution of the SCQF to the facilitation of change and collaboration that can open up new opportunities for learners will also remain a challenging issue. While Scotland is now recognised as an international leader in having established such a comprehensive national credit and qualifications framework, it is not yet clear whether it is having the desired impact in creating more flexibility in the system. It has been suggested that it must be complemented by other policies, which motivate people to use the potential which the framework provides (Raffe et al., 2008).

The third set of issues relate to curriculum, programmes and qualifications. The Curriculum for Excellence (CfE) is a major review of the curriculum for young people age 3-18. This is designed to develop skills for learning, life and work. While this has its origins in school-based education, it is recognised that the senior phase of the CfE will have significant impact on colleges as well as on schools and the national qualifications framework which provides most of the FE level qualifications in the colleges is being reviewed as part of this process.

With respect to HE level qualifications, we have noted above the continuing importance of HNC/Ds. However issues also exist here regarding the current role of these qualifications and the possible need for change. While some continue to be used primarily as vocational qualifications, a number are now used as transitional qualifications to enable progression to bachelors degrees (Ingram et al., 2009). This has been associated with a change in the balance of HNC/Ds away from HNCs, which were predominantly part-time and aimed at people who were often in employment and wished to improve their qualifications, to HNDs which are mainly
full-time and attract higher numbers of younger students who often use these qualifications as routes into further study (Gallacher, 2009). Comparative research has also shown that, as a result of national policy initiatives, work-based learning has a more significant role in foundation degrees in England than in many HNC/Ds in Scotland (Gallacher et al., 2009). There is also evidence of the growth in corporate qualifications, such as those provided by Cisco and Microsoft. While a major review and modernisation programme for HNs has been undertaken in recent years, it would appear that further work is required to ensure that these qualifications are well suited to meet that range of roles which they now have. This may involve enhancing the vocational aspects of some, and in particular considering how they can better meet the needs of part-time, work-based students. In other cases it may be to recognise that they are essentially transitional qualifications and to consider how the linkages between these programmes, and the bachelors degrees to which they give access, can be enhanced.

The fourth set of issues relates to the provision of financial support for people enrolled on these programmes and particularly for part-time students. There is a complex system of bursaries, loans and fee-waivers for full-time students, but most of these do not apply to part-time students. As we have indicated above, some progress has been made in this area with the re-introduction of ILAs. However, questions regarding the ways and extent to which support should be provided for part-time learners, and whether the idea of an entitlement could be introduced, still exist. In particular, issues regarding the role of employers in supporting the training of their employees, and the dangers of deadweight if additional public funding is provided are important. These will need to be addressed if equitable opportunities for access to education and training are to be available to part-time learners.
While the questions identified above are ones which create important challenges for the development of post-compulsory education and lifelong learning in Scotland, they will now have to be addressed in the context of the severe spending cuts which will be imposed following the spending review in the autumn of 2010. It is clear that the Scottish Government and the SFC will be seeking new and innovative ways of providing education and training to ensure that more can be done with less. This imperative is likely to encourage the search for more radical solutions to some of these challenges.

Organisational Arrangements in Wales

Dennis Gunning

Structural and organisational arrangements

Devolution to Wales is 10 years young. Since the devolved government was set up, a range of national strategic documents such as *Wales – A Vibrant Economy* (National Assembly for Wales, 2005) and *The Learning Country* (National Assembly for Wales, 2001) were produced by the Welsh Assembly Government (WAG) to set the future direction in the economy and in education and training. More recently, from 2007 a coalition government involving the Welsh Labour Party and Plaid Cymru has been working to a four-year programme, *One Wales* (WAG, 2007) which drew on previous strategic directions and signalled a focus on high employment, distinctive approaches in education and training, Welsh language development and social justice. These
approaches have more recently had to be adapted to the very different economic environment of the global recession.

A single executive department, the Department for Children, Education, Lifelong Learning and Skills (DCELLS), has responsibility for education and training in Wales. Its budget for funding of post-16 courses in school sixth forms, further education, higher education, work-based learning, adult community learning and for bespoke skills development for businesses in Wales is currently around £1 billion per annum. Although employment policy is not devolved, DCELLS has close and positive relationships with the UK Department of Work and Pensions and its Job Centre Plus delivery arm in Wales.

Unlike other parts of the United Kingdom, almost all non-departmental public bodies (quangos) have been absorbed into the Department; the Funding Council or Higher Education in Wales (HEFCW) and the inspectorate for all education except higher education, Estyn, currently remain as separate public bodies, although both have close working relationships with DCELLS and work to annual ministerial remit letters. In the absence of quangos, therefore, DCELLS is responsible for both policy and delivery and must maintain a close and direct relationship with stakeholders and deliverers.

Although responsibility for qualifications regulation lies within DCELLS and there is a distinctive Welsh qualifications framework - the Credit and Qualifications Framework for Wales - FE colleges and work-based learning providers in Wales operate within the English awarding body system. For schools there is a choice, with the Welsh Joint Education Committee (WJEC) being a long-standing, Wales-based, school awarding body, which also now has sole responsibility for the Welsh Baccalaureate Qualification (see Chapter 4 for more details of this qualification).
One of the most important features of the education and training system in Wales is its size. With small numbers of local authorities, FE colleges and universities and an almost complete absence of quangos, there can be easy communication and direct relationships between providers and the WAG. Such direct lines of communication and regular contact have the advantages of ensuring that messages are not mediated through layers of organisation or bureaucracy, reducing the chance of policy being divorced from the real world and ensuring that the mutual accountability and dependency between the WAG, stakeholders and providers are reinforced.

Twenty-two elected local authorities deliver school education, funded by a WAG grant; there are few schools in Wales outwith the local authority service, making school sector organisation in Wales much more similar to Scotland than to England. FE institutions (which statutorily include the Workers’ Educational Association and the YMCA) are not run by the local authorities. Instead, they are corporations with boards of governors, with over 70 per cent of their funding being provided by the WAG. Universities in Wales, too, are autonomous institutions governed by university councils set up under acts of parliament. They receive around 40 per cent of their funding from the WAG.

The WAG is funding 84 providers to deliver work-based learning courses (Apprenticeships and Skillbuild programmes) in 2009/10, of which around three quarters are independent training providers (some run by local authorities and by voluntary bodies, some run as for-profit businesses) and the remainder are FE colleges. A variety of providers also run bespoke post-16 provision, much of which is paid for by learners and/or employers on a fee-for-service basis.

The representative bodies of the sectors, ColegauCymru for FE colleges, the National Training Federation Wales for work-based learning, and Higher Education Wales are among DCELLS’ key stakeholder bodies.
The environment for learners: challenges and policy responses

The learner population in Wales has seen similar demographic trends as the rest of the United Kingdom. Wales has a total population of around three million (5 per cent of the UK); the falling birth rate, which was a pattern of the 1980s and 1990s, is now particularly noticeable in the education system, where the age cohort size has shrunk from over 45,000 in the post-war years and in the late 1960s to a low of 30,000 for those born in 2002. Although the birth rate has been increasing since then, the rate of increase is relatively low. The reduced birth rates of the 1990s will lead to significantly lower numbers of potential 16-18 year old learners for a number of years to come.

At the same time as learner numbers have fallen because of demography, participation and success rates in Wales in the post-compulsory years have been increasing. This has been fuelled partly by new strategies such as the 14-19 Learning Pathways programme and the Welsh Baccalaureate Qualification, and partly by drives to improve the quality of delivery. For example, there have been major improvements in the completion rates of apprenticeships and in inspection outcomes for Welsh FE colleges and work-based learning providers. More recently, one of the effects of the recession has been to increase the demand for places in post-16 provision. Adult participation in education and training in Wales has also been supported by policy directions adopted in Wales, including all-age apprenticeships, careers services and basic skills strategies.

There were 251,575 learners at FE institutions, adult community learning and work-based learning providers during 2008-09. In FE, there has been an upward trend in the proportion of full-time learners and a downward trend in the number of those studying part-time. There are more learners aged 16 -17 in FE than in secondary
schools; the proportion of learners below the age of 25 rose to 38 per cent in FE and 50 per cent in work-based learning (Statistical Directorate 2009a, 2009b and 2010).

Despite the progress that has been made in Wales since devolution, the challenges to the education and training system remain considerable. Declining employment in the traditional industries such as mining and engineering in South Wales, land-based industry in rural Wales and the tourism industry in rural and coastal Wales has created cycles of intergenerational unemployment and deprivation which are proving hard to break. Although great efforts have been made to attract inward investment, Wales continues to have few corporate headquarters or research and development departments, and although job creation has countered job losses in those traditional industries, growth sectors have often been in areas such as retail, which generate part-time rather than full-time employment opportunities.

Wales has, therefore, remained a relatively low-income part of the UK and has been qualifying for considerable financial support from European Union convergence and competitiveness funding. The long-established link between levels of poverty and educational achievement make it unsurprising, therefore, that Wales has emerged poorly from international benchmarks such as the PISA tests of literacy, numeracy and science and from measures of literacy and numeracy levels in the adult population.

The long-term policy response to these challenges has been to create a major set of reform programmes in the school sector, focussing on the early years, on school effectiveness and on curriculum choice at 14-19, including the further development and expansion of the Welsh Baccalaureate. Taken together, these reforms seek to raise attainment levels of future school-leaving cohorts and, therefore, to minimise the need for remediation in the post-compulsory years through initiatives such as basic skills programmes for adults and Skillbuild for youth and adult unemployed. At
the current time, though, such programmes remain a necessary part of the WAG’s investment in education and training.

Policy response for the post-school sectors aimed to take account of the needs of the Welsh labour market, but also to reflect the relatively low levels of educational achievement and high levels of intergenerational poverty that continue to affect parts of Wales. A distinctive skills strategy, *Skills that Work for Wales* (DCELLS, 2008a), was developed which drew on both demand-side and supply-side analyses such as the Leitch (Leitch, 2006) and Webb (Webb, 2007) reports and explicitly aimed to cover business development, skills and employment. The connection between skills development and economic development has been reinforced by the 2010 Economic Renewal policy paper (DE&T, 2010), and *Skills that Work for Wales* is being updated in 2010 in the light of the Economic Renewal proposals.

**Key debates**

Education and training at the time of devolution had differences from England that reflected the different social values of the Welsh system, such as commitment to comprehensive schooling. These were outweighed by the similarities, given that legislation passed in the UK Parliament prior to devolution in 1999 usually covered both England and Wales. Since devolution, Wales-specific responses to policy issues have been developed, such as the introduction of the Welsh Baccalaureate Qualification and the abolition of national key stage testing. More generally, though, emerging policy differences continue to reflect distinctive Welsh traditions and values, including the importance of the Welsh language, for which a Welsh-medium education strategy has been developed (DCELLS, 2010).
Collaboration and integration

There is a strong political desire in Wales to see education and training based on collaboration rather than competition. This is reflected in the development of collaborative ‘effectiveness frameworks’ for both school and post-school providers and in the publication of a *Transformation Framework* (DCELLS, 2008b) through which proposals for change to the configuration of post-16 provision was sought. These proposals, which are covered in more detail in Chapter 4, aim to increase learner choice, especially vocational choice, reduce duplication and ensure that the maximum amount of public funding is deployed in learning and teaching. The Framework expects regional collaboration in which the interests of learners, not the interests of providers, are paramount.

For the 14-19 age group, the Transformation Framework will support the policy intention of the National Assembly for Wales’s Learning and Skills Measure (National Assembly for Wales 2009), which is designed to attract young people to stay on in education and training by the relevance of the curriculum options available to them, rather than because they are required to do so by legislation for raising the age of participation, as in England. Other potential barriers to collaboration between schools and FE have been removed in support of the 14-19 agenda. For example, Wales has implemented pay parity between FE lecturers and secondary school teachers and has introduced a single, credit-based funding methodology for all non-HE post-16 courses and providers.

A similar direction has been signalled on HE in Wales in the new *For our Future* (DCELLS, 2009) strategy, published in late 2009, where there is political support for much stronger collaboration, at regional and national level, between HE institutions, FE institutions, employers and communities. More recently, reviews of the
governance of FE and HE institutions have been set up and these will report at or around the end of 2010 (National Assembly for Wales, 2010a and 2010b).

**Skills development led by business need**

The integration of business development and skills in Wales has been reflected in the close working relationship between the WAG Department for the Economy and Transport and DCELLS, for example in the development of skills interventions that are directed towards specific business needs. Thus, the Workforce Development Programme is an individualised approach to skills development that links the training to the employer’s business plan and employers applying for funding must commit to match-funding the cost of training. The programme has supported many thousands of businesses and generates very high levels of customer satisfaction.

The tailored approach of the Workforce Development Programme has also been a feature of the skills responses designed to counter the effects of the economic downturn in Wales. The existing ReAct (redundancy action plan) programme, which helps a redundant worker to further develop his or her skills base, was scaled up and the innovative ProAct programme, which offers skills development to employees on short-time working, introduced. Both are extensively supported by European funding. ProAct has attracted considerable national and international interest (e.g. New York Times, 2009). In addition, leadership and management training, the Skillbuild employability programme, the Wales TUC redundancy rapid response programme, Careers Wales activity and the basic skills employer pledge were all scaled up, and a ‘pathways to apprenticeship’ programme introduced. When the economic recovery in Wales is secure, support for skills development will be refocused away from counter-recession measures and towards employers with growth potential.
Since 2001, the number of highly skilled jobs in Wales has increased and this trend is expected to continue. The largest expected growth in employment across the UK between now and 2017 will be amongst the more highly-skilled occupational groups such as management, professionals and associate professional and technical occupations. Nevertheless, the lower end of the labour market will remain a significant source of jobs, especially for people seeking to move out of unemployment or to supplement their income with part-time work. The need to encourage the creation of job opportunities at all skill levels has been emphasised by the Wales Employment and Skills Board (WESB) in its second annual report. WESB sees ‘good jobs’ as being defined not by whether they are low-skill or high-skill but by whether they are of a kind that will provide progression opportunities, improve economic performance and break the cycle of poverty (WESB, 2010).

**Future Policy Direction**

If the direction and momentum of the past few years are maintained, the probability is that the differentiation in policy between Wales and the rest of the UK will increase. There are, however, interesting political times ahead, both at UK and devolved administration level, and it is very difficult to predict how those political events will affect the approach taken by the government in Wales, whatever its political colour, or mix of colours, after the Assembly elections in May 2011.

The current policy directions in Wales will lead to both greater integration of skills, employment and business development services and of governance, planning, funding and delivery between school, FE, HE and work-based learning providers. There will be more priority-driven funding of providers and a greater proportion of the cost of post-19 learning will probably be borne by learners and employers.
The long period of relative political stability in Wales has been based on the core values of a left-leaning democracy and has proved resistant to reformist zeal on either side of the political spectrum. There is support for public governance of the education system, for an egalitarian education system, and for collaborative approaches to public services.

The economic downturn showed again how important learning and skills are as investments in the future economic success of Wales and that an education and training system could respond quickly to an emergency. The challenge ahead will be to manage the combination of higher levels of expectation created by that response, greater awareness among employers of the importance of skills development as the basis for growth, and more interest among young people in staying on in education and training – all occurring at a time when the need to reduce the serious UK budget deficit will almost certainly lead to significant and ongoing cuts in public expenditure. It is likely to prove difficult in Wales – and probably also in the UK – to protect education and training from such cuts. This will reinforce the importance of collaboration between government and stakeholders to ensure a consensus on how best to deploy the public funding that is available. In those circumstances, it will be interesting to see whether the core values that underpin the political stability in Wales will crumble, or conversely, will be the bedrock on which education and training policy and delivery for the leaner times ahead will be based.
Summary and conclusions

Much of the description and analysis in the preceding sections of this chapter serves to support the thesis that devolution of powers has been accompanied by increasing divergence in policy frameworks, in governance and institutional arrangements, and in educational and training programmes in the separate parts of the UK. In part this can be seen as a result of the different political make-up of devolved governments compared with that of the UK government; in part it reflects different historical traditions and cultures that underlie the respective education and training systems, to which devolution has now afforded greater scope in influencing policy development; and to an extent it has resulted from the differing conclusions as to what policy approaches are best suited to the economic and social circumstances of the separate countries. Underlying these drivers towards divergence has been an expectation that devolution will in itself lead to the pursuit of distinctive policies and approaches in each part of the UK.

However, the analysis suggests that it is not simply a matter of Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland diverging from an established Westminster-led system dominated by a predominantly English perspective. Arguably, there has been a greater degree of turbulence and change in the English education and training system since 1997 than in those in other parts of the UK. This has manifested itself in five reallocations of responsibilities between government departments, involving a total of seven differently named departments. There have been three separate systems for planning and funding of post-16 education and training, each involving complex and essentially top-down arrangements for translating government policy into local delivery through national, local and (to a lesser degree) regional and sub-regional agencies.
The latest arrangements, which only came into force in 2010, seem unlikely to survive under a new administration committed to abolishing quangos and devolving more responsibility to the local level. The qualifications and curriculum framework and the national qualifications taken by young people have been under almost continuous review since 1997. This has again resulted in a succession of reforms and adaptations, with the stated aims of protecting standards (mainly of established general qualifications, particularly GCE A Levels), raising achievement levels and providing the range of pathways and opportunities required to meet the needs of the full 14-19 cohort. Finally, at the institutional level, the thrust of government policy – notwithstanding some initiatives aimed at encouraging greater collaboration - has in practice provoked a more competitive market involving an increasingly diverse range of providers and with great variations in the make-up of the provider network in different parts of the country.

Against this background, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland would have diverged from the English model even if they had merely continued to operate within the policies and governance arrangements that pre-dated devolution. However, as this chapter has shown, Scotland and Wales have sought to use their devolved powers to adapt their respective education and training systems to reflect their particular political priorities and circumstances and their own views of the education state. In many respects this has exacerbated the degree of divergence, as is perhaps most evident in three areas.

First, governance arrangements in Scotland and Wales now appear much more inclusive than those in England. They have achieved this in different ways – Scotland predominantly through the close engagement of stakeholders and providers in the ‘policy dialogue’ and Wales through the abolition of quangos, which has necessitated a more direct relationship between the central department and providers. However,
the effect in both cases has been to give those responsible for the delivery of education and training at local level a stronger sense of involvement in decisions affecting them. Seen through the eyes of their counterparts, the trend in England has, if anything, been in the opposite direction: an increased emphasis on a top-down approach to policy development and delivery, underpinned by the use of targets, funding levers and inspection regimes to monitor performance. The inclusiveness of the Scottish and Welsh approaches can in part be attributed to their smaller sizes (both can be seen in this respect as broadly equivalent to an English region). This undoubtedly makes it easier in practical and logistical terms to engage local authorities and provider networks. However, it also appears to derive from a more deeply rooted sense of social partnership in these countries than exists in England.

Second, whilst competition between institutions has gained momentum in England, collaboration remains the dominant ethos in Scotland and Wales. The active promotion of new institutions, often in direct competition with existing providers, has been resisted in these countries, both of which have retained much more homogeneous systems for the delivery of post-compulsory education and lifelong learning. This was already true prior to devolution and is more evidently the case now. Scotland’s Colleges continue to play the leading role in Scotland, supported by a network of private training providers handling elements of vocational and specialist learning, but with little evidence of competition between them. In Wales, current policy is to move towards a smaller number of FE and sixth form providers, offering choice and diversity within rather than between institutions, and brought about very much through a spirit of collaboration and integration.

Third, the underlying rationale for skills policy has become much more distinctive in the different parts of the UK and this in turn has prompted more divergent approaches. Prior to devolution there was something of a consensus around the
notion that the UK needed to increase the skills of its workforce in order to compete in the global economy and that qualifications could be seen as a proxy for skills. Whilst the emphasis on skills development remains an important policy driver in all parts of the UK, Scotland and Wales are now tailoring both the policy itself and the funding of specific skills programmes much more closely to their economic and social circumstances. This was perhaps most starkly demonstrated by the rejection in Scotland and Wales of the thrust of the Leitch Report, which was seen as projecting an analysis predominantly reflecting the economic circumstances of the southeast of England. It has also been reflected in major policy documents, *Skills for Scotland* and *Skills that Work for Wales*, both of which arguably adopt a relatively balanced approach in addressing demand- and supply-side factors affecting the supply of skills than the essentially supply-side emphasis of skills policy in England. Scotland has also been distinctive in emphasising the importance of skills utilisation rather than skills supply.

Northern Ireland, too, is reviewing its skills policy in the light of recent changes, not least the more stringent economic climate. The Department for Employment and Learning published a consultation document in June 2010 setting out proposals to update the earlier skills strategy and its associated implementation plan (DEL, 2010). This document places a heavy emphasis on the importance of skills in supporting a dynamic and innovative economy, echoing the themes of similar documents produced by the UK government in recent years. However, as with Scotland and Wales, there are clear indications of attempts to tailor the strategy and the proposed actions to the specific circumstances facing the Northern Ireland economy.

Of course, similarities remain in these diverging systems. In all parts of the UK the general, or academic, route still represents the pre-eminent means of progression to
higher education for young people. Although the names of the programmes may differ, the funding priorities for post-16 learning and state-supported skills training have much in common. Qualification frameworks are somewhat similar throughout the UK, notwithstanding some differences in the names and nature of individual awards within these frameworks. A new Qualifications and Credit Framework is due to take effect from December 2010, providing the only recognised and regulated framework for vocational qualifications in England, Wales and Northern Ireland. Funding constraints arising from the current economic circumstances are likely to limit the scope for further divergence to the extent that all administrations in the UK will need to concentrate scarce resources on statutory and other `core’ provision, where priorities will often be similar. But as subsequent chapters will show, political forces for divergence will remain strong.

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