

Lessons from policy failure – the demise of a National Qualifications Framework based solely on learning outcomes in England

Alan Brown

Institute for Employment Research, University of Warwick

Abstract:

National (and European) qualifications frameworks which map qualifications in a similar way according to the specification of learning outcomes and then assign them a unique position within a hierarchical system of levels have proved very attractive to policy makers. They offer the prospect of improving transparency between qualifications and aiding mobility, but as with all policies the acid test is how the policy is implemented in practice and whether the benefits outweigh the costs, particularly bearing in mind the opportunity costs of achieving the same goal by different means. As many countries now consider how to implement a National Qualifications Framework (NQF), it is perhaps instructive to look at the reasons for the policy failure of an NQF based exclusively on learning outcomes in England. Learning the particular problems to avoid may be a useful lesson for other countries to learn from the English experience when developing their own NQFs. However, the major lesson to be learned is that a focus on competence, mapping qualifications, levels and outcomes can become a distraction from the much harder goal of improving the quality of teaching and learning. Shifting attention to a developmental approach to the development of expertise may be more effective by highlighting the importance of processes of learning and the need to support the development of expansive learning environments in education, training and employment. Recognising that the development of an NQF has a limited part to play in this process, and that a 'rough guide' to equivalence will often be sufficient in mapping potential progression pathways, may be a useful starting point for this shift.

Keywords: qualification frameworks; learning outcomes; developmental approach; expertise development

Introduction

Qualifications frameworks which map qualifications in a similar way according to the specification of learning outcomes have proved very attractive to policy makers and Europe has adopted a European Qualifications Framework (EQF). This development has acted as a spur for many countries to consider implementing a National Qualifications Framework (NQF). So it is perhaps instructive to look at the policy failure of an NQF based exclusively on learning outcomes in England and address the broader question of whether a focus on competence, mapping qualifications, levels and outcomes can become a policy distraction from the much harder goal of improving the quality of teaching and learning. Shifting attention to a developmental approach to developing skills and expertise may be an alternative way to drive moves towards a more knowledge-based society, replacing an essentially binary conception of competence, where you are considered solely as competent or not, which is currently at the heart of hierarchical system of levels.

The intention of this article is to facilitate policy discussion about NQF design by outlining some of the particular problems encountered, and pitfalls for other countries to avoid, in the English experience of designing an NQF based on the exclusively on learning outcomes. Often policy learning is focused on policy development and by the time it is realized that policy implementation in the original case has been unsuccessful too much momentum has already been established behind the new development. The author is well placed to provide an overarching commentary on the English NQF policy failure having participated in five major national and European projects, over the past twenty-five years, which have reviewed the implications of the introduction of competence-based curricula (Haffenden and Brown 1989), the need to design learning programmes to promote a broader occupational competence (Brown 1998) and the limitations of levels, learning outcomes and qualifications as drivers towards a more knowledge-based society (Brown 2008).

Context: European Qualifications Framework

In September 2006, the European Commission adopted a proposal to establish a European Qualifications Framework (EQF) for lifelong learning (Commission of the European Communities 2006). The European Parliament and Council then successfully negotiated the proposal during 2007, leading to the EQF's formal adoption in February 2008 (European Commission 2008). The aim was to relate all education and training awards in Europe and provide a common language to describe qualifications across the European Union's diverse education and training systems (*ibid.* p.3). However, the development of national frameworks of qualifications remains an area of national responsibility, and the EQF is a benchmark against which national frameworks can be measured, rather than an entity into which National Qualifications Frameworks (NQFs) have to fit. However, the EQF provided momentum for member states to consider introducing NQFs, although decisions about the value, development and implementation of a NQF are also framed by wider national discussions about priorities in the field of education, training and qualifications. The idea of having greater transparency between qualifications across Europe is widely accepted as an aspirational goal, but whether it is a good idea for all qualifications to be expressed in a similar way is an empirical question of whether the benefits outweigh the costs.

One core element of the EQF is a set of eight reference levels describing what a learner knows, understands and is able to do — their 'learning outcomes' — regardless of the system where a particular qualification was acquired (*ibid.* p. 12). The EQF reference levels are intended to

support a better match between the needs of the labour market (for knowledge, skills and competences) and education and training provision; facilitate the validation of non-formal and informal learning; and facilitate the use of qualifications across different education and training systems. The EQF covers general and adult education, as well as vocational education and training (VET) and higher education (HE). The eight levels are intended to cover all qualifications from those achieved at school to those awarded at the highest level of academic, professional or VET. The role of the EQF was intended to function as a translation device to make relationships between qualifications and different systems clearer, to make education and training more transparent and to adapt both to the demands of the knowledge society and to the need for an improved level and quality of employment. Now increased transparency is a worthwhile goal in its own right, but a more highly qualified workforce does not necessarily equate to a more highly skilled and more knowledgeable workforce.

The focus on levels, qualifications and learning outcomes can be comforting because it gives the illusion of progress, but a much more sophisticated model of skill development and expertise is required to underpin meaningful movement towards a knowledge society. However, first, it may be instructive to examine the reasons behind the policy failure of an NQF based exclusively on learning outcomes in England

Example of a policy failure of an NQF based exclusively on learning outcomes

The starting point for any analysis of English policy in the area of vocational qualifications was the almost complete failure of the attempted reformation of Vocational Education and Training (VET) through the introduction of outcomes-based National Vocational Qualifications (NVQs) in the decade following 1986 (Williams 1999). The standards of occupational competence upon which the NVQs were based were too narrow; employers were reluctant to use the new qualifications; and the introduction of NVQs exacerbated, rather than mitigated, the ‘jungle’ of vocational qualifications. In the mid-1990s unsuccessful attempts were made to restructure NVQs following a series of highly critical reports (Beaumont 1996; Dearing 1996; Hyland 1998), but the National Council for Vocational Qualifications (NCVQ) and associated agencies continued to market the system overseas, without acknowledging the failings of NVQs and the competence-based education and training outcomes-driven system. Hyland (1998) highlighted how this was a strange case of exporting policy failure. The model was held up as promising reform even though it had not worked in practice in England.

Since then NVQs have been further reformed, a wider range of vocational qualifications have been encouraged and NCVQ was abolished and replaced by the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) in 1997, with a much wider remit to develop and regulate the (school) national curriculum, assessments in schools and qualifications. Vocational qualifications development was a given a much lower public profile, and in 2007 the government set up an independent exams regulator, Ofqual, which took on most of QCA’s regulatory functions, while QCA was transformed into the Qualifications and Curriculum Development Authority (QCDA) which was left with QCA’s non-regulatory work, which included the development of a National Qualifications Framework (NQF).

However, the whole area of qualifications reform remained a policy failure and the decision was taken to replace the NQF with a Qualifications and Credit Framework (QCF) and when a

new government came to power in 2010 they announced they would abolish the QCDA. In opposition they had used the QCDA as their prime example of abolishing of how a quasi-governmental organisation could be abolished without any ill effects whatsoever.

The reason for the move away from an exclusive focus on NQF outcomes, levels and qualifications were that they were too prescriptive – they excluded too many valuable qualifications, the system was too inflexible, did not support progression very well and 'level' was not a very good discriminator of the value of a qualification. The QCF uses volume as well as level so that the system of credits can operate across units as well as whole qualifications (QCA, 2009). The credit based system recognises qualification size and represents a pragmatic and modest attempt at qualifications reform, and that the NQF development was the culmination of a major policy failure is now universally acknowledged. A realistic appraisal of the reasons for failure of the NQF could help other countries avoid similar mistakes.

The most obvious lesson is not to treat particular qualification design features as in some way inherently better than others and seek to apply them universally, even if this leads to a certain degree of tension with EQF developments, which also tend to promote 'one best way.' The 'pure' English outcomes-based NQF was inflexible and unhelpful in practice, and although the new QCF system aligns less well with the recommendations for qualification framework development associated with the EQF, it was still possible to reference the QCF against the EQF.

The English Qualifications and Credit Framework (QCF)

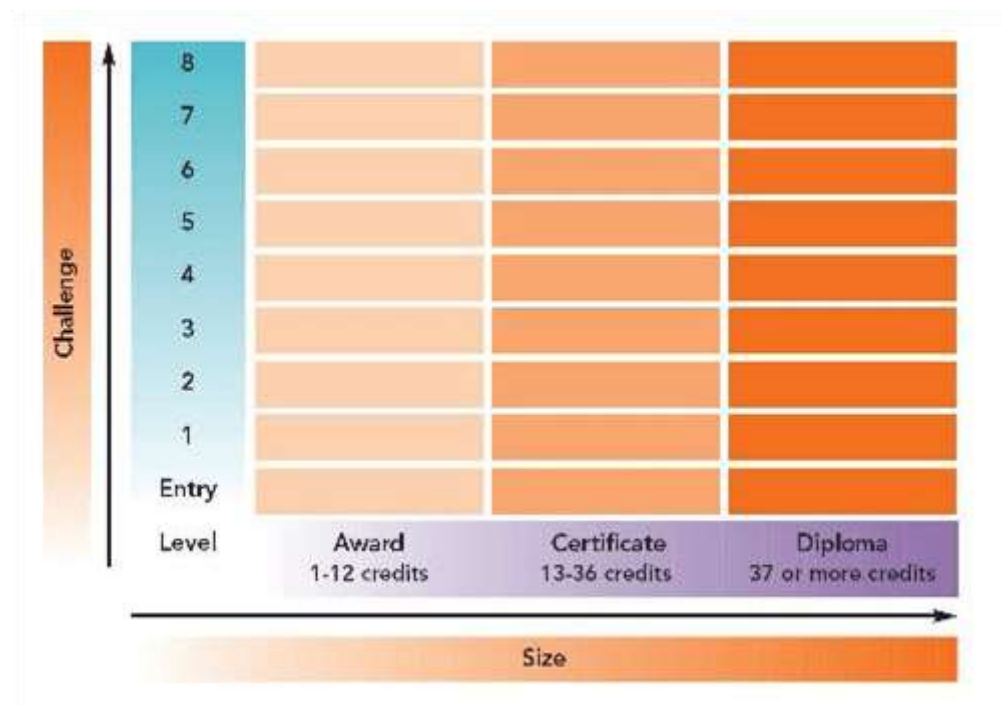
The key point about the QCF is that it is a pragmatic attempt to improve learner mobility, transferability and progression. The introduction of the QCF has been low key, recognising that earlier grand schemes based around a major reformation of vocational qualifications through NVQs and the NQF have been failures. Underpinning this change is the belated recognition that it is the quality of teaching, learning and skill development associated with qualifications that is key to whether they help individuals in processes of upskilling, reskilling and progression, not the imagined benefits of having qualifications of a particular type. There is now recognition that qualifications are an inadequate proxy for skill development and that qualifications reform plays a much smaller role in improving the quality of VET than more direct measures to improve the quality of teaching, learning and skill development and that for much of the past 25 years qualifications reform has actually been drawing resources away from improving the quality of the teaching, learning and the inter-relationship between the two (Nash et al. 2008) There is also an implicit recognition that the pragmatic evolution of the Scottish system has been much more successful in practice than the more radical attempts at reform of processes of qualifications design that have failed in England (Raffe 2011).

The new QCF is itself not an exemplar of good practice, but there is no appetite for further major reforms and the removal of rigid bureaucratic limits as to what constitutes an acceptable qualification under the NQF means that it is at least an improvement on the previous system. Competence-based qualifications within the QCF now offer the accreditation of units, which are smaller steps of achievement, and QCF units and qualifications have now replaced NQF

qualifications. The QCF qualifications cover the same levels of the NQF: Entry Level to Level 8, but qualifications are now split into three groups according to size – Awards, Certificates and Diplomas (QCA, 2009). Qualifications in the QCF consist of a number of designated units, each of which has an approved credit value. These credit values represent the number of credits a learner will be awarded for successfully completing the unit. One credit is awarded for those learning outcomes achievable in 10 hours of learning time. The credits associated with units and qualifications are developed by approved awarding organisations and are placed in Ofqual’s databank without further intervention from Ofqual. Hence the awarding organisations make judgements about what it is reasonable to expect a learner at a particular level to achieve in completing a unit and estimate how long that will take in multiples of ten hours to arrive at a credit rating. In practice, some learners may take much longer and other learners may take much less time to complete the units. The learning hours are notional and there only real value is as a means of working out credit values.

These changes were partly introduced to overcome the problems of having very different types of qualifications appear at the same level within a qualifications framework. An alternative approach may be just to exclude certain small qualifications from a NQF and keep the NQF just as a means of mapping the most important qualifications of a country in a way which could encourage progression within or across different pathways.

An Award may have between 1 – 12 credits, a Certificate 13 – 36 credits and a Diploma over 36 credits. This approach introduced a more flexible way of recognising achievement by awarding credit for qualifications and units (small steps of learning) and allowing learners to gain qualifications at their own pace along flexible routes (along similar lines to the Scottish system) (Ofqual 2008). The QCF framework is represented in the following diagram:



One major problem with the NQF had been that relying on level alone led to major inconsistencies whereby a small vocational qualification aimed at senior managers might be considered to be at the same level (7 or 8) as a post-graduate degree, although the former could be completed after perhaps 40 hours of learning and development, while the latter could extend for a number of years. Now all QCF units have a credit level and credit value. The level signifies the level of challenge or difficulty, whereas the value indicates the amount of 'notional' learning time required, on average for a learner to achieve a unit. Notional learning includes activities that learners need to do while supervised in order to complete their qualification, such as classes, tutorials, practical work and assessments. In addition notional learning time includes non-supervised activities such as homework, independent research, unsupervised rehearsals and work experience. The role of learning processes is now acknowledged as key to achievement of learning outcomes.

The aim of the QCF is to offer more flexibility, freedom, choice and opportunities for learners than was available under the NQF through a simple yet flexible structure that allows for the continuing development of a qualifications system that is inclusive; responsive; accessible and non-bureaucratic (Ofqual 2008). This approach acknowledged that the development of NVQs (and the NQF) had led to a situation where many qualifications from this route within the NQF were exclusive, bureaucratic (concerned with form; specification of learning outcomes etc.), not easily understood and did not meet the needs of many employers and learners. The scepticism about the value of the NQF was also linked to the fact that over the preceding two decades many qualifications that were valued by employers and learners, were widely recognised and resulted in clear learner development and progression had remained outside the framework, largely because they did not follow the prescribed format. The QCF allows achievements to be recognised through the award of credits and qualifications and supports the accumulation and transfer of credits for purposes of progression. There is still room for debate about the value of this credit-based approach compared to offering more integrated (larger) qualifications, but what is not in doubt is that the system is more flexible than the rigid prescriptive NQF which it has replaced.

Because of the mobility of individuals within and between the United Kingdom and Ireland work has been underway over the last decade to compare qualifications across England, Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland in terms of broad equivalence. This approach highlighted the necessity of comparing size, content and level of qualifications as closely as possible – crucially 'level' alone appeared as an inadequate indicator. One problem for the English NQF had been that different qualifications at the same level could be very different in terms of content and duration. The QCF therefore makes allowance for differences in the breadth and depth of learning and if you have an understanding of this you can now see how a move from a higher level at an award level can still be progression to say a diploma at a lower level in terms of the learning and development of an individual. The use of a volume indicator resolves the issue of where an executive coach with a deep understanding of a very narrow part of the guidance and counselling domain (level 7 award in executive coaching obtained over say 40 hours) who wants to have a much broader understanding of the field as a whole takes

a level 4 certificate in counselling (EQF level 5) that involves over 360 hours of study. Indeed an experienced executive coach with a narrow specialist qualification at level 7 may take five years of further study before they would be qualified to act as a counsellor in a wider range of settings as say an occupational or educational psychologist. Leaving aside the issue of whether the QCF itself is now too complex for many users to understand, this example highlights four fundamental issues that can never be resolved by a simple comparison within an NQF or EQF:

- there is no reason why skills, knowledge and competence being developed and deployed in different education, training or employment settings should be at a similar level and frequently they are not;
- large integrated programmes of learning and development have a much wider range of social, educational and developmental purposes than short focused qualifications – the volume of learning being just one obvious difference;
- age, prior experience and purpose are inter-related and many people and their careers may not fit a basically linear model of moving (upwards) through levels which seems to underpin the EQF and NQFs;
- skills, knowledge and competences all change over time depending upon degree of use or non-use following qualification – even if exact equivalences could be applied at the moment of qualification, individual paths can and frequently do diverge sharply thereafter.

Recent discussions in relation to the design and development of vocational qualifications after the failure to implement a ‘hard NQF’ which may be of wider interest

Another aspect of the need to remediate the problems caused by the inflexible and bureaucratic NQF and focus on facilitating flexibility, mobility and progression was to give sector skills councils and awarding bodies more freedom to devise qualifications strategies which supported learning, development and performance improvement. Sectoral bodies were freed from the need to devise, market and then be judged upon targets for achievement of qualifications (NVQs) designed to fit a single bureaucratic template, even if these often proved antithetical to improving learning, development and performance. Discussions with a range of respondents from national qualifications authorities, sector skills councils and researchers in the field highlighted how the development of vocational qualifications, including those appropriate for particular sectors are now being influenced by the following considerations:

- UK-wide there is agreement in many sectors that it is important to recognise low levels of achievement (entry level qualifications below EQF level 1) – these were seen as important in order to facilitate progression.

- EQF ideas were just seen as a baseline in the background, the broader questions are ones concerned with mobility, progression, social justice etc.
- EQF descriptors could be used to work with employers.
- The UK has accepted separate national frameworks for HE qualifications, separate but comparable credit-based systems within the different nations of the UK and that a ‘hard’ National Qualifications Framework which sought to incorporate all qualifications was inflexible and drew resources away from more productive ways to improve teaching, learning, skill development and organisational performance. Sectoral bodies can now design qualifications to support learning and development rather than design qualifications in order to meet targets for increasing numbers of people with particular types and levels of qualifications.
- A recognition that some valuable forms of learning and development may not result in qualifications.
- The example of Scotland, where the development of the Scottish Credit and Qualifications Framework (SCQF) had been consolidated with other attempts to improve vocational education and training, has been influential on England where there was an over-emphasis upon qualifications as a driver of reform and a neglect of more direct influences on improving the quality of teaching and learning. The SCQF had performed a valuable but relatively minor role in improving the communications function associated with attempts to relate and compare qualifications which went alongside other aspects of VET reform (Raffe 2011).
- Recognition that stakeholder engagement and dialogue should be focused around improving learning, development and performance (with qualifications as a second order issue) – this was strongly contrasted with the previous technical discussions with employers which were framed around telling them what types of qualifications were allowable, how learning objectives had to be framed and how only certain types of provision would be funded (associated with the failed attempt to develop a ‘hard’ National Qualifications Framework).
- Unitisation and the use of credit are seen as pragmatic ways to increase flexibility.
- Information on volume and content of learning are required as well as level of qualification.
- There was no independent evaluation or substantive evidence of positive impact of the English NQF (for example, the previous decisions about coverage of NVQs had been concerned with implementation rather than impact: NCVQ used to report on their percentage coverage of sectoral qualifications, even though many qualifications were hardly used and many others were seen as problematic in a number of respects).

- Again and again over the last 25 years qualification reform and movement towards an NQF has been aspirational – it should lead to increased co-ordination; smoother access, transfer and progression; better accountability and control; improved quality assurance; and supply of learning being more responsive to demand. In practice, even the most ardent supporters would say the benefits were minimal given the massive investment of resources. The English NQF has been quietly replaced, with no-one wishing to draw attention to just how ineffective it has been.
- Could an NQF add value elsewhere if it were to be implemented in other countries – possibly, depending upon the context, but it is difficult to generalise. It may be that a loose framework, which seeks nevertheless to be fairly comprehensive, may be of value in helping understand general comparabilities. That is, broad qualification types could be considered similar in certain ways, but it would always be necessary to look in more detail at the content, sectoral context, volume of learning and how the learning and development relates to development across an individual's life-course and organisational performance as well as the 'institutional logics' of those bodies offering the qualification in order to gauge the value of the qualification in practice.
- NQFs need to be framed within a series of other measures to promote more effective learning and development and to recognise that much valuable learning takes place outside formal qualifications and that the costs of recognising all this learning would be prohibitive even if it were desirable. One key consideration here is how much added value does converting recognition of learning into a formal qualification give an individual.
- The focus on levels can be unfortunate in that it obscures important progression for an individual can come from doing a qualification at a lower or equivalent level as well as at a higher one.
- Putting all qualifications in a single framework can obscure the value of having different types of qualifications for different purposes.
- The weaknesses of relying on outcomes standards alone are now widely recognised – the quality of learning processes are important too.
- The social dimension of different stakeholders talking about learning, development and qualifications in relation to a NQF can be helpful. This is one way that the English experience of NQF development may not be a useful example for other countries in that the dialogue for a very long time was sterile, in that the dialogue was almost exclusively about qualifications and broader issues of individual learning and development were overlooked.
- The new sectoral approach based around the QCF, not the NQF, does use qualifications design as an economic development tool and is looking as to how qualifications can fit within a broad approach to skills development and organisational improvement.

- A prominent politician pointed to qualifications design needing a period when it was more or less invisible – a support in the background, but no longer a process that was absorbing large amounts of resource that could be more usefully employed in supporting broader processes of learning and development more directly.
- Very few people understand the complexities of frameworks – by their nature single qualification frameworks will have to put together qualifications which are very different and there is therefore a trade-off between simplicity of visual representation and a recognition that the qualifications could be represented in very different ways according to how they treat knowledge, human development, breadth, depth and approach to learning and assessment, as well as varying according to social, political and cultural factors.
- There are dangers of a tyranny of levels due to status considerations, where people are unwilling to engage in personal learning and development at lower levels than their highest qualification, even where the absence of such skills (e.g. in relation to being able to communicate effectively in a range of contexts) is hampering individual effectiveness and organizational performance. This danger is compounded by the risk of conflating qualification level with capability or value of a person.
- Comparison of qualifications is about building zones of mutual trust (or confidence) but delineation of zones of mutual mistrust are useful too: for example, employers are well aware that graduates have very different skill sets and capabilities, depending partly upon subject of degree and institution at which the degree was studied, and the same applies for former trainees of different companies – some education, training and work contexts provide very much richer learning environments than others.
- Judging a sectoral qualification by the effect it has on performance of an individual or organisation is a very powerful means of highlighting that the broader processes of learning and skills development associated with the qualification are often more important rather than the qualification itself. For example, in many sectors NVQs at a number of levels had been scrupulously designed at great cost and were either almost completely unused as in the case of science technicians (because they were much less challenging than more traditional knowledge-based qualifications) or else had zero (or in some cases even a negative) labour market value as was the case for many level 2 NVQ qualifications over an extended period of time – these qualifications were doing very little for either individuals or organisations (Wolf 2011). On the other hand, some other qualifications, including, for example, NVQs in supply chain change management were delivered in association with substantive forms of learning and development allied to working in multi-disciplinary inter-organisational teams to deliver significant improvements in organisational performance across a range of organisational contexts (Brown et al. 2004). The value of a sectoral qualification in a specific context is predominantly influenced by the quality of the associated learning and skills development rather than the quality of the qualification itself.

- In engineering there has been a long tradition of facilitating mobility across Europe, but that there was a rich European diversity of cultural traditions in the area of skills development, whereby fundamental concepts such as competence and qualifications were understood differently. For example, the Anglo-Saxon and Continental models of initial professional development of engineers was quite different. One way of reconciling this difference was to put relatively limited weight upon direct comparisons of different qualifications and more emphasis upon track record of experience of engineers some time after formal qualification. Thus agreement for the award of the respected European Engineer (Eur Ing) qualification is not underpinned by agreement on qualifications (which are radically different in different national contexts) but by agreement on patterns of learning and experience: individuals should have completed the highest level school leaving qualification, have studied as an undergraduate for three years, completed a further two years of study, training or experience at work and a further two years of experience working as an engineer (FEANI 2005). The seven year learning programmes are actually configured very differently in the different national contexts (and lead to intermediate qualifications at different levels) but in each case they culminate in cycles of experience, reflection and learning which constitute very rich learning environments.
- The European Engineer (Eur Ing) approach was contrasted with that adopted in the ICT industry which has developed a European e-Competence Framework (e-CF). Its purpose is to provide general and comprehensive e-Competences that can then be adapted and customised into different ICT business contexts (CEN 2010). The 32 competences of the framework are classified according to 5 main ICT business areas and link directly to the EQF but not in uniform manner as the second level of the framework spans two EQF levels (4/5). The competences operate at a relatively high level of generality (design and development; user support etc.) – and content and context mean individuals can show their competence in very different ways and that someone with the same qualification may have quite different skill sets in practice. Qualifications in other technical areas such as aerospace are going the same way: it is necessary to look at what particular units have been completed and two aircraft engineering maintenance fitters could have the same qualification but not be inter-changeable at all in terms of the duties they can perform.
- Any qualification framework, including the EQF, is just a particular representation which makes a range of assumptions about qualification types and qualifications which gloss over important differences within and between both. Any substantive Qualifications Framework also contains very different types of qualifications which are deemed to be equivalent even though they differ in a number of fundamental respects.
- There is no reason why skills, knowledge and competence should be at a similar level in education, training or employment settings and frequently they are not. Similarly, skills are sub-divided into practical and cognitive and these may or may not be in approximate alignment.

- Most individuals too have spiky profiles in that in some areas they operate at a high level of proficiency whereas in others they do not. For example, in a process improvement team with members drawn from senior management and technical specialists through to semi-skilled operators, a technical specialist with a PhD in materials science (level 8) admitted his communication skills were probably the weakest in the group and he felt he would benefit from further training (probably at level 2!) (Brown et al. 2004).
- When referencing is made between a qualification in a particular NQF and the EQF the most obvious problem comes if the qualification is not expressed in terms of learning outcomes. However, expressing qualifications in terms of learning outcomes may make qualifications appear similar even when in other respects they are very different.
- Underpinning any referencing process are implicit assumptions about the scope of qualifications in terms of breadth and depth and certain typical progression paths in terms of age, learning and institutions, periods of learning and volume of learning. For example, the same qualification (HNC) is used in very different ways and with very different populations in Scotland and England, and in Wales the same qualification is at two different levels to represent that it is used in two different ways. In one way this may seem problematic but in practice in England there are much larger differences in terms of achievement between qualifications at the same level than sometimes between qualifications at different levels. For example, a person with a level 2 NVQ may nevertheless have some problems with basic skills, especially with writing, and they may need to embark on a two year full-time learning programme in order to complete a more demanding learning programme leading to achievement of a level 2 in general education. This type of issue has now been covered in the NQF by inclusion of a volume of learning measure.
- Although equivalence of degrees at the same level is taken as a given (even though in practice there is huge variation), for entry to particular specialist (vocational or sectoral) post-graduate study they are not. Thus in order to become a doctor undergraduate degrees in medicine, science and non-science subjects are all treated as very different in terms of how much additional education and training is required.
- Within HE generic descriptors are ‘translated’ into subject language and some descriptors may not be addressed in a programme and new descriptors may be added. Within HE there are also differences in the extent to which studies are disciplined-based (or clearly within the sphere of the development of academic learning) or are vocational or employability-related. There can also be major differences in the importance of a knowledge-base: whether in relation to a learner’s skills of manipulation of knowledge (analysis, synthesis evaluation and application) or in the capacity of the learner to deploy knowledge in tackling tasks / solving problems. Employers, such as those in investment banking, sometimes specify that they will only take graduates who have mastered a disciplinary knowledge base (interestingly they

accept engineering, history, maths etc. as well as economics, but they will not usually accept graduates who have studied business studies or more vocational subjects). Their argument is that mastery of a knowledge base is itself a transferable skill and investment banking requires mastery of a particular knowledge base.

What really matters in Vocational Education and Training: broadening the focus from qualification frameworks and learning outcomes to a consideration of purposes and values

Recent UK research shows that relations between tutors and students are at the heart of successful education and training which takes place in Further Education (FE) colleges (Nash et al. 2008, p. 4). It is important for FE to continue improving how it provides for the needs of learners, employers and the wider economy. The research synthesis identified how a renewed focus on teaching and learning should lie at the heart of future developments in FE and how effective teaching and learning: equipped learners for life in its broadest sense; engaged with valued forms of knowledge; recognised the importance of prior experience and learning; requires tutors to support learners as they move forward, not just intellectually but also socially and emotionally, so that the learning is secure even after the supports are removed; needs assessment to be congruent with learning; promotes the active engagement of the learner; fosters individual and social processes and outcomes; recognises the significance of informal learning; depends on teachers continuing to learn; and demands consistent policy frameworks with support for teaching and learning as their primary focus (ibid. pp. 4-5).

Within that broad frame of continuing to support effective teaching and learning in VET, two further changes would be helpful. The first change in direction should be away from a focus upon competence development based upon a hierarchy of skills levels towards a developmental perspective on skill development across the life-course. The second reorientation would be to recognise the importance of the social and affective dimension of learning in FE and to acknowledge that tutor-student and peer relationships are central to many aspects of learning and development in a way that an individualist learner-centred rhetoric does scant justice (Brown 2010).

Focus on developing expertise rather than just checking competence

A more developmental view of skills development would imply, rather than the focus being on individuals being viewed as competent to perform current tasks at a particular level, that people could still develop in a number of ways (at a range of 'levels') in order to improve their own performance, contribute to a team or enhance the effectiveness of the organisation. From this perspective it would be helpful if national policy also stopped thinking in terms of levels as being indicative of some overall level of skills, knowledge and understanding of individuals (irrespective of context or content) (Brown 2009).

The use of reflection, review and peer assessment and support could help individuals recognise that they need to continue to develop a range of skills and have a broad conception of expertise. This approach also offers, at a societal level, some possibility of moving towards a more knowledge-based society, if coupled with a more expansive view of the nature of skills, knowledge and competence development, which could address issues of transfer of skills, knowledge and experience between different settings; how to support individuals in developing a frame of mind whereby they continually look to improve their own performance through learning and development and to support the learning and development of others; and to

recognise that in any organisation a commitment to continuing growth and development of its members is strategically important (ibid. pp. 9-11). This broader view could also help deal with a perennial problem: in many occupations the types of knowledge developed through education and work differ, and it is the combination and integration of these different types of knowledge that is often the major challenge (Eraut et al. 2004).

The contention is that the way to move towards a more knowledge-based society is for as many people as possible, whatever their supposed highest overall 'level' of skills, knowledge and competence, to believe that they should seek to develop their skills, knowledge and competence at a number of levels (including those below as well as above their current highest 'level'). Interestingly, this approach has already been adopted by many companies, as when companies distinguish between employees who:

- are technically able to perform a task but have very limited practical experience of actually doing so;
- have successfully performed the task on a number of occasions;
- have performed the task many times and under a variety of conditions (i.e. experienced worker standard);
- have substantial experience but are also able to support the learning of others (i.e. can perform a coaching or mentoring role);
- could be considered 'world class', those who are able to think through and, if necessary, bring about changes in the ways that tasks are tackled.

Adopting such an approach in VET would help alignment between education and work, as crucially under this model everyone would expect individuals completing their initial vocational education and training to be still some way from 'experienced worker standard'. This approach could also provide the conditions in which a commitment to continuous improvement could flourish, as not only would most people believe that they needed to develop in a number of ways (at a range of 'levels') in order to improve their performance, but also the 'working coaches' so critical to supporting the learning of others would increasingly be in place (Brown 2009).

In summary, in alignment with moves towards a more knowledge-based society we need to support processes of learning and development by adopting a more expansive view of the nature of skills, knowledge and competence than that enshrined in recent National Qualification Framework (NQF) levels. This more expansive view will pay particular attention to the need to address issues of transfer of skills, knowledge and experience between different settings; how to support individuals in developing a frame of mind whereby they continually look to improve their own performance through learning and development and to support the learning and development of others; and to recognise that in any organisation a commitment to continuing growth and development of its members is strategically important. In this view VET programmes based in FE, including those with a substantive amount of work-related learning, should seek to help individuals move in the direction of the chosen learning outcomes but their achievement should be regarded as partial – the value of VET can probably only be properly judged some time after individuals have been applying their skills, knowledge and experience in work settings over time and ideally across a range of contexts.

The importance of the social and affective dimension of learning in VET

Additionally, education should be about the development of character as well as the intellect;

helping individuals develop the emotional, social and intellectual capacities to participate fully in society. If this leads to a sense that we need to reform aspects of our learning systems then this reform should be driven by clear purposes. Reform could be influenced by objectives such as young people feeling connected with the world; engaged with learning; valuing and respecting difference; and wanting to be active citizens. Once we are clearer on educational purposes, then we can look to the pedagogic means to achieve those goals – for example, strategies might be put in place to develop greater resilience (Dweck 1999); improve informal reasoning (Perkins 1985); or help individuals develop a wider range of approaches to learning, as these are all things we do not do very well in many current approaches to education. Promoting learning and development in VET which is values driven, uses appropriate pedagogies, is technologically enhanced and underpinned by research and development looks like a balanced and sustainable approach to educational development.

The research of Jephcote and Salisbury (2007) revealed a complex picture of students' 'learning journeys', the interplay between college and their wider lives and how post-compulsory education and training also contributed to the 'wider benefits of learning'. Students gain more benefits from college life than qualifications, important though these are. Gallacher et al. (2007) also point to the significance of social relationships in learning cultures in community-based FE and practices that increase students' re-engagement with learning.

Once the importance of the social and affective dimension of learning in VET is acknowledged then it is important to increase the scope for professional judgment of tutors: they need more room to decide 'what works' in particular circumstances. James and Biesta (2007) argue that, at its best, education builds on these learning cultures to encourage and challenge students to go beyond their existing dispositions and undergo personal change as well as acquiring knowledge. But such change is rarely recognised by a system in which success is measured by qualifications. Treating education as a simple mechanical process risks diminishing, its transformative power, as teachers and managers need room to manoeuvre and exercise their professional judgment if they are to get the best out of the situation to benefit their students. Tutors are a key feature of any learning culture, and James and Biesta (ibid. pp. 151-159) argue that the sector needs to be managed on a more flexible basis that allows room for professionals to act according to their own judgment of the local situations, within a set of national principles. These principles are that learning is about more than gaining qualifications; professionals should be able to choose systems and procedures that work together and support each other rather than undermining learning; they should also be able to decide 'what works' for their own situation and not be confined to rigid procedures; there needs to be space for more localised judgment and creativity; and improvement in learning requires critical reflection at all levels; government, college, tutor and student.

FE is about exploring possibilities and offering new starts, new directions, and changes of identity. A variety of teaching and learning approaches is essential. Edward et al. (2007 p. 170) and Steer et al. (2007 pp. 187–189) also emphasise that there needs to be fewer constraints upon the scope of teachers to exercise their professional judgment. FE is entrepreneurial, and deals with issues and groups that schools and universities do not tackle, but the audit culture is distorting the priorities of people working in FE. There is also too much emphasis on assessment, at the expense of real learning. In some vocational areas, the focus on assessment overwhelms curriculum and pedagogy, and an over-emphasis on qualifications acts as an inadequate proxy for learning. This thinking centres on the completion of 'units' and not on the course as a whole, nor on progression (Ecclestone 2007).

More recently, the problems associated with targets and the audit culture have been recognised by policy makers, yet considerable changes are still needed to give tutors the intellectual space, capacity and freedom to do a wider job of educating the whole person. Nash et al. (2007) point to a limited understanding of learning by government agencies and policy makers, who often see it simply as a process of acquisition of knowledge and skills (p. 26). This narrow approach does not link with our knowledge of effective pedagogy nor to the idea that learners are often engaged in a process of constructing identities for learning and work. The question is whether FE is about acquiring knowledge and skills alone, or is also about learning which changes the learner by engaging them in the process. From this perspective, FE is about learning how to become a learner and how to develop an identity across education, training and employment. It is about learners changing aspects of their lives and also the way they relate to the world.

Conclusion

In conclusion in the context of European goals for the development of a more knowledge-based society there is a temptation to focus upon the targets (percentage of people receiving qualifications at a particular level) rather than the goal itself. The focus upon outcomes and levels may exacerbate the problem whereby people think that a qualification marks a significant end to the learning process, rather than simply being a marker for a change of focus of learning. The political commitment to goals and targets means that qualifications frameworks, specification of learning outcomes and hierarchical levels are likely to be retained, but we can at least remember that these are proxies for the real goal and not devote too many resources to what is a second order issue. Shifting attention to the need for a developmental approach to expertise, highlighting the importance of processes of learning, the need to support the development of expansive learning environments in education, training and employment may be a more promising way forward.

Developing an NQF which maps the broad pathways and major qualifications in a country, however they are described, and offers a 'loose coupling' to the EQF is probably sufficient to support the role of the EQF as a translation device to make relationships between qualifications and different national systems clearer. In that respect the lesson from the demise of a pure outcomes-based NQF in England is unequivocal: the drive for comprehensiveness and standardization in a qualifications framework consumed vast amounts of resources, was unworkable in practice and produced a whole array of qualifications which were not fit for purpose and were inferior to the qualifications they replaced when judged against the criterion of whether they supported continuing learning and development. In the field of NQFs less is more! It is a common trap to think that a more highly qualified workforce equates to a more highly skilled and more knowledgeable workforce. Indeed the focus on levels, qualifications and learning outcomes can be comforting because it gives the illusion of progress, but a much more sophisticated model of skill development and expertise is required to underpin a more meaningful movement towards a knowledge society.

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