1. Background

The two decades covered by this research, the 1980s and 1990s, were a period of considerable social, economic and political change. The research has explored the impacts of these changes on young people’s experiences of education, training and the labour market between ages 16 to 19, and compares patterns of change in England, Wales and Scotland. It has built on the earlier ESRC-funded “Home International” Comparison of 14-19 Education and Training Systems in the UK (R000236840) which provided a snapshot of differences between the UK systems at one point in time - the early 1990s. The “Home Internationals” project found significant differences among the four UK territories, but it also drew attention to many common features which appeared to reflect distinctively British patterns of attainment, participation and transition. Progressive devolution over the last two decades opens the possibility for further divergence between the national systems in view of their differences in ideologies, priorities and policy implementation. On the other hand, pressures arising from global economic factors, common UK-wide agencies and neo-liberal policies may favour policy convergence. Thus, to analyse the effects of these possibilities and pressures the current project has extended the “Home Internationals” analysis by considering education and youth transitions in the dynamic context of change over two decades. Analyses of comparative change potentially overcome the problems of inferring cause and effect from the cross-sectional analyses of the former project. The research has also explored the extent of differences between the regions of England relative to differences between the home countries.

Our initial conceptual framework for exploring comparative change was developed by the “Home Internationals” project drawing on the societal analysis tradition as well as recent comparative research (Figure 1). The three levels provide a framework for exploring differential changes. For example changes over time in societal context may influence (and be influenced by) changes in administrative systems and social relations, but the extent to which they differ between the home countries may be much smaller than changes at other levels, and this provides opportunity for distinguishing the effects of policy developments in Scotland, Wales and England from the effects of overall social change.

Our analysis of comparative change over time drew on existing research and policy documents where these were available. However, a major focus of the research was the construction of time-series datasets and empirical analysis of data relating to a number of youth cohorts in England, Wales and Scotland (we could not include Northern Ireland since there were no regular youth cohort surveys over the period). We used these analyses to address wider debates about the impact of marketisation on education, and socio-economic inequalities in education and labour market.
2. Objectives
The project has achieved the five objectives outlined in our research proposal. The parts of section 3 and 4 below where they are addressed are noted under each objective and the list of EYT papers in the Annex indicates the objectives to which each paper contributes.

1. To summarise changes to the “administrative systems” of education and training in England, Wales and Scotland, including the main directions of policy change, and to assess the extent of divergence or convergence between these systems. (3.3, 4.1)

2. To create comparable time-series datasets for England, Wales and Scotland from the Youth Cohort Study (YCS) and Scottish School Leavers Survey (SSLS) 1984-2002. (3.1)

3. Using these datasets, to analyse and compare trends in educational outcomes and youth transitions in England, Wales and Scotland during the 1980s, 1990s and early 2000s, and to assess the extent of divergence or convergence and local/regional variation. (3.2, 4.2)

4. To use the analyses in 3 above to contribute empirical evidence to wider debates about educational change, by exploring:
   • the extent to which divergent trends can be attributed to policy differences;
   • the extent to which parallel or convergent trends can be attributed to common socio-economic developments. (3.2, 3.3, 4.2)

5. To evaluate contrasting theoretical frameworks for the understanding of educational change in the context of globalisation in the light of that evidence and those analyses. (3.4)
3. Methods

There were four main components of the research.

3.1 Creation of time-series datasets

A major achievement of the project has been to create comparable time-series datasets from the England and Wales Youth Cohort Study (YCS) and the Scottish School Leavers Survey (SSLS). These youth cohort surveys are an important source of information about young people because they combine data on family background, school context, attitudes, truancy and attainment with information about subsequent moves to further and higher education, labour market and other destinations. However, until now the youth cohort surveys could not be used for analysing social change because they were not designed as time-series, and comparative analysis was hindered by lack of comparability in the design of the YCS and SSLS. Our investigation of the data led to recommendations to government departments regarding future surveys (Croxford 2006).

Cohort datasets and necessary additional information were obtained from a number of sources: the Data Archive; the archives of the Policy Studies Institute and the CES; the Department for Education and Skills (DfES); the Scottish Executive Education Department (SEED); and the Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA).

The time-series constructed comprises eight cohorts for England and Wales and seven cohorts for Scotland. From the source datasets we selected core variables that had some degree of comparability over time and/or between national systems. Deriving variables for the time series was an iterative process that included comparisons of coding and checking with other sources where possible.

Problems encountered in construction of the time-series datasets included: inconsistencies of survey design and procedures such as coding; missing or inadequate questions and coding; inadequate documentation; and sample attrition due to non-response.

Social class based on occupation is important for analysing social change, but the derivation of comparable measures over time is particularly challenging. The Standard Occupational Classification (SOC) is changed every ten years, so we built on previous research at CES to derive comparable occupation codes from the 1980, 1990 and 2000 classifications. A more intransigent problem arose because coding of occupations in the YCS was very poor and inconsistent and, prior to 1990, lacking in detail. Nevertheless, from the available occupational data we derived measures of socio-economic class (SEC), based on the classification developed by the Office of National Statistics that were as comparable across the cohorts as possible (Croxford 2004a).

A further challenge was posed by changes over time in examination/qualification systems, for example the change from General Certificate of Education (GCE) and Certificate of Secondary Education (CSE) to General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) in 1986. There are also significant differences between the qualification system in Scotland compared with that in England and Wales. To create attainment variables that are comparable across time and across systems we have drawn on other equivalences such as the National Qualification Framework (NQF) and the Universities and Colleges Admissions Service (UCAS) point scores.

In spite of these problems, the time-series datasets constructed by the project provide rich resources for analysing change over time in young people’s experiences of education and youth transitions. They will be deposited in the Data Archive and, for the first time, will make possible analysis of comparative change within Britain (Croxford et al 2006a).
3.2 Statistical methods
The data were analysed using cross-tabulations, logistic (ordinal, binomial and multinomial) regression, linear regression and multilevel versions of these techniques. In addition, sophisticated quantitative data analyses were used for a number of papers. The analysis of trends in social segregation between schools by Croxford and Paterson (forthcoming) not only used segregation indices derived by standard methods, but also the variance ratio derived using a multilevel statistical model, with the advantage that confidence intervals could be estimated. For her analysis of trends in social class inequalities in overall educational attainment between the mid-1980s and late 1990s in England and Scotland Iannelli (2006) used ordered logit models to disentangle the effect of structural changes (in this case the expansion of education) from the effect of relative changes in social class inequalities. For her analysis of labour market attainment, Shapira (2006) used the Heckman selection model to control for sample selection bias and then used the estimated selection bias as a control variable in the regression which estimates the impact of a social background variables and educational attainment on occupational destinations.

3.3 Review of existing literature, policy documents and other information
Our literature reviews were conducted in relation to, and as part of, specific theoretical/conceptual or empirical enquiries. They included reviews of the literature on:
- the distinctiveness of Scottish education, used to identify five perspectives on distinctiveness and to develop the conceptual framework described in 3.4 below (Raffe 2004);
- education policy-making processes in the home countries of the UK, with particular reference to the impact of devolution on policy convergence or divergence (Ozga 2005a, Raffe 2005b);
- specific aspects of education or policy areas such as quasi-markets (Croxford and Raffe forthcoming), careers guidance (Howieson and Semple 2006) and higher education (Iannelli 2005);
- policy learning and the contribution of cross-national comparisons (Raffe and Spours 2006b, Raffe 2006).

The last of these contributed to a joint publication with the Nuffield Review of 14-19 Education in England and Wales (Raffe and Spours 2006a) and there was mutually-helpful collaboration with the Review’s own surveys of policies and trends. We were able to extend our review of ‘home international’ policy developments to cover all post-14 learning through a project supported by the Learning and Skills Development Agency and its Welsh, Northern Irish and Scottish partner organisations (Byrne and Raffe 2005, Raffe and Byrne 2005).

3.4 Development of conceptual and theoretical frameworks, and rationale for Home International comparison
The evaluation of contrasting theoretical frameworks for understanding educational change was - and continues to be - an underlying theme of our research, and one that draws on a range of resources, which is not restricted to the project data (or indeed, to empirical enquiry). From the data available to the project it was difficult to establish whether or not there had been a growth of 'travelling' policy and supra/trans-national agenda setting, with its emphasis on competitiveness and measured outcomes of performance. And we could only partially address the question of the extent to which global policy agendas and processes played out differently in Scotland and England (but our investigations of this have contributed to a further project: ref RES-000-23-1385). Equally, although there was evidence of 'embedded' policy in the degree to which difference persisted, and in the local/regional/sub-national inflection of policy, we cannot claim that this demonstrates
conclusively the persuasiveness of a particular theoretical approach to change. Rather than comparing theoretical approaches we have therefore developed and extended the original approach.

However, our interest in educational change was broader than policy change, and our data did demonstrate that convergence or divergence in policy discourses was not necessarily matched by convergence or divergence in the administrative systems or in the social relations of education. To reflect this finding we developed our initial conceptual framework for comparing education systems (Figure 1) to take account of the system’s shaping myths, traditions and values, and the prevailing policy discourses and strategies. The revised framework, summarised in Figure 2, shows five perspectives or criteria for judging similarity and difference across systems, and consequently for assessing convergence and divergence (Raffe 2004).

**Figure 2: Perspectives on Education Systems**

As shown in the diagram, the five criteria may be causally connected in different ways, which in turn may reflect different views of globalisation. For example, a ‘political’ model of globalisation would predict most convergence in policy discourse, with less convergence in administrative systems or in social relations because of the continuing influence of myths and traditions, and of societal logics. ‘Economic’ models of globalisation which emphasise the functional imperatives of a competitive global economy would predict most convergence in the outcomes (social relations) of education.

Democratic devolution has encouraged a divergence in policy discourses within the UK; in terms of Figure 2 this may lead to divergence in administrative systems and consequently to divergence in the processes and outcomes of education. Originally we envisaged that we would assess the impact of policy changes by mapping changes from cohort to cohort against
a time-line of specific policy changes. In practice, we found that this was not realistic (see, for example, Croxford and Raffe 2005):

- Several policy trends (such as the encouragement for school diversity) were introduced through a series of changes rather than a single landmark reform such as the 1988 Act.
- Most policies were phased in with variable time lags between policy change and full impact.
- The extent to which policies were implemented, and the manner of their implementation, varied within and between the home countries.
- Our data were not sufficiently fine-grained, due to gaps in the sequence of cohorts and inconsistencies in the design or conduct of the surveys.

These are essentially technical problems, arising from the nature of our data and the policy changes we tried to evaluate. They do not invalidate the causal-comparative approach based on our initial (or revised) conceptual framework. However, they have encouraged us to re-state the policy-related case for home international comparisons in terms of a broad concept of policy learning (Raffe 2006), which we contrast with a narrower concept of policy borrowing. The tendency for policy-makers to confuse policy learning with policy borrowing helps to explain the limited influence of home international (or any other) comparisons on current educational policy-making in Britain.

This re-statement of the policy-related rationale for home international comparisons is accompanied by a broader analysis of policy learning which distinguishes three ideal-typical forms of governance - rationalist, collaborative and politicised - within which different types of policy learning may take place (Raffe and Spours 2006b). Educational policy-making in Scotland and Wales may most closely resemble the collaborative model while in England it shows more features of the politicised model. The collaborative model may provide the better basis for policy learning but it has potential weaknesses, such as a tendency to mistake the strength of consensus for strength of evidence.

4. Results

4.1 Directions of change in administrative systems: convergence or divergence?

The political devolution of 1999 followed a process of administrative devolution over earlier decades. Many policy differences between the home countries can be traced back even further, to the different origins of the respective systems. Political devolution has encouraged further divergence by making it easier for the devolved administrations to resist the imposition of English policy, by giving them more scope for autonomous policy development, by redistributing power within each territory and by promoting diverging institutional arrangements for administering, quality-assuring, funding and regulating education and training (Raffe 2005).

However, policy divergence is restricted by the limited autonomy of the devolved administrations and the continued interdependence of the UK’s education systems. The devolved administrations have limited capacity and resources for independent policy-making. Their education and training policies must ‘join up’ with reserved policy areas such as social security and employment, and they must all connect with UK-wide structures such as the labour market. Any country which takes a very independent line in matters such as qualifications risks putting its own citizens at a disadvantage.

Compared with England, Scotland and Wales are seen to give social inclusion, social justice, citizenship and personal development equal weight with economic concerns. They place less emphasis on markets, institutional diversity, competition and quantitative targets and more
emphasis on comprehensive education, social partnership, integrated policy approaches and structural remedies for exclusion. This is reflected in the recent policy changes described below.

**School systems:** Throughout Britain, education policy changes, often influenced by neo-liberal ideas, have brought greater parental choice of schools, national curricula, new examination systems catering for all levels of ability, quality assurance, target setting, performance indicators and increasing pressures on schools to raise attainment. But, the emphasis and implementation of these policies has diverged: Wales and Scotland continue as mainly comprehensive systems with weak forms of marketisation, whereas England has introduced greater diversity of school, and strong marketisation (Croxford and Raffe forthcoming).

**Post-16 education:** All three systems have sought to modernise post-compulsory curricula and qualifications in order to cater for increased participation and a more diverse student body. In England successive reforms have maintained separate academic and vocational tracks, whereas in Scotland the “Higher Still” reforms have introduced a more unified system based on a climbing-frame model, and in Wales the “Learning Pathways” and the Welsh Baccalaureate are attempting to bring academic and vocational learning closer together (Raffe 2005).

**Higher Education** (HE). Since the 1980s there has been a rapid expansion in HE, and in 1992 the former polytechnics and “old” universities were brought into a single system. In the same year Scottish and Welsh universities were ‘repatriated’ and placed under separate funding councils. There is increasing emphasis on widening participation (Cree et al forthcoming). Policy divergence has been reflected most acutely in the policies for student fees. Existing differences between HE in Scotland and elsewhere have been maintained, including greater provision of HE qualifications at sub-degree level in further education (FE) colleges (Iannelli 2005).

**Youth training:** Since the early 1980s a series of government training programmes have sought to promote skill development and address youth unemployment. In the 1980s these programmes were organised on a British-wide basis but since 1990 there has been progressive devolution of responsibilities to Scotland and Wales. This has resulted in divergence in the organisation of the programmes themselves in respect of funding, eligibility and selection criteria; the use of apprenticeship models and links with full-time education. However divergence is constrained by the common dependence on the UK labour market, the influence of UK bodies such as Sector Skills Councils and the demand for common, or compatible, vocational qualifications.

**4.2 Trends in social relations and processes: convergence or divergence?**

**Compulsory schooling:** Over the two decades there have been marked changes in overall educational outcomes, including increasingly favourable perceptions of the value of school education and rising average attainment. Throughout Britain, young people from all social classes shared in these upward trends, nevertheless, outcomes remained strongly influenced by social class (Croxford forthcoming, Croxford et al 2006).

The study explored whether outcomes and inequalities in England diverged from those in Wales and Scotland over a period when there was a divergence in policies for secondary school organisation (Croxford and Raffe 2005). It considered the degree to which strong marketisation policies in England led to increasing social class segregation between schools
compared to weak marketisation in Scotland (and Wales). It found that differences in segregation between the three countries were small, but segregation was consistently lower in Scotland than in England, and this is compatible with the view that the more comprehensive system in Scotland was associated with lower segregation. In the 1990s segregation in Scotland fell slightly but rose elsewhere, but the data do not reveal clear trends related specifically to the introduction of parental choice legislation (Croxford and Paterson forthcoming).

There was some evidence pointing to a link between changing market regimes and levels of social inequality. The stronger move to markets in England, and the resistance to such moves in Scotland, coincided with a relative narrowing of class inequalities in attainment at age 16 in Scotland. However, we concluded the policy divergence and the divergence in inequality were probably connected, not as cause and effect, but as joint outcomes of a deeper set of social forces (Croxford and Raffe forthcoming).

**Staying on in full-time education post-16:** Over the two decades there have been increasing levels of participation in post-compulsory education, and by the end of the 1990s participation rates in full time education had became very similar across Britain. The increase in participation was especially marked in England where participation rates in the 1980s had been the lowest of the three countries. In England, the increase was achieved though growing participation in sixth-form colleges and in colleges of further education, while in Scotland the majority of those who continued in post-compulsory full time education did so at their existing secondary schools. Social class differences in staying-on declined slightly over the period - but this trend showed some fluctuation (Shapira and Howieson 2005).

**Attainment at age 18:** Increasing participation led to increasing attainment of qualifications, but the social class gap was wider for outcomes at age 18 than for outcomes at age 16. Average attainment at age 18, as measured by achievement of NQF level 3, or two or more A-levels or three or more Highers (the notional requirement for entry to HE), was significantly higher in Scotland than elsewhere in Britain. However, social class inequalities in attainment at age 18 narrowed slightly in England but not in Scotland. Within each Scottish cohort the class gap was wider at 18 than at 16 years. By the late 1990s inequalities at age 18 were substantially wider in Scotland than in England (Raffe et al 2006).

**Entry to Higher Education at 18:** An increasing proportion of young people entered HE at age 18. Inequalities in participation in HE initially rose as HE expanded in the early 1990s but then fell to a level lower than in the 1980s. Levels of entry to HE were substantially higher in Scotland than in England throughout the period, but inequalities were consistently higher in Scotland than in England. In both countries social-class differences in entry to HE could largely be attributed to class differences in achieving the qualifications for entry to HE. Inequalities in entry to degree courses were wider than for sub-degree courses (Iannelli 2005, 2006, Raffe et al 2006).

**Labour market:** There has been a radical change in the youth labour market over the period with a decline in the demand for low skilled young workers. The proportion of young people in full-time employment at age 18-19 declined significantly across Britain during the 1980s-1990s. There was also a shift from employment in higher status white collar occupations towards employment in services, sales and manual semi-skilled/unskilled occupations. Participation in post-compulsory education and the attainment of academic post-compulsory qualifications improved young people’s chances of entering a white collar occupation.

Among those who were in the labour market at 18-19, young people from higher social origin were more likely to be in a full-time job and also to have a higher status white collar
occupation. In Scotland the effect of social class on the likelihood of having a white collar occupation at 18-19 disappeared when compulsory and post compulsory qualifications were taken into account. This, however, was not the case in England and Wales where social class remained significant, even controlling for qualifications.

In England and Wales until the late 1990s, participation in post-compulsory education was beneficial for those who were in the labour market at age 18-19 only if they had managed to obtain some vocational qualifications or a combination of academic and vocational qualifications. Achieving only academic qualifications, or not obtaining any qualifications, did not improve their labour market outcomes at age 18-19. In contrast, in Scotland continuing in full-time post-compulsory education even without obtaining any additional qualifications had a positive impact on labour market outcomes, and there appears to be a positive labour market return to academic qualifications (Shapira 2006).

Regional differences: Within England there were differences in socio-economic context, with the south of England – south of a line from the Severn to the Wash - having lower levels of unemployment, higher average income and higher proportions of the population holding degree-level qualifications than the northern part of England. On most indicators the socio-economic context of Wales and Scotland was very similar to that in the northern part of England, but the proportion in Scotland with degree-level qualifications was similar to the south of England (Croxford 2005).

Analysis of young people’s outcomes led to the conclusion that the system differences between Scotland and the rest of Britain had greater impact than socio-economic context. On average, levels of attainment by young people were higher in the south of England than north of England or Wales, and this was in line with regional differences in the social characteristics associated with high attainment. However, although Scotland’s socio-economic context had more in common with the northern part of England and Wales, Scotland had consistently higher levels of academic attainment and participation in HE than the south of England (Croxford et al 2006).

5. Activities

The Academic Advisory Group comprised Prof Pamela Munn (Edinburgh, chair), Tim Oates (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority), Diana Wilkinson (Scottish Executive Education Department), Prof Peter Dolton (Newcastle), Prof Andy Furlong (Glasgow), Prof Stephen Gorard (York), Prof Ken Jones (Keele), Prof Margaret Maden (Keele) and Dr Ken Spours (London). The group has met four times, and provided valuable advice and support throughout the project.

We organised our mid-term workshop with policy-makers (as outlined in our project proposal) jointly with the Nuffield Review of 14-19 Education. This was held in March 2005 on the theme of Policy Learning. It was attended by researchers and policy-makers from England and Scotland. (See also sections 6 and 7 below).

In May 2006 we organised a dissemination conference entitled “Education and Social Change: England, Wales and Scotland 1984-2002”. It was attended by 69 people from all over the UK, including academics, members of government departments, local authorities and other organisations. Feedback from participants was extremely positive: one stated “This is one of the best conferences I have been to – focussed with an in-depth discussion of both empirical and theoretical ideas: the upshot is more to think about and new ideas for research”. Other presentations of the research have been made to:
The Transitions in Youth Network in Madeira, 2003;
British Educational Research Association Conference in Edinburgh, 2003;
Scottish Educational Research Association Conference in Perth, 2004;
European Educational Research Association Conference in Crete, 2004;
Scottish Executive Research Conference, 2004;
IPPR/ESRC Devolution Programme seminar in Edinburgh, 2005;
Exeter University Education Department, 2005;
‘Home international’ conference of UK and devolved administrations and agencies organised by Dysg (Welsh Learning and Skills Development Agency) in Cardiff, 2006;

On the strength of the EYT project we received funding from the Learning and Skills Development Agency for a complementary project on Establishing a UK ‘home international’ comparative research programme in post-compulsory learning.

The Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA) seconded a statistician, Marie McGhee, to work with us on the development of equivalent qualification variables, together with John Hart, a former member of SQA who had been involved in the development of the UCAS point score.

We had discussions about data issues, especially those relating to social class coding, with researchers at Nuffield College, Oxford, and statisticians at the DfES, to whom we have made recommendations for future improvements.

6. Outputs
The youth cohort time-series dataset includes comparable variables for cohorts of young people who completed compulsory schooling between 1984 and 1998/9. The dataset will be deposited in the Data Archive.

Over the course of the project we developed twenty Working Papers describing work in progress; many of these have subsequently been developed into conference papers, articles or book chapters. Most are published on our website http://www.ces.ed.ac.uk/eyt/eytindex.htm


Short summaries of key findings for a wide range of audiences have been published as four CES Briefings available from the project website. We used these to disseminate findings to the press, and they were reported in The Scotsman, Herald and Times Education Supplement.

7. Impacts
Activities listed in section 5 also show impacts.

Policy developments in 14-19 education in England, including the Tomlinson Working Group and the Nuffield review, created considerable interest in the project. The Policy Learning workshop was part of a mutually beneficial collaboration with the Nuffield Review team. The forthcoming book on Policy Making and Policy Learning has attracted interest and anticipation in English policy circles.
David Raffe has presented findings on education and inequality to the Scottish Policy Innovation Forum, which includes senior policy-makers and researchers in several policy areas.

SEED invited presentations of initial findings to their research conference in 2004, as part of a knowledge transfer initiative. SEED has further requested a presentation of the project findings to policy makers within the Scottish Executive.

We have written a critique of the youth cohort surveys, and discussed this with statisticians from the relevant government departments – the DfES and SEED. Personnel in DfES have requested copies of our methodology for creating consistent social class variables over time.

8. Future Research Priorities
The youth cohort time series dataset is a very rich source of data for analysing change over time, and will form the basis of future analyses. Croxford plans to apply for a research fellowship to consolidate and extend her work on social change, including analyses of urban-rural differences, gender and social class and the changing role of women.

Currently, the time-series only includes cohorts who reached age 16 before 1999, and there is strong interest in updating the series to include 21st century cohorts. The Scottish Executive has provided funding to add the most recent Scottish cohort (2002-2005) but we would need further funding to add further cohorts for England and Wales.

Building on the EYT project, a new research project (RES-000-23-1385) has just started involving home international comparison of data and education governance in England and Scotland.

Contextual differences between schools, neighbourhoods and regions, and their effects on young people’s experiences is an area of work to be developed using this and complementary datasets. This may form part of a future research proposal.
## ANNEX: EYT PAPERS AND PUBLICATIONS

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<tr>
<th>EYT Objectives (see note)</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Authors</th>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>The Youth Cohort Surveys - how good is the evidence? CES Briefing No 38</td>
<td>Croxford, L. (2006)</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
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**Note: EYT Objectives**

1. To summarise changes to the “administrative systems” of education and training in England, Wales and Scotland, including the main directions of policy change, and to assess the extent of divergence or convergence between these systems.
2. To create comparable time-series datasets for England, Wales and Scotland from the Youth Cohort Study (YCS) and Scottish School Leavers Survey (SSLS) 1984-2002.
3. Using these datasets, to analyse and compare trends in educational outcomes and youth transitions in England, Wales and Scotland during the 1980s, 1990s and early 2000s, and to assess the extent of divergence or convergence and local/regional variation.
4. To use the analyses in 3 above to contribute empirical evidence to wider debates about educational change, by exploring:
   - the extent to which divergent trends can be attributed to policy differences;
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