



Brotherhood
of St Laurence

Working for an Australia free of poverty
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Parliament of Victoria
Legislative Assembly Economy and Infrastructure Committee
Inquiry into access to TAFE for learners with disability
By email: TAFEaccessinquiry@parliament.vic.gov.au

Improving access to TAFE for people with disability

The Brotherhood works to prevent and address poverty and disadvantage

The Brotherhood of St Laurence is an independent non-government organisation with strong community links that has been working to reduce poverty in Australia since the 1930s. Based in Melbourne, but with a national profile, the Brotherhood continues to fight for an Australia free of poverty through research, service development and delivery, and advocacy.

This submission draws on our experience as a National Disability Insurance Scheme (NDIS) Partner in the Community delivering Local Area Coordination (LAC) services in the North Eastern Metropolitan, Hume Moreland, Western Melbourne, Brimbank Melton and Bayside Peninsula areas in Victoria. It also reflects views expressed in earlier Brotherhood submissions¹, as well as learnings from our partnership with the Melbourne Disability Institute of the University of Melbourne. Our submission draws on extensive service delivery, research and advocacy relating to education and vocational training for disadvantaged communities², specifically through:

- **partnering with TAFEs** and Launch Housing to support young people at risk of homelessness to access vocational training through **Education First Youth Foyers**, an accommodation-education model located on TAFE campuses
- **delivering training** to a diverse range of disadvantaged learners through our Group Training Organisation, Learn Local and our former Registered Training Organisation
- operating the **David Scott School** – a high support model providing the Victorian Certificate in Applied Learning to over 120 young people who had fallen out of education
- **major Australia-wide research projects** commissioned by the National Centre for Vocational Education Research, as well as numerous evaluations of VET-related support services.

¹ See [BSL submission to Joint Standing Committee on the National Disability Insurance Scheme planning inquiry](#), (2019); and [BSL submission to NDIS Thin Markets Project Consultation](#), Department of Social Services (2019)

² See our most recent [submission on VET reform \(to Victoria's Macklin Review\)](#)

Challenges faced by those with disability

People with disability face myriad structural challenges to participating fully in the community. We note here just a few that relate to the sphere of education and training:³

- **negative stereotypes throughout the community** and a consequent lack of ‘voice’ in systems in place to support those with disability.
- **the lack of adequate funding for providers** to develop the workforce skills and facilities needed to assist learners and help with pathway development
- **a lack of the network capital** needed to establish service connections, gain entrée into post-secondary education and training
- uneven collaboration between the NDIS (including Local Area Coordinators (LACs)) and vital services, contributing to a lack of support across a fragmented service landscape
- **teething problems within the implementation of the NDIS** resulting in overly bureaucratic processes and structures hindering easy access to personalised support, access to services and education, and the capacity to plan for one’s future.
- **the failure by policy makers and service providers to meet the challenge of multiple and cumulative disadvantage** among those with disability: that is, to address the acute needs of those with psychosocial disability, from non-English speaking backgrounds, from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities, and from low socioeconomic backgrounds.

Challenges facing all disadvantaged learners in VET

Disadvantaged learners encounter many challenges across the VET system. Here we note challenges of greatest relevance to those with disability:

- **A highly marketised training sector has led to reduced quality across the system.** The marketised system is dictating to, rather than serving, learners, employers and the community. Investment in TAFEs as public providers has been on a downward trajectory.
- **Outcomes for equity groups have gone backwards.** Participation levels are falling for learners experiencing disadvantage, and particularly for people with disability.
- **The curriculum is not easily adapted to changing learner and labour market needs.** It is complex and based on a prescriptive competency-based training model and pedagogy.
- **The training system is not well aligned with important sectors.** There is little coordination between the training sector and relevant services and agencies (e.g. schools, jobactive providers, local government services, community-based support services, and Centrelink).
- **There is limited investment in workforce development.** The workforce is under-resourced, with little job security, and without adequate career progression and professional development opportunities.

³ Barnett, K 2004, ‘The capacity of the Australian VET system to be inclusive for people with disability’, in K Bowman (ed.), [Equity in vocational education and training: research readings](#), NCVET, Adelaide.

To assist learners with disability we must shift from a systems-centred to a person-centred approach.

Most of the challenges above stem from the limitations of a *systems-centred approach* to service provision, within and beyond VET. Often in the pursuit of ‘efficiencies’ or economic return, this approach places too great a burden on the citizen to adapt to existing systems. Those systems invariably become siloed and exacerbate the challenges already experienced by disadvantaged cohorts.

Our person-centred vision is one in which people with disability can realise the same fundamental rights as everyone else: to participate in the social and economic life of the community and to make their own choices and decisions. As such, our recommendations below seek to re-orient Victoria’s provision of vocational training, through its TAFEs, so that every step of the learners’ journey is adapted to the needs and views of those with disability.

Note: Our vision of a person-centred VET system in Victoria is elaborated in our [BSL submission to the Macklin Review](#). There we considered issues pertaining to all learners—focusing on those experiencing disadvantage—and to all provider types. While there is a strong correspondence between the submissions, our contribution to the Macklin Review covered in greater detail:

- school-based career guidance
 - workplace-based training
 - place-based responses
 - the role of employers
 - system-wide performance indicators and targets.
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Recommendations: summary

1. Allocate funds to build a better understanding of the barriers faced by those with disability and to raise awareness of those needs across the community, across the Victorian VET system, and within each TAFE institution.
 - a. Use data on access, progress and outcomes to raise understanding and inform practice.
2. Promote vocational education as a valued pathway to employment, using initiatives such as GET VET.
3. Build TAFE capacity to assist learners with disability, and to adopt systems, processes and procedures that accommodate learners’ needs.
4. Build stronger connections between TAFEs and [NDIS] Partners in the Community and other representatives of those with disability (e.g. advocacy organisations and peak bodies), as well as with organisations supporting disadvantaged communities.
5. Establish Skills and Jobs Centres as key meeting sites at which LACs supporting people with disabilities can assist with career advice, pathway guidance, and contribute to TAFE workforce skills development.
6. Use the enhanced Skills and Jobs Centres to provide learners with a ‘voice’ and adjust TAFE expectations and practices in response to their voices. Changes should result in:
 - a. clearer expectations of institutions, educators, learners, their families and carers

- b. institution and individual level adjustments
 - c. collaboration on pathway and transition planning
7. Provide short courses and programs that open a pathway to further training or employment.
 - a. Promote workplace-based training and establish links to employers.
 8. Strengthen learning and wellbeing supports, and students' awareness of the available supports.
 9. Build the capacity of TAFE support staff and teaching staff to work alongside external specialist support staff and to develop more flexible pedagogy.

Recommendations explained

1. Build a better understanding of the barriers faced by learners with disability

To be effective, the measures taken to assist those with disability must be attuned not only to the physical and psychological impediments to participation, but also to the broader range of systemic barriers. These often include a history of exclusion or bullying; low language, literacy and numeracy skills; and low levels of academic success, confidence and self-esteem; and lack of the financial resources and independence needed to commence, access and undertake training. Barriers may include limited or obsolete work-related skills (e.g. limited digital skills), and outdated educational qualifications. People with disability often have smaller support networks, yet these are the very networks all learners must rely upon to grasp the complex nature of VET, its offerings and government entitlement schemes.

People with disability would likely have contended with system barriers facing most disadvantaged learners who would benefit from vocational training. Such barriers often undermine a person's capacity to access training providers and to engage fully with the VET experience. They include subsistence level income from government, unstable housing, poor access to transport and inadequate supports. Importantly, people with disability also contend with pervasive, ill-informed and negative community perceptions of those with disability.⁴

Use data on access, progress and outcomes to raise understanding and inform practice.

Key to building this understanding and to adapting policy and practice accordingly is the purposeful use of data. Given the steady decline in participation in VET by those with disability⁵, a rigorous performance monitoring framework is needed, with associated targets on access, progress, and outcomes in VET for those with disability. Such data will shed light on the trends involving people with disability who are members of multiple learner categories and whose experiences cannot be fully explained by a single life circumstance. Thus, for example, we seek reporting on the following:

- young adults with disability undertaking Certificate III training
- those with disability undertaking apprenticeships or traineeships living in remote areas
- mature-aged learners with disability from non-English speaking backgrounds
- early school leaver women with disability from low socioeconomic backgrounds undertaking VET.

With reference to performance data and targets all TAFEs should be required to show how they have modified and improved their approaches to assisting those with disability.

2. Promote vocational education as a valued pathway

For the benefit not only of those with disability, there is a fundamental need to improve the status of vocational education and training within and beyond TAFEs. An important medium through which this can

⁴ Black, S, Balatti, J & Falk, I 2010, 'Reconnecting young people with learning: a social capital approach in VET', *International Journal of Training Research*, vol. 8, no. 2, pp. 103–15; Hancock KJ & Zubrick, SR 2015, *Children and young people at risk of disengagement from school*, for the Commissioner for Children and Young People WA; Haywood, N, Walker, S, O'Toole, G, Hewitson, C, Pugh, E & Sundaram, P 2009, *Engaging all young people in meaningful learning after 16: a review*, Research report 25, Equality and Human Rights Commission, Manchester, UK; CEDEFOP 2020, [Empowering adults through upskilling and reskilling pathways](#); Lamb, S, Maire, Q, Walstab, A, Newman, G, Doecke, E & Davies, M 2018, *Improving participation and success in VET for disadvantaged learners*, NCVET, Adelaide.

⁵ From 48,725 in 2013 to 32,796 in 2018. Source: NCVET VOCSTATS, Government funded students and courses, VET program enrolments, Victoria, 2003–2018, accessed 26 November 2019.

be achieved, and through which those with disability can be reached, is the Victorian Government's GET VET campaign.⁶ This initiative must be enhanced to reach communities that have been marginalised in order to:

- highlight VET's intrinsic worth to all individuals and communities, and the vital role played by TAFEs across the educational landscape
- educate parents and support agencies about the potential of vocational training and the steps to identify and undertake suitable training
- build awareness of the specialised supports that are available at or through VET providers.

3. Build TAFE capacity to assist learners with disability

TAFEs continue to play a vital role as public providers of vocational training. They are rooted in place, have significant capital (physical, intellectual and cultural) and have a broader remit than other training providers. Yet their capacity to assist diverse learners is hindered by a high level of fragmentation, misalignment and competition among training providers, as well as between the myriad support services and agencies that people with disability encounter.

The NDIS provides funded supports to only 10 per cent of the approximately 4.8 million people with disabilities in Australia; for those people who do not meet access requirements to an NDIS funded plan, the community-based support that TAFEs can provide to engage in learning is critical. TAFEs need to be positioned as a pivotal institution in the landscape of services and agencies assisting those with disability. To consolidate TAFEs' capacity to assist this and other disadvantaged cohorts, their mission should be expanded so they:

- consider and where appropriate adopt insights from advocacy groups⁷ and employers about best-practice in modes of delivery (e.g. online and distance learning, workplace-based training) for those experiencing disability
- engage more closely and more often with social partners and industry to co-create high quality courses relevant to learners with disability and the local labour market
- become a key site of professional development activities that can inform the entire VET workforce with the insights and skills required to better respond to the needs of those with disability
- support all students with disability, regardless of background, to embark on life-long learning.

To realise these objectives, a substantial investment in TAFE capacity is needed. Funding must be made available for the necessary resources, including:

- highly skilled training and support personnel who are cognizant of the special needs of the learners and who can enhance sensory accessibility (see below)
- lease or purchase of office space and teaching facilities beyond the main campuses to allow for greater accessibility to learners

⁶ The Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority's GET VET campaign: <https://www.vcaa.vic.edu.au/studentguides/getvet/Pages/Index.aspx>

⁷ These include national bodies (e.g. People with Disability Australia, and Disability Advocacy Network Australia) as well as Victorian-based bodies (e.g. the Disability Resource Centre, Women with Disabilities Victoria, and Youth Disability Advocacy Service). See <https://www.afdo.org.au/members-2/members/>

- leasing or purchase of specialised equipment and upgrades of IT and online teaching capacity needed to support learners who have limited mobility.

This entails providing smaller, welcoming learning environments that help the learner to overcome anxiety and low confidence, and that maximise interpersonal relationships.⁸

4. Build stronger connections between TAFEs and [NDIS] Partners in the Community and other representatives of learners with disability

It is vital that formal, ongoing institutional links are created that connect TAFEs to agents that represent the interests of people with disability.⁹ Among the most important in the NDIS context are the Partners in the Community delivering LAC (local area coordination).

LACs work closely with those who meet access requirements to the NDIS to develop, implement and review NDIS plans. However, LACs also have a wider remit. Under the Community Capacity Building (CCB) and Information Linkages and Capacity Building (ILC) aspects of their role, LACs work with all people with disabilities (including those who are not eligible for NDIS funded supports) to link them with mainstream and community supports and information, as well as working with mainstream services (including VET) and communities to build capacity to be inclusive.

During the roll-out of the NDIS across Australia, much of LACs' time and resources was focused on planning for NDIS participants, to speed transition into the Scheme; as a result, the impacts of the CCB and ILC components of LAC have not yet been fully realised. However, now that the NDIS is rolled out, Partners in the Community represent an underutilised, locally embedded resource for improving the capacity of TAFEs (and the wider VET system) to be inclusive of students with disability.

As the 'pre-enrolment' phase is critical in any learner's experience with vocational training—when the complex, often confusing nature of the course offerings, provider types, and administrative barriers are most pronounced—there is an urgent need for interventions that address aspirations, careers exploration, and course/provider suitability.

Other important community-based services include Community Investment Committees (a number of which are under the auspice of the Brotherhood of St Laurence) and their equivalents. These assist disadvantaged young learners by providing a collaborative place-based mechanism for bringing together industry, employment, VET and youth service systems, and involving Adult Community Education providers (Learn Locals et al), Local Learning and Employment Networks, and services such as Next Step, Reconnect and Transition to Work. This constellation of support services must collaborate more to provide effective entrée to VET for those with disability.

It is particularly important to establish pathways between providers of non-accredited training—mostly Learn Locals and other community-based providers—and TAFEs to ensure that those with disability

⁸ Brown, J & North, S 2010, *Providing support to disadvantaged learners in the Australian VET system: a report to the National VET Equity Advisory Council (NVEAC)*, Australian Council for Educational Research, Melbourne; CEDEFOP 2020, [Empowering adults through upskilling and reskilling pathways](#); Lamb, S, Maire, Q, Walstab, A, Newman, G, Doecke, E & Davies, M 2018, *Improving participation and success in VET for disadvantaged learners*, NCVER, Adelaide.

⁹ As noted, these include those with a national presence (e.g. People with Disability Australia, and Disability Advocacy Network Australia) as well as Victorian-based bodies (e.g. the Disability Resource Centre, Women with Disabilities Victoria, and Youth Disability Advocacy Service).

experience a seamless transition from smaller, more intimate learning settings, to larger campuses and student populations.

5. Utilise TAFEs' Skills and Jobs Centres as the 'front door'

We view the Skills and Jobs Centres as the ideal site at which NDIS-related and community-based agents can establish a presence on TAFE campuses to collaborate and utilise their respective specialised skills for the benefit of current or prospective learners with disability.

Currently, the Skills and Jobs Centres are in over 28 locations across 17 TAFEs (some, such as Wodonga TAFE, also provide Skills and Job Centre services through 'outreach centres' beyond main campuses). They provide career, apprenticeship and traineeship advice; help with job searching, the preparation of resumes and career plans; and the use of online resources. They help those socially excluded to begin training, and those who are looking to upskill or reskill following redundancy. They provide general financial advice as well as information on employment trends, skills shortages and training qualification options.¹⁰

While Skills and Jobs Centres are currently assisting prospective learners to make informed decisions about their pathway choices, we see the need for enhancements that equip them to broaden their remit. They should not only physically accommodate agents representing people with disability, but also facilitate information exchange and skills development with the TAFE workforce—as well as those working beyond TAFEs—about best practice and advances in training for those with disability. The enhanced Skills and Jobs Centres, with the added expertise of NDIS-related agents, would provide improved face-to-face service, online and phone support, and would be promoted as a public service for the whole community.

6. Listen to learners with disability and adjust expectations and practices accordingly

Enhanced Skills and Jobs Centres would help amplify the voice of learners. They can become an important medium through which schools, non-TAFE training providers and employers could expand their understanding of people with disability and the practices that would lead to successful engagement with vocational training. Through such closer links between those with disability, their agents/representatives and TAFEs, educators will be better equipped to adopt more personalised and flexible approaches to overcome the constraints of course curricula.

Clarify expectations

A vital first step in engaging productively with TAFE is reaching consensus on expectations, through discussions held by participants and support services within and/or beyond the Skills and Job Centre. Too often, learners with disability, support services and the relevant education provider can have differing conceptions of what constitutes a successful experience. Research shows that learners and disability services staff may view success in terms of progress made in personal development, and in the learner's capacity to cope; whereas education providers and educators are more likely to gauge success with reference to course completion.¹¹

Make institution and individual level adjustments

Such discussions can also produce a better understanding of the individualised and institutional adjustments required to teaching and support, including learning and assessment methods to support

¹⁰ See <https://www.education.vic.gov.au/about/programs/pathways/skillsandjobscentres/Pages/default.aspx>

¹¹ Fossey, E, Chaffey, L, Venville, A, Ennals P, Douglas, J & Bigby C 2015, [Supporting tertiary students with disabilities: individualised and institution-level approaches in practice](#), NCVER, Adelaide; and NCVER 2015, [Supporting tertiary students with a disability or mental illness: good practice guide](#), NCVER, Adelaide.

students with disabilities or ongoing ill health. Again, the adjustments should be made in close consultation with the learner, and with support workers and specialists and families.

Research conducted by Fossey and colleagues for the NCVET goes some way to showing the kind of adaptations needed, and that may be 'mainstreamed' by TAFEs. These include changed exam conditions, flexibility in assessments, individualised and standard learning supports (in the form of materials, appropriate/tailored online course material, equipment, stress management techniques and encouragement in and beyond the class), and varying the study loads and the daily timetable.¹²

Importantly, any adjustments made in the learning setting should involve minimal disruption and intrusiveness, be modulated according to each learner's progress, and should aim to build learner integration with the wider cohort.

Collaborate on pathway and transition planning

Specialist educators and/or support staff working through Skills and Jobs Centres should ensure that 'education and career action plans' are developed for each learner with a disability at each TAFE. These can be modelled on the Victorian school Career Action Plans (CAPs). Through these plans young people consider a wide range of industries and careers that match their interests, skills and abilities. The importance of such exploration before narrowing options and committing to accredited vocational training cannot be overstated.

For NDIS participants, such action plans should be integrated with their NDIS plan developed with and by their LAC. These plans should be consistent in their format and design with those connecting learners to broader support services, and be developed where possible with the involvement of families and carers.

From as early as possible in their educational journey people with disability should be actively involved in developing and enacting personal visions and goals through such plans. Their plan development should be accompanied by:

- visits or virtual tours of TAFE campuses, and access to podcasts and videos on vocational training
- guest speaking events from people with disability who have successfully transitioned into vocational training and beyond it to employment
- tours of workplaces, as well as interaction with community organisations, sporting clubs, trade unions; and introductions to potential mentors, through digital media or face to face
- awareness-raising events that showcase an industry or the expectations of employers.

7. Provide short courses and qualifications that open a pathway to further training or employment

Consideration should be given to how the current range of training products can be supplemented by micro-credentials, which currently encompass formal/accredited and informal/non-accredited training products.¹³ These credentials could help those with disability to take initial steps towards higher qualifications and, ultimately, to employment. They would also help people to continue life-long learning as

¹² Fossey, E, Chaffey, L, Venville, A, Ennals P, Douglas, J & Bigby C 2015, [Supporting tertiary students with disabilities: individualised and institution-level approaches in practice](#), NCVET, Adelaide; and NCVET 2015, [Supporting tertiary students with a disability or mental illness: good practice guide](#), NCVET, Adelaide.

¹³ Oliver, B 2019, [Making micro-credentials work for learners, employers and providers](#), Deakin University.

their circumstances change. Important caveats apply to the promotion of micro-credentials. BSL supports the use of *credit-bearing* products that:

- are aligned to qualification levels and are delivered with robust assessment processes
- are strongly related to work and to work opportunities across ‘occupational clusters’
- are endorsed by industry, Industry Reference Committees, the VRQA and/or AQFA
- are listed on searchable websites such as the Victorian Skills Gateway.

A key criterion for suitability would also be the scope for flexible delivery, and for adaptability in terms of assessment processes.

Promote workplace-based training and establish links to employers

Educational attainment rates are poor for those with disability—from secondary level through to vocational training and higher education—as are workforce participation and employment rates. TAFEs, through the Skills and Jobs Centre collaborations with Partners in the Community and people with disabilities, can play a key role in building bridges with employers.

Brotherhood research highlights the lack of a coordinated framework for employment services across Australia for unemployed young people with disability.¹⁴ Our research has found that disability employment services are not adequately attuned to the needs of young people, and adopt a similar ‘work first’ approach to Jobactive providers, with little assistance for social skill building.

A recent House of Representatives Inquiry (2018)¹⁵ recommended expanding the Ticket to Work initiative (<http://www.tickettowork.org.au/>), now funded only by philanthropy and a contribution from the Victorian Government. It features partnerships with many institutions such as TAFEs and universities, and represents a strong bridge between study and work. It currently operates in four regions in Victoria—Western and Northern suburbs, Hume, Geelong, and the Frankston/Mornington Peninsula—and should be expanded throughout the state.

8. Strengthen learning and wellbeing support for students

We support a key recommendation of the recent Braithwaite Review of ASQA¹⁶ calling for the standard of learner support offered by all training organisations to at least match that required of secondary schools and universities. This is particularly important when addressing the needs of those with disability. Key services must include:

- access to specialist wellbeing supports—including through strong partnerships between providers and external community support services
- personalised coaching and education planning of the kind outlined above
- modifications to buildings and learning environments that maximise both physical and sensory accessibility

¹⁴ Cross, M 2020, *Who gets what where: review of government funded youth employment programs across Australia*, Brotherhood of St Laurence, Fitzroy, Vic.

¹⁵ House of Representatives Standing Committee on Employment, Education and Training 2018, [Unique individuals, broad skills: Inquiry into school to work transition](http://www.tickettowork.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Ticket-to-Work-Post-School-Outcomes-final-2019.docx). The evaluation can be found at <http://www.tickettowork.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Ticket-to-Work-Post-School-Outcomes-final-2019.docx>.

¹⁶ Braithwaite, V 2018, [All eyes on quality: review of the National Vocational Education and Training Regulator Act 2011 report](#), Australian Government, Canberra.

- intensive support for development of foundation skills
- supported work experience for students who lack the resources, networks and skills to arrange their own opportunities.

Addressing literacy and numeracy challenges is particularly important for some learners with disability. A 2016 review of 22 policy interventions for low adult literacy and numeracy found benefits in adapting instruction to learners' needs by means of regular assessment (formative assessment); complementary e-learning (blended learning); and contextualisation of basic skills both at work and at home (workplace learning and family literacy).¹⁷

Government-funded websites designed to assist all prospective students navigate the VET sector (e.g. the Victorian Skills Gateway, Training.gov.au) should require all TAFEs to display the learning/welfare supports they provide directly, and those they can provide access to via external referrals. Their capacity to assist those with disability should also be made clear on such websites.

9. Foster a skilled TAFE workforce to work alongside specialist support workers.

Currently VET teachers must rely on the skills gained from the 'entry-level' Certificate IV in Training and Assessment, which itself is based on rigid competency training requirements. This qualification is, in the eyes of many, an inadequate foundation for teaching in VET, particularly teaching high needs students.¹⁸

Raising the vocational capacity of VET teachers not only to deliver high quality learning, but also to adapt to teaching those with a disability requires significant investment. While VET teachers must develop effective strategies to assist these students, many with complex and challenging needs, such strategies must include working alongside specialists assisting the learners. Indeed, specialist support workers—based at TAFE or supporting clients through the NDIS—should themselves be familiarised with the vocational programs in which their clients are engaged.

The Victorian Government should encourage collaboration between universities, TAFEs, the Victorian VET Development Centre and Partners in the Community and the NDIA to create a skills development framework that will support the VET teaching workforce as it caters for a more diverse population of students. The role outlined above for enhanced Skills and Jobs Centres should go some way to exposing VET teachers to the experiences and needs of those with disability; and helping them modify teaching and support practices accordingly.

The Brotherhood stands ready to assist further with this review.

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¹⁷ Hendrickje, CW 2016, 'How to motivate adults with low literacy and numeracy skills to engage and persist in learning: a literature review of policy interventions', *International Review of Education*, vol. 62, no. 3, pp. 279–97.

¹⁸ Guthrie, H & Jones, A 2018, 'How can VET teacher education and development be improved?', in *Vocational education for the 21st century: a series of policy discussion papers*, LH Martin Institute, University of Melbourne.