

Cynulliad Cenedlaethol Cymru
Pwyllgor Addysg a Dysgu Gydol Oes

The National Assembly for Wales
The Education and Lifelong Learning Committee

Adolygiad Rees
Rees Review

Cwestiynau 1-43
Questions 1-43

Dydd Mercher, 9 Mawrth 2005

Wednesday, 9 March 2005

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Aelodau o'r Cynulliad yn bresennol: Peter Black (Cadeirydd), Jeff Cuthbert, Christine Chapman, Jane Davidson (y Gweinidog dros Addysg a Dysgu Gydol Oes), David Davies, Mark Isherwood, Irene James, Denise Idris Jones, Janet Ryder, Owen John Thomas.

Swyddogion yn bresennol: John Howells, Pennaeth Adran Addysg Uwch, Cynulliad Cenedlaethol Cymru, Neil Surman, Prosiect Datganoli Cefnogaeth Myrffyrwyr, Cynulliad Cenedlaethol Cymru.

Tystion Panel Adolygiad Rees: Rob Humphreys, yr Athro Rees, Ken Richards.

Assembly Members present: Peter Black (Chair), Jeff Cuthbert, Christine Chapman, Jane Davidson (the Minister for Education and Lifelong Learning), David Davies, Mark Isherwood, Irene James, Denise Idris Jones, Janet Ryder, Owen John Thomas.

Officials present: John Howells, Head of Higher Education Division, National Assembly for Wales, Neil Surman, Devolution of Student Support Project, National Assembly for Wales.

Rees Review Panel Witnesses: Rob Humphreys, Professor Rees, Ken Richards.

*Dechreuodd y sesiwn cymryd tystiolaeth am 9.52 a.m.
The evidence-taking session began at 9.52 a.m.*

[1] **Peter Black:** I welcome Ken Richards, Professor Rees, Rob Humphreys, Neil Surman and John Howells, who is the head of higher education in the Assembly Government. I will ask Professor Rees to make a brief introduction. We will work on the assumption that we have read the report, and we can then go straight to the questions.

Professor Rees: Thank you very much. There are also many members of the review group in the gallery. I fear that some of you who attended the briefing we offered last night for Assembly Members may get a certain sense of *déjà vu*. I have a sense of *déjà vu* myself, because only a few years ago, I was sitting in this self same seat reporting on the first review that we were invited to conduct, on student hardship and funding. We were absolutely thrilled that so many of our recommendations were then implemented by the Assembly, and we hope that this will happen again, even if we are not entirely sure what those recommendations will be as yet. The two main ones were the introduction of the Assembly learning grant, which England has now followed suit on, but we are also delighted that the Assembly put pressure on the Westminster Government to persuade it to get rid of upfront tuition fees, which were very unpopular in Wales, and replace them by the catchily entitled ‘end-loaded, income-contingent graduate endowment contributions’, which was something

[1] **Peter Black:** Croesawaf Ken Richards, yr Athro Rees, Rob Humphreys, Neil Surman a John Howells, sef pennaeth addysg uwch yn Llywodraeth y Cynulliad. Gofynnaf i'r Athro Rees roi cyflwyniad byr. Fe weithiwn ar y dybiaeth ein bod wedi darllen yr adroddiad, ac wedyn gallwn fynd yn syth at y cwestiynau.

Yr Athro Rees: Diolch yn fawr. Mae llawer o aelodau'r grwp adolygu yn yr oriel hefyd. Ofnaf efallai y caiff rhai ohonoch a fynychodd y cyfarfod briffio a roesom neithiwr i Aelodau'r Cynulliad ryw deimlad o *déjà vu*. Mae gennyf finnau deimlad o *déjà vu* fy hun, oherwydd dim ond ychydig flynyddoedd yn ôl, yr oeddwn yn eistedd yn yr union sedd hon yn adrodd ar yr adolygiad cyntaf y cawsom wahoddiad i'w wneud, ar galedi myfyrwyr a dulliau o'u hariannu. Cawsom fodd i fyw o weld cymaint o'n hargymhellion yn cael eu gweithredu bryd hynny gan y Cynulliad, a gobeithiwn y digwydd hyn eto, hyd yn oed os nad ydym yn hollol siwr beth fydd yr argymhellion hynny eto. Y ddau brif rai oedd cyflwyno grant dysgu'r Cynulliad, cam y mae Lloegr bellach wedi'i efelychu, ond yr ydym wrth ein boddau hefyd bod y Cynulliad wedi rhoi pwysau ar Lywodraeth San Steffan i'w pherswadio i gael gwared â ffioedd dysgu cyn-cychwyn, oedd yn amhoblogaidd iawn yng Nghymru, a sefydlu'r 'cyfraniadau gwaddoliad graddedigion diwedd-bwysol, dibynnol ar

that we had recommended. So we are very pleased about that. I think it means that paying back tuition fees on a salary of something like £18,000 can work out at about £5.19 a week, which is much more manageable, if you are earning that kind of graduate premium, than having to pay those fees upfront, as in the old days. So that is a very important change.

This time, we are still wrestling with the idea that higher education is a public good, and should therefore be funded by the public, but, at the same time, it has been expanded to such a degree that that is not feasible for the public to pay on its own, and therefore we have to achieve some sort of balance between the contribution of society and of individuals. Both benefit and both should make some kind of contribution. The question is how you achieve that balance. We have discovered much confusion among stakeholders and in the press about variable fees, top-up fees and fixed fees and we have often heard people refer to variable fees when they mean an increase in fees. Variable fees can mean a decrease in fees. Variable fees simply means that the higher education institution has the autonomy to set the fees, and part-time students, postgraduate students and Welsh domiciled students going to English institutions will already be paying variable fees, so we want to clarify the difference between variable fees and fixed fees and then whether or not they are top-up fees depends on how they are fixed or how the institution fixes them. It is quite clear to us from our analysis—and we have taken very much an evidence-based approach to this—that the sector needs more money to work effectively. The higher education sector was identified in the UK in 1993 as being very under-funded. I think that that message has, to an extent, been heard in England and Scotland through various initiatives

incwm' bondigrybwyll, sef rhywbeth yr oeddem ni wedi'i awgrymu. Felly yr ydym yn falch iawn ynglyn â hynny. Yr wyf yn meddwl ei fod yn golygu y gall talu ffioedd dysgu yn ôl ar gyflog o ryw £18,000 olygu talu tua £5.19 yr wythnos, sydd yn llawer haws ei drin, os ydych chi'n ennill y math hwnnw o bremiwm i raddedigion, na gorfod talu'r ffioedd hynny cyn cychwyn, fel yn yr hen ddyddiau. Felly dyna un newid pwysig iawn.

Y tro hwn, yr ydym yn dal i ymrafael â'r syniad mai rhywbeth er lles y cyhoedd yw addysg uwch, ac felly mai'r cyhoedd ddylai dalu amdani, ond, ar yr un pryd, fe'i hehangwyd i'r fath raddau fel nad yw'n ymarferol i'r cyhoedd yn unig dalu amdani, ac felly rhaid inni gael rhyw fath o gydbwysedd rhwng cyfraniad cymdeithas ac unigolion. Mae'r ddau'n elwa, a dylai'r ddau wneud rhyw fath o gyfraniad. Y cwestiwn yw sut mae sicrhau'r cydbwysedd hwnnw. Gwelsom lawer o ddryswch ymysg rhanddeiliaid ac yn y wasg ynghylch ffioedd amrywiadwy, ffioedd ychwanegol a ffioedd sefydlog a chlywsom bobl yn aml yn cyfeirio at ffioedd amrywiadwy a hwythau'n golygu cynnydd mewn ffioedd. Gall ffioedd amrywiadwy olygu gostwng ffioedd. Ystyr ffioedd amrywiadwy yn syml yw fod gan y sefydliad addysg uwch yr annibyniaeth i bennu'r ffioedd, ac mae myfyrwyr rhan-amser, myfyrwyr ôl-radd a myfyrwyr o Gymru sy'n mynd i sefydliadau yn Lloegr eisoes yn talu ffioedd amrywiadwy, felly mae arnom eisiau egluro'r gwahaniaeth rhwng ffioedd amrywiadwy a ffioedd sefydlog ac wedyn bydd y cwestiwn ai ffioedd ychwanegol ydynt ai peidio yn dibynnu ar sut y cawsant eu sefydlu neu sut mae'r sefydliad yn eu sefydlu. Mae'n eithaf amlwg i ni o'n dadansoddiad—ac yr ydym wedi edrych ar hyn o safbwynt y dystiolaeth—bod angen mwy o arian ar y sector i weithio'n effeithiol. Nodwyd yn 1993 bod cyllid y sector addysg uwch yn y DU yn llawer rhy isel. Credaf bod y neges

that are being launched there to try to address this issue to a certain extent, but it is clear that if we are to provide the research base and teaching that is required for a knowledge-based economy, the sector needs more money. We have explored lots of different potential sources and none of them, basically, is going to bridge that gap. They will be tinkering around the edges; they may be helpful, but they are not going to bridge that gap. So, that is the kind of reality that we think we are dealing with.

We have been looking at the benefits of higher education for Wales as a whole. We think that they are considerable—it is not just about research and teaching, but about technology transfer, capacity building and providing amenities and employment, particularly in rural areas, and we really feel that everyone in Wales benefits from higher education, whether or not they are a student at university, or are employed by a university. It is a common good.

As we did last time, we have pursued this evidence-based approach, have commissioned research and have taken a lot of evidence from experts. We have held a Chatham House rules seminar on our emerging options. That has been enormously helpful. We have also been guided by similar sorts of guiding principles to those of our last exercise: we want our recommendations to take into account equality issues, access and participation, the Welsh language, meeting the labour market needs of Wales, and so on. They are all identified in the report.

honno, i raddau, wedi'i chlywed yn Lloegr a'r Alban drwy wahanol gynlluniau sy'n cael eu lansio yno i geisio delio rhyw gymaint â'r mater hwn, ond mae'n glir os ydym ni am ddarparu'r sylfaen ymchwil a'r addysg sy'n angenrheidiol ar gyfer economi seiliedig ar wybodaeth, bod angen mwy o arian ar y sector. Yr ydym wedi ymchwilio i sawl gwahanol ffynhonnell bosibl ac nid oes yr un ohonynt, yn y bôn, yn mynd i bontio'r bwlch hwnnw. Potsian o gwmpas yr ymylon fyddant hwy; gallant fod o gymorth, ond nid ydynt yn mynd i bontio'r bwlch hwnnw. Felly, dyna'r math o realiti yr ydym ni'n meddwl ein bod yn ymdrin ag ef.

Yr ydym wedi bod yn edrych ar fanteision addysg uwch i Gymru yn ei chyfanrwydd. Credwn eu bod yn sylweddol—nid dim ond ymchwil a dysgu sydd dan sylw yma, ond trosglwyddo technoleg, adeiladu gallu a darparu cyfleusterau a chyflogaeth, yn enwedig yn yr ardaloedd gwledig, a theimlwn yn wirioneddol fod pawb yng Nghymru'n elwa ar addysg uwch, boed nhw'n fyfyrwyr prifysgol, neu'n cael eu cyflogi gan brifysgol, neu beidio. Mae'n lles i bawb.

Fel y gwnaethom y tro diwethaf, yr ydym wedi mynd ati ar sail y dystiolaeth, wedi comisiynu ymchwil ac wedi derbyn llawer o dystiolaeth oddi wrth arbenigwyr. Yr ydym wedi cynnal seminar dan Reolau Chatham House ar y dewisiadau sydd ar gael inni. Bu hynny'n hynod o fuddiol. Cawsom ein harwain hefyd gan egwyddorion arweiniol tebyg i'r rhai fu gennym yn ein hymarfer diwethaf: mae arnom eisiau i'n hargymhellion roi ystyriaeth i gwestiynau cydraddoldeb, mynediad a chyfranogiad, yr iaith Gymraeg, ateb anghenion marchnad lafur Cymru, ac ati. Maent i gyd wedi'u nodi yn yr adroddiad.

We have learnt a lot in this exercise; we now know something about the law and the Bidar case and the implications that it may have. We also now know something about cross-border flows and how sensitive they are—an increase or decrease of just 5 per cent in the proportion of English students who come to study in Wales has absolutely dramatic implications for us here. If it goes up 5 per cent, then that has very serious implications for the access and participation of Welsh domiciled students. If it goes down 5 per cent, then we are looking at potentially bankrupt institutions, because the proportion of English-based students coming to Wales is very important for Welsh institutions.

We have looked at the implications for part-time students. Half the students in Wales study part-time and they are enormously varied in the way that they do that. They are not just one neat group. So, that is enormously complicated. There are lots of threshold issues; we have looked at the resource allocation budget, because if you make changes to the system here, that can affect the amount of money that comes to the Assembly from the Treasury, so we have to bear that in mind—what might look like a gain here, could end up in a great stonking loss on the balance sheet over there. We have also looked at issues such as cost effectiveness, value for money and opportunity cost and tried to be reasonable about how much of the Welsh Assembly budget should be going into higher education vis-à-vis other priorities. So, we have tried to look at all those kinds of issues.

Yr ydym wedi dysgu cryn dipyn yn yr ymarferiad hwn; bellach gwyddom rywbeth am y gyfraith ac am achos Bidar a'i oblygiadau posibl. Gwyddom rywbeth bellach hefyd ynghylch llifau trawsffiniol a pha mor sensitif ydynt—caiff cynnydd neu ostyngiad o ddim ond 5 y cant yn y gyfran o fyfyrwyr o Loegr a ddaw i astudio yng Nghymru oblygiadau cwbl ddramatig i ni yma. Os aiff i fyny 5 y cant, yna mae i hynny oblygiadau difrifol iawn i fynediad a chyfranogiad myfyrwyr o Gymru. Os aiff i lawr 5 y cant, yna yr ydym yn edrych ar sefydliadau a allai fynd yn fethdalwyr, oherwydd mae'r gyfran o fyfyrwyr o Loegr a ddaw i Gymru yn bwysig iawn i sefydliadau Cymreig.

Yr ydym wedi edrych ar y goblygiadau i fyfyrwyr rhan-amser. Mae hanner y myfyrwyr yng Nghymru'n astudio'n rhan-amser ac maent yn eithriadol o amrywiol yn y modd y gwnânt hynny. Nid un grwp taclus mohonynt. Felly, mae hynny'n hynod o gymhleth. Mae yna lawer o faterion trothwy; yr ydym wedi edrych ar y gyllideb ddyrannu adnoddau, oherwydd os gwnewch chi newidiadau i'r system yn y fan hon, gall hynny effeithio ar faint o arian a ddaw i'r Cynulliad oddi wrth y Trysorlys, felly rhaid cadw hynny mewn cof—gallai'r hyn sydd yn edrych fel ennill yn y fan yma, achosi cythraul o golled fawr ar y fantolen draw fan acw. Yr ydym hefyd wedi edrych ar faterion fel cost-effeithiolrwydd, gwerth am arian a chost cyfleoedd ac wedi ceisio bod yn rhesymol ynghylch faint o gyllideb y Cynulliad Cenedlaethol ddylai fynd i mewn i addysg uwch o gymharu â blaenoriaethau eraill. Felly, yr ydym wedi ceisio edrych ar yr holl faterion o'r math hwnnw.

There are some benefits to learning from the experience in England, as it prepares for variable fees and bursary arrangements. I am not sure that what is happening there is quite what people may have predicted. I think that people were predicting a market in fees and what has happened is that the vast majority of institutions are setting the same fee of £3,000—almost a fixed fee, if you like—but there is a huge market in the bursaries and the scholarships, to quite a bewildering degree, I have to say. One of the clear messages that we have had from the National Union of Students is that they would like to have a clear, simple, transparent system and I am not sure that that is entirely what is on offer in England. So we are also taking that into account in our deliberations.

We have come up, as you can see in the report, with six options: one is more or less to continue with the status quo, another is a £2,000 fixed fee. The third is the English competitive model, in other words, basically doing the same as in England. The fourth option is a part-managed variable fee, with a national bursary scheme, rather than the competition among institutions that is taking place in England. The fifth option is a differential variable fee for Welsh domiciled students, compared with non-Welsh domiciled students, also offering the national bursary scheme. Finally, the sixth option is a £6,000 fixed fee—sorry, a £3,000 fixed fee.

Mae rhai manteision i'w cael o ddysgu oddi wrth y profiad yn Lloegr, gan ei fod yn paratoi ar gyfer ffioedd amrywiol a threfniadau bwrsari. Nid wyf yn siwr fod yr hyn sydd yn digwydd yno'n union beth y byddai pobl wedi'i ragweld. Yr oedd pobl, yn fy nhyb i, yn rhagweld marchnad mewn ffioedd, a beth sydd wedi digwydd yw bod y mwyafrif mawr o sefydliadau'n gosod yr un ffi, sef £3,000—ffi sefydlog bron, os mynnwch—ond mae marchnad anferth yn y bwrsariau a'r ysgoloriaethau, i raddau eithaf pensyfrdanol, mae'n rhaid imi ddweud. Un o'r negeseuon clir a gawsom oddi wrth Undeb Cenedlaethol y Myfyrwyr yw yr hoffent hwy gael system glir, syml, dryloyw ac nid wyf yn siwr mai dyna'n union a geir yn Lloegr. Felly yr ydym yn cymryd hynny i ystyriaeth yn ein trafodaethau.

Fel y gwelwch yn yr adroddiad, mae gennym chwe dewis i'w cynnig: un yw parhau gyda'r sefyllfa fel y mae, fwy neu lai, un arall yw ffi sefydlog o £2,000. Y model cystadleuol a geir yn Lloegr yw'r trydydd, hynny yw, gwneud yr un peth â Lloegr yn y bôn. Y pedwerydd dewis yw ffi amrywiol rhannol-reoledig, gyda chynllun bwrsari cenedlaethol, yn hytrach na chael y gystadleuaeth rhwng sefydliadau fel a geir yn Lloegr. Y pumed dewis yw ffi amrywiol gwahaniaethol i fyfyrwyr o Gymru, o gymharu â myfyrwyr o'r tu allan i Gymru, gan gynnig y cynllun bwrsari cenedlaethol hefyd. Yn olaf, y chweched dewis yw ffi sefydlog o £6,000—mae'n ddrwg gennyf, ffi sefydlog o £3,000.

The sixth option is a £3,000 fixed fee, with a national bursary scheme. All of these options have strengths and weaknesses. We will probably end up with an option which we feel, on balance, has more strengths than weaknesses than the other options do. It will be a bit of a fudge, because there is no easy solution to this, partly because we are operating within the context of devolution. Whatever happens in Wales, has to be sufficiently agile to cope with any mega-changes that occur over the border, which could play havoc with any system or structure that we have set up here. We must be agile enough to cope with those kinds of changes. We have seen it in teacher training in the past.

We have some ideas that I like to think are fairly innovative, or which perhaps will be by the time that we fully develop them. A national bursary scheme is one of them. We have also been working on the idea of a graduate apprenticeship scheme, which is what I think that Mr Cuthbert was referring to, whereby we would try to get employer sponsorship for what would be an old-style apprenticeship, but at a graduate level. We are very concerned that students spend many hours working in rather low-paid work. As the work is low paid, the students have to work a lot of hours, which affects their study. If students have to do paid work while they are learning, we would rather that it was a structured learning experience that ultimately adds to their employability. We are exploring that kind of idea.

Ffi sefydlog o £3,000 yw'r chweched dewis, ynghyd â chynllun bwrsari cenedlaethol. Mae cryfderau a gwendidau i bob un o'r dewisiadau hyn. Yn y pen draw, mae'n debyg yr awn am ddewis a fydd, ar gyfartaledd, yn cynnig mwy o gryfderau a llai o wendidau na'r dewisiadau eraill. Tipyn o gyfaddawd fydd hi, oherwydd nid oes ateb hawdd i hyn, yn rhannol am ein bod yn gweithio o fewn cyd-destun datganoli. Beth bynnag fydd yn digwydd yng Nghymru, rhaid iddo fod yn ddigon ystywyth i ddelio ag unrhyw newidiadau mawr fydd yn digwydd dros y ffin, a allai wneud smonach o unrhyw system neu adeiledd y byddwn ni wedi'i sefydlu yma. Rhaid inni fod yn ddigon hyblyg i allu delio â'r mathau hynny o newidiadau. Yr ydym wedi ei weld ym maes hyfforddi athrawon yn y gorffennol.

Mae gennym rai syniadau yr wyf fi'n hoffi meddwl eu bod yn weddol arloesol, neu a fydd felly, efallai, erbyn i ni eu datblygu'n llawn. Mae cynllun bwrsari cenedlaethol yn un o'r rhain. Yr ydym hefyd wedi bod yn gweithio ar y syniad o gynllun prentisiaeth i raddedigion, sef yr hyn yr oedd Mr Cuthbert yn cyfeirio ato, yr wyf yn meddwl, lle byddem yn ceisio cael cyflogwyr i noddi prentisiaethau fel y rhai traddodiadol, ond ar lefel graddedigion. Yr ydym yn bryderus iawn fod myfyrwyr yn treulio oriau lawer yn gweithio mewn swyddi cyflog isel. Gan nad oes fawr o dâl am y gwaith, mae'n rhaid i'r myfyrwyr weithio llawer o oriau, sydd yn effeithio ar eu gwaith astudio. Os oes raid i fyfyrwyr weithio am dâl tra maent yn dysgu, byddai'n well gennym iddo fod yn brofiad dysgu strwythuredig a fyddai yn y pen draw yn cynyddu eu cyfle i gael swydd. Yr ydym yn edrych i mewn i'r math yna o syniad.

We are glad that we do not have to make decisions about this issue; we only have to come up with recommendations. However, this is a real test for devolution, in a way—to try to get that agility but also to come up with a package of measures that suits the needs of Wales. That combination is challenging, and it is certainly testing us in our development of recommendations.

Finally, we have received a fantastic response from stakeholders—we have been astonished by the quantity and quality of the engagement that we have had with stakeholders. Clearly, these are issues that people in Wales feel very strongly about. None of the stakeholders have come up with a simple answer, I am afraid, but they have given us very useful input into developing the options as you see them. However, as far as we can discover, there is no seventh option. There is time yet for us to come up with one, but we think that it will be one of these options, or some permutation of one of these options, which we will come up with.

[2] **Peter Black:** We have about 50 minutes left for this item. Members can have their reins, as it were, provided that they are brief and we have succinct answers. It would be helpful if Members indicated early if they wish to speak, rather than in the last five minutes.

[3] **Jeff Cuthbert:** I will do my best to be brief, Chair. I thank the witnesses for the report, which I found extremely interesting, and very well-written. The clarity with which you dealt with some of the issues, such as upfront fees, is to be applauded. As you know, I also attended the briefing session that you held last night, which I found very useful. Assembly Members from most of the parties represented around this table were present, and I am sure that they would share those sentiments.

Yr ydym yn falch nad oes raid inni wneud penderfyniadau am y mater hwn; dim ond cyflwyno argymhellion. Fodd bynnag, mae hyn yn brawf gwirioneddol ar ddatganoli, mewn ffordd—i geisio sicrhau'r hyblygrwydd hwnnw ond hefyd i lunio pecyn o fesurau a fydd yn ateb anghenion Cymru. Mae her yn y cyfuniad hwnnw, ac yn sicr mae'n brawf arnom ni wrth inni ddatblygu argymhellion.

Yn olaf, cawsom ymateb anhygoel gan randdeiliaid—fe'n synnwyd gan nifer ac ansawdd y cysylltiadau a gawsom â rhanddeiliaid. Yn amlwg, mae'r rhain yn faterion y mae pobl yng Nghymru'n teimlo'n gryf iawn amdanynt. Ni chafwyd ateb syml oddi wrth yr un o'r rhanddeiliaid, mae arnaf ofn, ond rhoesant gyfraniad buddiol iawn inni wrth inni ddatblygu'r dewisiadau a welwch chi. Fodd bynnag, hyd y gwelwn ni, nid oes seithfed dewis. Mae amser o hyd inni ganfod un, ond credwn mai un o'r dewisiadau hyn, neu ryw gyfuniad o'r dewisiadau hyn, fydd y dewis terfynol.

[2] **Peter Black:** Mae gennym ryw 50 munud ar ôl ar gyfer yr eitem hon. Rhoddir eu ffrwyn i'r aelodau, fel petai, dim ond iddynt fod yn fyr ac inni gael atebion cryno. Byddai'n gymorth pe bai Aelodau'n nodi'n gynnar os ydynt yn dymuno siarad, yn hytrach nag yn y pum munud olaf.

[3] **Jeff Cuthbert:** Gwnaf fy ngorau i fod yn gryno, Gadeirydd. Hoffwn ddiolch i'r tystion am yr adroddiad, a oedd yn hynod o ddiddorol i mi, ac wedi'i ysgrifennu'n dda iawn. Rhaid cymeradwyo eich eglurder wrth ddelio â rhai o'r materion, fel ffioedd cyn cychwyn. Fel y gwyddoch, mynychais innau'r sesiwn briffio a gynhaliwyd gennych neithiwr, ac fe gefais fudd mawr ohono. Yr oedd Aelodau Cynulliad o'r rhan fwyaf o'r pleidiau a gynrychiolir o amgylch y bwrdd yn bresennol, ac yr wyf yn siwr y

The issue that I want to raise with you will not be a surprise, because I alluded to it yesterday, so we have had a bit more time to think about it. I am particularly concerned that whatever regime we eventually agree upon in Wales should not handicap the position of part-time students more than is the case at present. As you have already mentioned, roughly half the students studying in Wales in higher education are part-time, and, as you point out, they have always been charged variable fees. You have noted in the options where there is a danger of those variable fees being greatly increased, and clearly we would want to take steps to ensure that that did not happen.

I am also particularly interested in the ideas that you have for more employer sponsorship of students. There would be a benefit from greater involvement between higher education institutions, employers and students in those relatively early days in terms of a reduced drop-out rate—with proper careers advice and guidance—a sharper focus on what they are learning, and their eventual job prospects and aspirations. The days of big employers in Wales have, to a large extent, gone. Nevertheless, we have the emerging sector skills councils, which may be able to play a role in providing sponsorship for students. I would be interested to hear your thoughts on that.

byddent yn rhannu'r teimladau hynny.

Ni fydd y cwestiwn y mae arnaf fi eisiau ei godi gyda chi yn peri syndod, oherwydd cyfeiriais ato ddoe, felly yr ydym wedi cael ychydig mwy o amser i feddwl amdano. Yr wyf yn arbennig o awyddus na ddylai pa bynnag drefn y cytunwn arni yn y diwedd yng Nghymru ddim llesteirio sefyllfa myfyrwyr rhan-amser yn fwy nag a wneir ar hyn o bryd. Fel yr ydych eisoes wedi crybwyll, mae rhyw hanner y myfyrwyr sydd yn astudio yng Nghymru mewn addysg uwch yn rhai rhan-amser, ac fel y dywedasoch, codwyd ffioedd amrywiol arnynt erioed. Yr ydych wedi nodi yn y dewisiadau ble y mae perygl y caiff y ffioedd amrywiol hynny eu cynyddu'n ddirfawr, ac yn amlwg byddai eisiau inni gymryd camau i sicrhau na ddigwyddai hynny.

Mae gennyf ddiddordeb arbennig hefyd yn y syniadau sydd gennych ar gyfer mwy o nawdd i fyfyrwyr gan gyflogwyr. Byddai budd yn deillio o gael mwy o gydweithio rhwng sefydliadau addysg uwch, cyflogwyr a myfyrwyr yn y dyddiau cymharol gynnar hynny, o ran sicrhau bod llai yn rhoi'r gorau i gyrsiau—gyda chynghor ac arweiniad gyrfacol go iawn—cael gwell ffocws ar yr hyn y maent yn ei ddysgu, a gwella'u rhagolygon a'u dyheadau o ran swyddi yn y pen draw. Mae dyddiau'r cyflogwyr mawr yng Nghymru wedi mynd, i raddau helaeth. Serch hynny, mae gennym y cynghorau sgiliau sector newydd, a all chwarae rhan mewn darparu nawdd i fyfyrwyr. Byddai'n ddiddorol clywed eich meddyliau ar hynny.

I do not want to minimise the issue of debt, it is a problem whenever it occurs, though it is better at a point in life when you are able to cope with it. Nevertheless, there is nothing here that says that that debt has to be repaid by the graduate. It may be possible to develop ideas with industry, for example, where it repays the debt on behalf of the graduate in return for a commitment to work for a period of time, which is quite reasonable under those circumstances. Have there been any discussions on those issues and, if so, what plans do you have to continue those discussions?

Professor Rees: Rob will address the part-time issue first.

Mr Humphreys: The issue of part-time learners in higher education is unquestionably one of the biggest challenges that we face, and one that will also be faced by the Assembly. The political debate on tuition and top-up fees often ignores the issue of part-time learners, which is unfortunate. It is our duty to bring the issue into the foreground within political rhetoric. As Professor Rees said, around a half of all students in higher education in Wales study part-time. There are around 41,000 people—or electors—and what they do will vary. Some, though not many, have their studies funded by their employers, and study vocational courses or retrain, while others study bite-sized chunks, perhaps taking their first steps back into higher education.

Nid oes arnaf eisiau bychanu problem dyled, mae'n broblem lle bynnag y bo, er ei bod yn well ar adeg mewn bywyd pryd y gellir ymdopi â hi. Serch hynny, nid oes dim yma sydd yn dweud fod yn rhaid i'r ddyled honno gael ei had-dalugan y person graddedig. Gall fod yn bosibl datblygu syniadau gyda diwydiant, er enghraifft, lle bydd yn ad-dalugan y person graddedig yn gyfnewid am ymrwymiad i weithio am gyfnod o amser, sydd yn eithaf rhesymol dan yr amgylchiadau hynny. A fu unrhyw drafodaethau ar y materion hynny ac, os bu, pa gynlluniau sydd gennych i barhau'r trafodaethau hynny?

Yr Athro Rees: Fe wnaiff Rob ateb y cwestiwn rhan-amser yn gyntaf.

Mr Humphreys: Mae cwestiwn dysgwyr rhan-amser mewn addysg uwch heb os yn un o'r heriau mwyaf a wynebwn, ac yn un a wynebir gan y Cynulliad hefyd. Mae'r ddadl wleidyddol ar addysg a ffioedd ychwanegol yn aml yn osgoi cwestiwn dysgwyr rhan-amser, ysywaeth. Ein dyletswydd ni yw dod â'r mater i'r wyneb o fewn yr holl rethreg wleidyddol. Fel y dywedodd yr Athro Rees, mae tua hanner yr holl fyfyrwyr sydd mewn addysg uwch yng Nghymru'n astudio'n rhan-amser. Mae oddeutu 41,000 o bobl—neu etholwyr—a bydd yr hyn a wnânt yn amrywio. Bydd rhai, er nad llawer, yn astudio dan nawdd eu cyflogwyr, ac yn astudio cyrsiau galwedigaethol neu'n ailhyfforddi, tra bydd eraill yn astudio tameidiau i gnoi cil, efallai'n cymryd eu camau cyntaf yn ôl i addysg uwch.

Part-time learning performs different roles. There are, for example, vocational Masters-level business studies courses, which are important to the Welsh economy and skills levels, but there is also university higher education activity within some of our poorest communities. Some of the partnerships where part-time learning plays a role—for example in the Community University of North Wales and the Community University of the Valleys—represent some of the best practice in this regard in the UK, perhaps even in Europe. We therefore have to take it seriously. However, introducing the notion of equity for part-timers carries a danger, as there could be a sudden increase in part-time fees that could make them unaffordable to the very people that we would most like to come into higher education. Variability for current part-time students enables higher education institutions to charge lower fees for part-time students than they do at present for full-time students. We therefore have to be very cautious about simply deciding that equity for part-time students should be rolled out straight away. As someone who works in this field, I am somewhat anxious about that.

We have had some interesting proposals from a number of people in the sector, particularly those who specialise in this area. However, as with the overall issue of funding higher education, no-one has come up with the magic bullet that will solve this conundrum and get us out of these conflicting pressures. It is difficult to model the part-time issue as we do not have enough data on the types of part-time student—who does what and in what quantity. We know the overall numbers, but we do not know well enough who is doing a lot of credits in a year and who is only doing bite-size chunks.

Mae dysgu rhan-amser yn cyflawni mwy nag un rôl. Er enghraifft, ceir cyrsiau astudiaethau busnes galwedigaethol ar lefel Meistr, sydd yn bwysig i economi a lefelau sgiliau Cymru, ond ceir gweithgaredd addysg uwch prifysgol hefyd o fewn rhai o'n cymunedau tlotaf. Mae rhai o'r partneriaethau lle mae dysgu rhan-amser yn chwarae rhan—er enghraifft ym Mhrifysgol Gymunedol Gogledd Cymru a Phrifysgol Gymunedol y Cymoedd—yn cynrychioli peth o'r ymarfer gorau yn hyn o beth yn y DU, efallai hyd yn oed yn Ewrop. Rhaid inni ei gymryd o ddifrif felly. Fodd bynnag, mae perygl ynghlwm wrth gyflwyno'r syniad o gydraddoldeb i fyfyrwyr rhan-amser, gan y gellid cael cynnydd sydyn mewn ffioedd rhan-amser a allai eu codi y tu hwnt i gyrraedd yr union bobl y byddem yn fwyaf awyddus iddynt ddod i mewn i addysg uwch. Mae amrywioldeb ar gyfer myfyrwyr rhan-amser cyfredol yn galluogi sefydliadau addysg uwch i godi ffioedd is ar fyfyrwyr rhan-amser nag a wnânt ar hyn o bryd ar fyfyrwyr amser llawn. Rhaid inni fod yn ofalus iawn felly ynghylch penderfynu'n syml y dylid cyflwyno cydraddoldeb i fyfyrwyr rhan-amser yn syth bin. Fel un sydd yn gweithio yn y maes hwn, yr wyf ychydig yn bryderus ynghylch hynny.

Cawsom ambell gynnig diddorol gan nifer o bobl yn y sector, yn enwedig y rhai sydd yn arbenigo yn y maes hwn. Fodd bynnag, fel gyda chwestiwn cyffredinol ariannu addysg uwch, nid oes neb wedi canfod y fwled hud a wnaiff ddatrys y pos hwn a'n tynnu allan o'r pwysau croestynnol hyn. Mae'n anodd modelu'r cwestiwn rhan-amser gan nad oes gennym ddigon o ddata ar y mathau o fyfyrwyr rhan-amser—pwy sydd yn gwneud beth a sawl un ohonynt sydd. Gwyddom beth yw'r niferoedd cyffredinol, ond ni wyddom yn ddigon da pwy sydd yn gwneud llawer o gredydau mewn blwyddyn a phwy sydd ddim ond yn gwneud tameidiau i gnoi cil.

Finally, this is further complicated by the fact that, in England, the settlement did not cater for part-time students in terms of being able to defer fee payment, so no additional income has been Barnettised to cover for that coming over. If we want to make new, particular arrangements for part-time students, an increase in resources from somewhere in the Assembly's higher education budget may be required. We have to wrestle with that as well. The succinct answer is that we are aware of the importance of part-time learning to the sector and to Wales's economy, culture and civil society and so on, but we have a lot of conflicting pressures to wrestle with, and it may require more work in the future with a move to protecting what we have at the moment and ensuring that it is not damaged.

Professor Rees: I will pick up the second issue that was raised. We are very excited about the idea of a graduate apprentice scheme, although there is some debate about whether 'apprenticeship' is the right word for it. One of my sons is an old-fashioned apprentice, training as a marine engineer, a seafarer, and I am terribly impressed by the idea of that kind of systematic progressive learning. We have had very informal discussions with both the CBI and the Newport and Gwent Chamber of Commerce, neither of which immediately laughed in our faces, but said that this was worth pursuing. They have both offered to host a breakfast meeting for us to kick the idea around with employers to see whether they would be interested in it. The problem, which you identified, is that we do not now have many of the kinds of employers in Wales who would take on the old-fashioned kind of apprentice.

Yn olaf, cymhlethir hyn ymhellach gan y ffaith na ddarparodd y cytundeb yn Lloegr ar gyfer myfyrwyr rhan-amser o ran gallu gohirio talu ffioedd, felly ni chafodd dim incwm ychwanegol ei Farneteiddio i ddarparu ar gyfer dod â hynny drosodd. Os oes arnom eisiau gwneud trefniadau arbennig newydd i fyfyrwyr rhan-amser, efallai y bydd angen cynyddu adnoddau o rywle yng nghyllideb addysg uwch y Cynulliad. Rhaid inni ymrafael â hynny hefyd. Yr ateb cryno yw ein bod yn ymwybodol o bwysigrwydd dysgu rhan-amser i'r sector ac i economi, diwylliant a chymdeithas sifig Cymru ac ati, ond bod gennym lawer o bwysau croes i ymrafael â hwy, ac efallai y bydd angen mwy o waith yn y dyfodol gan symud i ddiogelu'r hyn sydd gennym ar hyn o bryd a sicrhau na chaiff ei niweidio.

Yr Athro Rees: Cymeraf fi'r ail gwestiwn a godwyd. Yr ydym wedi cynhyrfu'n lân am y syniad o gynllun prentisiaeth i raddedigion, er bod rhywfaint o ddadl ai 'prentisiaeth' yw'r gair iawn amdano. Mae un o fy meibion yn brentis henffasiwn, yn hyfforddi i fod yn beiriannydd môr, yn forwr, ac mae'r math hwnnw o ddysgu cynyddol systemataidd yn fy mhlesio'n fawr. Yr ydym wedi cael trafodaethau anffurfiol iawn gyda'r CBI a Siambr Fasnach Casnewydd a Gwent, ac ni chwarddodd y naill na'r llall yn ein hwynebau yn syth, ond dweud yn hytrach ei bod yn werth mynd ar ôl hyn. Mae'r ddau wedi cynnig cynnal cyfarfod dros frechwast inni gael cicio'r syniad o gwmpas gyda chyflogwyr i weld a fyddai ganddynt ddiddordeb ynddo. Y broblem, a nodwyd gennych, yw nad oes gennym erbyn hyn lawer o'r mathau o gyflogwyr yng Nghymru a fyddai'n cymryd y math henffasiwn o brentis.

However, one of the ideas is to concentrate on a sector where work experience could maybe take place in different companies but within the same sector and within a programme of formalised learning. That might work very well, in which case, as you say, the sector skills council would be an obvious organisation to broker this on our behalf. We are very attracted to the idea for the reasons that you mentioned, but also because I think it reduces the risk for potential students. They would stand a much better chance of coming out of this with qualifications, being highly employable and without accumulating the debt that comes to a great many students because of their maintenance costs while studying. It removes that risk and that debt, and we therefore think that it would open up opportunities to a wider range of potential students, some of whom are particularly averse to that risk and that debt for very good reasons. So, we are excited by the idea and want to develop it. We are not sure quite how much we can do in the time remaining to us, but we will be making recommendations about how the idea could be pursued further.

[4] **Peter Black:** Finally, have you looked at degrees sponsored by the public sector, particularly in areas where there are shortages, like social work?

Professor Rees: We have paid a lot of attention to shortage areas in the public sector, particularly for jobs that do not pay terribly well, if I can put it in that way, like university academic posts.

[5] **Jeff Cuthbert:** Or being a politician.
[*Laughter.*]

Fodd bynnag, un o'r syniadau yw canolbwyntio ar sector lle gallai profiad gwaith ddigwydd mewn gwahanol gwmnïau ond o fewn yr un sector ac o fewn rhaglen o ddysgu ffurfiol. Gallai hynny weithio'n dda iawn, ac os felly, fel y dywedwch, byddai'r cyngor sgiliau sector yn gorff amlwg i froceru hyn ar ein rhan. Mae'r syniad yn atyniadol iawn inni am y rhesymau a grybwyllwyd gennych, ond hefyd oherwydd y credaf ei fod yn lleihau'r risg i ddarpar fyfyrwyr. Byddai llawer gwell cyfle ganddynt o ddod allan o hyn gyda chymwysterau, yn rhai hawdd eu cyflogi a heb Gronni'r ddyled a ddaw i lawer iawn o fyfyrwyr oherwydd eu costau byw tra'n astudio. Mae'n dileu'r perygl hwnnw a'r ddyled honno, ac felly yr ydym o'r farn y byddai'n agor cyfleoedd i amrediad ehangach o ddarpar fyfyrwyr, rhai ohonynt yn arbennig o gyndyn o wynebu'r perygl hwnnw a'r ddyled honno am resymau da iawn. Felly, mae'r syniad yn ein cyffroi ac mae arnom eisiau ei ddatblygu. Nid ydym yn siwr faint yn union y gallwn ei wneud yn yr amser sydd ar ôl inni, ond byddwn yn gwneud argymhellion ynghylch sut y gellid dilyn y syniad ymhellach.

[4] **Peter Black:** Yn olaf, a ydych wedi edrych ar gael y sector cyhoeddus i noddi graddau, yn enwedig mewn meysydd lle mae prinder, fel gwaith cymdeithasol?

Yr Athro Rees: Yr ydym wedi talu llawer o sylw i feysydd prinder yn y sector cyhoeddus, yn enwedig ar gyfer swyddi nad ydynt yn talu'n arbennig o dda, os gallaf ei roi felly, fel swyddi academaidd mewn prifysgolion.

[5] **Jeff Cuthbert:** Neu fod yn wleidydd.
[*Chwerthin.*]

Professor Rees: There may well be some scope for development there, but it would take quite a lot of organising and a different way of thinking. The private sector is more used to the idea of sponsorship because of its history. However, I think there is scope for developing that, certainly in health for example, where we have considerable labour market needs in the medium to longer term, which we need to be able to ensure are met. That may be one of the carrots and sticks that could be operated to try to encourage people into those areas. We are open to all of these ideas.

[6] **Janet Ryder:** I will ask you a series of questions, because I think we have all read the report and had time to consider it. In the report, you made a lot of the historical funding gap, putting it at £20 million revenue and £30 million capital. Some would say that that £50 million is an underestimate of the historical funding gap between English and Welsh universities. Yet I see no recommendations anywhere on how that gap will be filled. Are you going to come up with recommendations, or do you anticipate that Welsh universities will continue to operate at that level of funding, which is lower than in England, in any case?

None of your recommendations considered the application of no fees at all. You say that you based that on graduate gain. There is a strong argument that you can gain from any level of education. Why not gain from A-levels or NVQs? There is also a strong argument that we, as a community, have much to gain from graduates like doctors and dentists and those kinds of professions. Can I ask you what the justification was for not looking at a no-fees scenario?

Yr Athro Rees: Fe all yn wir fod lle i ddatblygu yn y fan honno, ond byddai'n cymryd cryn dipyn o drefnu a ffordd wahanol o feddwl. Mae'r sector preifat yn fwy cyfarwydd â'r syniad o nawdd oherwydd ei hanes. Fodd bynnag, credaf fod lle i ddatblygu hynny, yn sicr ym maes iechyd, er enghraifft, lle mae gennym anghenion sylweddol yn y farchnad lafur yn y tymor canolig i hwy, y mae angen inni allu sicrhau y cânt eu diwallu. Dyna, efallai, un o'r 'moron a ffyn' y gellid eu defnyddio i geisio annog pobl i'r meysydd hynny. Yr ydym yn agored i'r syniadau hyn i gyd.

[6] **Janet Ryder:** Yr wyf am ofyn cyfres o gwestiynau ichi, oherwydd y credaf ein bod i gyd wedi darllen yr adroddiad ac wedi cael amser i'w ystyried. Yn yr adroddiad, gwnaethoch lawer o'r bwlch ariannu hanesyddol, gan ddweud ei fod yn £20 miliwn refeniw a £30 miliwn cyfalaf. Fe ddywedai rhai fod £50 miliwn yn amcangyfrif rhy isel o'r bwlch ariannu hanesyddol rhwng prifysgolion Cymru a Lloegr. Eto ni welaf unrhyw argymhellion yn unman ar sut y llenwir y bwlch hwnnw. A ydych am wneud argymhellion, ynteu a ragwelwch y bydd prifysgolion Cymru'n parhau i weithredu ar y lefel ariannu honno, sydd yn is nag yn Lloegr, beth bynnag?

Nid ystyriodd yr un o'ch argymhellion beidio â chodi ffioedd o gwbl. Dywedwch ichi seilio hynny ar elw graddedigion. Mae dadl gref y gallwch elwa ar unrhyw lefel o addysg. Pam ddim elwa ar Safonau Uwch neu NVQ? Mae dadl gref hefyd fod gennym ni, fel cymuned, lawer i'w ennill o gael graddedigion sydd yn feddygon ac yn ddeintyddion a'r mathau hynny o alwedigaethau. A gaf fi ofyn ichi beth oedd y cyfiawnhad dros beidio edrych ar senario dim-ffioedd?

I know that the Association of University Teachers put an interesting point to you, which was that it believes that the Government of Wales Act 1998 does not allow the National Assembly to create inequality, and that the creation of a system that eventually leads to debt will lead to inequality. What consideration have you given to that and to AUT's request that you carry out a series of studies on debt risk and equality of outcome before any final decisions are made?

Finally, you have talked about the market economy of bursaries that is developing in English higher education. Which of your recommendations will prevent that happening in Wales, and which will ensure that all universities are equally funded in Wales?

Professor Rees: Perhaps I could start with the third point on the no-fees option. We looked at this—do you want to come in on this, Kenneth?

Mr Richards: We looked at this option, and rejected it for three reasons. First, it is unnecessary, secondly, it is undesirable, and, thirdly, it may have totally undesirable consequences for other parts of the budget. I will expand on those issues. It is unnecessary because parents and partners are willing and able to finance their offspring through university—I am talking about full-time education, by the way. They will be even more able to do so in 2006-07, because they will not have to pay the tuition fee. Therefore, they will be better off and will be more able to finance their children, and the evidence is that they are able and willing to do so. Why, therefore, should the public sector—the lower-income taxpayer—finance what is mainly the education of the middle class, when it is prepared to do it itself? Therefore, it is unnecessary. It is undesirable because it is

Gwn y rhoddodd Cymdeithas yr Athrawon Prifysgol bwynt diddorol ichi, sef ei bod yn credu nad yw Deddf Llywodraeth Cymru 1998 yn caniatáu i'r Cynulliad Cenedlaethol greu anghydraddoldeb, ac y bydd creu system sydd yn arwain yn y pen draw at ddyled yn achosi anghydraddoldeb. Pa ystyriaeth a roesoch chi i hynny ac i gais y gymdeithas honno ar ichi gyflawni cyfres o astudiaethau ar berygl dyled a chydraddoldeb canlyniad cyn gwneud unrhyw benderfyniadau terfynol?

Yn olaf, yr ydych wedi sôn am economi marchnad bwrsariau sydd yn datblygu ym myd addysg uwch Lloegr. Pa un o'ch argymhellion fydd yn atal hynny rhag digwydd yng Nghymru, a pha un fydd yn sicrhau y caiff pob prifysgol ei hariannu'n gyfartal yng Nghymru?

Yr Athro Rees: Efallai y cawn ddechrau gyda'r trydydd pwynt, ynglyn â'r dewis dim ffioedd. Fe wnaethom edrych ar hyn—hoffech chi ddod i mewn ar hyn, Kenneth?

Mr Richards: Fe edrychom ar y dewis hwn, a'i wrthod am dri rheswm. Yn gyntaf, mae'n ddiangen, yn ail, ni fyddai neb ei eisiau, ac yn drydydd, gall gael canlyniadau hollol annymunol i rannau eraill o'r gyllideb. Fe ymhelaethaf ar y materion hynny. Mae'n ddiangen gan fod rhieni a phartneriaid yn fodlon ac yn abl i ariannu eu plant drwy'r brifysgol—sôn yr wyf am addysg lawn-amser, gyda llaw. Byddant hyd yn oed yn fwy abl i wneud hynny yn 2006-07, gan na fydd raid iddynt dalu'r ffi dysgu. Felly, byddant yn well arnynt ac yn fwy abl i ariannu eu plant, ac, yn ôl y dystiolaeth, maent yn abl ac yn fodlon gwneud hynny. Pam, felly, y dylai'r sector cyhoeddus—y trethdalwr incwm is—ariannu rhywbeth sydd yn bennaf yn addysg y dosbarth canol, a'r dosbarth hwinnw'n barod i wneud hynny ei hun? Felly, mae'n ddiangen. Ni fyddai neb ei eisiau gan ei fod yn gam yn ôl. Mae

regressive. A study has considered the Government's proposal for 'study now, pay later', and abolishing fees—that is the Conservative proposal. The study came to the conclusion that deciding to provide higher education for free rather than 'study now, pay later' results in a net redistribution of resources from poor households to rich households. Some politicians may be happy with that recommendation—I am not sure whether Janet would be.

However, the Higher Education Act 2004 proposes a substantial input of taxpayers' money, which has not been widely recognised. Some estimates from the Institute for Fiscal Studies, which has been liaising with the Department for Education and Skills, came up with a cost of £1.1 billion to the Government of implementing the new scheme. That is broken down as £665 million for loans for deferred fees, because not only is the Government giving non-means-tested loans for top-up fees, but also people in the existing system, who now pay the £1,200 fee, will be able to have a loan, which has not been possible in the past. It is also introducing a maintenance scheme, a £2,700 grant, and it intends to abolish any debt remaining at the end of a 25-year period. Therefore, it is undesirable.

Let us consider the scenario that the National Union of Students, and some other people, want to see, whereby the Assembly would have tax-raising powers and would use those powers to finance higher education. This would involve raising income tax 3p in £1 in Wales, and, as you know, Wales has a substantially lower per capita income than England has. Therefore, we would raise money from Welsh taxpayers. What would happen is that we would have a zero fee in Wales, a £3,000 fee in Bristol and in institutions

astudiaeth wedi ystyried cynnig y Llywodraeth ar gyfer 'astudio yn awr, talu yn ddiweddarach', a diddymu ffioedd—cynnig y Ceidwadwyr yw hwnnw. Daeth yr astudiaeth i'r casgliad y byddai penderfynu darparu addysg uwch am ddim yn hytrach nag 'astudio yn awr, talu yn ddiweddarach' yn arwain at ailddosbarthu adnoddau o aelwydydd tlawd i aelwydydd cyfoethog. Efallai fod rhai gwleidyddion yn hapus gyda'r argymhelliad hwnnw—nid wyf yn siwr a fyddai Janet.

Fodd bynnag, mae Deddf Addysg Uwch 2004 yn cynnig mewnbwn sylweddol o arian y trethdalwyr, nad yw wedi'i gydnabod yn gyffredinol. Yn ôl rhai amcangyfrifon gan y Sefydliad Astudiaethau Cyllid, sydd wedi bod yn cydweithio â'r Adran Addysg a Sgiliau, byddai'n costio £1.1 biliwn i'r Llywodraeth weithredu'r cynllun newydd. Torrir hynny i lawr yn £665 miliwn ar fenthyciadau ar gyfer ffioedd a ohiriwyd, oherwydd nid yn unig y mae'r Llywodraeth yn rhoi benthyciadau heb brawf modd ar gyfer ffioedd ychwanegol, ond hefyd bydd pobl yn y system bresennol, sy'n talu'r ffi o £1,200 ar hyn o bryd, yn gallu cael benthyciad, na fu'n bosibl yn y gorffennol. Mae'n cyflwyno cynllun cynnal hefyd, sef grant o £2,700, a bwriada ddileu unrhyw ddyled fydd yn aros ar ddiwedd cyfnod 25 mlynedd. Felly, ni fyddai neb ei eisiau.

Ystyriwn y senario yr hoffai Undeb Cenedlaethol y Myfyrwyr, a rhai pobl eraill, ei weld, lle byddai'r Cynulliad yn cael pwerau codi trethi ac yn defnyddio'r pwerau hynny i ariannu addysg uwch. Byddai hyn yn golygu codi treth incwm 3c yn y bunt yng Nghymru, ac, fel y gwyddoch, mae incwm y pen yng Nghymru gryn dipyn yn is na hynny yn Lloegr. Felly, byddem yn codi arian oddi wrth drethdalwyr Cymru. Beth fyddai'n digwydd yw y byddai gennym ddim ffi yng Nghymru, ffi o £3,000 ym Mryste a c mewn

in other places, and English students would come over the border, and, in the extreme, crowd out every Welsh student from Welsh higher education institutions. Therefore, the Welsh taxpayer would subsidise rich students from England to study in Wales. Do you want that situation?

Finally, even if there are no extra taxes, if the Assembly's budget is to be used to finance higher education without fees, where does the money come from? Do you take money away from health or public transport, which benefit the lower income groups to a greater extent, to finance higher education, which benefits mainly middle and upper-class income groups?

[7] **David Davies:** I cannot agree.

[8] **Peter Black:** Hang on, David; you are next, after this question.

Professor Rees: Rob is going to address the bursary issue.

Mr Humphreys: To comment on Ms Ryder's last question, but also in answer to the bursary question, you asked which of the options—and not recommendations—best avoid this seemingly rather chaotic market in bursaries rapidly developing in England. The options that best avoid that are options 4 and 5, because they include the national bursary scheme. In other words, the market is removed from the bursaries and made more student-centred and portable, and they are also much more transparent for the student; their entitlement is much clearer as it will be means-tested, and so on. They will take that with them to their desired university or place of study rather than having to shop around the various universities to find where there might be an attractive package that just suits them. However, we are also mindful that universities,

sefydliadau mewn lleoedd eraill, a byddai myfyrwyr o Loegr yn dod dros y ffin, ac, yn yr eithaf, yn gwthio pob myfyriwr o Gymru allan o sefydliadau addysg uwch Cymru. Felly, byddai trethdalwyr Cymru'n noddï myfyrwyr cyfoethog o Loegr i astudio yng Nghymru. A ydych am weld y sefyllfa honno?

Yn olaf, hyd yn oed os na fydd dim trethi ychwanegol, os defnyddir cyllideb y Cynulliad i dalu am addysg uwch heb ffioedd, o ble y daw'r arian? A fyddwch yn cymryd arian i ffwrdd oddi wrth iechyd neu gludiant cyhoeddus, sydd yn rhoi budd i'r grwpiau incwm is i raddau mwy, i ariannu addysg uwch, sydd yn rhoi budd i grwpiau incwm dosbarth uwch a chanol yn bennaf?

[7] **David Davies:** Ni allaf gytuno.

[8] **Peter Black:** Arhoswch funud, David; chi sydd nesaf, ar ôl y cwestiwn hwn.

Yr Athro Rees: Mae Rob yn mynd i ddelio â chwestiwn y bwrsariau.

Mr Humphreys: I roi sylw ar gwestiwn olaf Ms Ryder, ond hefyd i ateb cwestiwn y bwrsariau, gofynasoch ba un o'r dewisiadau—ac nid argymhellion—fyddai orau o ran osgoi'r farchnad ymddangosiadol ddi-drefn hon mewn bwrsariau sydd yn prysur ddatblygu yn Lloegr. Dewisiadau 4 a 5 yw'r dewisiadau sydd yn osgoi hynny orau, am eu bod yn cynnwys y cynllun bwrsariau cenedlaethol. Hynny yw, tynnir y farchnad oddi wrth y bwrsariau, mae'n cael ei chanolbwyntio'n fwy ar fyfyrwyr ac yn cael ei gwneud yn gludadwy, ac maent hefyd yn llawer mwy tryloyw i'r myfyriwr; mae eu hawl yn llawer cliriach gan y bydd yn destun prawf modd, ac ati. Ânt â hynny gyda hwy i'r brifysgol neu'r man astudio a ddewisant yn hytrach na gorfod holi o brifysgol i brifysgol i ganfod ble y gallai fod pecyn deniadol fydd yn addas iddynt

as Professor Rees said, have to retain some agility because their competitors are not solely in Wales, but are in England too. So, the North East Wales Institute of Higher Education, for example, may well be competing for the same students as Liverpool John Moores University or University College Chester, just down the road. We have to be mindful that it has to be agile enough to deal with that, so we do not want to constrain it too much; it is very much an on-balance solution in the end. I hope that that answers that.

With regard to the no-fees option, if you look at page 3 of our interim report, it makes clear that there is a diversity of views within the group on the desirability of fees in principle. I am one of those opposed to tuition fees in principle, because higher education is a public good and should be funded by the taxpayer. However, there are serious constraints within which this body has to operate due, in part, to the Higher Education Act 2004, but also due to the constraints on its powers and so on. Therefore, to some extent, this institution is boxed in, and we must recognise that and start from where we are. So, the group is moving on from that position, but we acknowledge in the report that, in an ideal world, there are a number of views. Ken has certain views on this matter, whereas I, and others, have other views.

hwy. Fodd bynnag, yr ydym yn cofio hefyd fod yn rhaid i brifysgolion, fel y dywedodd yr Athro Rees, gadw rhywfaint o ystwythder gan nad yng Nghymru'n unig y mae eu cystadleuwyr, ond yn Lloegr hefyd. Felly, gallai Athrofa Addysg Uwch Gogledd Dwyrain Cymru, er enghraifft, fod yn cystadlu am yr un myfyrwyr â Phrifysgol John Moores Lerpwl neu Goleg Prifysgol Caer, i lawr y ffordd. Rhaid inni gofio fod yn rhaid iddi fod yn ddigon ystwyth i ddelio â hynny, felly nid oes arnom eisiau cyfyngu gormod arni; mae'n ateb 'rhwng pob dim' i raddau helaeth iawn yn y diwedd. Gobeithiaf fod hynny'n ateb hynny.

O ran y dewis dim-ffioedd, os edrychwch ar dudalen 3 yn ein hadroddiad interim, dywedir yn glir fod amrywiaeth barn o fewn y grwp ynghylch a yw ffioedd yn beth da mewn egwyddor. Yr wyf i'n un o'r rhai sydd yn erbyn ffioedd dysgu o ran egwyddor, am mai lles cyhoeddus yw addysg uwch a dylai'r trethdalwr dalu amdani. Fodd bynnag, mae cyfyngiadau difrifol y mae'n rhaid i'r corff hwn weithredu o'u mewn, a hynny'n rhannol oherwydd Deddf Addysg Uwch 2004, ond hefyd oherwydd y cyfyngiadau ar ei hawliau ac ati. Felly, i ryw raddau, mae'r sefydliad hwn wedi'i gau i mewn, a rhaid inni sylweddoli hynny a dechrau o'r fan lle'r ydym. Felly, mae'r grwp yn symud ymlaen o'r safle hwnnw, ond cydnabyddwn yn yr adroddiad fod sawl barn wahanol mewn byd delfrydol. Mae gan Ken ei farn ar y mater hwn, tra bod gennyf fi, ac eraill, farn wahanol.

Professor Rees: I will very quickly deal with the remaining two questions, if I may. One is about the historic funding gap. There are two funding gaps: the historic one that you referred to, and the potential funding gap in terms of Wales vis-à-vis England. Those are two areas that we need to address. I think that I mentioned that we explored all kinds of potential sources of income, but none of them is really going to make any significant difference to these budgets. So, I have to say, we see the solution as an increase in investment, both from the Assembly and, probably, from students as well, as part of trying to deal with this gap.

On the issue of creating debt and inequality, this is an extremely interesting view. You could argue, and I think that I probably would argue it the other way round, that, if you can create a higher education system that really offers opportunities for people, whatever their financial background, you are promoting equality. I am very keen on promoting equality rather than just fighting discrimination. It actually helps to overcome people's socio-economic disadvantage in their backgrounds. I really see it as being the other way round—higher education is a route to do that. The trick is to try to avoid students accumulating terrible debt or living in poverty. I think that that has been partially addressed by the removal of up-front tuition fees. The trick is also, however, to combine a reasonable fee regime with addressing maintenance, and that is where we are putting a lot of emphasis in our discussions about how to address maintenance.

Yr Athro Rees: Deliaf yn gyflym iawn gyda'r ddau gwestiwn sydd yn weddill, os caf. Cwestiwn am y bwlch ariannu hanesyddol yw un. Mae dau fwlch ariannu: yr un hanesyddol y cyfeiriasoch chi ato, a'r bwlch ariannu a allai agor rhwng Cymru a Lloegr. Dyna ddau faes y mae angen inni edrych arnynt. Credaf imi grybwyll inni ymchwilio i bob math o ddarpar ffynhonnell incwm, ond nad oes yr un ohonynt mewn gwirionedd yn mynd i wneud unrhyw wahaniaeth arwyddocaol i'r cyllidebau hyn. Felly, rhaid imi ddweud, gwelwn mai'r ateb yw cynyddu buddsoddiad, gan y Cynulliad ac, mae'n debyg, gan fyfyrwyr hefyd, fel rhan o geisio delio â'r bwlch hwn.

Ar fater creu dyled ac anghydraddoldeb, dyma farn ddiddorol dros ben. Gallech ddadlau, ac mae'n debyg y byddwn i'n ei ddadlau y ffordd arall, eich bod yn hyrwyddo cydraddoldeb os gallwch greu system addysg uwch sydd yn wirioneddol yn cynnig cyfleoedd i bobl, beth bynnag fo'u cefndir ariannol. Yr wyf fi'n frwd iawn dros hyrwyddo cydraddoldeb yn hytrach na dim ond ymladd yn erbyn camwahaniaethu. Mae hynny yn helpu i oresgyn anfantais gymdeithasol-economaidd pobl yn eu cefndiroedd. Yr wyf fi'n ei weld y ffordd arall—mae addysg uwch yn ffordd i wneud hynny. Y gamp yw ceisio osgoi gadael i fyfyrwyr Gronni dyled ofnadwy neu fyw mewn tloidi. Credaf fod hynny wedi'i ateb yn rhannol drwy ddileu ffioedd dysgu cyn-cychwyn. Y gamp hefyd, fodd bynnag, yw cyfuno trefn ffioedd resymol gyda rhoi sylw i gynhaliaeth, a dyna lle'r ydym ni'n rhoi llawer o bwyslais yn ein trafodaethau ynghylch sut i fynd i'r afael â chynhaliaeth.

Therefore, we are looking at the national bursary scheme, which would save a lot of money. English universities are spending an awful lot of money on simply operating their competitive bursary scheme; they are investing millions of pounds in competing with each other. We like to think that that money could go straight into student maintenance rather than administration and bureaucracy through the national bursary scheme. As I have already mentioned, we are also looking at the graduate apprentice scheme and other ways of trying to address the issue of maintenance while students are studying. So, that is our response on those questions.

[9] **Peter Black:** Janet wants to respond. If everyone wants to respond, including myself—I also have questions—we will not have enough time. Could you be very quick, Janet?

[10] **Janet Ryder:** First, to confirm, we certainly welcome the development of a proper maintenance system. Can you confirm that the £2,700 that you offer as a means-tested maintenance grant will be fully funded by Westminster; in other words, that it will free up the money that has already been used within the Assembly learning grant?

I am also very pleased that there is a divergence of opinion within the group. I am very alarmed to hear university education being classed as middle-class education, when we are trying to develop an extending participation agenda. We must be very careful with the words that we use.

Mr Richards: It is the reality, I am afraid.

Felly, yr ydym yn edrych ar y cynllun bwrsariau cenedlaethol, a fyddai'n arbed llawer o arian. Mae prifysgolion Lloegr yn gwario peth wmbredd o arian ar redeg eu cynllun bwrsariau cystadleuol; maent yn buddsoddi miliynau o bunnoedd mewn cystadlu â'i gilydd. Yr ydym ni'n hoffi meddwl y gallai'r arian hwnnw fynd yn syth i mewn i gynhaliaeth myfyrwyr yn hytrach na gweinyddiad a biwrocratiaeth drwy'r cynllun bwrsariau cenedlaethol. Fel y soniais eisoes, yr ydym yn edrych hefyd ar y cynllun prentisiaethau i raddedigion a ffyrdd eraill o geisio mynd i'r afael â mater cynhaliaeth tra bo myfyrwyr yn astudio. Felly, dyna ein hymateb ar y cwestiynau hynny.

[9] **Peter Black:** Mae Janet am ymateb. Os bydd pawb eisiau ymateb, gan gynnwys fi fy hun—mae gennyf finau gwestiynau—ni fydd gennym ddigon o amser. Allech chi fod yn gyflym iawn, Janet?

[10] **Janet Ryder:** Yn gyntaf, i gadarnhau, yr ydym yn sicr yn croesawu datblygiad system gynhaliaeth iawn. A allwch gadarnhau y caiff y £2,700 a gynigiwch fel grant cynnal dan brawf modd ei ariannu'n gyfan gwbl gan San Steffan; hynny yw, y bydd yn rhyddhau'r arian sydd eisoes wedi'i ddefnyddio o fewn grant dysgu'r Cynulliad?

Yr wyf yn falch iawn hefyd fod gwahaniaeth barn o fewn y grwp. Mae'n ddychryn i mi glywed addysg prifysgol yn cael ei dosbarthu fel addysg i'r dosbarth canol, a ninnau'n ceisio datblygu agenda o ymestyn cyfranogiad. Rhaid inni fod yn ofalus iawn gyda'r geiriau a ddefnyddiwn.

Mr Richards: Dyna fel y mae hi, mae arnaf ofn.

[11] **Janet Ryder:** If that is the reality, then the Government has failed in its extending participation agenda, and has failed to include those groups that need to be included in it.

[12] **Peter Black:** You are taking advantage, now, Janet.

[13] **Janet Ryder:** I would just like further clarification on that £2,700 and where that comes from.

Mr Richards: That has been allowed for. In 2006-07, the Assembly will be providing grants of £2,700 to finance students who are going to study in England or Wales. The slight anomaly is that people will be able to have £2,700 although they will be attending a higher education institution that does not charge £3,000.

Mr Humphreys: May I just add something about the Assembly learning grant and so on? Clearly, that £2,700 has been Barnettised over, but it will not free up all of the Assembly learning grant money as some of that is used in further education. We are very firmly committed to that remaining available for further education, which was a key recommendation of the first Rees review.

With reference to the business about higher education being middle class, let us be under no illusion: this commission is very committed to the widening participation agenda. My university and all the universities in Wales are very committed to engaging all sections of society. All our recommendations will be made to go with the grain of that policy with which, one assumes, you also concur.

[11] **Janet Ryder:** Os mai felly y mae hi, yna mae'r Llywodraeth wedi methu yn ei hagenda ymestyn cyfranogiad, ac wedi methu cynnwys y grwpiau hynny y mae angen eu cynnwys yn hyn.

[12] **Peter Black:** Yr ydych yn cymryd mantais yn awr, Janet.

[13] **Janet Ryder:** Hoffwn eglurhad pellach am y £2,700 yna ac o ble y daw.

Mr Richards: Darparwyd ar gyfer hynny. Yn 2006-07, bydd y Cynulliad yn darparu grantiau o £2,700 i ariannu myfyrwyr sydd yn mynd i astudio yng Nghymru neu Loegr. Yr afreoleiddra bychan yw y bydd pobl yn gallu cael £2,700 er y byddant yn mynychu sefydliad addysg uwch nad yw'n codi £3,000.

Mr Humphreys: A gaf fi ychwanegu rhywbeth am grant dysgu'r Cynulliad ac ati? Yn amlwg, mae'r £2,700 hynny wedi'i Farneteiddio drosodd, ond ni wnaiff ryddhau'r cwbl o arian grant dysgu'r Cynulliad gan fod rhywfaint o hwnnw'n cael ei ddefnyddio mewn addysg bellach. Yr ydym wedi ymrwymo'n gadarn iawn i sicrhau y bydd hynny'n dal i fod ar gael ar gyfer addysg bellach, a oedd yn argymhelliad allweddol gan adolygiad cyntaf Rees.

A chyfeirio at y busnes bod addysg uwch yn beth dosbarth canol, na thwyllwn ein hunain: mae'r comisiwn hwn wedi ymrwymo'n llwyr i'r agenda lledu cyfranogiad. Mae fy mhrifysgol i a phob prifysgol yng Nghymru'n ymroddedig iawn i gynnwys pob haen o gymdeithas. Gwneir pob un o'n hargymhellion i fynd gyda graen y polisi hwnnw, yr ydych chithau'n cyd-fynd ag ef hefyd, gellir tybio.

[14] **David Davies:** I am certainly disappointed in what I have heard today because, from the Rees report, I want to hear a certain academic detachment from any sort of party politicking. That is very important if we are to have confidence in what you present. Basically, you have to be independent.

What we heard from Kenneth Richards was some kind of rant about the middle classes and a suggestion that all students are middle class. [Interruption.] Let me just make my point, if I may. I appreciate that not everyone will agree with it, but, in a democracy, you have to accept differences of opinion. You made a statement, in your party political broadcast, that the ‘study now and pay later’ option from the Conservative Party would lead to money going from poor homes to rich homes. I do not see how you can possibly conclude that. You certainly did not explain it at all.

Mr Richards: It is not my concern to deliver a report by an independent—

[15] **David Davies:** Well, with the same independence that you, no doubt, have brought in—

Mr Richards: No, not at all.

[16] **Peter Black:** Rather than have a dialogue, could we please have a series of questions, David?

[17] **David Davies:** I was trying to explain, but, if Mr Richards wants to make these points, I did have a few questions—

[18] **Peter Black:** Can we have a series of questions, please?

[14] **David Davies:** Yr wyf fi yn sicr yn siomedig yn yr hyn yr wyf wedi ei glywed heddiw, oherwydd, gan adroddiad Rees, mae arnaf fi eisiau clywed rhyw wrthrychedd academaidd heb unrhyw fath o wleidydda plaid. Mae hynny’n bwysig iawn os ydym i gael hyder yn yr hyn a gyflwynwch. Yn y bôn, mae’n rhaid ichi fod yn annibynnol.

Beth a glywsom gan Kenneth Richards oedd rhyw fath o druth am y dosbarthiadau canol ac awgrym bod pob myfyriwr yn ddsbarth canol. [Torri ar draws.] Gadewch imi wneud fy mhwynt, os caf. Yr wyf yn sylweddoli na fydd pawb yn cytuno ag ef, ond, mewn democratiaeth, rhaid derbyn gwahaniaethau barn. Gwnaethoch ddatganiad, yn eich darllediad gwleidyddol, y byddai’r dewis ‘astudio nawr a thalu wedyn’ gan y Blaid Geidwadol yn arwain at drosglwyddo arian o gartrefi tlawd i gartrefi cyfoethog. Ni welaf o gwbl sut y gallwch ddod i’r casgliad hwnnw. Yn sicr, ni wnaethoch ei egluro o gwbl.

Mr Richards: Nid fy nghonsýrn i yw cyflwyno adroddiad annibynnol—

[15] **David Davies:** Wel, gyda’r un annibyniaeth ag yr ydych chi, yn ddiamau, wedi cyflwyno—

Mr Richards: Na, ddim o gwbl.

[16] **Peter Black:** Yn hytrach na chael deialog, a gaem gyfres o gwestiynau, os gwelwch yn dda, David?

[17] **David Davies:** Yr oeddwn yn ceisio esbonio, ond, os mynna Mr Richards wneud y pwyntiau hyn, yr oedd gennyf ychydig o gwestiynau—

[18] **Peter Black:** A gawn ni gyfres o gwestiynau, os gwelwch yn dda?

[19] **David Davies:** You have also stated that parents are completely willing to finance their offspring. I have not found that. I know of parents who have been completely unwilling to do that, and I do not know how you can make that statement.

I did have a question, but I might put it to Professor Teresa Rees instead. We might have some academic detachment from her about this.

If, as you clearly expect, the Bidar case is successful in showing that it is not permitted to discriminate against people across the European Union, as well as the case currently under way in Scotland on whether or not people can discriminate within the United Kingdom, which might well succeed also, how many of these options will we be left with, because some form of discrimination is apparent in many of them?

Professor Rees: One of the difficulties that we have is that it is not likely that we will necessarily have the outcome of the cases before we have to make our recommendations to you. So, I think that you have identified a very real problem there. All we can do is to take the best advice on the way that these cases are going. It is possible that one of them may have pronounced, but certainly not the Bidar case. So, that is a difficult one. All we can do is put in the report the ifs and the buts and say, 'This is our recommendation. However, watch out for the outcome of this. If it is this, then we suggest this; if it is that, then we suggest that'. That is all that we can do as a holding exercise because of the time frame.

[19] **David Davies:** Yr ydych wedi datgan hefyd fod rhieni'n gwbl fodlon ariannu eu hepil. Nid wyf fi wedi canfod hynny. Gwn am rieni a fu'n gwbl anfodlon gwneud hynny, ac ni wn sut y gallwch wneud y gosodiad hwnnw.

Yr oedd gennyf gwestiwn, ond efallai y'i gofynnaf i'r Athro Teresa Rees yn lle. Hwyrach y cawn rywfaint o wrthrychedd academiaidd ganddi hi ynglyn â hyn.

Os, fel y disgwyliwch chi, yn amlwg, y bydd achos Bidar yn llwyddiannus o ran dangos na chaniateir gwahaniaethu yn erbyn pobl ar draws yr Undeb Ewropeaidd, yn ogystal â'r achos sydd ar droed ar hyn o bryd yn yr Alban ynghylch a ellir gwahaniaethu o fewn y Deyrnas Unedig ai peidio, a all lwyddo hefyd, faint o'r dewisiadau hyn fydd ar ôl inni, oherwydd mae rhyw ffurf ar wahaniaethu'n amlwg mewn sawl un ohonynt?

Yr Athro Rees: Un o'r anawsterau sydd gennym yw nad yw'n debygol y bydd canlyniad yr achosion gennym o reidrwydd cyn inni orfod gwneud ein hargymhellion i chi. Felly, credaf eich bod wedi nodi problem go iawn yn y fan honno. Y cwbl y gallwn ei wneud yw cael y cyngor gorau ar y ffordd mae'r achosion hyn yn mynd. Y mae'n bosibl y gall un ohonynt fod wedi cyhoeddi dedfryd, ond nid achos Bidar yn sicr. Felly, mae hynny'n anodd. Y cyfan y gallwn ei wneud yw nodi'r holl amodau ac amheuan yn yr adroddiad a dweud, 'Dyma ein hargymhelliad. Fodd bynnag, gwyliwch am ganlyniad hyn. Os mai dyma ydyw, yna awgrymwn hyn; os mai hwn ydyw, yna awgrymwn hyn arall'. Dyna'r cwbl y gallwn ei wneud fel ymarferiad cynnal, oherwydd y cyfyngiadau amser.

On the issue of parents being willing to pay, of course this is not a blanket statement: not all parents can pay or are willing to pay. We have issues of estrangement and so on, which I think we are addressing in our design. However, there is a question about the extent to which graduates, if they then end up with a graduate premium and a good chance of additional income, should be making some sort of contribution towards that. Should we ask hospital porters, through taxes, to pay for the education of medical consultants, who then have very smart salaries? These are the sorts of issues that we debate fully, frankly and freely in the group. We are trying to come up with some recommendations that are based on the evidence and our consultation with stakeholders.

[20] **Christine Chapman:** When you had your many meetings, did you have any discussions about the impact of any of these proposals on the choice or sustainability of any subject? I think that Jeff picked up the point about possible employer sponsorship, and there are positive things about that. We are looking for more maths graduates and physics graduates in particular at the moment, because there is a big shortage there. When graduates come to get jobs, quite a lot of companies will ask for just a good degree; they do not specify subject areas. For example, we have had issues about whether philosophy is a good degree. There are all sorts of perceptions about certain subjects. Is history a good degree? I would say 'yes', but who knows as far as employers are concerned. Did this sort of discussion enter into any of the meetings that you had?

Ar gwestiwn parodrwydd rhieni i dalu, wrth gwrs nid datganiad hollgynhwysol yw hwn: nid pob rhieni all dalu nac sydd yn fodlon talu. Mae gennym broblemau dieithrio ac ati, sydd yn cael sylw gennym, fe gredaf, yn ein cynllun. Fodd bynnag, mae cwestiwn ynghylch i ba raddau y dylai graddedigion, os cânt bremiwm gradd a chyfle da o incwm ychwanegol, fod yn gwneud rhyw fath o gyfraniad at hynny. A ddylem ni ofyn i borthorion ysbytai, drwy eu trethi, dalu am addysg ymgynghorwyr meddygol, sydd wedyn yn ennill cyflogau del iawn? Dyma'r mathau o gwestiynau a drafodwn yn llawn, yn rhydd ac yn ddi-flewyn-ar-dafod yn y grwp. Yr ydym yn ceisio pennu argymhellion a fydd yn seiliedig ar y dystiolaeth ac ar ein hymgyngoriad â rhanddeiliaid.

[20] **Christine Chapman:** Pan gawsoch eich cyfarfodydd niferus, a gawsoch unrhyw drafodaethau am effaith unrhyw rai o'r cynigion hyn ar ddewis neu gynaliadwyedd unrhyw bwnc? Credaf i Jeff godi'r pwynt am nawdd posibl gan gyflogwyr, ac mae pethau cadarnhaol ynglyn â hynny. Yr ydym yn chwilio am fwy o raddedigion mathemateg a graddedigion ffiseg yn enwedig ar hyn o bryd, oherwydd bod prinder mawr yn y fan honno. Pan ddaw graddedigion i gael swyddi, gradd dda yw'r unig beth a fyynnir gan nifer go lew o gwmnïau; nid ydynt yn pennu meysydd pwnc. Er enghraifft, yr ydym wedi dadlau a yw athroniaeth yn radd dda. Mae pob math o ganfyddiadau am bynciau penodol. A ydyw hanes yn radd dda? 'Ydyw' ddywedwn i, ond pwy a wyr, lle bo cyflogwyr yn y cwestiwn. A gafwyd y math hwn o drafodaeth yn unrhyw un o'r cyfarfodydd a gawsoch chi?

Professor Rees: Yes, and we have particularly looked at international experience on this. In Australia, for example, nursing and teacher training are ring-fenced and separated out from the rest of the regime to try to encourage people to go into those areas. We are very mindful of that, particularly because we have taken a lot of evidence on labour market needs in the Welsh economy in the medium and long term, and these need to be addressed. It can be the case that some of these labour market needs are some of the more expensive courses, because they are longer, particularly in medical fields, for example. So, we have tried to think about some opportunities for this within the national bursary scheme, but also reserving some powers to the Assembly to channel some resource into areas where it may feel that Wales as a whole particularly needs it. One of the areas that we have looked at particularly in that regard is Welsh-language provision, and we have tried to create opportunities in some of the modelling that we have done for that to be protected both at the institutional level and the all-Wales level. However, these are ideas that we are just developing, but, yes, it is certainly something that we are mindful of.

[21] **Mark Isherwood:** You made a claim at the outset, in your opening comments, that this review is predicated upon the statement that you made that HE has expanded to such a degree that public funding is not feasible without a contribution from others, and you then referred to labour market needs analysis considerations, taken by yourself. The independent reports that I have seen have stated quite categorically that there will not be 50 per cent graduate-level jobs for 50 per cent of graduates. In Wales, of course, 50 per cent is the target that we dare not speak its name, although it is in Government documents hidden away elsewhere. How do we reconcile

Yr Athro Rees: Do, ac yr ydym wedi edrych yn arbennig ar brofiad rhyngwladol yn hyn o beth. Yn Awstralia, er enghraifft, mae nyrsio ac ymarfer dysgu wedi'u clustnodi a'u gwahanu oddi wrth weddill y drefn er mwyn ceisio annog pobl i fynd i'r meysydd hynny. Yr ydym yn ymwybodol iawn o hynny, yn enwedig am ein bod wedi derbyn llawer o dystiolaeth ar anghenion y farchnad lafur yn economi Cymru yn y tymor canolig a hir, ac mae angen rhoi sylw i'r rhain. Gall rhai o'r anghenion hyn yn y farchnad lafur fod am rai o'r cyrsiau drutaf, oherwydd eu bod yn hwy, yn enwedig mewn meysydd meddygol, er enghraifft. Felly, yr ydym wedi ceisio meddwl am gyfleoedd i wneud hyn o fewn y cynllun bwrsariau cenedlaethol, ond gan gadw rhai pwerau i'r Cynulliad hefyd i sianelu adnoddau i feysydd lle teimla efallai fod ar Gymru yn gyffredinol angen hynny. Un o'r meysydd yr ydym wedi edrych arno'n arbennig yn hynny o beth yw darpariaeth drwy gyfrwng y Gymraeg, ac yr ydym wedi ceisio creu cyfleoedd yn rhywfaint o'r modelu a wnaethom ar gyfer gwarchod hynny ar lefel sefydliadol ac ar lefel Cymru gyfan hefyd. Fodd bynnag, syniadau yw'r rhain yr ydym wrthi'n eu datblygu, ond ie, yn sicr mae'n rhywbeth yr ydym yn ymwybodol ohono.

[21] **Mark Isherwood:** Gwnaethoch haerriad ar y dechrau yn eich sylwadau agoriadol fod yr adolygiad hwn yn amodol ar y gosodiad a wnaethoch fod addysg uwch wedi ehangu i'r fath raddau nad yw ariannu cyhoeddus yn ymarferol heb gyfraniad oddi wrth eraill, ac wedyn cyfeiriasoch at ystyriaethau o ran dadansoddi anghenion y farchnad lafur, rhywbeth a wnaethoch chi. Mae'r adroddiadau annibynnol a welais i wedi datgan yn gwbl ddiamwys na fydd 50 y cant o swyddi lefel gradd ar gael i 50 y cant o raddedigion. Yng Nghymru, wrth gwrs, 50 y cant yw'r targed na feiddiwn yngan ei enw, er ei fod mewn dogfennau Llywodraeth sydd ynghudd

that when the future labour market needs analyses that I have seen specify that we have a shortage of high-level FE-based qualifications but that the oversupply of graduates will end up penalising many young people who have been encouraged to go down a path that will mortgage them into middle age? I welcome the fact that you have recognised the cross-border impact were Wales to have a more generous system than that in England. Do you concur with the senior persons in HE in Wales who stressed to me that we have a single competitive employment and education market in England and Wales, and that we must, therefore, plan accordingly, on that basis? We cannot operate in isolation.

What consideration have you given to fees for students who enrol pre-2007? Obviously, in England, the Government has stated that students who enrol pre-2006 will not have to pay top-up fees afterwards. Have you considered what Wales should do in those circumstances?

Finally, building on the point that Janet raised, how do we tackle the inequality and disincentive issues where a student from a lower-income background who enters a higher-paid job, possibly in the City, ends up with far less debt than a student from an average-income background who becomes a teacher, for example?

Professor Rees: Thank you very much—these are very interesting questions and responses. We have been cocooned away, to a certain extent, although we have engaged with stakeholders, and it is fascinating to get this input. It is timely for us as we are in the last stage of trying to refine recommendations and develop them, so thank you for that.

yn rhywle arall. Sut mae cysoni hynny pan fo'r dadansoddiadau a welais i o anghenion marchnad lafur y dyfodol yn nodi fod gennym brinder cymwysterau addysg bellach lefel uchel ond y bydd y gorgyflenwad o raddedigion yn y diwedd yn cosbi llawer o bobl ifanc a gafodd eu hannog i ddilyn llwybr a fydd yn eu morgeisio i mewn i'w canol oed? Croesawaf y ffaith eich bod wedi cydnabod yr effaith drawsffiniol a geid pe câi Cymru system fwy hael na hynny yn Lloegr. A gytunwch â'r bobl bwysig ym maes addysg uwch yng Nghymru a bwysleisiodd wrthyf fi fod gennym un farchnad gyflogaeth ac addysg gystadleuol yng Nghymru a Lloegr, ac felly bod rhaid cynllunio'n unol â hynny, ar y sail honno? Ni allwn weithredu ar ein pen ein hunain.

Pa ystyriaeth yr ydych chi wedi'i rhoi i ffioedd i fyfyrwyr fydd yn cofrestru cyn 2007? Yn amlwg, yn Lloegr, mae'r Llywodraeth wedi datgan na fydd raid i fyfyrwyr sy'n cofrestru cyn 2006 dalu ffioedd ychwanegol wedyn. A ydych wedi ystyried beth ddylai Cymru ei wneud yn yr amgylchiadau hynny?

Yn olaf, gan adeiladu ar y pwynt a wnaeth Janet, sut mae mynd i'r afael â'r problemau anghydraddoldeb ac anghymhelliant lle bo myfyriwr o gefndir incwm is sy'n mynd i swydd ar gyflog uwch, yn sefydliadau ariannol dinas Llundain o bosibl, yn ei gael ei hun â dyled lawer llai na myfyriwr o gefndir incwm canolig sy'n mynd yn athro, er enghraifft?

Yr Athro Rees: Diolch yn fawr—mae'r rhain yn gwestiynau ac ymatebion diddorol iawn. Yr ydym wedi bod yn swatio mewn cell gysurus, i ryw raddau, er inni drafod gyda rhanddeiliaid, ac mae'n hynod ddiddorol cael y mewnbwn hwn. Mae'n amserol i ni gan ein bod ni ar y cam olaf o geisio coethi argymhellion a'u datblygu, felly diolch ichi am hynny.

I think that you said earlier that there was an over-supply of graduates, and asked if I agreed, but one of the real problems that we have in Wales is retaining our graduates—we educate them and off they go. That is a labour-market issue, and it means working with the Assembly to try to create and support more graduate-type jobs. That is important for raising income levels, combating poverty and so on. I think that that is an issue, but it is not simply the case. As Ms Chapman said, a degree in a particular subject is not the be all and end all. I think that a university education is important in a whole range of different ways, such as engaging in civic participation. There are all kinds of benefits to a university education beyond a certificate and expertise in a very specific area; it is good in its own sense and for its own sake.

There is a danger in one of the potential options that you mentioned: if we try to keep education cheap in Wales, it would seem inevitable that the universities would not be able to retain their staff—they would get picked off. Then you would actually get a closer link between price and quality and we would be on a real downward spiral. There is an issue about wanting to have higher education open to all, but if you have a blanket low price, you could end up with low-quality goods on offer. We are trying to avoid that possible scenario.

You mentioned in your last point, I think, that there may be some inequities in that if someone from a lower-income background ends up in a higher paid job, they end up with less debt, or more debt—

[22] **Mark Isherwood:** I said less debt.

Yr wyf yn meddwl ichi ddweud yn gynharach fod gorgyflenwad o raddedigion, a gofyn a oeddwn i'n cytuno, ond un o'r problemau gwirioneddol sydd gennym yng Nghymru yw cadw ein graddedigion—fe'u haddysgwn ac i ffwrdd â nhw. Problem gyda'r farchnad lafur yw hynny, ac mae'n golygu gweithio gyda'r Cynulliad i geisio creu a chynnal mwy o swyddi i raddedigion. Mae hynny'n bwysig er mwyn codi lefelau incwm, gwrthweithio tlodi ac ati. Credaf fod hynny'n broblem, ond nid dyna'r sefyllfa yn syml. Fel y dywedodd Ms Chapman, nid holl hanfod a diben bywyd yw gradd mewn pwnc penodol. Credaf fod addysg prifysgol yn bwysig mewn llu o wahanol ffyrdd, fel ymgymryd â chyfranogiad dinesydd. Mae pob math o fanteision i addysg prifysgol y tu hwnt i dystysgrif ac arbenigedd mewn maes penodol iawn; mae'n beth da ynddi'i hun ac er ei mwyn ei hun.

Mae perygl yn un o'r dewisiadau posibl a grybwyllwyd gennych: os ceisiwn gadw addysg yn rhad yng Nghymru, mae'n ymddangos yn anochel na allai'r prifysgolion gadw eu staff—caent eu cipio fesul un. Wedyn fe gaech chi yn wir berthynas agosach rhwng pris ac ansawdd a byddem ar y llwybr i waered go iawn. Mae cwestiwn o fod eisiau sicrhau bod addysg uwch yn agored i bawb, ond os cewch bris isel i bawb, gallech ganfod mai nwyddau o ansawdd gwael fydd gennych i'w cynnig yn y diwedd. Yr ydym yn ceisio osgoi'r sefyllfa bosibl honno.

Fe sonioch yn eich pwynt olaf, yr wyf yn meddwl, y gallai fod annhegwch pe bai rhywun o gefndir incwm is yn ennill swydd ar gyflog uwch, y byddai'n ei gael ei hun mewn llai o ddyled, neu fwy o ddyled—

[22] **Mark Isherwood:** Llai o ddyled a ddywedais i.

Professor Rees: I do not know what I would do without the rest of the group to keep me clear on all of this.

Your point is possibly true, but you cannot control the issue to that degree. Also, income levels are a lifetime issue. People have peaks and troughs—they might have career breaks, go part time, or have a period of ill health, for example. At what point do you say that that is the income level of that person? That is why you have to take more of a lifetime approach. The repayment of the tuition-fee loan can be stretched out over 25 years, and if it is not paid after 25 years, it is written off. If people do not reach the threshold for repayment, they will not ever have to pay it back, so the risk is taken out of the loan. Then, we are just talking about maintenance, which is a real preoccupation of the group. How do you ensure that students can go through higher education without accumulating unreasonable maintenance costs that will go with them into the labour market? That is the balance that we are trying to strike with our recommendations.

[23] **Peter Black:** There was also a question about the 2006-07 cohort.

Professor Rees: Yes. Are there any volunteers to answer?

Mr Richards: There are, again, different views on this matter.

Yr Athro Rees: Ni wn beth a wnawn heb weddill y grwp i'm cadw i'n glir ar hyn i gyd.

Mae'n bosibl fod eich pwynt yn wir, ond ni allwch reoli'r mater i'r graddau hynny. Hefyd, mater dros oes yw lefelau incwm. Bydd pobl yn taro uchelfannau ac iselfannau—gallent gael egwyl yn eu gyrfa, mynd yn rhan-amser, neu ddioddef cyfnod o waeledd, er enghraifft. Ar ba bwynt y gallwch ddweud mai dyna yw lefel incwm rhywun? Dyna pam mae'n rhaid edrych yn fwy o safbwynt oes gyfan. Gellir ymestyn ad-daliad benthyciad y ffioedd dysgu dros 25 mlynedd, ac os na fydd wedi'i dalu ar ôl 25 mlynedd, caiff ei anghofio. Os na chyrhaedda pobl y trothwy ar gyfer ad-dalu, ni fydd raid iddynt ei dalu'n ôl byth, felly cymerir y risg allan o'r benthyciad. Wedyn, dim ond sôn am gynhaliaeth yr ydym ni, pwnc sydd o wir ddiddordeb i'r grwp. Sut mae sicrhau y gall myfyrwyr fynd drwy addysg uwch heb gronni costau cynnal afresymol fydd yn eu dilyn i'r farchnad lafur? Dyna'r cydbwysedd yr ydym yn ceisio'i daro gyda'n hargymhellion.

[23] **Peter Black:** Yr oedd cwestiwn hefyd am garfan 2006-07.

Yr Athro Rees: Oedd. A oes unrhyw wirfoddolwyr i ateb?

Mr Richards: Y mae, eto, wahanol farnau ar y mater hwn.

Professor Rees: Yes, there are differing views. The difficulty that we have with making recommendations with regard to the 2006-07 cohort is that we did not feel that we had anything to say, as we did not have a consensus view on it. I must add that it was not in our brief, although the Minister did give us an opportunity to comment on that cohort if we wanted to. Also, it is difficult to come out with a recommendation on that in advance of the whole packet of recommendations, or you may have conflicting policies. It seems far more natural for us to make the whole set of recommendations for the medium and long term; then, a recommendation for 2006-07 would be fitted into that framework.

[24] **Mark Isherwood:** As regards 2005-06, it is rolling this October; it will still be a three-year course in 2007-08.

Professor Rees: You mean people who defer?

[25] **Peter Black:** No. He means anyone still in college when the new regime comes in. It could be people who start in 2005-06 on a three or four-year course.

Mr Richards: I think you will find that the 2005-06 cohort is protected anyway.

Professor Rees: Yes, the 2005-06 cohort is protected. It is the 2006-07 one that has a question mark over it. We probably will come to a recommendation on that in our report, but in the context of the wider recommendations, so that it is coherent and consistent.

[26] **Mark Isherwood:** May I make one comment?

Yr Athro Rees: Oes, y mae gwahaniaethau barn. Yr anhawster a gawn ni wrth wneud argymhellion ynglyn â charfan 2006-07 yw nad oeddem yn teimlo fod gennym ddim i'w ddweud, gan nad oedd gennym gonsensws barn arno. Rhaid imi ychwanegu nad oedd yn ein brîff, er i'r Gweinidog roi cyfle inni roi sylw ar y garfan honno pe mynnem. Hefyd, mae'n anodd llunio argymhelliad ar hynny cyn y pecyn cyfan o argymhellion, neu gellid cael polisïau sydd yn gwrthdaro. Mae'n ymddangos yn llawer mwy naturiol i ni wneud y set gyfan o argymhellion ar gyfer y tymor canolig a hir; wedyn câi argymhelliad ar gyfer 2006-07 ei ffitio i mewn i'r fframwaith hwnnw.

[24] **Mark Isherwood:** O ran 2005-06, mae'n treiglo fis Hydref yma; bydd yn dal i fod yn gwrs tair blynedd yn 2007-08.

Yr Athro Rees: Ai sôn am bobl fydd yn gohirio yr ydych chi?

[25] **Peter Black:** Na. Mae'n sôn am unrhyw un fydd yn dal yn y coleg pan ddaw'r drefn newydd i mewn. Gallai fod yn bobl a fydd yn dechrau yn 2005-06 ar gwrs tair neu bedair blynedd.

Mr Richards: Yr wyf yn meddwl y canfyddwch fod carfan 2005-06 wedi'i gwarchod beth bynnag.

Yr Athro Rees: Ydyw, mae carfan 2005-06 wedi'i gwarchod. Dros garfan 2006-07 y mae'r marc cwestiwn. Mae'n debyg y deawn at argymhelliad ar hynny yn ein hadroddiad, ond yng nghyd-destun yr argymhellion ehangach y bydd hynny, er mwyn sicrhau cydlyniaid a chysondeb.

[26] **Mark Isherwood:** A gaf i wneud un sylw?

[27] **Peter Black:** Very quickly, as we are pushed for time.

[28] **Mark Isherwood:** I have been very concerned about the number of young people that I have had to advise not to go into bankruptcy, because they are so concerned now. There are horrible rumours flying around colleges that it would be more beneficial for students to become bankrupt rather than saddle themselves with a debt.

Mr Richards: The Government is now, in fact, taking powers to prevent bankruptcy writing-off student loans, so that loans cannot be written-off in that way.

[29] **Peter Black:** There is no way out there, Mark.

[30] **Mark Isherwood:** I think there is a degree of concern that they would even consider that.

[31] **Peter Black:** I will ask a question about the graduate premium. We discussed this last night to an extent, and you reported that a figure of 16 per cent was considered for the whole of the UK. I am concerned—and I appreciate the fact that you have commissioned research on this—that a large number of graduates who remain in Wales will work in the public sector, particularly, and in a generally low-wage economy, compared with that of the rest of the UK. That graduate premium of about 16 per cent is not going to be applicable to Wales in the same way. How is account being taken of that in terms of your recommendations?

[27] **Peter Black:** Yn gyflym iawn, gan ein bod yn brin o amser.

[28] **Mark Isherwood:** Yr wyf wedi bod yn bryderus iawn am y nifer o bobl ifanc yr wyf fi wedi gorfod eu cynghori i beidio â mynd yn fethdalwyr, gan eu bod mor bryderus erbyn hyn. Mae sibrydion erchyll yn mynd o gwmpas colegau y byddai'n fwy buddiol i fyfyrwyr fynd yn fethdalwyr yn hytrach na chymryd baich dyled arnynt eu hunain.

Mr Richards: Mae'r Llywodraeth wrthi'n awr, â dweud y gwir, yn llunio pwerau i rwystro methdaliad rhag dileu benthyciadau myfyrwyr, fel na fydd modd dileu dyledion yn y ffordd honno.

[29] **Peter Black:** Nid oes dim ffordd allan yn y fan honno, Mark.

[30] **Mark Isherwood:** Yr wyf yn meddwl ei bod yn destun pryder y byddent hyd yn oed yn ystyried hynny.

[31] **Peter Black:** Fe ofynnaf gwestiwn am y premiwm i raddedigion. Trafodwyd hyn gennym neithiwr i raddau, a dywedasoch chi fod ffigur o 16 y cant wedi'i ystyried ar gyfer y cyfan o'r DU. Yr wyf yn bryderus—a sylweddolaf eich bod wedi comisiynu ymchwil ar hyn—y bydd nifer fawr o raddedigion sydd yn aros yng Nghymru yn gweithio yn y sector cyhoeddus, yn benodol, ac mewn economi cyflogau isel yn gyffredinol, o gymharu â hynny yng ngweddill y DU. Nid yw'r premiwm graddedigion hwnnw o ryw 16 y cant yn mynd i fod yn berthnasol yng Nghymru yn yr un modd. Sut mae hynny'n cael sylw yn nhermau eich argymhellion?

Professor Rees: We have commissioned research on the graduate premium. It is what they call, in academic terms, a contested field. There are many different, evidence-based views on this. It is quite hard for us to be convinced by all of the evidence, because it is conflicting. We are very conscious of the fact that wages in Wales tend to be lower than those in England, but, on the other hand, a lot of border-hopping goes on. Half the people who are educated in Wales will then go back—we do lose our graduates—and some come back again to Wales. It is very difficult to make a pronouncement about living in this country, or whatever, where salaries are higher, after you graduate, because you may end living somewhere else up a few years later. We have to devise recommendations that can accommodate that diversity. So, we are taking it on board, and taking it into consideration, but there are no obvious implications, I think, of the difference in the graduate premium, because, basically, we are talking about averages.

Mr Richards: The loan repayment system does take account of income—it is income contingent. If you have a low income, you do not pay very much back. In fact, people who pay back over a longer period get a bigger benefit from it because they get a subsidised, zero real rate of interest loan. People paying back longer get more benefit from the loans system than people who can pay back very quickly. So, it does take account of that.

[32] **Peter Black:** It is the issue of thresholds, is it not?

Mr Richards: Yes.

Yr Athro Rees: Yr ydym wedi comisiynu ymchwil ar y premiwm graddedigion. Mae'n faes cynnen, o'i roi mewn termau academiaidd. Mae sawl barn wahanol, seiliedig ar dystiolaeth, ar hyn. Mae'n eithaf anodd i ni gael ein darbwyllo gan yr holl dystiolaeth, gan ei bod yn gwrth-ddweud ei hun. Yr ydym yn ymwybodol iawn o'r ffaith bod cyflogau yng Nghymru'n tueddu i fod yn is na'r rhai yn Lloegr, ond, ar y llaw arall, ceir llawer o neidio'n ôl a blaen dros y ffin. Bydd hanner y bobl a addysgir yng Nghymru'n mynd yn ôl wedyn—byddwn yn colli ein graddedigion—a bydd rhai'n dod yn ôl eto i Gymru. Mae'n anodd iawn gwneud datganiad ynghylch byw yn y wlad hon, neu beth bynnag, lle mae cyflogau'n uwch, ar ôl graddio, oherwydd efallai y byddwch yn byw yn rhywle arall ychydig flynyddoedd yn ddiweddarach. Rhaid inni lunio argymhellion a all roi lle i'r amrywiaeth hwnnw. Felly, yr ydym yn rhoi sylw iddo, ac yn ei ystyried, ond nid oes goblygiadau amlwg, gredaf fi, i'r gwahaniaeth yn y premiwm graddedigion, gan mai sôn am gyfartaleddau yr ydym, yn y bôn.

Mr Richards: Y mae'r system ad-dalu benthyciadau yn cymryd incwm i ystyriaeth—mae'n dibynnu ar yr incwm. Os bydd gennych incwm isel, ni fyddwch yn talu llawer iawn yn ôl. Yn wir, bydd pobl fydd yn talu'n ôl dros gyfnod hwy'n cael mwy o fudd ohono gan eu bod yn cael benthyciad wedi'i noddi, ar gyfradd log sydd yn ddim, mewn termau real. Bydd pobl fydd yn talu'n ôl yn hwy yn cael mwy o fudd o'r system fenthyciadau na phobl sydd yn gallu talu'n ôl yn gyflym. Felly, y mae'n rhoi ystyriaeth i hynny.

[32] **Peter Black:** Mater y trothwy yw hyn, onid e?

Mr Richards: Ie.

Mr Humphreys: On a more general point on the graduate premium and Wales, one of the things that our research did show—which gives considerable cause for concern—was the much higher percentage of graduates in Wales who work in the public sector, as opposed to that in the south of England, for example. In the south of England, it is almost half the percentage who work in the public sector in Wales. Far more people there work in higher-paid jobs in the private sector. That is clearly a matter for economic development policies, outwith the terms of reference of the Rees commission, but, in the longer term, I think that we would all like to see a prosperous Wales in which graduate opportunities were not, in the main, confined to the public sector, which tends to have lower wage rates. A more diverse set of opportunities for graduates in the private and public sectors would, clearly, encourage retention.

[33] **Peter Black:** I have two more people to speak—the Minister and then Denise.

[34] **Jane Davidson:** On a point of clarification, we have never had a 50 per cent target on entry to higher education in Wales. It was very important for us not to have that, because we felt that there are many ways in which we want people to acquire skills through other routes. However, we said, on the back of the committee report, that we would encourage those people who went to higher education and that we wanted the majority of them to choose Wales as the first point of destination. They do that already. It is important to make that clear. One of the areas in the public sector—although there is not long enough evidence for us to look at this at the moment in terms of the incentive support—has been the new arrangements put in place in terms of supporting teachers in shortage subjects with the repayment of their student loan, provided

Mr Humphreys: Ar bwynt mwy cyffredinol ar y premiwm graddedigion a Chymru, un o'r pethau a ddangosodd ein hymchwil—sydd yn peri pryder sylweddol—oedd y ganran lawer uwch o raddedigion yng Nghymru sydd yn gweithio yn y sector cyhoeddus, o gymharu â hynny yn ne Lloegr, er enghraifft. Yn ne Lloegr, mae'r ganran sydd yn gweithio yn y sector cyhoeddus bron hanner yr hyn ydyw yng Nghymru. Mae llawer mwy o bobl yn y fan honno'n gweithio mewn swyddi sydd yn talu mwy yn y sector preifat. Mae hynny'n amlwg yn fater i bolisiau datblygu economaidd, y tu allan i gylch gorchwyl comisiwn Rees, ond, yn y tymor hwy, credaf yr hoffem i gyd weld Cymru ffyniannus lle na fyddai cyfleoedd i raddedigion, ar y cyfan, wedi'u cyfyngu i'r sector cyhoeddus, sydd yn tueddu i dalu cyfraddau cyflog is. Byddai set mwy amrywiol o gyfleoedd i raddedigion yn y sectorau preifat a chyhoeddus yn amlwg yn gymorth i'w cadw.

[33] **Peter Black:** Mae gennyf ddau arall i siarad—y Gweinidog ac wedyn Denise.

[34] **Jane Davidson:** Ar bwynt o eglurhad, ni fu gennym erioed darged o 50 y cant ar gyfer mynediad i addysg uwch yng Nghymru. Yr oedd yn bwysig iawn inni beidio cael hynny, oherwydd yr oeddem yn teimlo bod llawer o ffyrdd lle yr hoffem i bobl gael sgiliau drwy lwybrau eraill. Serch hynny, fe ddywedasom, ar gefn adroddiad y pwyllgor, y byddem yn annog y bobl hynny a âi i addysg uwch a bod arnom eisiau i'r rhan fwyaf ohonynt ddewis Cymru fel y gyrchfan gyntaf. Gwnânt hynny yn barod. Mae'n bwysig gwneud hynny'n glir. Un o'r meysydd yn y sector cyhoeddus—er nad oes tystiolaeth ddigon hir inni edrych ar hyn ar hyn o bryd yn nhermau'r gefnogaeth gymelliannol—fu'r trefniadau newydd a sefydlwyd o ran cynorthwyo athrawon mewn pynciau prinder i ad-dalu eu benthyciad myfyriwr, ar yr amod eu bod yn

they spend sufficient time in the education setting, which I am keen to see. That operates on an England and Wales basis, but I am attracted by that in terms of whether or not it can be applied more generally to other disciplines in the public sector. I wondered whether you would say something more about the national bursary scheme. If we take two adjacent institutions, such as Newport, with its very large number of part-timers, which is very much an access institution, and Cardiff, which competes with the very best in the United Kingdom and is very ambitious in terms of the next research assessment exercise, that probably exposes the challenges that you will be looking at in how to make a national bursary scheme work across Wales. I wonder what you see as the key considerations in that context.

Mr Humphreys: I will start, if I may. The national bursary scheme is an attempt to get some coherence into mechanisms by which students can have greater support for maintenance. In England, as Professor Rees said much earlier, it appears that there will be no market in fees, but this rather, or perhaps very, chaotic and confusing market in bursaries, with every single institution, or however many dozen it is in England, having very different sets of bursary arrangements, each trying to attract certain kinds of students for certain kinds of bursaries. We felt that that was chaotic and also potentially very expensive because we have heard evidence that, in England, universities are spending a lot of money simply setting these things up and running them. There is an opportunity cost there so the money is not going to students—it is going to the universities. In addition, there is an apparent lack of transparency for the student. You have to look at every single prospectus for every single higher education institution to find out, in the small print, what potential extra funding there might be

treulio digon o amser ym maes addysg, sydd yn rhywbeth yr wyf yn awyddus i'w weld. Mae hynny'n weithredol dros Gymru a Lloegr, ond mae hynny'n fy nenu yn nhermau a ellir ei weithredu'n fwy cyffredinol i ddisgyblaethau eraill yn y sector cyhoeddus ai peidio. Meddyliais tybed a ddywedech rywbeth mwy am y cynllun bwrsariau cenedlaethol. Os cymerwn ddau sefydliad nesaf at ei gilydd, fel Casnewydd, a'i nifer fawr iawn o fyfyrwyr rhan-amser, sydd yn sefydliad mynediad i bawb, a Chaerdydd, sydd yn cystadlu â'r goreuon yn y Deyrnas Unedig ac sydd yn uchelgeisiol iawn yn nhermau'r ymarfer asesu ymchwil nesaf, mae'n debyg fod hynny'n datgelu'r her a wynebwch o ran sut i wneud i gynllun bwrsariau cenedlaethol weithio ar draws Cymru. Tybed beth gredwch chi yw'r prif ystyriaethau yn y cyd-destun hwnnw.

Mr Humphreys: Af fi yn gyntaf, os caf. Ymgais yw'r cynllun bwrsari cenedlaethol i gael rhyw gydlynid i fecanweithiau fydd yn caniatáu i fyfyrwyr gael mwy o gefnogaeth at eu cadw. Yn Lloegr, fel y dywedodd yr Athro Rees yn llawer cynharach, mae'n ymddangos na fydd unrhyw farchnad mewn ffioedd, ond y farchnad hon mewn bwrsariau sydd braidd, neu'n hynod, ddi-drefn a dryslyd, a phob sefydliad unigol, neu faint bynnag o ddwsinau ohonynt sydd yn Lloegr, â setiau gwahanol iawn o drefniadau bwrsari, pob un yn ceisio denu mathau arbennig o fyfyrwyr ar gyfer mathau arbennig o fwrsari. Teimlem fod hynny'n ddi-drefn a hefyd y gallai fod yn gostus iawn oherwydd yr ydym wedi clywed tystiolaeth fod prifysgolion yn Lloegr yn gwario llawer o arian dim ond i sefydlu'r pethau hyn a'u rhedeg. Mae yno gost cyfleon, felly nid yw'r arian yn mynd i fyfyrwyr—mae'n mynd i'r prifysgolion. Ar ben hynny, mae'n ymddangos fod diffyg tryloywder i'r myfyriwr. Rhaid edrych ar bob un prospectws i bob un sefydliad addysg uwch i ganfod, yn y print mân, pa gyllid ychwanegol a allai fod ar gael drwy fwrsariau

via certain bursaries. So every one will be different.

We feel that perhaps a national scheme, in which universities pool that proportion of fee income for a national bursary is, first, simpler, secondly, cheaper, because not all universities would have to create these great complicated plans and so on, and, thirdly, much more transparent for the student, because they will know at the point of application, when they are means-tested for student loans and so on by the local education authority, what they may be entitled to and what they are likely to get. In addition, it is portable, so the student can say, 'I want to go to Swansea institute or Newport and I know what I will get; I will get this bursary and I can take it there, or perhaps I can take it to Aberystwyth, Bangor, Trinity College, Carmarthen or wherever'. We still have more work to do on it, but we think it has considerable advantages, at least on the face of it, over the English model.

[35] **Denise Idris Jones:** I think the Minister has mentioned what I was going to talk about, which is the incentive grants for shortage subjects. We know that we have a shortage of speech and language therapists, especially Welsh-speaking ones, so that might be something that we could look at. According to the Estyn report, fewer people are, apparently, now studying French, as I did—maybe I wasted my time—so that could be something that we could look at.

arbennig. Felly bydd pob un yn wahanol.

Teimlwn efallai fod cynllun cenedlaethol, lle bydd prifysgolion yn hel ynghyd y gyfran honno o incwm ffioedd ar gyfer bwrsari cenedlaethol, yn symlach, yn gyntaf, ac yn rhatach, yn ail, oherwydd na fyddai'n rhaid i bob prifysgol greu'r cynlluniau mawr cymhleth hyn ac ati, ac, yn drydydd, byddai'n llawer mwy tryloyw i'r myfyrwyr, gan y byddant yn gwybod wrth wneud cais, pan gânt brawf modd ar gyfer benthyciad myfyriwr ac ati gan yr awdurdod addysg lleol, beth y bydd ganddynt hawl i'w gael a beth maent yn debygol o'i gael. Ar ben hynny, mae'n drosglwyddadwy, fel y gall y myfyriwr ddweud, 'Yr wyf am fynd i athrofa Abertawe neu i Gasnewydd, a gwn beth a gaf; caf y bwrsari hwn a gallaf fynd ag ef yno, neu efallai gallaf fynd ag ef i Aberystwyth, Bangor, Coleg y Drindod, Caerfyrddin neu ble bynnag'. Mae gennym fwy o waith i'w wneud arno o hyd, ond credwn fod iddo fanteision sylweddol, o leiaf ar yr wyneb, dros fodel Lloegr.

[35] **Denise Idris Jones:** Credaf fod y Gweinidog wedi crybwyll yr hyn yr oeddwn i'n mynd i sôn amdano, sef y grantiau cymhelliant ar gyfer pynciau prinder. Gwyddom fod gennym brinder therapyddion lleferydd a iaith, yn enwedig rai Cymraeg, felly hwyrach fod hynny'n rhywbeth y gallem edrych arno. Yn ôl adroddiad Estyn, mae llai o bobl bellach yn astudio Ffrangeg, fel y gwneuthum i—efallai mai gwastraffu fy amser wnes i—felly hwyrach fod hynny'n rhywbeth y gallem edrych arno.

[36] **Owen John Thomas:** It seems to me that we are in a vicious circle here in Wales. We have to depend upon 50 per cent of our students coming from England to support the colleges that we have. The 2001 census showed that 38 per cent of Welsh-born males in England were graduates, and that in Wales, it was only 10 per cent. It says here that it should not be too severe. It states that:

‘It is important that we retain graduate talent in Wales and do not suffer from too severe a "brain drain".’

I would say that it is severe and the vicious circle is that a lot, if not most, of those people getting their qualifications—of the ones who stayed here—are now leaving. They are the kind of people who would create the high-quality jobs that could keep people here. It seems to me that the only way to break that circle is through investment, and the best place to make that investment is in education. However, you would then have to say to English students that, if they come here, they will have to pay a fee like they would in England, and that, in Wales, we are doing it cheaper, because we need to turn our economy around and the only way that we can do that is to invest in Wales and retain people who are getting good skills and training. There is no other way around it. We must invest because, if we do not, we face continual decline.

[36] **Owen John Thomas:** Mae'n ymddangos i mi ein bod mewn cylch dieflig yma yng Nghymru. Mae'n rhaid inni ddibynnu ar gael 50 y cant o'n myfyrwyr o Loegr i gynnal y colegau sydd gennym. Dangosodd cyfrifiad 2001 fod 38 y cant o ddynion yn Lloegr a anwyd yng Nghymru yn raddedigion, ac mai dim ond 10 y cant oedd y ffigur yng Nghymru. Mae'n dweud yma na ddylai fod yn rhy lym. Mae'n dweud:

Mae'n bwysig inni gadw talent graddedigion yng Nghymru a pheidio â dioddef o "ymfudiad ymennydd" rhy lym.

Byddwn i'n dweud ei fod yn llym, a'r cylch dieflig yw bod llawer, os nad y rhan fwyaf, o'r bobl hynny sydd yn cael eu cymwysterau—o'r rhai a arhosodd yma—bellach yn gadael. Dyna'r math o bobl a fyddai'n creu'r swyddi o ansawdd uchel a allai gadw pobl yma. Mae'n ymddangos i mi mai'r unig ffordd i dorri'r cylch hwnnw yw drwy fuddsoddi, a'r lle gorau i wneud y buddsoddiad hwnnw yw addysg. Fodd bynnag, byddai'n rhaid ichi ddweud wedyn wrth fyfyrwyr o Loegr os deuant yma y bydd raid iddynt dalu ffi fel y gwnaent yn Lloegr, a'n bod ni yng Nghymru yn ei wneud yn rhatach am fod angen inni droi ein heconomi o gwmpas ac mai'r unig ffordd y gallwn wneud hynny yw buddsoddi yng Nghymru a chadw pobl sy'n ennill sgiliau a hyfforddiant da. Nid oes ffordd arall o'i chwmpas. Rhaid inni fuddsoddi oherwydd, os na wnawn, wynebwn ddirywiad parhaus.

Mr Humphreys: I would have thought that there would be consensus around those kinds of issues. The fifth option attempts to meet some of those points by, effectively, discounting fees for Welsh domiciled students. However, all the options have strengths and weaknesses, as Professor Rees said earlier. That particular option attempts to meet that particular problem, which is a very serious one. Other options perhaps deal with some of the other conflicting pressures, so you have to weigh up all these things in the final analysis, and to come up with what, in an ideal world, is not an absolutely ideal option, but which is the best one that we can find to fit the particular circumstances that we have in Wales at the moment, and the one that best meets the various conflicting demands and pressures.

[37] **Owen John Thomas:** Which option is that?

Mr Humphreys: Option five goes some way to meeting your point about graduate retention and increasing the number of Welsh domiciled students studying at a higher education level within the Welsh higher education sector.

[38] **Peter Black:** Is that those domiciled in Wales before studying for a degree or after graduation?

Mr Humphreys: Before; it is those normally resident in Wales.

Mr Humphreys: Buaswn i'n meddwl y byddai consensws ynghylch y mathau hynny o faterion. Mae'r pumed dewis yn ceisio ateb rhai o'r pwyntiau hynny drwy, mewn effaith, ddileu ffioedd i fyfyrwyr sydd yn byw yng Nghymru. Fodd bynnag, mae cryfderau a gwendidau i bob dewis, fel y dywedodd yr Athro Rees yn gynharach. Mae'r dewis arbennig hwnnw'n ceisio ateb y broblem arbennig honno, sydd yn un ddifrifol iawn. Mae dewisiadau eraill efallai'n delio â rhai o'r pwysau croestynnol eraill, felly mae'n rhaid pwysu'r holl bethau hyn yn y glorian yn y dadansoddiad terfynol, a dewis rhywbeth nad yw, yn y byd delfrydol, yn ddewis cwbl ddelfrydol, ond sydd y gorau y gallwn ei ganfod i weddu i'r amgylchiadau arbennig sydd gennym yng Nghymru ar hyn o bryd, a'r un sydd yn ateb y gwahanol alwadau a phwysau croestynnol orau.

[37] **Owen John Thomas:** Pa ddewis yw hwnnw?

Mr Humphreys: Mae dewis pump yn mynd rywfaint o'r ffordd tuag at ateb eich pwynt ynghylch cadw graddedigion a chynyddu nifer y myfyrwyr o Gymru sydd yn astudio ar lefel addysg uwch o fewn y sector addysg uwch yng Nghymru.

[38] **Peter Black:** A ydych yn sôn am y rhai sydd yn byw yng Nghymru cyn astudio am radd ynteu ar ôl graddio?

Mr Humphreys: Cyn; sef y rhai sydd yn byw'n arferol yng Nghymru.

Mr Richards: I will add one point to that, if I may. Option four in fact gives you that flexibility. Although it is not predicated on discounted fees, the student will always have the option of taking the money that he would get as a bursary and crediting it towards his fee bill. In other words, you could say that, if you are getting £6,000 a year, you can put part of that towards your bill for fees, and have a smaller debt in the future, or you could use it for maintenance and borrow to pay the fees. So, option four gives you that particular flexibility.

[39] **Peter Black:** I am getting a sense that we are lobbying for options here.

Professor Rees: To add one last point on this, the graduate retention issue, one might want to encourage Welsh graduates to travel and go abroad and get a lot of experience and then bring it back. That is the diaspora effect, which, again, means investment in education and the infrastructure to make Wales a good place to set up businesses and so on.

[40] **Owen John Thomas:** To come back on that, 38 per cent of our students choose to go to study in England. The proportion of people in England who choose to study in Scotland or France or anywhere else is much, much lower than that, and the same is true of Scotland. It is ridiculous—we are haemorrhaging.

[41] **Peter Black:** I think that you have made that point already, Owen.

[42] **Owen John Thomas:** We need to do something about it.

Mr Richards: Ychwanegaf un pwynt at hynny, os caf. Mae dewis pedwar, mewn gwirionedd, yn rhoi'r hyblygrwydd hwnnw ichi. Er nad yw'n amodol ar ostyngiad ffioedd, bydd y myfyriwr bob amser yn gallu dewis cymryd yr arian y buasai'n ei gael fel bwrsari a'i ddefnyddio fel credyd tuag at ei fil ffioedd. Mewn geiriau eraill, gallech ddweud, os ydych yn cael £6,000 y flwyddyn, y gallwch roi rhan o hynny tuag at eich bil ffioedd, a chael dyled lai yn y dyfodol, neu gallech ei ddefnyddio i'ch cadw a benthyca i dalu'r ffioedd. Felly, mae dewis pedwar yn rhoi'r hyblygrwydd arbennig hwnnw ichi.

[39] **Peter Black:** Yr wyf yn cael teimlad ein bod yn llobio dros ddewisiadau yma.

Yr Athro Rees: I ychwanegu un pwynt ar hyn, cwestiwn cadw graddedigion, gallech fod eisiau annog graddedigion o Gymru i deithio a mynd dramor a chael llawer o brofiad ac wedyn dod â hwnnw'n ôl. Effaith alltudiaeth yw hynny, sydd, eto, yn golygu buddsoddi mewn addysg a'r isadeiledd i wneud Cymru yn lle da i sefydlu busnesau ac ati.

[40] **Owen John Thomas:** I ddod yn ôl ar hynny, mae 38 y cant o'n myfyrwyr yn dewis mynd i astudio yn Lloegr. Mae'r gyfran o bobl Lloegr sydd yn dewis astudio yn yr Alban neu Ffrainc neu unrhyw le arall yn llawer, llawer is na hynny, ac mae'r un peth yn wir am yr Alban. Mae'r peth yn hurt—yr ydym yn colli llawer iawn o'n myfyrwyr.

[41] **Peter Black:** Yr wyf yn meddwl eich bod wedi gwneud y pwynt hwnnw'n barod, Owen.

[42] **Owen John Thomas:** Mae angen inni wneud rhywbeth amdano.

[43] **Peter Black:** Okay. Thank you to everyone for coming along and presenting the report. We are expecting to see you again in June or thereabouts for the final recommendations. I look forward to hearing those, so thank you again for coming along.

Professor Rees: Thank you very much for your comments, suggestions and questions; they are very helpful to us.

[43] **Peter Black:** Iawn. Diolch i bawb am ddod a chyflwyno'r adroddiad. Yr ydym yn disgwyl eich gweld eto ym Mehefin neu o gwmpas hynny ar gyfer yr argymhellion terfynol. Edrychaf ymlaen at glywed y rheiny, felly diolch eto am ddod yma.

Yr Athro Rees: Diolch yn fawr i chi am eich sylwadau, eich awgrymiadau a'ch cwestiynau; maent yn gymorth mawr i ni.

*Daeth y sesiwn tystiolaeth i ben am 10.55 a.m.
The evidence-taking session ended at 10.55 a.m.*