

Quality, Quantity or Diversity?

The next ten years of higher education change in England

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This paper is one of a series of publications to mark ten years of the Higher Education Academy.

This short paper considers the future of quality enhancement of learning and teaching in England. Although published by the Higher Education Academy, it is essentially a personal account for which the writer takes full responsibility.

When the Coalition introduced its radical reform programme in 2010, shortly after the final report of the Browne Review, it was clear that higher education was to undergo a period of significant change.

Minister for Universities and Science, David Willetts; Business Secretary Vince Cable, David Cameron, Nick Clegg, and the Labour ministers who had commissioned Lord Browne knew that something had to be done to put higher education on a more sustainable, long-term footing. But that is where any political consensus ends.

Certainly there seems to be little agreement, either within the sector or beyond it, about whether the reforms built on the revised student finance system and the $\pounds 9,000$ fee regime will last for very much longer. But there is even less agreement on how we might or should organise or govern the HE system that it supports.

At the time of the reforms, Sir Peter Scott, former Vice-Chancellor at Kingston University and former editor of the *Times Higher Education Supplement*, memorably recalled Lampedusa's *The Leopard* to characterise the aims of HE policy: "It is worth recalling Tancredi's cynical (or perhaps idealistic?) comment in The Leopard with regard to the unification of Italy in the 1860s that 'things must change so that things can stay the same." (di Lampedusa, 1960, p40)

In many ways remarkably little appears to have changed since 2010, at least in terms of the student experience and the quality of teaching and learning. In fact, the sticker price and student loan system aside, if an undergraduate walked into a university today, he or she might be hard pushed to notice much difference in the style, quality or amount of teaching — nor, perhaps, would their judgment of its quality differ greatly either.

This may be a cause of frustration to ministers and students alike. David Willetts, in particular, set great store on opening up information, competition and provision to drive better quality and value in higher education.

In 2009, in an interview in *The Guardian*¹, David Willetts, then Shadow Universities Minister, said: "Universities are badly failing students with unfit teaching and old-fashioned methods and will have to radically modernise lectures and facilities if they want to raise fees..."

In the same interview he warned that "vice-chancellors are not prepared for the pressure their students will put them under if fees go up and that many have failed to prove students are getting value for money".

In 2011, and now as Universities and Science Minister, David Willetts' theme of quality in teaching and learning remained as strong. On 25 February 2011 in a speech to Universities UK, he said: "Our broader vision for HE – it is a simpler, more flexible system which gives students better value and greater choice. That means a more diverse range of providers should be able to play a role. It means funding for teaching should follow the choices that students make. And it means empowering students to make their own choices based on better, more transparent information... Unless universities can prove that there will be a commensurate and very significant improvement in the education on offer, it is difficult to see how such an increase could ever be justified."

¹ Curtis, P. (2009) Conservative education spokesman says quality must improve to justify rise in fees.www.theguardian.com/politics/2009/oct/09/universities-let-students-down-willetts The Guardian. 9 October 2009

² https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/universities-uk-spring-conference-2011

Furthermore, he saw new providers as a driver of quality and value, something that connected the ideology behind higher education to other reforms in schools and health.

In the same speech, he went to say: "The biggest lesson I have learned is that the most powerful driver of reform is to let new providers into the system. They do things differently in ways none can predict. They drive reform across the sector...it's the rising tide that lifts all boats - an insight which lies behind Michael Gove's recent school reforms. It also lies behind Andrew Lansley's proposals to empower GPs so they can choose providers in the best interests of patients."

Do things look the same as before? Has a consumer revolution been unleashed? In June 2014, complaints appear to have risen significantly, at least according to a recent BBC programme ³.

One inescapable fact is that the institutional landscape of delivery has changed and this will continue and perhaps accelerate over the next decade. More universities, more colleges, more private providers (both for profit and not for profit), more international institutions and more partnerships and joint ventures between any or all of them too. Whatever our notions of quality or the regulation that monitors it, we will have to keep up with this proliferation.

So far, the changing landscape has not involved a shake-up of agencies and quangos. But since 2010, politicians, think-tanks and commissions have queued up to recommend new organisations and a simplification of what appears a complex system. The Office of Fair Trading is the latest, but the Higher Education Commission, the Institute of Public Policy Research (IPPR) and, of course, Lord Browne have said the same.

Lord Browne recommended a single regulator — a model that most governments, keen on symmetry and neatness, are usually drawn towards. The idea of the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE) as the lead regulator emerged in the Coalition's ensuing White Paper, though with no sign of a Bill to ultimately enshrine such a role. As the sector becomes more

³ BBC Radio 4 (2014). File on 4: Short-selling students? http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b045bqtd 8 June 2014

like a market, the arguments for a market like regulator such as an Ofcom or Ofgem intensify.

But to think of regulation in relation to only one type of market may well be a mistake. Either way, the experience of the typical undergraduate looks and feels pretty similar to before. According to this year's Higher Education Policy Institute (HEPI) and Higher Education Academy (HEA) survey, full-time undergraduate students in UK universities have high levels of satisfaction: 86% are fairly or very satisfied with their course. However, 31% say they would definitely or maybe have chosen another course if they were to have their time again.

Undergraduates in their first and second years have an average of 14.2 contact hours per week during term time and complete a further 14.3 hours of private study. This is less than three-quarters of the 40 hours a week assumed in the Quality Assurance Agency (QAA) guidelines but other study hours, such as placements, raises the total to 33.9 hours.

Two-thirds of undergraduate students (64%) are satisfied with their contact hours. Only 41% of English students believe they are receiving good or very good value for money. One-sixth (18.3%) of first-year and second-year students from the UK studying at institutions in England believed their course represented very poor or poor value for money in 2012, but the figure has now risen to one-third (33.1%) ⁴. So, the notion of quality remains more or less contested – 86% satisfied and only 41% thinking they are getting value for money.

What does this tell us about the next ten years and likely trends or developments in higher education as well as any judgments of its 'quality'?

Firstly, that any reforms in and to higher education are a long-term game. It takes time when the basic model of undergraduate education is planned and delivered on a three-year cycle and has been for many years. After the General Election in 2015, it is widely acknowledged that a promised HE bill will emerge although given parliamentary time and process, even if introduced in the

⁴ HEPI/HEA Student Experience Survey http://www.hepi.ac.uk/2014/05/21/hepi-hea-2014student-experience-survey/ May 2014

first Queen's Speech, its provisions are unlikely to be passed and introduced much before the end of the parliament.

Ministers in this Coalition government can justifiably claim that it takes time for their long-term aspirations around competition, information and quality to take effect.

Secondly, and perhaps less obviously, the model of HE is ossifying as much as it is changing. This is the territory of both Scott and Lampedusa – things are changing but they are really staying the same. Higher education may be funded differently but the higher education experience isn't all that different. Furthermore, the traditional model built around the three-year, full-time Honours degree, appears to be becoming much more dominant at the expense of all other forms. This at a time when learning models across the world are meant to be diversifying and changing rapidly according to demand. This is where the most significant longer term challenges to quality in English higher education really lie. Not in how we govern, formulate or fund the traditional model, but in how we react to an increasing homogenisation of higher education as the world changes rapidly around us.

Thirdly, there are real questions about the financial sustainability of the new system. The Resource, Accounting and Budgeting (RAB) charge is rising — it is now around 45% — and approximately 60% of students either won't pay back their loans in full or won't pay them back at all. The teaching budget also faces cuts which are increasing year by year.

For the Conservatives, the answers are relatively straightforward. The reforms are working – both financially and in the student interest. Admittedly the financial issues are contested not just by ministers – Emran Mian who led the Browne Review points out that the RAB charge will drop, labour market conditions for graduates will improve over the long term and, in any case, the government is borrowing the money for loans at a far lower rate than they expected. That, combined with a likely freezing of the £21,000 repayment threshold, means that the Treasury has much more room for manoeuvre than we think.

Chancellor George Osborne appears to agree, so much so that he announced, in his autumn statement of 2013, plans to expand the system even further whatever the long term costs of student loans. Driven by faith in the new system and in the longer term benefits of graduate skills at work in the labour market, he said: "In 1963, Lord Robbins stated (in his report on higher education) that 'courses of higher education should be available for all those who are qualified by ability and attainment to pursue them and who wish to do so."

"That was true then, I believe it should remain true today. Our reforms to student loans, difficult as they were, have put our universities on a secure footing.

"But there is still a cap on aspiration. Each year, around 60,000 young people who have worked hard at school, got the results, want to go on learning and want to take out a loan to pay for it, are prevented from doing so because of an arbitrary cap. That makes no sense when we have a far lower proportion of people going to university than even the United States, let alone countries like South Korea.

"Access to higher education is a basic tenet of economic success in the global race. So today I can announce that next year we will provide 30,000 more student places — and the year after we will abolish the cap on student numbers altogether. Extra funding will be provided to science, technology, and engineering courses. The new loans will be financed by selling the old student loan book, allowing thousands more to achieve their potential."

Of course, this announcement – surprising at the time – has not been universally welcomed by everyone in higher education. Some have asked questions about quantity over quality and the old 'more means worse' concerns, first raised during Robbins' time, have resurfaced. But it is clear that in quality terms and in regulation, we are now looking at bigger system and a more diverse institutional landscape.

⁵ https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/chancellor-george-osbornes-autumn-statement-2013-speech

It was a Labour government that committed to the most recent expansion of HE, towards Tony Blair's 50% participation target. It was also Labour that commissioned Lord Browne to review the system in 2009. The approach and outcome were different. Labour's HE framework was explicitly designed to answer the question: How much should undergraduates pay? Only in the narrow context of that question and not how the undergraduate fee should help to cross-subsidise everything else that happens at university or how it should make the finances of universities more secure or sustainable. That recognised that other solutions and debates would be needed to explore support for the many other things that happen at a university – widening participation, research, knowledge transfer, postgraduate study, and so on.

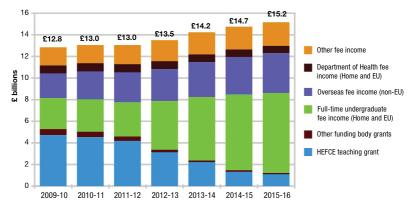
There were fundamental differences to the way the Coalition approached the question – not least using the undergraduate fee as the principal mechanism through which many university funding issues could be answered and also at the same time removing billions off public sector spending from the government's balance sheet. That was perhaps too big a conflation of objectives and almost impossible to get either the right, sustainable or a fair answer to such a broad and complex set of challenges.

A damaging homogeneity?

In reality there have been two rushes to the 9k degree – the first by universities to charge the maximum fee for undergraduates and the second (perhaps more significant in the longer term) to concentrate institutional offers on the \pounds 9k, full-time, three year Honours degrees to the visible detriment of almost everything else offered in or by the system.

It is now well-established that £9k fees have replaced other income steams (see the chart below) in HE. But most of this income replacement has come from full-time undergraduate fees.

Figure 27 Breakdown of actual and projected teaching income 2009-10 to 2015-16

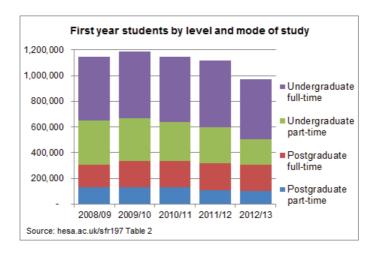


Source: Data based on institutional financial returns, including actual income for the period up to and including 2012-13, and projected income for the period 2013-14 to 2015-16 (2013-14 income as per December 2013 forecasts, and 2014-15 to 2015-16 income as per July 2013 forecasts)

All figures are expressed in 2012-13 prices.

Source: HEFCE (2014) Higher Education in England 2014: Analysis of Latest Shifts and Trends. April 2014.

But we've ended up with a system where the three-year, full-time Honours degree – largely studied away from home – and the cost and income from it is distorting all other forms of higher education. It also threatens the efficiency of the system as a whole. We are now paying more as taxpayers and students for fewer graduates and, ultimately, less human capital. That's not the way that 'more for less' productivity improvements are meant to happen.



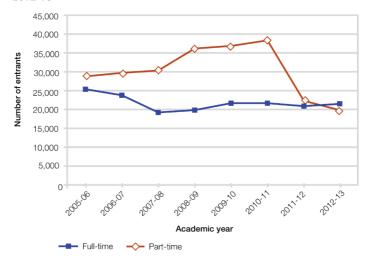
As John Gill said in *Times Higher Education* recently: "the relentless focus on funding the 18-year-old full-time undergraduate has been at the expense of coherent policy in other areas." The fact is that the UK (and England especially) has a "one size fits all" system. In The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), it is the least diverse system in terms of age, mode of study or qualification.

Most obviously and dramatically, we can see the well-publicised falls in part-time, taught postgraduate study (down 22% between 2010-11 and 2012-13) and there are significantly fewer part-time undergraduates (approximately a 50% fall) 7 . Many predict further falls to come in postgraduate numbers when the Browne generation finish their three-year undergraduate programmes and decide against further study:

⁶ http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/comment/leader/a-little-lift-could-help-everyone/2012858.article

⁷ HEFCE (2014) Higher Education in England 2014: Analysis of Latest Shifts and Trends. April 2014.

Figure 13 UK and other EU postgraduate taught entrants to education subject areas registered at English HEIs by mode of study, 2005-06 to 2012-13

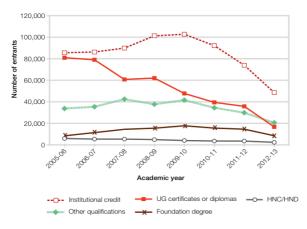


Source: HEFCE (2014) Higher Education in England 2014: Analysis of Latest Shifts and Trends. April 2014.

The number of part-time students has seen a 50% fall in less than three years, but much has come from a dramatic fall in non-Honours degree higher education. The bottom has dropped out of the market for Foundation Degrees, Higher National Diplomas and Higher National Certificates and an array of other higher level technical programmes (60% of the dip in full-time undergraduate entry in 2012-13).

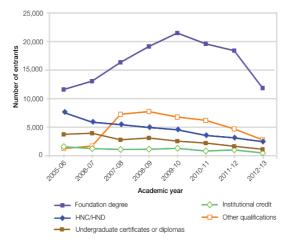
That might provide for a collective sigh of relief among the traditional HE sector, but it's a cause for concern for many – including ministers – as they look at skills utilisation, the economy and the overall cost of HE. There are dangers that the less we do of these things, the more problematic and costly our HE system becomes.

Figure 5 UK and other EU part-time undergraduate entrants (including nursing) registered at HEIs by course aim, 2005-06 to 2012-13



Source: Analysis of the HESA standard registration population at English HEIs, 2005-06 to 2012-13

Figure 2 UK and other EU full-time other undergraduate entrants (not including nursing) registered at HEIs by course aim, 2005-06 to 2012-13



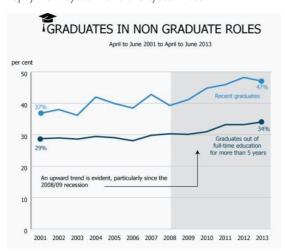
Source: Analysis of the HESA standard registration population at English HEIs, 2005-06 to 2012-13

Tables above taken from HEFCE (2014) Higher Education in England 2014: Analysis of Latest Shifts and Trends. April 2014.

What do I mean by this? There are clear questions about finance and sustainability. Increasing RAB charges, government borrowing to fund loans, and so on, creates pressures that have been observed principally by the likes of Andrew McGettigan⁸. This could become a big problem not just because the financial model is potentially broken, but because the model of higher education that it supports is fundamentally flawed too.

⁸ McGettigan, A. (2013) The Great University Gamble: Money, Markets and the Future of Higher Education Pluto Press. See also: www.andrewmcgettigan.org

If more graduates aren't finding the jobs that utilise their skills and unlock the graduate premium, the system as a whole comes under mounting pressure. Underemployment is potentially a bigger repayment issue than graduate unemployment and it is rising steadily (see chart below ⁹). This asks questions both about the repayment system and the system itself.



There are also 'fairness' pressures too. It is not a given that the graduates repaying their loans regularly and over the long term — let's call them 'hard working graduates' — will readily accept subsidising, either all or in part the 'poor choices' or poor achievement of others in the longer term.

If this period of austerity politics has taught us anything, it's that we are becoming less tolerant of subsidising others — whether that is through the benefits system, health and social care or through the costs of education. Look at the hardening attitudes in the British Social Attitudes survey¹⁰. Fewer people are inclined to support benefits or subsidies for those who are seen as 'less deserving'. What's more, this lack of tolerance — or a pursuit of fairness for the taxpayer — is a clear objective for the same Coalition parties that introduced fees. This may be more damaging in the longer term than the contested financial model that underpins higher education.

⁹ Chart from i-Graduate and quoted by John Denham MP in Royal Society of Arts (RSA) Speech, 16 January 2014

¹⁰ NatCen 2013 British Social Attitudes Survey 2013 www.bsa-30.natcen.ac.uk

There is also the 'student experience' to consider. As Willetts, HEPI, and the HEA have observed, if students pay more they will expect more in return. Here things have more or less stayed the same. By and large, undergraduates are getting the same experience, the same teaching (measured by amount or by quality) and they're increasingly unhappy about it. They are not the only ones. According to a recent *YouGov* poll¹¹ for *The Guardian*, around 60% of parents say that higher education is poor value for money. In the HEPI-HEA poll, 50-60% of students say it is poor value too. It doesn't matter that they might not repay (or are indeed unlikely to repay all of the loans – up to 60% won't under current estimates) because mostly they see the sticker price and they believe it's what they are paying for at that time. That's part of the design of the system, so it's a problem if they don't see enough of a change in quality or their treatment.

To be fair to Willetts, this is something that frustrates him. He wants to see market mechanisms driving better teaching, standards and more consumerism. But it hasn't happened yet.

The model of university has stayed more or less the same. That was partly the point. If anything, it has homogenised and become more monolithic. More young people are experiencing HE this way than through other routes — fewer are studying part-time, fewer are doing other forms of HE and fewer are going on to postgraduate study. The £9k fee, through its subsidy of almost everything, is gradually destroying everything else, or at least, severely undermining it.

And the model of HE that the £9k preserves isn't necessarily the best one either. There are labour market and economic mismatches, underemployment (more so than unemployment) that affect the repayment and funding model, as well as undermining the social contract of, and with, HE. This stems from an increasingly linear model of HE, where more people now get their higher level skills while they are young, studying full-time and before they tend to get anywhere near the labour market.

¹¹ YouGov (2014) Parents think university too expensive, but necessary http://yougov.co.uk/ news/2014/02/26/parents-think-university-too-expensive-necessary/ 26 February 2014

And there are further, complex challenges to a model based on traditional study for a young full-time cohort. One is technological and a series of predictions about how it will revolutionise — and simultaneously threaten — what we do in higher education. As seismic is the demographic contraction in young people entering the 18-19 cohort, it will be some 14% less at the end of the decade than it was at the beginning.

Cable and Crosland?

Cable recently gave a speech in Cambridge¹² that most people won't have noticed or read. If you haven't, it's worth taking the time to do so. I think it's one of the best he's given on either FE or HE.

It raises many of these issues through its central theme of a particular type of vocational education that England has underdelivered for many years. Taking inspiration from Tony Crosland's famous Woolwich speech from 1965 that gave birth to an expansion of polytechnics, Cable calls for a new type of technical institution, building not just on Crosland's polytechnics but also the Colleges of Advanced Technology such as those at Aston, Battersea and Loughborough that preceded them.

To Cable's credit, he doesn't bemoan the fact that all these and more have now become 'excellent universities', but rather a sector which we have lost in the process; a sector that arguably never really established itself — a strong vocationally orientated, technical system.

It's been missing for hundreds of years: Samuelson, Forster and Butler all went looking for it long before Crosland. Most have cast an envious eye to the productivity and culture in Germany, Switzerland, Scandinavia and pretty much anywhere in Europe and the OECD. Cable even looks admiringly at Scotland and sees more such capacity than south of the border.

But in the last four years, all other HE qualifications have withered dramatically. And these are the types of study that Cable champions in his speech. Despite what he says, FE hasn't done particularly well

¹² Department for Business, Innovation and Skills and Vince Cable (2014) Where next for further and higher education? https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/where-next-forfurther-and-higher-education Gov.UK. 24 April 2014

either. It's been cut to shreds in both pre-19 and post-19 funding and diminished in stature and capacity. Apprenticeships have expanded, although there remain concerns about both definition and quality. Anyway, FE colleges deliver less than half of them. And I suspect that Cable knows that apprenticeships aren't all they are cracked up to be – just 2% are at higher levels (equivalent to a degree or HND/HNC level). In volume terms that's just 10,000 out of around 500,000 apprenticeship starts.

So for all of the excitement about the RAB charge in recent months and the cost of the current system compared to the old, the missing piece of criticism is that for each graduate, the costs are turning out to be significantly higher. As Gavan Conlon, of London Economics, recently pointed out on Wonkhe¹³, that's not an efficient use of resources, whether through loans or grants, and as an economist Cable would understand exactly why.

So what of the speech and what he wants to see emerge? Credit where credit is due: Cable recognises the shortcomings of the current system. While Willetts was arguing for an expansion in the style of Robbins, Cable wants to see it in the style of Crosland. One vision is rooted in the LSE and the other in Woolwich Polytechnic.

When George Osborne announced the expansion in December 2013, Cable was conspicuously silent. Only weeks before he'd said at the Lib Dem party conference that he didn't see the case for expanding HE, as any extra place offered only a marginal rather than an average return.

So what does he want to see instead? More high-level apprenticeships, technical colleges offering their own high-level qualifications, more part-time and sandwich provision, more collaboration as well as progression between FE and HE. City and Islington College, Coventry University, Gateshead College and Nissan, Warwick University and Jaguar Land Rover are all offered as case studies. And they are all very good examples of what is being done in FE and HE.

Of course, he might have thought about this earlier but he's not the first minister to come up with their best ideas at the end

¹³ Conlon, G. (2014) Damage beyond the RAB. www.wonkhe.com/2014/03/28/damage-beyond-the-rab/Wonkhe. 28 March 2014.

of their time in office. This is territory for the next parliament and it's significant that Labour have also talked about developing such specialist provision - from the Husbands Review ¹⁴ to Lord Glasman's call for the rebirth of similar technical institutions ¹⁵. Liam Byrne and Jon Cruddas have been calling for an 'earn while you learn' revolution ¹⁶.

Vince Cable's Conservative colleagues might be more reluctant to see such institutions emerge through diktat. For them, higher education is best diversified and shaped by the market with competition and new providers driving choice as well as value for money. But there is little evidence of that so far. Cable is clearly unconvinced by such an approach. He wants expansion but predominantly in a specialised, niche part of FE and HE. Like Crosland, he thinks it will require the state to make it happen. One might reasonably assume that he'd also be happy to see it develop at the expense of some existing higher education provision.

Cable or Byrne's views of FE and HE are significant. They raise an age-old issue and point to new policy for the next parliament and beyond. Getting to grips with this type of provision, as well as potentially new or different types of institution, will provide a key challenge for teaching and learning in HE. Whether it's the HEA, the QAA, HEFCE or the Skills Funding Agency (SFA), we will need to find better ways of understanding how we deliver higher education. High-level skills, often taught partly in the workplace will rightly challenge our pedagogies as well as our funding systems.

It will challenge our notion of higher education. Perhaps rightly so because things shouldn't stay the same. That shouldn't have been the objective — either for government or for institutions. HE is a great success story but we are undermining it if we set it in aspic. Worse, we are damaging it if we reduce incentives for it to evolve and adapt to the world around us. Even worse, if in doing so we jeopardise public support for what it does and what it costs.

¹⁴ Labour Party (2014) Labour Policy Review: Skills Taskforce http://www.yourbritain.org.uk/ agenda-2015/policy-review-page/skills-taskforce-1

¹⁵ Glasman, M. (2012) Ed Miliband must trust his instincts and stand up for real change http://www.newstatesman.com/uk-politics/2012/01/labour-change-economy-miliband New Statesman. 5 January 2012

¹⁶ Byrne, L. & Cruddas J. (2014) Labour's plan for a capitalism that works for all http://www.standard.co.uk/comment/comment/liam-byrne-and-jon-cruddas-labours-plan-for-a-capitalism-that-works-for-all-9491828.html Evening Standard. 5 June 2014.

Institutions have become more like each other, not less. This is a problem not least when Cable, among others, continues to ask for something different. Polytechnics and Colleges of Advanced Technology may in his words have become 'excellent universities', but echoing Crosland, Cable asks what we might have lost in the process. Even FE and the private sector are competing – often successfully – to offer degrees that look and feel similar rather than different. Gove's vision of the best and the traditional doesn't help much because it reinforces a model to which students, communities and institutions must aspire. But we need to rise above that too.

Ossifying not innovating, constricting and homogenising, not liberating. If you can't beat them, join them...This might be the problem with markets and competition – they tend to like distinctiveness and specialism at first but they tend to converge over the long term. Look at supermarkets, exam boards or welfare-to work-providers, even schools where academy chains are more of a feature than free schools. But it's also a bigger problem if the market is too readily constructed around one type of institution or type of study. It forces other things through that lens – different types of institutions and different styles of study too.

In ten years we will know how much of our current system and sector has survived and in what form. There are many widely varying scenarios. Things might look very similar or they might look even more concentrated -a 'one size fits all' system, where higher education is primarily organised and funded around a single traditional experience. Accordingly, a regulatory and quality system may be built primarily around that principle. That appears to be the way we are heading, at least for now.

But it would be a mistake. There has always been much more to higher education than this — in England and throughout the world. Economic, technological and demographic changes make sustaining the current system a real challenge. Questions about sustainability and desirability will intensify. It's not obvious that the system we have had is the system that we need.

Regulation and quality must look forward to a more pluralist system, with different learning models, new technology, more workbased and part-time HE and more being designed and delivered with employers. Do we also need more apprenticeships, more

co-funded and co-designed delivery, more mixing of modes, more applied learning and research? This is how it already looks in other countries in the OECD and to some extent how it has always looked. Regulation and quality processes that incentivise innovation rather than help to avoid it?

This is where change — in provision, in understanding, in institutions — is most likely to come. It may be as likely to come from institutions' own strategies as from Whitehall and Westminster? Or from technological or demographic change? Or from the demands of students, employers or communities? Or from all of these directions at the same time. So if we want to think about teaching and learning, policy and regulation over the next ten years, then we need to think much more about quality, quantity and diversity.

Andy Westwood is Chief Executive of GuildHE - one of the two representative bodies for higher education, with 40 members including specialist vocational institutions, new universities and further education colleges. Andy is President of the OECD Forum on Social Innovation and former special adviser to ministers in the Department for Innovation, Universities and Skills. He has also worked as an adviser at the Department of Communities and Local Government and at the UK Treasury as a member of the Leitch Review of Skills. Prior to that Andy worked in Further Education and as Head of Policy Research at the Work Foundation and Director of the Centre for Economic and Social Inclusion.

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