

# THE COVID-19 CRISIS AND THE FUTURE OF TERTIARY EDUCATION, A GREEN PAPER

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## Introduction

**Tertiary Education (TE) is facing a crisis which is partly the result of the Covid-19 pandemic but is also the cumulative effect of 30 years of marketization, privatisation and educational reforms that have turned education from a lifelong activity to an instrument of allocation to the labour market. The purpose of this paper is to think through the nature of this crisis for TE in the context of other global crises and to suggest how Tertiary institutions could start to contribute to a more progressive system of lifelong learning with a series of practical strategies.**

Three interlinked global crises are having a major impact on post-compulsory learning in the UK: the climate/environmental crisis; the economic/financial crisis; and Covid-19. Understanding the nature of these three crises has to inform how further/higher education must change in the future.

The climate/environmental crisis is widely understood as an existential threat to the future of humanity. Despite this, there is still a lack of political will to move to a carbon-neutral future. Some educational institutions have started to consider their own carbon footprints but this has not percolated through to fundamentally rethinking their curricula and their business models. Some may be already contributing in some ways to the development of sustainable supply chains and a circular economy but universities especially will have to move away from extensive recruitment of international students, the creation of international partnerships and property acquisition, all of which depend on universities becoming resource-intensive, global corporations.

A dis-functional financialised economic model that prioritises profits, is subsidised by debt and is accompanied by growing inequalities, was being widely questioned pre-Covid. The spectre of student debt had by then long dominated the higher education sector, distorting the relationship between students and lecturers and damaging the processes of learning by turning students into consumers. The negative effects of outsourcing on many institutions with facilities management, catering and cleaning services provided by multinational service companies using low-paid staff is growing evidence of the failure of private sector and market-led solutions. Even teaching is increasingly contracted out, though private further and higher institutions have not expanded as successive governments had intended, mainly due to questions of quality over which the higher levels of learning retain a monopoly of recognition. This may be difficult to maintain with the growing pressure towards virtualised 'platform institutions'.

The Covid-19 public health crisis, with its origins in the environmental crisis, has thus been accompanied by a major economic and social crisis. This has laid bare growing fractures in society by ability, class, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation and other divisions as all are

affected by predominantly downward social mobility that has plunged growing numbers into increasingly precarious labour. In particular, educational selection from the earliest ages has divided young people into ‘skilled’ and ‘unskilled’ on the basis of qualifications in pursuit of dwindling secure and ‘professional’ employment. Although all sectors of education are affected, Tertiary Education has felt the impact most immediately as it directly threatens the debt financing that colleges and universities have become increasingly reliant upon. The expected high levels of mass unemployment present the sector with the prospect of having to redefine its purpose during a major economic and social crisis.

### **The end of educational expansion**

Covid-19 has burst the bubble of market-led higher education expansion funded by fee/loans. As a result, many universities are facing bankruptcy with threats to jobs both in the institutions themselves and in the areas which have come to rely upon them as large local employers and contributors to the local economy. The period of market-led expansion is likely to be followed by a period of severe retraction. Government expects the VCs to put their own house in order by closing and merging courses and institutions so as to absorb remaining FE into HE while turning even larger parts of HE into FE, e.g. with ‘technical universities’ limited to supposedly ‘vocational’ subjects on the one hand and research institutes removed from teaching but devoted to industry and commerce on the other. These processes have already begun – at the University of Sunderland, for instance, which has declared itself ‘a technical university’ providing for local manufacturing – whilst many of the elite institutions have long functioned as *de facto* research institutes. When rationalisation does not sufficiently meet government’s expectations of the closure and merger of several institutions in a more differentiated hierarchy, including raised private participation through buy-outs and buy-ins, the government will predictably set up some sort of rationalising body to sort out the survivors, obviating the market regulating Office for Students.

From the higher fees for overseas students under Thatcher, subsequently raised exorbitantly, to Blair’s introduction of fees for home students that he then tripled and which the Coalition tripled again, fee/loans served as paperless vouchers in the market for English and Welsh higher education. They are aimed at heightening differentiation with intended variable charges by course and institution so that students regard their attendance as a speculative investment in their own human capital. This has not yet been fully achieved although it is still government’s intention. Originally justified as a way of securing a sustainable future for HE and to facilitate student choice, fees/loans created a financial bubble with the over-expansion of some institutions as others shrank. Debt-fuelled building projects were leveraged on ever-growing home and overseas student numbers of under- and post-graduates. The new system raised the number of younger students but 25+ mature students all but vanished. Last year nearly half of school leavers applied (c.60% of young women and c.40% of young men). All paid more for less on courses of variable quality which often did not guarantee occupations in the fields for which they supposedly prepared their students. Nevertheless applicants are – or were – prepared to go into debt that most know they would never fully repay in hopes of secure employment in increasingly precarious, semi-professions.

This has heightened the competition for test results and exam scores in the hierarchy of state schools that now include chains of ‘free schools’ and academies outwith local authority control alongside the private schools. All follow the academicised National Curriculum where entrance to HE is privileged over any other possibility in a future presented to most

students and their parents as ‘go to uni or die’ so that most non-academic/‘vocational’ options are considered second rate. Despite the drudgery of cramming, augmented by private tuition, for repeated and repeatedly practised tests from Primary entrance onward, through to a parting of the ways at 14+ sustained by the otherwise pointless GCSEs that select for either the Royal Road through sixth-form to A-levels or for ‘more practical’ and supposedly ‘vocational’ T-lines in or out of specialist schools or colleges, school leavers are conditioned for what is often more of the same in higher education. Young people thus often see themselves running up a down-escalator of devalued certifications and ‘skills’ in pursuit of eventual graduation as a passport to the waged labour most aspire to. This is not a normal to which we should aim to return for our students. Even if, ‘even in the absence of attendance and exercises they are still prepared to undergo and experience the subordination of their occupational future to an institution which, by means of the diploma, monopolizes an essential means of social success,’ as Bourdieu and Passeron once said of French students.

If the public support that the National Education Union won for refusing to reopen schools until it was agreed by parents and teachers that it was safe to do so, could be extended to start de-academicising the National Curriculum (which began by default with the cancellation in 2020 of GCSEs and SATs plus the attenuation of A-levels), schools might begin to function less as the gigantic social sorting machine that they have become. Returning to the Tomlinson Curriculum 2000 proposals to integrate academic and vocational qualifications into an overarching diploma would enable combinations of subjects to lessen the current selection within selection in sixth-form between arts or sciences. Rather than preparation on the basis of more or less expensively acquired cultural capital demonstrated in exam results, interviews and so-called ‘skills’ for entry to the hierarchy of snobbery, sexism and racism that universities often seem to present, Tertiary Education could instead offer entitlement to free lifelong education and training to all following graduation from a more general and less academic Secondary schooling. Not that many or all school graduates would take up that offer immediately if there were other possibilities on offer. Most would welcome viable alternatives to their endless education and training without jobs that extends beyond degree graduation to internships in industry and often to a succession of one-year post-graduate courses out of it.

The desire for alternatives is seen in the demand for apprenticeships – especially those that are paid and also afford opportunities for gaining higher level certificates as well as guaranteeing employment on completion. These are few and far between however since most employers – even in remaining productive manufacture, much of which has been robotised – do not need apprentices and, if they do, prefer to undertake the on-the-job training for themselves. Else, though they welcome government subsidy for apprentices, they can take graduates who are already qualified, contributing to the downward social mobility of not so qualified youngsters who they might otherwise have employed. This is because, along with the decline in professional preparation at university, many skilled trades – like many knowledgeable professions – have gone or are going the way of routinisation, automation and outsourcing in what has become a predominantly service economy.

This ‘multiskilling’ process undermines the creation of expertise by reducing the acquisition of skills to the performance of routine competences and the development of knowledge to the itemised retention of information. It undercuts the rationale of both specialised trade training supplemented by education that traditionally took place on day-release to FE and also of professional education and practice in HE. However, even though there is no longer the requirement for specialised trade crafts that there was when 40% of 15 year-old male school

leavers (5% of female) undertook industrial apprenticeships at their height in the 1960s, a higher level of more general level learning could build on a de-academicised Secondary schooling if a succession of short courses to acquire training and education across a range of related occupations were available. As it is, some fast-track management training cycles Business Studies graduates through the range of roles in the enterprise, e.g. at Tesco's and other large retailers. There will also be extensive opportunities for learning across traditional disciplines but to a higher overall level as part of the mobilisation unparalleled in peacetime that will be necessary to adequately meet looming climate catastrophe.

As it is, the removal of caps on student recruitment, alongside the pursuit of overseas student fees, has profoundly destabilised the university system. If universities are allowed to compete for students, even within the 5% over-target cap proposed by the Office for Students which regulates the system, will likely cause several institutions to collapse while others may be able to afford to over-recruit. The diversity of provision, structure, courses, modules and subjects in UK higher education is a strength of the sector that should be protected from the homogenising logic of market forces. So institutional recruitment limits should be restored, backed up by direct public funding to support struggling institutions through the inevitable reduction in numbers of both home and overseas students as a consequence of Covid-19. This bursting of the student bubble might therefore be welcomed but for the cull it will impose upon staff in further and higher education and the uncertainty into which it will plunge parents, pupils and students together with their teachers at all levels of learning.

Public understanding, or at least acceptance, of the role of Tertiary learning is more than ever in question as compared with familiarity with Primary and to a lesser extent with Secondary levels. As frequently remarked, this is partly because the ideology of the tuition fee market has prioritised the private benefit of higher education over its public good. Yet universities do not merely train students for the workplace; they are also – or should be – centres of research and scholarship essential to the understanding of the society in which they develop culture and innovation to facilitate public debate. However, the notion of an academic vocation is also being lost even to its practitioners, save perhaps in the most prestigious of antique institutions and their associated research centres. These are where admittedly medieval but still democratic governance structures representative of the community of scholars in the university still survive. By contrast, academic councils that oversaw teaching even in FE colleges in the 1970s were incorporated into the boards of businesses under corporate leadership that their 'Chief Executives' were encouraged to emulate. As usual, HE then followed FE's example, in this instance by becoming increasingly authoritarian in its internal governance, with a control culture of managerialism imposed upon scholarly deliberation.

Widespread but secretive contracting of debt and public-private partnerships pursued by university managers now imperil their institutions' survival. These 'commercially confidential' arrangements have been leveraged against current and future fee income, subsidised with public money. As the Convention on Higher Education advocates, internal university governance must be re-democratised to restore internal accountability. This would require the election of Vice-Chancellors by the academic community, and a return to (or the institution of) the sovereign role of elected representative bodies of staff (e.g. congregations, academic boards, and senates) with more than token participation by students. Additionally, the Convention proposes the Office for Students should insist that all institutions publicly declare their outstanding debts and associated covenants, and introduce adequate transparency and oversight regulations.

As the Convention adds, marketisation has encouraged super-salaries at the top of UK universities alongside the vast expansion in fractional, temporary, hourly-paid or even zero-hours contracts at the bottom. They suggest this must be reversed by containing salaries within higher education at a maximum ratio of 6:1 between the lowest and the highest paid in an institution. They add that universities must provide secure contracts for teaching and research staff, and that the out-sourcing of teaching must end. Voluntary severance schemes should not be used to worsen staff-student ratios still further but rather to open recruitment to early-career researchers. Universities have used surpluses in teaching income to fund both capital expansion and to sustain under-funded research. Research should therefore be funded directly at full cost, instead of relying on a subsidy from student fees. This requires increased and more equitable Quality-Related funding and increased funding by grant-awarding bodies. To minimise waste, the 'Full Economic Costing' of components for salaries per researcher should be capped at the minimum level for a professor. The teaching of costly subjects should also be sustained by direct public teaching grants to institutions.

This will be expensive but post-compulsory Tertiary Education needs to be maintained in the economic depression anticipated in the aftermath of the Covid-19 crisis. This will disproportionately affect young people as labour market entrants, particularly in the poorest areas where economic prospects have long been weak and where the current government promised infrastructural investment that is now even less likely to be forthcoming. In any case, training and education on their own – whatever other benefits they provide – cannot produce jobs. So in the regions that do not share in the febrile consumer economy of the capital, remaining local public services will predictably be opened to privatisation presented by local and national government as social investment dedicated to raising upward social mobility while overwhelming downward mobility actually pushes millions more into penury. Under the domination of global financial capital anticipated by Brexit with the subordination of the City of London to Wall Street in order to see off European and other competition, 'trickle down' economics will again fail to generate real growth, especially if austerity is re-imposed to 'pay back the banks'. This political project must be exposed for unless it is halted or delayed, widely predicted additional chaos will further destabilise possibilities of economic recovery from the Covid crisis.

Alternatively, if there were real prospects for economic development, they should be linked to regional, sub-regional and local learning infrastructures. These would connect Primary and Secondary schooling to continuing Tertiary level further and higher adult and community education and training where neighbouring or even adjacent institutions could be coordinated to address inherited redundancies and inequities, such as those between pre- and post-1992 foundations. When some universities crash financially in face of the bursting of the student bubble, there should be local plans to convert them into new educational institutions/centres as a part of the developing national learning infrastructure.

Progression from school to HE should also be facilitated by FE, including sixth-form centres and colleges, so that all high school leavers receive an entitlement to free lifelong learning as part of their assumption of citizenship at graduation from compulsory at 18. This entitlement need not be taken up immediately or full-time as hopefully other opportunities will be available both in and out of employment (for example, the apprenticeships discussed above). Addressing social inequalities should be the main focus of such learning infrastructures. Studying full- or part-time whilst living at home and in or out of employment will then be accepted as normal as it is in mainland Europe, where most students apply to their local

university though this does not exclude residence at specialised courses only available further afield. Support for HE must be maintained in conjunction with support for its complimentary FE where similar market expansion has reduced the number of colleges by a third while more than doubling the number of students since the incorporation of colleges in 1993.

Although local residence will reduce costs of living for many students, to enable full advantage to be taken of reformed Tertiary level learning, properly-funded maintenance grants must be restored and sustained. With additional resources to tackle inequalities of access by social class, ethnicity and disability, priority should be given to social groups in disadvantaged circumstances and, it should be added, to unemployed adult returners. Until entitlement to free lifelong learning is introduced, tuition fees should be reduced with the balance made up by direct government grant to institutions. This is especially necessary with the temporary move to on-line teaching, which in general does not improve the quality of learning but which students are expected to continue paying full-cost fees for despite their protests against this.

The costs of subsidising and maintaining Tertiary institutions will however be offset by those who do not immediately take up their lifelong entitlement to free, further and higher continuing training and education but choose to do so later in life. Universities will then not remain so 'front-loaded' by young entrants as they have become but will be open to students of all ages. (The majority of students in FE were and still are adult – and female.) Not that all students would undertake full-time degree courses – many might enjoy part-time recreations such as dance, sport, drama, music and other activities that used to be provided by adult education institutes and FE colleges as well as on HE extra-mural courses. Although all these courses came to be vocationally badged and assessed, they were unusual and exceptional instances of the 'education for its own sake' that is fondly supposed by some teachers to animate all their students.

Another ideal that is upheld by many academics is the combination by the teacher of their research, scholarship, experiment and creation with their teaching. Yet even in countries like France and Japan, where separate research institutes exist alongside universities, those researchers who also want to teach are able to do so. That is not to say that teaching should not be combined with practice as it is in apprenticeship. In fact, this is the model of an academic vocation to which Tertiary level learning should return with a pedagogy of lifelong learning that is more research-, or rather, practice-led but by the student/trainee/apprentice, not the teacher. There is a precedent for this in the degrees in Independent Study that were based at the University of East London and elsewhere outwith pre-existing academic disciplines so that the subject of study alongside how it was to be assessed was negotiated between students and tutors.

Without turning all Tertiary institutions over to such open-ended approaches, bringing post-graduate methods down to undergraduate level – building on the final-year dissertations, investigations, experiments and end-of-degree shows that are already undertaken, could preserve and extend research/practice in combination with teaching. Students should know from their first year that this is the culmination of their study where most of their marks lie in their final year. Although they may be more or less informed by MOOC-type courses affording support depending on subject and level of learning, reading still remains the key undergraduate activity for scholarly courses, just as experiment, practice and creative endeavours are the core of lab- and studio-based studies in art, science and technology. These must be preserved since they cannot be practised virtually, despite the difficulties of social

distancing and hygiene which necessitate an increased commitment of equipment and technical, as well as pedagogic, support that will also be called for in libraries.

There are also foundation courses across subjects, especially in the humanities and social sciences in HE, plus ‘return to learn’ access and outreach courses still surviving in some FE colleges and universities. Indeed, in the USA four-year degrees allow for a first year induction for all students – who leave school at 17 in Scotland where more continue to F and/or HE, doubtless encouraged by not having to pay fees! Beyond a foundation or induction year though, Tertiary level learning is more or less specialised – even in combined studies (‘and’ or ‘with’) – and not comprehensive. Ideally, such specialisation towards the development of an expertise would be undertaken on the basis of the more general Secondary education suggested above for all but specialist state schools, eg. music schools.

Conceptually connected to its non-compulsory nature, this is a peculiarity of Tertiary education and training that has to be explained even to some of its practitioners who see a forward march of comprehensivisation from universal Primary to Secondary on to Tertiary. In its worst iteration this could result in all school leavers being drafted into their local university funded on a Citizens’/Universal Basic Income, having already served their term in the latest version of Cameron’s Big Society ‘Community Volunteers’, if not on a land army picking fruit in the Duchy of Cornwall! In comparison, in what can be called traditional FE it was part of lecturers’ occupational identities that colleges – unlike schools – ‘never failed anyone’ and – unlike universities – ‘never turned anyone away’ but found something for everyone by affording access to courses from special needs to post-graduate. It is to this open model of provision that Tertiary Education should aspire to return.

## **Conclusion**

IF – and it is a big if – there is an acceptance that societies face fundamental changes which affect everyone and that new industries and whole sectors will have to be set up, the move to sustainability will fundamentally change the nature of Tertiary Education. Amongst other far-reaching educational implications, it means the end of the phase of competitive expansion for academically certified school-leavers that has ballooned in the last 20 years leaving its legacy of huge unrepaid debt that government has repeatedly tried but failed to sell on. Instead, social commitment to urgent social transformation calls for greater social inclusion and full participation in supporting education and training programmes for everyone – at any age. This should confirm the idea that education is lifelong and that TE can quickly introduce innovative courses on a new variety of subjects for new students engaged in new activities. In the process of such a transition, educational needs will change so that TE should be flexible enough to respond to demands from planners, new and adaptive industries, local communities and others, including the local and national state (Lethbridge, 2019). If the economy is no longer focused on engrossing the domestic production of commodities but upon sustainable production, this will entail different forms of work, often locally-/regionally-based that will require central government investment for decades.

This will depend on more extensive public support for further and higher education. It should allow universities to move away from fees-based income to a central teaching grant. A new system of funding for further education ‘should include boosting teaching grants for subjects relevant to skills shortages, higher capital funding for further education institutions, free tuition for learners studying for their first level 2 or level 3 qualification, and a lifelong learning loan allowance for higher-level courses, available for adults without a publicly-funded degree’ (Bosetti and Gariban, 2020).

Several Green Plans have been drawn up recently in response to the Covid-19 crisis and to the wider climate/environmental crisis. The EU has just proposed an economic recovery plan which includes both green and digital dimensions. The emphasis will be on clean energy, transport and smart infrastructure. The approach will be to support industries, such as the car industry, to transition to electric car production and not just provide funds to keep the existing companies operating. This has education and training implications for both workers and management. A digital future similarly, although digital developments should be assessed according to social value and control to guard against the dangers of a surveillance society. TE could develop a stronger critical digital perspective in partnership with the local/sub-regional/regional state to ensure that digital innovations are designed to meet social purposes rather than corporate profits.

The Labour Party published a Green Plan in April 2020. Three of its recommendations have particular relevance for TE:

- Every household to have an energy assessment, receive support for actions to improve energy efficiency and so create carbon neutral homes.
- A National Adaption Programme to prepare government departments and other sectors in the economy to adapt to climate change. Those managing critical infrastructure – e.g. airports, hospitals, roads, schools, the postal delivery service etc. – should adopt plans for increasing resilience to climate change and will also have to deliver benefits to the environment.
- A green industrial strategy to create millions of new green jobs.

TE could start immediately to plan and deliver new courses that can be offered as soon as possible in support of these recommendations. Energy assessment of all homes will require workers trained in new skills to deliver carbon-neutral living. The development of resilient infrastructure will also generate new types of employment, recognising the productive roles of key workers in a new professionalism based upon a more general and less academic schooling to develop democratic expertise across and also within academic/vocational specialisations.

The first task facing universities and colleges is therefore to build a campaign that promotes Tertiary Education as a public good and which is understandable to all ‘stakeholders’ – students, parents and employers. Scientific experts from many different university research units, departments and projects have played key roles in combating Covid-19. This makes it easier to promote higher education as socially valuable as well as engaging in its own right whilst meeting demands for new employment. This should be facilitated from national through regional/sub-regional to local learning infrastructures integrating Primary and Secondary schools with the entitlement to lifelong, full- or part-time, adult and community, further and higher Tertiary Education and training in and/or out of employment.

### **Some practical strategies**

As a way of developing strategies that would enable TE to make education and training more inclusive in a green and digital future, a series of questions are set out below.

#### **1. What are the training/education needs of future local/regional economies?**

1.1 How are local industries and services, both public and private, affected by the aftermath of Covid-19 and by proposals for green transformation?



1.2 What are current local levels of employment/unemployment in terms of age, gender, BAME, disability?

1.3 What are the local and regional economic development strategies for addressing green, digital and ageing population needs and how can they be adapted to and addressed by the new TE?

## **2. How to build new coalitions and partnerships**

2.1 What are the existing patterns of provision for Post-Compulsory Education and Training (PCET) in the locality/sub-region?

2.2 What is the nature of partnership working between PCET institutions, local authorities, private and not-for-profit sectors and community groups?

2.3 Are there any successful initiatives?

2.4 Are there opportunities to build coalitions to plan for the future?

## **3. Where are the needs and possibilities for education and training?**

3.1 Covid -19 has made apparent the urgency of planning and coordinating both **health and social care services**. The NHS requires capacity development for rehabilitation services, mental health services and continued training for future coronavirus outbreaks. Public health surveillance for tracking and tracing will also be required and would be best created locally to support local public health functions.

3.2 In the longer term and with an aging population, **social care** will eventually become a public service with a professionalised and adequately remunerated workforce. Existing competence-based training can be adapted to contribute to the under- and post-graduate programmes appropriate for career progression to a professionalised and adequately remunerated workforce. TE can facilitate this education and training for existing social care workers as well as for new cohorts of younger entrants through existing FE colleges and university schools of health, supplementing expanded university medical education.

3.2 Likewise in **Primary and Secondary Education**, there is a backlog of pupil development, not only of literacy and numeracy, to be remediated but not merely to catch up on SAT and other exam scores. Indeed, reforms to the content as well as the form of the exam-based curriculum can begin with debates on history, geography and sociology contributed by university humanities and social sciences, while teacher training in schools and colleges, as well as art, language, science and life science undergraduates, can contribute to teaching in schools and colleges that will need all the additional support they can get.

3.3 Making the existing **housing** stock more energy efficient requires training accompanied by the development in application of new areas of expertise. Architecture, planning and surveying departments could also provide training for new energy workers to make existing housing stock energy efficient and refocus research on building energy

efficiency. Engineering can advise and train in alternative energy generation as well as contributing to emergent technologies, eg. of drones at Greenwich's Medway Campus.

3.4 The Covid-19 crisis has highlighted the size of the low paid workforce which provides **basic public services**. The recognition of the value of this public service expertise could provide opportunities for new courses which allow these public service workers to further develop their skills and improve their terms and conditions of employment. This would help these workers to move into new jobs where there are skills shortages as part of their career progression.

3.4 Some **manufacturing** companies have changed production to meet the demands for PPE under Covid. With support from business and engineering they could be re-orientated to make other essential products. There is likely to be a focus on local supply chains post-Brexit and so the process of identifying new manufacturing priorities should focus on 'firms' capacity, particularly those rooted within communities, to strengthen resilience' (Sensier and Devine, 2020).

3.5 Many local authorities have **digital technology** strategies. Some are being developed as public-private partnerships but all have training implications. Educational institutions which already teach and research in this area can build on existing partnerships to apply their expertise.

3.6 Developing local **food supply chains** will become important post-Brexit, with the loss of much EU trade. As part of green strategies, these will need to be developed by locally based micro-enterprises which will also require technical expertise, for example in horticulture and marketing. Their success will depend on local coalitions that bring together producers, consumers, local authorities and local chambers of commerce.

3.7 With a re-orientation of local economies, there will be opportunities for local **entrepreneurship**. Many business schools already provide support for new entrepreneurs but this could be strengthened by a focus on green, digital and inclusive strategies in partnership with local agencies and communities.

These opportunities, including those for **culture and recreation** that have been mentioned earlier in this paper, will vary according to locality but all have education and training implications. Some can build on existing provision within TE but many will again depend on coalitions, including local agencies that work collaboratively to identify new means of creating new skills and knowledge, together with developing the existing capabilities of individuals and groups/communities to afford access to further and higher education and training in new ways as part of popular entitlement to free lifelong learning.

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