Is VET the panacea we think it is?

An overview of 3+ years of work

Hielke Buddelmeyer & Cain Polidano
The University of Melbourne

NCVER Research Forum
Realising our potential: widening participation through education and training

3 April 2014
Melbourne Convention and Exhibition Centre
Objective

- To give an overview of 3 years worth of work on VET under the broad umbrella of promoting social inclusion for disadvantaged groups through education and training
Objective

- To give an overview of 3 years worth of work on VET under the broad umbrella of promoting social inclusion for disadvantaged groups through education and training
- Present key findings and messages from 7 distinct research projects, with just enough information to encourage further reading
Objective

- To give an overview of 3 years worth of work on VET under the broad umbrella of promoting social inclusion for disadvantaged groups through education and training
- Present key findings and messages from 7 distinct research projects, with just enough information to encourage further reading
- Big picture sketch of what we’ve learned and implications for policy
Objective

- To give an overview of 3 years worth of work on VET under the broad umbrella of promoting social inclusion for disadvantaged groups through education and training
- Present key findings and messages from 7 distinct research projects, with just enough information to encourage further reading
- Big picture sketch of what we’ve learned and implications for policy
- Q&A style debate

* A companion synthesis report will be available soon structuring the same research output into themes

www.melbourneinstitute.com
Preamble

- ‘disadvantage’ is not a personal attribute, but an impersonal statistical marker based on historical outcomes for the group to which the individual belongs, e.g.
‘disadvantage’ is not a personal attribute, but an impersonal statistical marker based on historical outcomes for the group to which the individual belongs, e.g.

- individuals in low socio-economic status households
- being of indigenous or Torres Strait islander descent
- having poor English skills
- having low levels of formal education
- being older workers (re-)entering the workforce
- having a disability
- Etc.
The projects

- Educating oneself out of social exclusion
The projects

- Educating oneself out of social exclusion
- Studying beyond age 25: who does it and what do they gain?
- Training and its impact on the casual employment experience
The projects

- Educating oneself out of social exclusion
- Studying beyond age 25: who does it and what do they gain?
- Training and its impact on the casual employment experience
- Is there a VET completion gap for students from disadvantaged groups and, if so, why?
The projects

- Educating oneself out of social exclusion
- Studying beyond age 25: who does it and what do they gain?
- Training and its impact on the casual employment experience
- Is there a VET completion gap for students from disadvantaged groups and, if so, why?
- Does scored VET in schools help or hinder access to higher education in Victoria?
The projects

- Educating oneself out of social exclusion
- Studying beyond age 25: who does it and what do they gain?
- Training and its impact on the casual employment experience
- Is there a VET completion gap for students from disadvantaged groups and, if so, why?
- Does scored VET in schools help or hinder access to higher education in Victoria?
- Early impacts of the Victorian Training Guarantee on VET enrolments and graduate outcomes
The projects

- Educating oneself out of social exclusion
- Studying beyond age 25: who does it and what do they gain?
- Training and its impact on the casual employment experience
- Is there a VET completion gap for students from disadvantaged groups and, if so, why?
- Does scored VET in schools help or hinder access to higher education in Victoria?
- Early impacts of the Victorian Training Guarantee on VET enrolments and graduate outcomes
- Outcomes of Learn or Earn

www.melbourneinstitute.com
Educating oneself out of social exclusion

www.melbourneinstitute.com
Educating oneself out of social exclusion

■ How do you measure social exclusion?
Educating oneself out of social exclusion

- How do you measure social exclusion?
  - Use the BSL-MI Social Exclusion Monitor

www.melbourneinstitute.com
Educating oneself out of social exclusion

- How do you measure social exclusion?
  - Use the BSL-MI Social Exclusion Monitor
  - Multi-dimensional with 7 domains
    - education; health; income; employment; neighbourhood; social; safety

www.melbourneinstitute.com
Educating oneself out of social exclusion

- How do you measure social exclusion?
  - Use the BSL-MI Social Exclusion Monitor
  - Multi-dimensional with 7 domains
    - education; health; income; employment; neighbourhood; social; safety
  - Wizardry gives us a single index capturing depth and incidence of multidimensional social inclusion (cf. income poverty index)
Educating oneself out of social exclusion

- How do you measure social exclusion?
  - Use the BSL-MI Social Exclusion Monitor
  - Multi-dimensional with 7 domains
    - education; health; income; employment; neighbourhood; social; safety
  - Wizardry gives us a single index capturing depth and incidence of multidimensional social inclusion (cf. income poverty index)
  - Can plot this over time, and for subgroups

www.melbourneinstitute.com
Educating oneself out of social exclusion

- How do you measure social exclusion?
  - Use the BSL-MI Social Exclusion Monitor
  - Multi-dimensional with 7 domains
    - education; health; income; employment; neighbourhood; social; safety
  - Wizardry gives us a single index capturing depth and incidence of multidimensional social inclusion (cf. income poverty index)
  - Can plot this over time, and for subgroups
  - Can break it down to a proportional contribution by each of the 7 domains (summing to 100%)
    - Income alone ~ 30%.
What did we find?

- You can manipulate the level of exclusion, but it has no impact on the story
What did we find?

- You can manipulate the level of exclusion, but it has no impact on the story
- Decline in exclusion levels since 2008, then a slight increase (GFC)
What did we find?

- You can manipulate the level of exclusion, but it has no impact on the story
- Decline in exclusion levels since 2008, then a slight increase (GFC)
- When it comes to social exclusion, Australia is a divided nation:
  - Certificate III or Year 12 and anything over ……versus everyone else
A nation divided

www.melbourneinstitute.com
What did we find?

- You can manipulate the level of exclusion, but it has no impact on the story
- Decline in exclusion levels since 2008, then a slight increase (GFC)
- When it comes to social exclusion, Australia is a divided nation:
  - Certificate III or Year 12 and anything over ....versus everyone else
What did we find?

- You can manipulate the level of exclusion, but it has no impact on the story
- Decline in exclusion levels since 2008, then a slight increase (GFC)
- When it comes to social exclusion, Australia is a divided nation:
  - Certificate III or Year 12 and anything over ........versus everyone else

- Aha! That is because education is one of the domains! Wrong!
What did we find?

- You can manipulate the level of exclusion, but it has no impact on the story
- Decline in exclusion levels since 2008, then a slight increase (GFC)
- When it comes to social exclusion, Australia is a divided nation:
  - Certificate III or Year 12 and anything over .......versus everyone else

- Aha! That is because education is one of the domains! Wrong!
  - Implementing the COAG goal of reducing by half the proportion of people aged 20-64 without at least certificate III only moderately reduces the social exclusion rate
What did we find?

- You can manipulate the level of exclusion, but it has no impact on the story
- Decline in exclusion levels since 2008, then a slight increase (GFC)
- When it comes to social exclusion, Australia is a divided nation:
  - Certificate III or Year 12 and anything over ........versus everyone else

- Aha! That is because education is one of the domains! Wrong!
  - Implementing the COAG goal of reducing by half the proportion of people aged 20-64 without at least certificate III only moderately reduces the social exclusion rate
  - .....but also assigning the average characteristics of existing Year 12 / certificate III holders reduces social exclusion rates by as much as 30%
What did we find?

- You can manipulate the level of exclusion, but it has no impact on the story
- Decline in exclusion levels since 2008, then a slight increase (GFC)
- When it comes to social exclusion, Australia is a divided nation:
  - Certificate III or Year 12 and anything over .......versus everyone else

- Aha! That is because education is one of the domains! Wrong!
  - Implementing the COAG goal of reducing by half the proportion of people aged 20-64 without at least certificate III only moderately reduces the social exclusion rate
  - .....but also assigning the average characteristics of existing Year 12 / certificate III holders reduces social exclusion rates by as much as 30%

- Moral: Education as a pathway to education+. Be prepared for a long road

www.melbourneinstitute.com
Completion gaps and VET

MIND THE GAP

www.melbourneinstitute.com
Completion gaps and VET

- Groups of interest:
Completion gaps and VET

Groups of interest:

- students with a disability
- indigenous students
- students living in low SES areas, and
- students with poor English language skills
Completion gaps and VET

- Groups of interest:
  - students with a disability
  - indigenous students
  - students living in low SES areas, and
  - students with poor English language skills

- Compared with the general student population:
  - Is there a completion gap?
Completion gaps and VET

- **Groups of interest:**
  - students with a disability
  - indigenous students
  - students living in low SES areas, and
  - students with poor English language skills

- **Compared with the general student population:**
  - Is there a completion gap?
  - Is there an employment gap post-course?
Completion gaps and VET

- Groups of interest:
  - students with a disability
  - indigenous students
  - students living in low SES areas, and
  - students with poor English language skills

- Compared with the general student population:
  - Is there a completion gap?
  - Is there an employment gap post-course?
  - Is the employment gap the result of the completion gap?

www.melbourneinstitute.com
Completion gaps and VET

Groups of interest:
- students with a disability
- indigenous students
- students living in low SES areas, and
- students with poor English language skills

Compared with the general student population:
- Is there a completion gap?
  - Yes
- Is there an employment gap post-course
  - Yes
- Is the employment gap the result of the completion gap?
  - On average, no; Moving from unemployment to employment post-course is not affected by completion, or any other observables
Explaining “explained”

- Gaps are analysed in the same way as studies into the gender wage gap
Explaining “explained”

- Gaps are analysed in the same way as studies into the gender wage gap
- Based on regression for two groups separately
Explaining “explained”

- Gaps are analysed in the same way as studies into the gender wage gap
- Based on regression for two groups separately
- The explained part is the share of the gap we eliminate if disadvantaged students had on average the same observed characteristics as do the non-disadvantaged students
Explaining “explained”

- Gaps are analysed in the same way as studies into the gender wage gap
- Based on regression for two groups separately
- The explained part is the share of the gap we eliminate if disadvantaged students had on average the same observed characteristics as do the non-disadvantaged students
  - What remains of the gap is referred to as the unexplained gap, the gap due to so-called unobservables, or sometimes plainly stated to be discrimination
How big is the gap? Course Completion

Percentage gap in the probability of course completion

- All disadvantages
- Indigenous
- Disability
- Lowest SEIFA quintile
- Poor English knowledge

Total difference vs. Explained difference
How big is the gap? Employment post-course
How big is the gap? Escaping unemployment

![Bar chart showing the gap in the probability to move from employment to unemployment for different groups.](www.melbourneinstitute.com)
Is VET the panacea?
A tale of two policies

Cain Polidano
Melbourne Institute of Applied Economic and Social Policy
cainp@unimelb.edu.au

3 April 2014
Introduction

- Three policies that (among other things) aimed to encourage engagement in VET
  1. Victorian Training Guarantee (VTG)
  2. Scored VET-in-school subjects
  3. Learn or Earn

- At various stages of publication
  - Taster of the approach, findings and implications
Introduction

- Three policies that (among other things) aimed to encourage engagement in VET
  1. Victorian Training Guarantee (VTG)
  2. Scored VET-in-school subjects
  3. Learn or Earn

- At various stages of publication
  - Taster of the approach, findings and implications
Victorian Training Guarantee

Victorian Training Guarantee (VTG)

www.melbourneinstitute.com
What the VTG meant for Victoria

- July 2009-June 2012 (excluding ‘Refocussing VET’)
- Uncapping of publicly-subsidised places in VET
- Change allocation of publicly-subsidised places from government supply-driven to student demand-driven
- Full contestability for publicly-subsidised VET courses
- Greater, but limited, fee competition
- Extra entitlements for 25+
What the VTG meant for Victoria

- July 2009-June 2012 (excluding ‘Refocussing VET’)
- Uncapping of publicly-subsidised places in VET
- Change allocation of publicly-subsidised places from government supply-driven to student demand-driven
- Full contestability for publicly-subsidised VET courses
- Greater, but limited, fee competition
- Extra entitlements for 25+
What the VTG meant for Victoria

- July 2009-June 2012 (excluding ‘Refocussing VET’)
- Uncapping of publicly-subsidised places in VET
- Change allocation of publicly-subsidised places from government supply-driven to student demand-driven
- Full contestability for publicly-subsidised VET courses
- Greater, but limited, fee competition
- Extra entitlements for 25+

1. Victorian Training Guarantee (VTG)
What the VTG meant for Victoria

- July 2009-June 2012 (excluding ‘Refocussing VET’)
- Uncapping of publicly-subsidised places in VET
- Change allocation of publicly-subsidised places from government supply-driven to student demand-driven
- Full contestability for publicly-subsidised VET courses
- Greater, but limited, fee competition
- Extra entitlements for 25+

Victorian Training Guarantee (VTG)
What the VTG meant for Victoria

- July 2009-June 2012 (excluding ‘Refocussing VET’)
- Uncapping of publicly-subsidised places in VET
- Change allocation of publicly-subsidised places from government supply-driven to student demand-driven
- Full contestability for publicly-subsidised VET courses
- Greater, but limited, fee competition
- Extra entitlements for 25+

Victorian Training Guarantee (VTG)  www.melbourneinstitute.com
What the VTG meant for Victoria

- July 2009-June 2012 (excluding ‘Refocussing VET’)
- Uncapping of publicly-subsidised places in VET
- Change allocation of publicly-subsidised places from government supply-driven to student demand-driven
- Full contestability for publicly-subsidised VET courses
- Greater, but limited, fee competition
- Extra entitlements for 25+
Key research questions

- For 15-19 year olds, what has been the impact of the VTG in 2010-2011 on:
  - VET enrolments?
  - The responsiveness of enrolments to skill demands?
  - The quality of VET training?
  - Student outcomes?
What the media said…

Collision Course of Learning
THE AUSTRALIAN (16/5/2012)
“Victorian taxpayers…got an explosion in dubious courses from private colleges as the reputation of the education and training sector sped south… What were they learning? Skills the economy needed? Not necessarily. Those cheap to teach? Definitely. Enrolments in real estate, warehousing, recreation and finance more than doubled in just three years. Despite the resources boom, mining was the only area where enrolments declined.”

‘Market design’ fails to supply the skills
THE AUSTRALIAN FINANCIAL REVIEW (3/7/2012)
“…the Victorian experience of meddling in the education market led to a budget blowout and oversupply of workers with skills, such as personal fitness trainers, that do little to ease the skill bottlenecks holding back the economy’s mining boom.”

Victorian Training Guarantee (VTG) www.melbourneinstitute.com
Research method

- Difference-in-differences
- New enrolments from VET provider collection (VETPC) 2008-2011, tracked over time
  - Individual course choice linked skill demand information:
    - skill shortage (DEEWR),
    - previous year’s graduate wages (Student Outcome Survey (SOS))
  - Student completion information from VETPC
  - Student outcome data from SOS

Victorian Training Guarantee (VTG) www.melbourneinstitute.com
Research method

Difference-in-differences (DiD) estimation

Outcome of interest

Victoria

NSW

2008  July 2009  2010/11

Victorian Training Guarantee (VTG)

www.melbourneinstitute.com
Research method

Difference-in-differences (DiD) estimation

Outcome of interest

Victoria

NSW

2008  July 2009  2010/11

Victorian Training Guarantee (VTG)

www.melbourneinstitute.com
Research method

Difference-in-differences (DiD) estimation

(A) % increase in Victoria relative to 2008

(B) % increase in NSW relative to 2008

Diff-in-diff = (A) - (B) %pt.
Research method

- Difference-in-differences
- New enrolments from VET provider collection (VETPC) 2008-2011, tracked over time
  - Individual course choice linked to skill demand information:
    - skill shortage (DEEWR)
    - previous year’s graduate wages (Student Outcome Survey (SOS))
  - Student completion information from VETPC
  - Student outcome data from SOS
Results - enrolments

Average annual impacts on AQF enrolments of 15-19 year-olds, 2010-11

%pt.

Disability  Low SES  NESB  No disadvantage  All

Victorian Training Guarantee (VTG)  www.melbourneinstitute.com
Results – demand responsiveness

Average annual impact on demand responsiveness of 15-19 year old enrolments by provider type, 2010-11

- National skill shortage
- State skill shortage
- Expected wages

Victorian Training Guarantee (VTG)
Results – quality

Average annual impact on course & module completion of 15-19 year old enrolments by provider type, 2010-11

- Module completion
- Course completion

Public  Private  All providers

Victorian Training Guarantee (VTG)  www.melbourneinstitute.com
Results – student outcomes

Impact on labour market outcomes 6 months after graduation for 15-19 year-old January-February 2010 enrolments

Victorian Training Guarantee (VTG)  www.melbourneinstitute.com
Implications

- Increasing access is not the panacea for improving participation for the disadvantaged
- Given greater opportunities, on average, young people make good course choices
  - VTG was not necessarily an efficient use of funding, but should access be rationed according to ‘skill need’?
  - Can we improve choice with better information?
- Increased contestability of funding appears to have increased training quality
- Imprecise, but positive SR post-training outcomes
Implications

- Increasing access is not the panacea for improving participation for the disadvantaged
- Given greater opportunities, on average, young people make good course choices
  - VTG was not necessarily an efficient use of funding, but should access be rationed according to ‘skill need’?
  - Can we improve choice with better information?
- Increased contestability of funding appears to have increased training quality
- Imprecise, but positive SR post-training outcomes

*Victorian Training Guarantee (VTG)*
www.melbourneinstitute.com
Implications

- Increasing access is not the panacea for improving participation for the disadvantaged
- Given greater opportunities, on average, young people make good course choices
  - VTG was not necessarily an efficient use of funding, but should access be rationed according to ‘skill need’?
  - Can we improve choice with better information?
- Increased contestability of funding appears to have increased training quality
- Imprecise, but positive SR post-training outcomes

*Victorian Training Guarantee (VTG)*

www.melbourneinstitute.com
Implications

- Increasing access is not the panacea for improving participation for the disadvantaged
- Given greater opportunities, on average, young people make good course choices
  - VTG was not necessarily an efficient use of funding, but should access be rationed according to ‘skill need’?
  - Can we improve choice with better information?
- Increased contestability of funding appears to have increased training quality
- Imprecise, but positive SR post-training outcomes

*Victorian Training Guarantee (VTG)*

www.melbourneinstitute.com
Scored VET-in-schools
Introduction

- VET-in-school subjects are often stigmatised
- Scored VET subjects count towards ATAR score
- Potentially allow flexibility to pursue vocational paths without compromising access to university
- The model varies by state
  - we focus on Victorian model, ‘VCE VET’
- Key research question
  - What is the relationship between taking VCE VET subjects and university access
Introduction

- VET-in-school subjects are often stigmatised
- Scored VET subjects count towards ATAR score
- Potentially allow flexibility to pursue vocational paths without compromising access to university
- The model varies by state
  - we focus on Victorian model, ‘VCE VET’
- Key research question
  - What is the relationship between taking VCE VET subjects and university access
Introduction

- VET-in-school subjects are often stigmatised
- Scored VET subjects count towards ATAR score
- Potentially allow flexibility to pursue vocational paths without compromising access to university
- The model varies by state
  - we focus on Victorian model, ‘VCE VET’
- Key research question
  - What is the relationship between taking VCE VET subjects and university access
Introduction

- VET-in-school subjects are often stigmatised
- Scored VET subjects count towards ATAR score
- Potentially allow flexibility to pursue vocational paths without compromising access to university
- The model varies by state
  - we focus on Victorian model, ‘VCE VET’
- Key research question
  - What is the relationship between taking VCE VET subjects and university access
Introduction

- VET-in-school subjects are often stigmatised
- Scored VET subjects count towards ATAR score
- Potentially allow flexibility to pursue vocational paths without compromising access to university
- The model varies by state
  - we focus on Victorian model, ‘VCE VET’
- Key research question
  - What is the relationship between taking VCE VET subjects and university access
Research method

- Propensity score matching
- De-identified datasets linked at student level
  - NAPLAN (DEECD), university offers (DEECD), VCE study scores (VCAA) & pre-exam university preferences (VTAC)
- University access
  - Year 12 scaled study scores used in ATAR
  - Predicted offers, based on ATAR & preference cut-offs
  - Self-reported offers
- Controls
  - University applicants who complete Year 12 in 2011
  - NAPLAN, university preferences, school & student factors

Scored VET-in-schools

www.melbourneinstitute.com
Research method

- Propensity score matching
- De-identified datasets linked at student level
  - NAPLAN (DEECD), university offers (DEECD), VCE study scores (VCAA) & pre-exam university preferences (VTAC)
- University access
  - Year 12 scaled study scores used in ATAR
  - Predicted offers, based on ATAR & preference cut-offs
  - Self-reported offers
- Controls
  - University applicants who complete Year 12 in 2011
  - NAPLAN, university preferences, school & student factors

Scored VET-in-schools  www.melbourneinstitute.com
Research method

- Propensity score matching
- De-identified datasets linked at student level
  - NAPLAN (DEECD), university offers (DEECD), VCE study scores (VCAA) & pre-exam university preferences (VTAC)
- University access
  - Year 12 scaled study scores used in ATAR
  - Predicted offers, based on ATAR & preference cut-offs
  - Self-reported offers
- Controls
  - University applicants who complete Year 12 in 2011
  - NAPLAN, university preferences, school & student factors

Scored VET-in-schools  www.melbourneinstitute.com
Research method

- Propensity score matching
- De-identified datasets linked at student level
  - NAPLAN (DEECD), university offers (DEECD), VCE study scores (VCAA) & pre-exam university preferences (VTAC)
- University access
  - Year 12 scaled study scores used in ATAR
  - Predicted offers, based on ATAR & preference cut-offs
  - Self-reported offers
- Controls
  - University applicants who complete Year 12 in 2011
  - NAPLAN, university preferences, school & student factors

Scored VET-in-schools  www.melbourneinstitute.com
Results – effect on VCE study score

Average VCE study scores (out of a possible 205) among university applicants who complete Year 12 in 2011

- Students who take VCE VET
- Students who do not take VCE VET

Effect of VCE VET:
- Raw scores: 6 point lower average score
- Scores adjusted for differences between those who do and do not take VCE VET

Scanned VET-in-schools

www.melbourneinstitute.com
Results – explaining the effect

Average subject contribution to study score (out of 50) among university applicants who complete Year 12 in 2011

- VCE VET
- All other subjects taken by VCE VET students
- Student who do not take VCE VET

Scored VET-in-schools

www.melbourneinstitute.com
Results – effect on university access

Average proportion of university applicants who complete Year 12 in 2011 who attain a university offer

- Received any offer
- Attained first-preference
- Attained a top-six preference

Students who take VCE VET
Students who do not take VCE VET

Scored VET-in-schools
www.melbourneinstitute.com
Implications

- Results suggest that the existing scaling approach may not adequately deal with the unique nature of VCE VET.
- There are a range of possible responses:
  - Adopt the NSW model - VCE VET students ‘opt-in’ to receive a score rather than having to ‘opt-out’
  - Restrict scaling only to students who apply for university.
Implications

- Results suggest that the existing scaling approach may not adequately deal with the unique nature of VCE VET.

- There are a range of possible responses:
  - Adopt the NSW model - VCE VET students ‘opt-in’ to receive a score rather than having to ‘opt-out’
  - Restrict scaling only to students who apply for university
Some overarching lessons
Some overarching lessons

- What increases access for disadvantaged students increases access for all students
Some overarching lessons

- What increases access for disadvantaged students increases access for all students
  - Means that it can be expensive
  - Means that even if it helps disadvantaged students it doesn’t necessarily narrows any gaps or reduces inequality
Some overarching lessons

- What increases access for disadvantaged students increases access for all students
  - Means that it can be expensive
  - Means that even if it helps disadvantaged students it doesn’t necessarily narrows any gaps or reduces inequality

- Move the bottom to the middle, but don’t “waste” time and effort on moving the middle to the top
Some overarching lessons

- What increases access for disadvantaged students increases access for all students
  - Means that it can be expensive
  - Means that even if it helps disadvantaged students it doesn’t necessarily narrows any gaps or reduces inequality

- Move the bottom to the middle, but don’t “waste” time and effort on moving the middle to the top
  - Articulation is important, but especially so at the low end of the ladder
Some overarching lessons

- What increases access for disadvantaged students increases access for all students
  - Means that it can be expensive
  - Means that even if it helps disadvantaged students it doesn’t necessarily narrows any gaps or reduces inequality

- Move the bottom to the middle, but don’t “waste” time and effort on moving the middle to the top
  - Articulation is important, but especially so at the low end of the ladder

- In terms of things that matter for outcomes policy can only affect a portion of that; a large share is up to the individual
Some overarching lessons

- What increases access for disadvantaged students increases access for all students
  - Means that it can be expensive
  - Means that even if it helps disadvantaged students it doesn’t necessarily narrows any gaps or reduces inequality
- Move the bottom to the middle, but don’t “waste” time and effort on moving the middle to the top
  - Articulation is important, but especially so at the low end of the ladder
- In terms of things that matter for outcomes policy can only affect a portion of that; a large share is up to the individual
- VET is asked to serve many different objectives; Sometimes one comes at the expense of another. Be prepared for that.