EXTENDING CONCEPTUALISATIONS OF THE DIVERSITY AND VALUE OF EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

A CULTURAL CAPITAL APPROACH TO GRADUATE OUTCOMES

Final report

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Acknowledgements

This project has depended on the support of many people, to whom we express our appreciation.

Pauline Wilson worked on the project for six months. She had to leave the project for personal reasons and so was unable to contribute to the data analysis or the writing of this report. We would like to acknowledge her valuable contribution, as the report could not have been written without her input.

The University staff gave up a considerable amount of their time and provided detailed and thoughtful responses to our interview questions.

Finally, we are very grateful to all the students who took the time and trouble to respond to the questionnaire, and in particular we thank those who agreed to be interviewed. Many responded in detail and with considerable frankness about their background and experiences.

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Executive summary

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Background and research questions
There is a prima facie case why extra-curricular activities (ECA) should be thought to contribute to graduate outcomes, and some of the more sophisticated literature on employability and graduate outcomes recognises this. Very little research, however, has directly addressed the question of what constitutes ECA, the extent to which students engage in ECA, and how students experience and conceptualise benefits from their engagement. Nor is there research that looks at how staff understand ECA. Our research sought to address these questions from a cultural capital approach. Traditionally conceived ECA include campus-based cultural and sporting activities and volunteering. We are aware, however, that many students work for economic reasons, continue their faith and caring activities, and continue to live at home. We were interested in the possible differential recognition and valuing of activities undertaken by different groups of students. We wanted to explore issues of inter-generational capital that might shape both the capacities to participate and how students understood the benefits.

Rather than proposing our own definition of ECA at the outset, we have taken the definitional issue as a research problem to be investigated. With these questions in mind our research was designed to:
- establish the full range of ECA that students engage with;
- ascertain whether there are differential patterns of participation by social group/ gender/ethnicity between the types and location of these ECA;
- explore both student and staff conceptualisations of ECA, and whether there are differences between the types and location of ECA;
- explore student and staff perceptions of the value of participation in ECA to the enhancement of graduate outcomes, and whether these varied with the types and location of ECA;
- explore whether staff and students draw on ECA in relationship to curricular activities and in shaping graduate futures.

Methods
Three instruments were used:
- a web-based questionnaire survey to second-year undergraduate students, which was designed to establish the type and location of activities students were engaged in outside their academic studies. The questionnaire distinguished between prompted and unprompted responses to the question of whether students engaged in ECA. We collected data on parental participation in higher education and parents' activities outside the home and workplace. The 640 responses provided

both descriptive information and were analysed through the lens of our cultural capital approach;

- in-depth interviews with 61 students who were contacted through the survey. The interviews explored students' understandings of ECA, previous engagement with ECA, influences on their participation, and if and how they envisaged their participation helping them in their graduate futures. The data were analysed using open coding influenced by our cultural capital approach. The data were further explored through the heuristic lens of the communities of practice literature, as how students understood their engagement was related to learner and employment identities and participation;

- in-depth interviews with 18 staff members with a variety of disciplinary and professional backgrounds and experiences. The interviews explored staff understandings of ECA, their knowledge of their students' participation, and relationships to the curriculum. The interviews were analysed based on developing open codings looking at definitional issues, the boundary between curricular/extra-curricular, and relating these to a Bernsteinian framing of the differences between the disciplinary, inter-disciplinary and professional courses as described by staff.

Findings and recommendations

The overall conclusions from our research can be summarised as follows:

1. There is a considerable lack of clarity in definitions of ECA. While traditional definitions based on volunteering, cultural activities and some forms of work are shared, there was greater ambivalence regarding other forms of paid work, caring, and faith-based activities.

2. There is considerable variation in the habitus of courses, both as described by students and in the different disciplinary and professional orientations of courses as described by staff. Valuing of student ECA is influenced both positively and negatively by the dispositions of staff and their disciplinary orientations.

3. There is considerable evidence that inter-generational cultural capital is influential in the dispositional stances of students to taking advantage of ECA. The influence of the parents' own participation and dispositions towards voluntary and other forms of social engagement appears to be more important than parental education per se, but parental education is positively associated with the likelihood of their own participation.

4. School experiences strongly influence the dispositions of students towards ECA.

5. While structural factors shape the likelihood of participation, students exercise considerable agency in the ways they engage in ECA and in the identities they form in relation to both learner and employment communities of practice.

6. Some forms of paid employment are valued by both students and staff but tensions are reflected by both. The recognition of these tensions seems unlikely to be capable of resolving the dilemmas faced by staff and students alike.

7. The valuing of caring remains highly gendered among both staff and students and, with the exception of courses based on caring, this militates against it being regarded as of worth.

Recommendation 1 Graduate outcomes should be properly debated and specified within the fields made up by the different disciplines/professions. This work should include considerations of both the curriculum and the extra-curricular and should produce definitions of ECA relevant to the field.

Recommendation 2 In recognising the contribution of ECA to the curriculum and to likely graduate outcomes, staff should consider ways appropriate to their field of allowing students opportunities to identify community cultural capital including that derived from school.

Recommendation 3 More research is required to identify the active role of student agency in creating learner and employment identities.

Recommendation 4 Research is required that explores how employers regard their student employees and what, if any, attempts are made to recognise curricular pressures on students in relationship to what for them is an ECA.

Recommendation 5 More research is required that addresses issues of inter-sectionality in relationship to the differential valuing of ECA.

We are aware that three of our five recommendations relate to calls for more research. The reasons for this are twofold: the relative lack of prior research, and our findings themselves, which revealed a complex, messy story. Our data are immensely rich and provide insight into the complexity of the meanings and valuing of ECA. We are cautious, therefore, of making firm policy or curriculum recommendations that are not entailed by our findings. Rather we hope the readers of this report will be stimulated to ask more questions of their own students, to consider more deeply the meaning of their curriculum, and to question their own definitions and valuing of the different forms of ECA.

Extending conceptualisations of the diversity and value of extra-curricular activities: a cultural capital approach to graduate outcomes

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With the assistance of Pauline Wilson

1. Introduction

This report presents the findings from the research project *Extending conceptualisations of the diversity and value of extra-curricular activities: a cultural capital approach to graduate outcomes.* Very little research has specifically addressed the issue of the contribution of extra-curricular activities (ECA) to graduate outcomes. Moreover, there is a striking lack of clarity about what is meant by 'ECA' when the term is used in a policy context or indeed in the learning and teaching literature. It appears that there is a 'common sense' default position in which sporting, arts, cultural activities, and volunteering might be assumed to be ECA. With changing student profiles we know, however, that many students are engaged in paid employment; that some students have caring and family responsibilities; that some students will continue traditional religious and cultural affiliations; and that some of these activities will take place in the context of them continuing to live in their family home. Rather than proposing our own definition at the outset, we have taken these definitional issues as a research problem to be investigated. Throughout the report we will distinguish between ECA as defined implicitly or in the unprompted responses of our respondents, and a definition based on the full range of activities that students might be engaged in outside their academic work, which includes paid employment, caring, faith, and political activity in addition to sport, arts and culture, and volunteering.

While the meaning of ECA might be unclear, there is, however, a clear policy emphasis on employability and graduate outcomes within which attention to the value of ECA can be articulated. The first section of the report (Section 2.1) therefore explores this policy context and clarifies the terms of debate in relation to the concepts of graduateness and employability. The debate about potential contribution is also influenced by the increased diversity within the university sector and an expansion in the range of activities in which students engage outside their studies, notably paid employment. These issues are addressed in Section 2.2, which looks at changing student profiles. Section 3 introduces our theoretical framework taking a cultural capital approach. The overall thesis of the report is that we need to look more broadly at the whole area of ECA if we are not to default to a more traditional common-sense definition based on an image of the student as full-time, funded, without caring responsibilities, and projected as white, able-bodied, normatively male and single. The final section, before we introduce the main body of the report dealing with our empirical work, looks at the particular characteristics of our study site in relation to the policy and diversity issues we have already outlined.

The major part of the report deals with the design of the study and our empirical findings. This part of the report is organised around the three major instruments we used: a questionnaire survey administered to second-year students (N = 640), in-depth interviews with students identified through the survey (N = 61), and in-depth interviews with staff (N = 18). In the final section, we reflect on our findings from all three sources and propose a more nuanced account of the benefits of ECA for graduate outcomes. We also consider some of the disbenefits and tensions between the curricular and extra-curricular as these appear in the multiple positions expressed by both staff and students. In our recommendations we make some proposals concerning the need for clearer articulation of what we mean by 'ECA', 'the curriculum', and 'graduate outcomes' as a precondition for cementing the relationships between them in ways that advantage not just traditional students, but the diverse student body.

2. Policy context and background

2.1 Employability and graduate outcomes

Governments internationally look to higher education to deliver employable graduates and to increase the general stock of high quality human capital that is deemed necessary for economic effectiveness and competitiveness in knowledge-based economies. While there is some doubt about the actual number of jobs that might be characterised in this way (Brine, 2006) it is nonetheless the case, as Yorke (2006) points out, that these arguments have sufficient face validity to ensure that governments remain committed to supply-side policies. These ideas hold sway in the advanced industrial countries and also in the broader global context, reflecting the near universal adoption of neo-liberalism (Boughey, 2007). Under the influence of the World Bank, governments are no longer expected to provide employment and legislate for social equity. Rather, they are expected to contrive the conditions under which individuals can exert themselves to take up the available opportunities. With the advent of mass higher education systems 'employability' and 'graduate outcomes' have played a central part in policy thinking about the benefits of higher education. The future graduate is projected as being capable of taking up opportunities resulting in benefits to the person and providing the economy with the much needed 'symbolic analysts' as well as the discoveries the knowledge economy requires (Reich, 1991, 2002). Higher education is, therefore, portrayed by governments as providing a private benefit for individuals, and one for which they are increasingly expected to pay, rather than as a public good.

The employability agenda is frequently cast in utilitarian or reductionist language and described over-simplistically with regard to key, core or transferable skills (Clegg, 2008). Yorke (2006), however, has pointed out that the concept is more complex and cannot be equated with actual employment since employment opportunities are determined by factors at the macro-economic level outside the control and capacities of the individual. Moreover, obtaining a graduate job often involves a series of protracted and difficult transitions. The relationship of such transitions to the achievement of a first degree is in many cases loose, with employers consistently asserting their

preference for good, generic skills and where the possession of a degree is assumed. Yorke (2006), therefore, argues that we should see employability as a complex concept that is:

> … evidenced in the application of a mix of personal qualities and benefits, understanding, skilful practices and the ability to reflect productively on experience. (Yorke, 2006, p. 13)

As Yorke notes, this definition eschews terms like 'skills' that have bedevilled the debate. His is an essentially hopeful account of employability that emphasises the synergies between the core values of academic practice and the disciplines with those of policy. In reconciling the policy context and academic values he is building on his earlier work with Knight (Knight & Yorke, 2002, 2004) on the USEM model, which interrelates "understanding; skills; efficacy beliefs, personal skills and qualities; metacognition" (Yorke, 2006, p. 13). This work offers, therefore, a sophisticated understanding of employability more easily reconcilable with the core commitments of academics than crude versions of 'employability as employment' might suggest (Clegg, 2008).

Barrie (2004, 2006) has argued for a similarly sophisticated account of graduate outcomes based on research with academics. He argues that in the Australian context, there has been greater willingness to articulate explicit social values as part of the definition of graduateness citing an Australian Government Department of Education report:

> Graduate attributes are the qualities, skills and understandings a university community agree its students should develop during their time with the institution and consequently shape the contribution they are able to make to their profession and society ... They are qualities that also prepare graduates as agents of social good in an unknown future (Bowden *et al.* cited in Barrie, 2004, p. 262)

These are important differences of tone, and the use of the term 'graduateness' in the Australian policy literature contrasts with the currency of employability in the English context. Nonetheless, with regard to pedagogical approach Yorke (2006) and Barrie (2004) have much in common in seeking to reconcile those capabilities and capacities that represent the general benefits of a university experience with disciplinary concerns on the one side and the overall policy context of supply-side economic thinking on the other. In the UK policy has tended to operate at the different national levels, while in Australia this work, although being required by Government, falls to institutions. Barrie (2004, 2006) based his contribution to the Graduate Attributes Project at the University of Sydney on his prior phenomenographic analysis of academics' understandings of graduate attributes. Academics' understandings of these general capabilities in relation to disciplinary knowledge varied in ways that can be characterised as: precursor, complementary, translation, and enabling. Barrie (2004, 2006) demonstrated how the Sydney project is building on these research insights to inform an institution-wide framework within which the disciplines articulate the routes to the achievement of agreed graduate attributes.

In both the UK and Australia, initiatives have primarily focused on the curriculum. In the UK, in addition to numerous projects and the work of a number of current

CETLs, there have been major system-wide initiatives. Perhaps the most wide reaching and ambitious is the progress file and the provision for personal development planning. The Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education (QAA), which is the UK organisation responsible for defining and making explicit standards for higher education institutions (HEIs), has required all universities to ensure that undergraduate students were provided with an opportunity to engage in PDP since 2005-06, and this provision now encompasses all students. The QAA defines progress files as containing:

- the transcript: a record of an individual's learning and achievement, provided by the institution;
- an individual's personal records of learning and achievements, progress reviews and plans that are used to clarify personal goals and can provide a resource from which material is selected to produce personal statements (e.g. CVs etc) for employers, admissions tutors and others;
- structured and supported processes to develop the capacity of individuals to reflect on their own learning and achievement, and to plan for their own personal educational and career development. The term Personal Development Planning (PDP) is used to denote this process. (Quality Assurance Agency, 2001, p. 2)

At the policy level, therefore, PDP is part of the broader policy agenda across higher education that focuses on employability and the acquisition of generic and transferable skills. However, as can be seen from the QAA definition, the idea of progress files combines multiple elements and the development of a number of related but different capacities (Clegg, 2004). At the time of implementation the Generic Centre of the Learning and Teaching Support Network (LTSN) produced *Guides for Busy Academics* on PDP. *Guide 1* (LTSN Generic Centre, 2002), for example, emphasised the importance of improving students' understanding of how they are learning, of offering students an opportunity to develop a holistic overview of their course, of enabling students to reflect critically and become more independent, as well as encouraging students to consider actively their academic, extra-curricular activity and career opportunities. Other *Guides* made explicit the link to employability and argued that "students will be better equipped to convince employers that they are employable and they should be more aware of what they need to do to stay employed" (LTSN Generic Centre, 2003).

Despite these initiatives there is considerable debate about their effectiveness in delivering graduates with the attributes employers desire. This is in part because, as Yorke (2006) points out, there is a misunderstanding of what universities can deliver and those attributes that can only be cultivated by employers themselves in the specific context of employment. Barrie (2004, 2006), however, argues that there is evidence that in practice opportunities to develop the desired attributes are patchy and depend on enthusiastic teams or individuals so that good practice flourishes, but may also wane when projects end or teams are dispersed. Despite the national remit of PDP, there is good reason to think that embedding PDP in the curriculum is likely to be as patchy (Clegg & Bradley, 2006; Clegg & Bufton, 2008). The interest in ECA and

graduate outcomes and employability thus needs to be set against this broader picture.

There is some policy level recognition that participation in ECA contributes to graduate outcomes as evidenced, among other indicators, by the Higher Education Academy commissioning this and other research (Stuart, 2008). There is also some research (Blasko, 2002) that suggests: "involvement in extra-curricular activities was related to successful employment outcomes (especially for women)". While both Barrie and Yorke among others acknowledge the possible relevance of extra-curricular in discussions of employability and graduateness, there is a relative lack of research specifically about ECA. One exception is work by Chia (2005) among accounting graduates. She reports positive associations with interview success in a highly competitive context and focuses on the development of soft skills and emotional intelligence as the critical factors. Our research can, therefore, be seen in this broader context of a general concern with employability and graduateness, and increased sophistication in understanding how higher education might respond in delivering these outcomes. It seeks to redress the relative lack of specific attention to the role of ECA as such. Given the definition of employability Yorke (2006) adopts, paying attention to personal qualities, skilful practices and the ability to reflect on experience, there would seem to be a prima facie case for the benefits of ECA in contributing to graduate outcomes. However, how these benefits might come about or, indeed, if there is evidence that students can transfer their skills from one context (extra-curricular) to another (curricular or employment) seems much less certain.

2.2 Changing student profiles

As outlined above, the concern with graduate outcomes has coincided with the expansion of universities and the move to a mass system. However, these mass systems are by no means universal. Differential rates of access between socio-economic groups have proved resistant to change with the major expansion of higher education being fuelled by near universal middle-class participation (Reay *et al.*, 2005). For middle-class students, going into higher education has become the norm rather than a choice. Nonetheless, with regard to absolute numbers, first generation entry into higher education has increased (Thomas & Quinn, 2007). Thomas and Quinn have made the case for specifically focusing on first-generation entrants and have pointed to the significance of family and prior educational experiences, and expectations of the parental generation in influencing student choice and expectations. Students from different family backgrounds predominate in different sorts of universities. Parents of students from higher socio-economic groups make considerable investments in distinguishing between universities in order to secure places for their offspring at the most socially and academically prestigious institutions (Reay *et al.*, 2005). While those students who are defined as 'widening participation' students (Archer, 2007) are concentrated in less well-funded and less prestigious institutions with greater proportions attending institutions that acquired university status post-1992. The stratified intake to institutions is officially recognised in the ways HEFCE widening participation benchmarking operates (Ashworth *et al.*, 2004). Each university is given a distinct 'benchmark'

against which to judge their widening access performance and the proportion is individually calculated in ways that reinforce the status quo.

While the data are complex, there is also some evidence that the private returns on higher education vary by social class with those starting out as middle-class benefiting more than their working-class peers (Adnett & Slack, 2007). This is not to deny that there is a benefit to those who pursue higher education compared to those who do not participate, rather that its benefits are stratified. According to some measures overall, social mobility is falling in the UK rather than increasing, and what universities appear to achieve is the consolidation of status and the avoidance of downward social mobility rather than its extension (Machin & Vignoles, 2004). The debate about graduate outcomes, therefore, needs to be set in the context of the changing experiences of students at university, the differentials between universities, and different likely outcomes. This is, of course, to be expected. If employability is the capacity to become employed, then graduate futures are mediated through the preferences of employers. We know that some employers restrict their choices to the graduates from a limited range of institutions and exercise conventional class-based social distinctions in choosing among students, in some cases even reverting to A-level points as an initial screening device, which is more socially retrogressive than degree classification.

These changes are more than just bald probabilities about position: they point to the likelihood of different student experiences and expectations. High levels of part-time employment, particularly among students from less privileged backgrounds, mean that for many students full-time study increasingly resembles part-time study. Studying increasingly has to be squeezed alongside the demands of work. In considering the meanings of 'extra-curricular' we need to be mindful, therefore, that the definition itself is open to debate. Some ECA are likely to be seen as economic necessity and calculation rather than personal development and voluntary. So while the general policy context of graduate outcomes and employability operates at the macro-level, we need to recognise the considerable levels of stratification within the system. This means that the benefits and experiences of ECA are likely to be complex. The meaning of ECA is likely to vary dependent on context and to extend beyond the traditional image of the full-time student choosing to take part in university sport, cultural or volunteering activities. In our original bid, therefore, we argued for recognising this complexity and for a recognition that many students now routinely work part-time, particularly those from less privileged backgrounds. Many less privileged students also choose to study while remaining at 'home' often for financial reasons. We, therefore, hypothesised that some of these home-based students may continue to participate in 'local' (i.e. non-university) ECA and that these might be particularly prevalent among faith groups from minority ethnic backgrounds. Women students, in particular, may also continue non-paid caring and other responsibilities (Moss, 2004). So the traditional view does not capture the diversity of ECA taking place, participation in them varies among different groups of student, and activities may not commonly be conceptualised as ECA. A failure (by both students and staff) to conceptualise the full range of ECA that students engage with, whether out of a perceived choice or through necessity, as activities that provide opportunities for personal development means that

students who engage in them may not be being encouraged to recognise their potential value. In order to unpack some of these complexities we, therefore, need to consider our overall theoretical approach before going on to describe our empirical study and findings.

3. A cultural capital approach

The theories of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu have been widely used in research into higher education in order to illuminate the processes whereby educational inequalities might be maintained. Bourdieu argued that agents (or people) manoeuvre or struggle in pursuit of desirable resources within a 'field' or a social arena, with the position of each agent within the field being the result of the interaction between the agent's 'habitus' and their 'capital' (Bourdieu, 1984). 'Habitus' is used by Bourdieu to refer to durable patterns of thought and behaviour, resulting from the internalisation of culture or objective social structures, i.e. the norms and practices and dispositions of particular social classes or groups, created and shaped by the interaction between structures (education, family, class), 'fields' and personal histories (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). Capital refers to the knowledge, experience, connections and ownership of resources that enable individuals to succeed within a particular field, or to struggle within it, of which there are three forms: social, economic and cultural (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu defined social capital as: "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 248) "made up of social obligations ('connections'), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 243). Economic capital refers to an agent's command over actual economic resources, while cultural capital refers to "all the goods material and symbolic, without distinction, that present themselves as rare and worthy of being sought after in a particular social formation" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 178) and takes three forms: objectified – owned cultural goods; embodied – cultural capital embodied in the individual, inherited via the family, including linguistic capital and "long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 243); and institutionalised – institutional recognition of an individual's cultural capital (for example, academic qualifications).

Reay *et al.* (2005) and Thomas and Quinn (2007) have drawn Bourdieu's concepts as a way of thinking about the sorts of inherited cultural capital that ensure middle-class students are able to 'choose' the right universities (Ball *et al.*, 2002). Considerable familial energy is invested in making the right distinctions within the field. Middle-class students are thus able to build on and consolidate various forms of capital through their choice and success at university (Ball *et al.*, 2002; Reay *et al.*, 2005). Thomas and Quinn (2007) in particular focus on generational issues in their exploration of first generation access to higher education. As we are interested in graduate outcomes, and how students might enhance and mobilise the social and cultural resources available to them through participation in ECA, a cultural capital approach seemed very useful. It highlights the differential access to valued cultural resources prior to university and also provides us with a way of thinking about

how cultural and other forms of social capital might be enhanced in the process of participation. There are, however, some important caveats to adopting this approach. Reay (2004) has wisely cautioned against using particular theories as a form of window dressing rather than using them to think with in the process of doing the research. While we started with a series of assumptions based on using the idea of cultural capital, it is not the only framework we will draw on in making sense of our findings. Moreover, as Yosso (2005) has pointed out there is a danger that cultural capital approaches can result in what she describes as 'deficit thinking', whereby the possession or lack of possession of the relevant capitals prior to entry into HE is then seen as something to be compensated for in higher education systems that naturalise and normalise the epistemological privileging of only certain sorts of knowledge. She reminds us that the lens Bourdieu affords, concerns the ways in which "the knowledges of the upper and middle-classes are considered capital valuable in a hierarchical society" (Yosso, 2005, p. 70). Bourdieu thus provides an analytical framework for analysing the ways in which the class reproduction, described above, takes place. However, some usages of cultural capital risk seeing students without prior access to appropriate capitals as lacking. Yosso (2005) uses a critical race theory lens to argue for a recognition of outsider knowledge and, in particular, what she characterises 'community cultural wealth'. We find her approach suggestive, since it raises the question of what is valued in educational systems and, in the case of our study, whether particular forms of ECA that might be described as the traditional pursuits of the full-time socially privileged undergraduate are recognised as contributing positively to the curriculum and to potential graduate outcomes, while other forms of activity such as employment required to support study, caring responsibilities, or participation in home-based faith-based communities might not. Yosso's critical race theory approach points to the ways in which the valorisation of cultural capitals is likely to be racialised as well as classed and, we would argue, also gendered.

In our original bid we argued for a cultural capital approach. Some opportunities for volunteering and other ECA may be embedded into the curriculum as part of PDP (Higher Education Academy, 2007), but there are, nonetheless, likely to be considerable differences in the ways in which different activities are culturally recognised and realised as cultural capital. While there have been some pedagogical interventions to encourage students to view paid work as a source of learning and contribution to graduate outcomes (Smith *et al.*, 2004), ECA have traditionally been viewed as cultural, voluntary and sporting activities organised within the university through student societies. We know, however, that these traditional ECA are differentially accessed and valued, mirroring the general class bias in the sorts of activities that contribute to the formation of general social and cultural capital (Coffield, 1997; Schuller, 2000; Kauffman & Gabler, 2004; Kimura *et al.*, 2006). Volunteering, participation in structured leisure activities, and the development of extensive social networks remain largely middle-class activities. We argue on purely theoretical grounds, therefore, that students from less privileged backgrounds are unlikely to have had experiences that would encourage them to view participation in activities outside the curriculum as a way of enhancing their future success. These highly resilient forms of differential participation in activities, which build social and cultural capital, influence perceptions of the value of ECA when students enter

university. Our argument, therefore, is that we need to explore what students are actually doing, and how their activities are conceptualised, named, and valued by them, and how they are recognised or not recognised by staff and in the formation of the curriculum. It is arguable that if some forms of ECA such as employment are not recognised or valued and/or become a barrier to participation in the curriculum then rather than having a beneficial relationship to graduate outcomes, they may in fact detract from them.

As will become evident in the findings from the student interviews, individual habitus, mediated through institutional habitus, does not simply influence how ECA are conceptualised and valued. Many researchers have found that non-traditional learners, for example, do not for the main part simply passively accept their circumstances but act as agents of their own action, challenging both existing orthodoxies and institutional practices (Gallacher *et al.*, 2002; Leathwood & O'Connell, 2003). In order to address this more active role of agents we have used Lave and Wenger's (1991) ideas of situated learning and 'legitimate peripheral participation' and Wenger's (1998) ideas of communities of practice to explain the experiences of learners in higher education. Communities of practice refers to the process of learning that occurs and shared practices that emerge when people who have common goals interact:

> Over time, this collective learning results in practices that reflect both the pursuit of our enterprises and the attendant social relations. These practices are thus the property of a kind of community created over time by the sustained pursuit of a shared enterprise. It makes sense, therefore to call these kinds of communities, communities of practice. (Wenger, 1998, p. 45)

Lave and Wenger argue that learners initially become involved in communities of practice through peripheral engagement, which may enable individuals to try out a new identity on an experimental basis, allowing them to transit from one social milieu to another with minimal risks, and "gradually assemble a general idea of what constitutes the practice of the community" (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 95). Through this participation, the formation of a new learner identity becomes possible whereby "we know who we are by what is familiar, understandable, usable, negotiable" (Wenger, 1998, p. 153). This leads to eventual full participation in the community of practice, enabling learning to occur. Legitimate peripheral participation, therefore, provides a theoretical description of how newcomers become experienced members of a community of practice, construct their identities through these communities, and then continuously create their shared identity through engaging in and contributing to the practices of their communities. Communities of practice (CoP) are organised around some particular area of knowledge and/or activity, within which members are involved in a set of relationships over time (Lave & Wenger, 1991) giving members a sense of joint identity. As will be evidenced below, participation in ECA facilitated participation in CoP, which, in turn, resulted in the formulation of clear (although at times overlapping) student identities. These identities influenced the ECA each student chose to participate in and which they chose to avoid or ignore as they were considered of little value with regard to supporting further participation and moving from peripheral to full participation.

4. Research context and site

In keeping with our interests our research study site is one with a large number of students from non-privileged backgrounds. There are of course interesting questions that could be asked in more privileged sites; particularly whether ECA contribute to graduate outcomes among socially advantaged groups who already have access to high levels of socially approved cultural capital and can reasonably expect to reap high returns as regards graduate outcomes. In some ways this might be considered a purer test of the case for the additionality of ECA for graduate outcomes. However, our interests, as described above, are conceptual and analytical in relationship to how different ECA are conceptualised and valorised. We were interested, therefore, in a case study site that had large numbers of home-based students and students for whom working was likely to be a necessity. Our selection of Leeds Metropolitan University, a large, urban university (with over 52,000 students and 3,500 staff) with a polytechnic past that recruits significant numbers of its students from its locality and region, was therefore an obvious choice. Indeed it was precisely our experiences of working in the institution that gave rise to our interest and research questions. The University is the most popular destination for Leeds Local Authority resident students, especially those from the most deprived neighbourhoods, as the following table comparing our case study institution with its neighbouring Russell Group institution shows.

Table 1: Local HEI destinations of students from Leeds, including destinations of those from the most deprived neighbourhoods

Institution name	All students		10% most deprived neighbourhoods		20% most deprived neighbourhoods	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Leeds Metropolitan University	3,321	24.6	592	41.4	256	36.4
The University of Leeds	1,405	10.4	192	13.4	100	14.2

Source: Action on Access analysis of HESA data and Index of Multiple Deprivation 2007
Note: These figures represent only those students who are on first-time first degree courses (Leeds Metropolitan University, 2008).

Moreover, our case study institution places significant value on ECA and in particular volunteering (among both staff and students) and sport as contributing to the university experience. The University has a community partnership and volunteering programme whose statement for students reads as follows:

Why volunteer?
More to the point – **why not** volunteer? It's not just about charity and giving but about working together for mutual benefit, a two-way thing. There are so many ways in which we can help in our local community and so many organisations whose success depends on the work of volunteers. Sometimes our skills can be of great value to an under-resourced organisation, or sometimes it's just an extra pair of hands and a bit of enthusiasm that's needed.

We firmly believe that by actively engaging in our local communities we can help to make a real difference, and don't forget that as part of the community in Leeds (whether temporarily or permanently), we also feel the benefit of the array of community work that is taking place in our city.

The University has included volunteering and community partnership at the heart of its Corporate Plan. We are members of an ethical and engaged university which is aiming to contribute to the personal and social development of its stakeholders including communities within the city and beyond. Community partnerships and volunteering are means by which we achieve these goals.

What's in it for you?
• It's fun – and part of the enjoyment lies in doing something useful for other people
• You can gain valuable experience and broaden your horizons
• You can meet people and gain access to new networks

- You can gain new skills or practice existing ones and you might get some free training
- There are real benefits to enhancing your employability. Volunteering shows prospective employers that you're committed and motivated and provides insight into different areas of work
- There are academic advantages too. Volunteering can give you ideas for projects and you might be able to get real life experience of the skills and knowledge that you are learning on your course.
- As well as being great for your personal and professional development the best thing is that you'll probably find it extremely rewarding and satisfying!

(http://www.leedsmet.ac.uk/cpv/forstudents_why.htm)

Volunteering is seen as both central to the Corporate Plan as well as bringing real benefits to participants with specific mentions of enhanced employability and of personal and professional development. The University provides opportunities for international volunteering as well as at the local level. While there is no one-to-one relationship between corporate strategy and actions on the ground (Clegg & Smith, 2008), it seems safe to assume that this environment might encourage both staff and students to be positively orientated towards the benefits of ECA or that, at least, those already so disposed will find themselves in a cultural context that supports and favours such an approach. The University also has arts partnerships with Northern Ballet Theatre, and international connections with the International Indian Film Awards events. Leeds Met is known for its commitments to sport and promotes the name of its sport and education Carnegie Faculty widely. It has made a highly symbolic investment cementing its local sporting connections by renaming the historic Leeds Rugby and Yorkshire County Cricket Club stadium the Headingley Carnegie Stadium and guaranteeing the use of the Carnegie Stand (http://www.leedsmet.ac.uk/the_news/jan06/headingley_carnegie_stadium.htm).

The symbolic and discursive function of such partnerships both internally and externally signal a very high level commitment to partnerships and experiences that extends beyond the curriculum. While some universities might project themselves primarily on the basis of their curricular offering or research excellence, it is clear that Leeds Met has chosen to emphasise the scope for extra-curricular involvements and partnerships and that these are seen to enhance the reputation of the University within its local communities and also to afford its students extensive opportunities for ECA.

5. Research questions and methodology

Our overall aim was to enhance conceptual and theoretical understandings of the diversity and value of ECA and to understand how these might be developed to benefit graduate outcomes. Due to the lack of empirical data about participation in the range of ECA we needed to establish some descriptive data based simply on exploring the degree of participation by different groups of students. As there is no consensus about what constitutes ECA, we were particularly concerned to explore students' and staff definitions of

ECA. This has particular pedagogical significance, as if an activity is not seen as having curricular relevance, or pertinence in shaping graduate futures, then participation in activities even where there might seem to be prima fascie benefits is unlikely to be capable of producing positive outcomes (unless they are retrospectively revalued, which is outside the scope of our study). Recognition in other words seems to be one of the crucial mechanisms whereby benefits might accrue. As we are interested in a cultural capital approach, we wanted to explore whether there were differences in: participation – whether activities varied by social group; conceptualisation – whether there were different definitions of what counted as ECA; valorisation – whether there was differential value attached to ECA. Following Thomas and Quinn (2007) we looked in particular at first generation, and we were also interested in gender differences, and whether there were discernable differences between different ethic groups. Given this approach it was crucial that as well collecting descriptive data derivable from a questionnaire instrument, we also had the opportunity to probe deeper using interviews to generate rich, qualitative data.

In particular, therefore, we wanted to:
- establish the full range of ECA that students engage with;
- ascertain whether there are differential patterns of participation by social group/gender/ethnicity between types of ECA, and those ECA that are initiated from within the university and those initiated outside;
- explore both student and staff perceptions and conceptualisations of ECA and explore whether there are differences between different types of ECA including more traditional ECA initiated from within the university and those originating in the 'home' community, caring, or external employment;
- explore student and staff perceptions of the value of participation in ECA to the enhancement of graduate outcomes, and explore whether there are distinctions in the value accorded to those ECA that are initiated from within university to those initiated from outside;
- explore whether staff and students draw on ECA in relationship to curriculum activities and in shaping graduate futures.

Data were collected using three instruments with the questionnaire providing the basis for the selection of students for interview. The data were analysed separately in relation to the specific research questions above, but were then treated analytically as a whole with the aim of establishing a more sophisticated conceptualisation of the full range of ECA and the relationship of participation to the development of general social and cultural capital and students' possible graduate futures. The content and administration of the project were approved via the University's research ethics procedures.

6. The survey

6.1 Methods

An online questionnaire was designed using SNAP software and hosted on the Leeds Metropolitan University website, and is reproduced in Appendix I. In

order to gather a wide range of information without making completion too onerous for respondents, most questions simply required clicking on boxes, rather than entering text. This is at the expense of fine detail and nuance, but these were pursued in separate interviews. The survey only targeted Level 2 students. It was initiated during semester 1 of 2007-08, and we felt that many new, Level 1 students may not have embedded into University life and established their patterns of work and other activities. Similarly Level 3 students were excluded as their patterns of activity may have been changing due to final-year projects and deadlines. Furthermore, we only included Level 2 students who were currently studying on campus, leaving out those who were on work placements. Part-time and international students studying abroad were excluded as they are likely to have separate issues in their engagement, both with the University and their activities outside it. Responses to the survey were anonymous, but the final section allowed students to indicate whether they would be prepared to participate in a follow-up interview, and if so to give their name and contact details.

The purpose of the survey instrument was to establish a descriptive profile of current students, and how they conceptualise the activities they engage in outside their course, including work and caring responsibilities, as well as traditionally defined extra-curricular activities. As we hypothesised that patterns of activity and values will have been influenced by parents and prior educational experiences, we also questioned the students about these pre-university influences. Given the demands of employment and other activities, some of which are strongly promoted by the University, we also asked students whether they felt these had had an impact on their academic work. Beyond the basic descriptive information, data were analysed through the lens of cultural capital theory (Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977).

6.2 Definitions

Given that there does not seem to be a stable definition of what constitutes ECA, and we were interested in whether students conceptualised what they did as ECA, we initially asked students to simply indicate whether they participated in any ECA ('yes' or 'no'). In what follows, analyses using these data are referred to as *self-declared* ECA. We subsequently asked students to indicate the type and extent of ECA they engaged in, using the following list of generic prompts:
> Arts
> Faith/Cultural
> Political
> Sport/Physical
> Volunteering
> Other
> Caring/Domestic

Where subsequent analyses use these data, either individually or combined, they are referred to as *prompted* ECA. Note that the list does not contain work (paid employment), which could arguably be included, but which we interrogated separately. We used the same prompted list when asking the students about the kind of activities their parents or carers engaged in outside

work. While they are probably not strictly extra-curricular for their parents, we will use the term *Parent ECA* to reinforce that the same categories of activity are used when referring to them for both parents and students. Some analyses will exclude responses under the Caring/Domestic category as these might not be universally recognised as ECA.

The survey sought to distinguish between activity initiated *within* the University and *outside* it. As well as external employment gained through agencies or directly with businesses, students can gain employment within the University via 'Job Shop', an internal employment agency, through acting as student ambassadors, or via their course. Likewise, other activities such as sports, volunteering or arts may be initiated within universities via traditional student societies or the course of study, or participation may be through external groups. Distinguishing among these is particularly important as students who continue to live at home while at university differentially access these sorts of activities (Holdsworth, 2006).

6.3 Demographics of respondents

A total of 640 students responded to the survey, comprising approximately 12% of the target population. 93% of respondents were studying for a Bachelors degree, with the other 7% registered on HND or foundation degree courses.

Approximately half of students were from families where at least one parent had attended HE (Table 2) and there was no significant difference in this variable between genders. Whereas for approximately 52% of White British respondents at least one parent had attended university, this figure was 46% for Other ethnic groups (42% if White Other are excluded from this latter group).

Table 2: Prior family participation in HE

Gender	Parent/carer attended HE			Total
	Yes both	Yes one	No	
Male	40	57	94	191
Female	92	134	222	448
Total	132	191	316	639

Respondents largely lived in private houses or flats shared with other students (Table 3), with only a small proportion in University residences. Almost 21% lived in their family home, which included seven who described themselves as living with a spouse or partner.

Table 3: Residence of respondents

	Number	Per cent
University hall/flat	22	3.4
House or flat:		
Shared with students	387	60.5
Shared with non-students	48	7.5
On their own	50	7.8
Family home	133	20.8
Total	640	100.0

Reflecting the numbers of students at the University from the Leeds area (approximately 25%, see Table 1), a large proportion of respondents attended FE college before coming to the University (Table 4). Leeds has several large FE colleges that are part of the Regional University Network, and these provide the largest number of students per institution for the University (Leeds Metropolitan University, unpublished data). Reflecting this, and the associated numbers of widening participation students, a substantial fraction of students had come to the University with vocational qualifications rather than traditional academic GCE A-levels or their equivalent (Table 5).

Table 4: Educational institutions attended by students immediately prior to attending Leeds Metropolitan University

	Number	Per cent
FE college	203	31.7
Sixth form college	276	43.1
Comprehensive school	64	10.0
Grammar school	37	5.8
Private school	27	4.2
Other university	22	3.4
Other	8	1.3
Not stated	3	0.5
Total	640	100.0

Table 5: Highest qualification attained prior to coming to Leeds Metropolitan University, grouped by type of qualification

	Number	Per cent
Vocational routes	*231*	*36.6*
AVCE	40	6.3
GNVQ	8	1.3
BTEC National Award/Certificate	66	10.5
Access courses	65	10.3
Vocational A-levels	52	8.2
Traditional academic routes	*357*	*56.6*
GCE A-levels	352	55.8
Irish Certificate	2	0.3
Scottish AH	1	0.2
IB Diploma	2	0.3
Higher education	*32*	*5.0*
Foundation course or degree/HND	16	2.5
Degree	16	2.5
Other	*11*	*1.7*
Total	631	100.0

Key: AVCE = Advanced Vocational Certificate in Education; GNVQ = General National Vocational Qualification; IB = International Baccalaureate; HND = Higher National Diploma

Approximately two-thirds of respondents were female, which is greater than the proportion at the institution, and students from all faculties across the University were represented (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Profile of Level 2 full-time student numbers by gender and faculty in a) the Institution, and b) respondents to the questionnaire survey
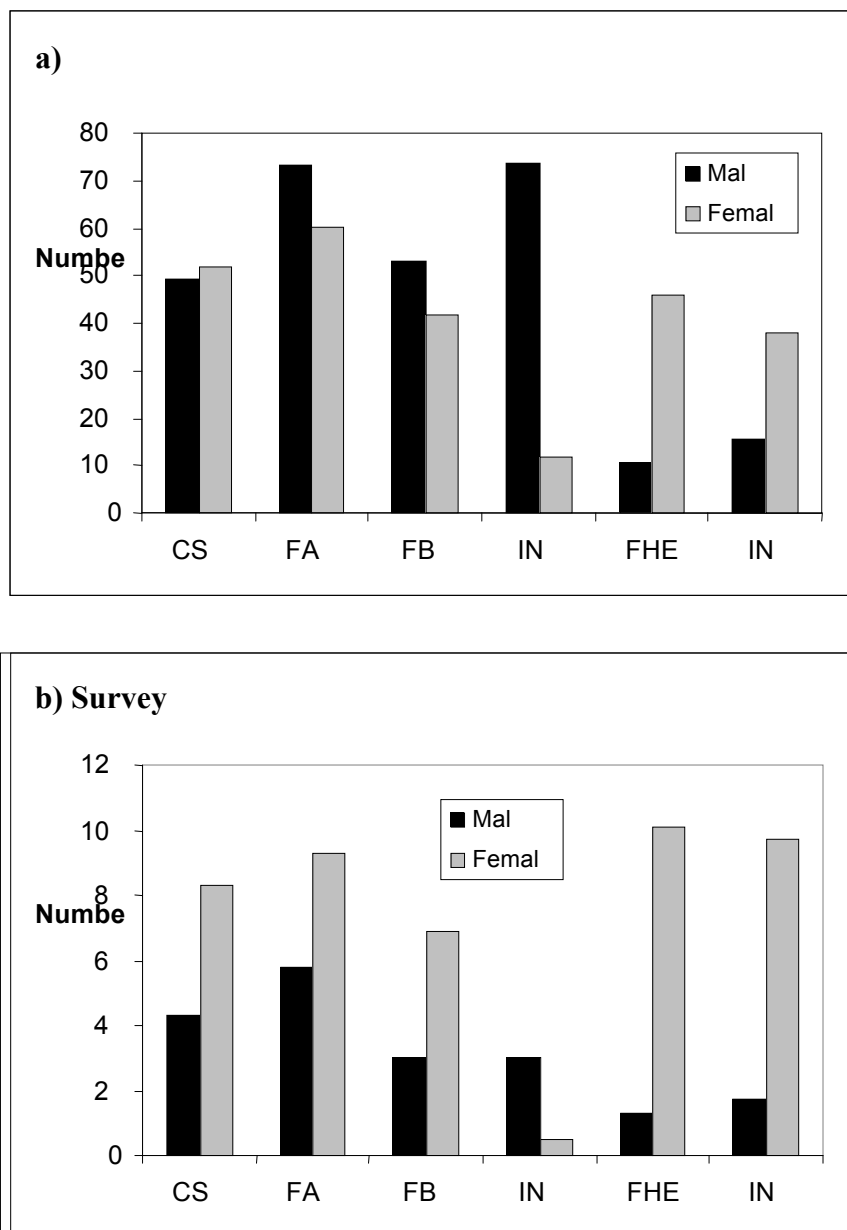
Key to faculties: CSE = Carnegie Faculty of Sport & Education; FAS = Faculty of Arts & Society; FBL = Faculty of Business & Law; INN = Innovation North (The Faculty of Information and Technology); FHE = Faculty of Health & Environment; INT = International Faculty

Of the 635 who indicated their age, 75% were of 'traditional' student age, i.e. 21 or under, and approximately 10% were 25 or over (Table 6).

Table 6: Age of survey respondents

Age	Number	Per cent	Cumulative per cent
18	2	0.3	0.3
19	151	23.8	24.1
20	232	36.5	60.6
21	94	14.8	75.4
22	54	8.5	83.9
23	27	4.3	88.2
24	11	1.7	89.9
25	3	0.5	90.4
26-30	24	3.8	94.2
31-40	20	2.9	97.3
41-50	14	2.2	99.5
≥51	3	0.5	100.0
Total	635		

With ethnicity grouped into broad categories, the survey captured an ethnic profile similar to that of the Institution (Table 7). When questioned about their religious beliefs, 35% of those who responded indicated they did follow a particular faith, 60% did not, and 5% preferred not to say. The mostly commonly reported faiths are shown in Table 8.

Table 7: Ethnicity of respondents to survey compared with the profile of the Institution

Ethnicity	Institution Number	%	Survey Number	%
White	4247	81.8	551	86.1
Asian or Asian British	409	7.9	35	5.5
Black or Black British	147	2.8	18	2.8
Chinese or other	81	1.6	15	2.3
Mixed	134	2.6	17	2.7
Not given	172	3.3	4	0.6
Total	5190		640	

Table 8: Principal faiths of the respondents

Faith	Number	Per cent
Christian	114	17.8
Hindu	2	0.3
Islam	32	5.0
Judaism	4	0.6
Mormon	4	0.6
Orthodox Christian	4	0.6
Pagan	2	0.3
Roman Catholic	53	8.3
Sikh	5	0.8

6.4 Findings

It is evident that:

1. Students did not always conceptualise what they did outside their academic work as ECA, especially without prompting, and this applied particularly to female students.
2. A significant minority (36%) of students did not engage in ECA. Those that did often engaged in more than one, and these were more likely to be initiated outside the University. Many did fewer ECA than prior to attending university, but ECA initiated outside the educational institution were more likely to be continued.
3. Many students valued the generic skills they were developing during their ECA, while others simply saw their value with regard to health and well-being. Smaller numbers recognised skills specific to their careers, and others thought they were of no value at all.
4. Approximately two-thirds of students worked part-time, with many working a substantial number of hours per week. Nevertheless, 19% said they were not developing any skills as a result, with 24% unsure. Those who could identify skills largely mentioned 'soft' generic skills.
5. The dispositions of students that make them more likely to engage and sustain ECA while at university are strongly influenced by parental involvement in ECA. Parental experience of HE is less directly important, but as parental participation in ECA itself is strongly affected by prior HE, education remains a strong inter-generational driver in developing social capital through ECA. The type of educational institution attended prior to university may also be important.

6.4.1 Conceptualisation of ECA

In response to the question (Q13) 'do you participate in any ECA?', 359 (56%) students said 'yes' (these are 'self-declared ECA' using our terminology). However, in response to later prompted questions about ECA (Qs. 29-36), 432 (68%) were engaged in ECA (400, or 63%, if the Caring/Domestic category was

excluded). This suggests that between 7 and 12% of students do not conceptualise some of the things they do as ECA, and perhaps therefore are not valuing the activities as such, or their contribution to their personal development or graduate outcomes.

While the survey captured the ethnic profile of the institution (see Table 7), small numbers of respondents in individual ethnic groups precluded more detailed analysis. There is a significant difference in the proportion of male and female students who participate in self-declared ECA (Table 9). Approximately 76% of male students declare themselves to be engaged in ECA, compared to only 48% of female students.

Table 9: Participation in ECA (self-declared) by gender. Chi-sq = 44.0; df = 1; p < 0.001

Gender	ECA participation		
	Yes	No	Total
Male	146	45	191
Female	213	231	444
Total	359	276	635

This is open to two interpretations: either female students do participate less, or females are less likely to describe what they do as ECA. Looking at the data for prompted ECA, we see that the latter is the case (Table 10). Comparing participation in prompted ECA, male student engagement is around 73%, while female student participation rises to 60%. These percentages stay largely the same when caring and domestic responsibilities are excluded (Table 11), but with female student engagement dropping slightly to 58%. We know that gender issues are critical in many aspects of higher education, including students' choices (David *et al.*, 2003), and it is apparent here that it is important too in how students conceptualise their ECA, and by extension how they may value and derive benefit from them.

Table 10: Participation in ECA (prompted) by gender. Chi-sq = 9.57; df = 1; p = 0.002

Gender	ECA participation		
	Yes	No	Total
Male	140	51	191
Female	271	177	448
Total	411	228	639

Table 11: Participation in ECA (prompted) by gender *excluding* domestic and caring responsibilities. Chi-sq = 24.84; df = 1; p = 0.003

	ECA	

Gender	participation		
	Yes	No	Total
Male	139	52	191
Female	260	188	448
Total	399	240	639

Approximately 29% of students reported that they did not participate in self-declared ECA, but nevertheless said they currently were involved in paid employment either inside or outside the University (Table 12). This figure declined to approximately 25% for prompted ECA (Table 13), suggesting that a substantial proportion do not think of work as an ECA and hold a more traditional view of ECA.

Table 12: Students' reported engagement in ECA (self-declared) and involvement in work

Engage in ECA	Currently work		
	Yes	No	Total
Yes	242	117	359
No	183	94	277
Total	425	211	636

Table 13: Students' reported engagement in ECA (prompted) and involvement in work

Engage in ECA	Currently work		
	Yes	No	Total
Yes	272	140	412
No	157	71	228
Total	429	211	640

6.4.2 Engagement in ECA

Of the 640 students who responded, 228 (36%) indicated that they did not currently participate in any of the prompted categories of ECA (Table 14). A total of 289 students (45.2%) reported engaging in at least one ECA inside the University, while 326 (50.9%) reported engaging in ECA outside the University (314 or 49.1% if caring responsibilities are excluded). This suggests that traditional notions of ECA being largely initiated via Students' Union or sporting societies within the university (at least at this new, large, metropolitan university) are misplaced. Students are engaging in multiple ECAs, with just 21% of all students only involved in one ECA (or 32% including only those who participate in some form of ECA).

Table 14: Numbers of different types of ECA (prompted) undertaken by students

ECA initiated within the University	ECA initiated outside the University								Total
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
0	228	66	36	10	8	1	1	1	351
1	67	108	20	8	1	0	1	1	206
2	15	11	32	5	3	0	0	0	66
3	3	0	3	3	2	1	0	0	12
4	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	3
5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total	314	185	92	27	14	2	3	3	640

Variation in the amount of time spent on ECA was broadly similar across the range of types of prompted ECA, both those initiated within and outside the University, and the averaged time spent is indicated in Figure 2. The majority (approximately 60%) of students are spending around one to five hours per week on their activities, 20% are spending six to ten hours, and a further 20% 11 or more hours.

Figure 2: Average numbers of hours per week devoted to ECA (prompted)
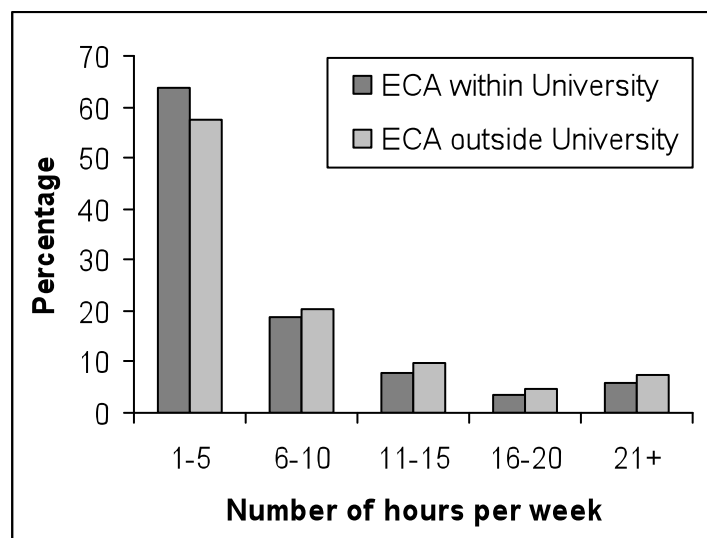
Students reported a consistent and substantial decline in all types of the ECA they pursued at university compared to those they did before coming to university (Table 15). We were not able to determine from the survey whether this was due to the pressure of academic or paid work while at university (perhaps combined with greater domestic responsibilities for those students now living away from home), or because there was less of a 'push' to participate

from their educational institution, teachers or parents. Nevertheless, for each type of ECA, the decline in participation was substantially lower when the ECA was initiated outside the University. In a wide-ranging examination of the experiences of HE students who live at home, Holdsworth (2006) found that those who live at home were more likely to engage in what she describes as 'non-university' activities. We might therefore predict that this pattern would be different for those students who lived at home. However, it is not (Table 16); the pattern of participation (and failure to continue to participate) is almost identical to that of the wider student population. So the relative maintenance of ECA initiated outside the educational institution cannot be attributed simply to the students living at home continuing their activities while those living away cease theirs. There would appear to be something about the nature of ECA initiated outside the educational institution or habitus of people who participate in them which promotes more sustained engagement. We shall return to this later in Section 6.4.6.

Table 15: Profile of the kinds of ECA (prompted) students engage in

Type of ECA	ECA initiated *within* the educational institution			ECA initiated *outside* the educational institution		
	Before	Now	% decline	Before	Now	% decline
Arts	292	42	86	226	72	68
Faith/Cultural	64	17	73	61	34	44
Political	49	17	65	33	21	36
Sport/Physical	412	200	51	350	212	39
Volunteering	217	76	65	179	87	51
Other	97	45	54	95	68	28
Caring/Domestic				94	61	35

Table 16: Profile of the kinds of ECA (prompted) students living at home (n = 133) engage in

Type of ECA	ECA initiated *within* the educational institution			ECA initiated *outside* the educational institution		
	Before	Now	% decline	Before	Now	% decline
Arts	60	6	90	46	11	76
Faith/Cultural	25	3	88	23	12	48
Political	11	3	73	9	3	67
Sport/Physical	73	18	75	64	37	42
Volunteering	52	17	67	41	20	51
Other	17	7	59	21	13	38
Caring/Domestic				33	22	33

6.4.3 Valuing ECA

Approximately 21% of students stated that the availability of ECA at the University was a factor in their choosing Leeds Metropolitan University (Table 17), with a greater proportion of males (29%) citing it as important compared to females (18%). As noted earlier, Leeds Metropolitan University positions itself strongly in relation to its partnerships, volunteering activity and sports. Considering those on sports or sports-related courses (80 respondents), the availability of ECA was an important factor in choosing the University for the majority (approximately two-thirds) of both genders (Table 18). In a competitive market for students, many universities emphasise elements of the institution, its facilities, location and amenities as an additional reason for choosing that HEI beyond its academic offer. These results emphasise that availability of ECA can be an important factor for many students, although there is an interaction with gender and disciplinarity.

Table 17: Importance of the availability of ECA in choosing to study at the University by gender

Gender	ECA a factor		Total
	Yes	No	
Male	55	136	191
Female	80	366	446
Total	135	502	637

Table 18: Importance of the availability of ECA for those choosing to study Sport or sports-related courses at the University by gender

Gender	ECA a factor		Total
	Yes	No	
Male	24	12	36
Female	29	15	44
Total	53	27	80

For ECA initiated both within and outside the University, respondents were asked how these activities might help their careers. Approximately 40% of students replied and of these 19% and 26% respectively indicated that their involvement would not help at all or they were not applicable. Some comments, for example related to political activity, were even explicitly negative:

> It will not help my career, as future Union organising will increase the likelihood of my being fired by my employer.

Others (not included in the statistics above) were more ambiguous, and it was not clear whether students would or would not value their activity in the future:

> It might show teamwork, but actually has no link!

It probably won't, however doing sport makes me feel better about myself. If anything will probably help with team skills, perseverance and dedication.

Many comments were purely about the value of ECA for the relief of stress and tension, as a break from university work, or for general fitness (in the case of sports) or well-being. Those who recognised the value of their activity largely did so with regard to generic skills development or, more rarely, personal development:

Looks good on CV, improves team working skills, communication skills and leadership skills.

Because experience shapes you as a person, the more you explore and learn about yourself, the more confidence grows, skills grow, and you have a more rounded personality.

A smaller number of students were very aware of the specific kinds of activities and experiences needed for them to pursue their chosen career, or to help in making career choices:

I write for the Met newspaper and I would like to become involved in sports journalism after I finish uni so I think it is very helpful.

My volunteering work is based at … Secondary School in their PE department. I run a number of different sports clubs as well as help teach PE lessons alongside the regular teachers. This is providing me with a crucial amount of teaching experience.

Physical stamina, organisation, time management, speaking to people using different tones – children, teenagers, adults – aid to memory, social and intellectual stimulation, discussion and debating of issues e.g. staging, casting.

In relation to the volunteering I'm doing which is looking after special needs children, it has given me a chance to work and play with them and to just have some experience in their day to day lives. It is also an opportunity for me to see if I would like to work in this field in my future career.

Am part of Leeds Writers' Circle, it helps me develop my skills of analysis and experience reading my work to a fairly big group of people. They also have competitions and publish anthologies, that kind of publicity can't hurt my writing ambitions.

I have my own record label, I model and work but these are separate to the university entirely. I think they make me feel as though I have something other than my course, but they also keep me focused on university in the sense that I don't have time to go out drinking and distracting myself.

Running a band has given me the opportunity to work closely with other musicians. Because of the band I have received some financial backing which has enabled me to start work on a recording studio, which is not far off completion. Since my ambition is to be a live sound engineer or to work in a studio I believe my current jobs are a necessity to helping my career.

There were also those who clearly recognised the value of ECA, but for whom personal circumstances or the work patterns of their academic courses frustrated their ambitions to participate:

It helps to be involved in these activities as they improve your CV but I am poor and need to work so I can buy food every week and complete my degree so I can support myself better in later life.

I am not currently involved in any of these activities, it is difficult for nursing students who work shifts on placement to get involved with activities at Leeds Met. I arrange my own activities outside of Leeds Met around my studies which are more flexible.

Unfortunately, not being able to gain any kind of financial support towards my studies from either the government or local authorities, I do not have any spare time for such activities, as I have to work full-time (36-40 hours a week) to pay the tuition fees, rent etc.

6.4.4 Employment

Approximately 69% of students reported themselves as currently working either within or outside the University, with 30% saying they did not work. The number of hours worked per week of those who declared themselves to be working varied widely (Figure 3), with 58 (9% of the total sample population, or 13% of those who worked) reportedly working more than 21 hours per week.

Figure 3: Number of hours worked per week by respondents who worked (n = 443)
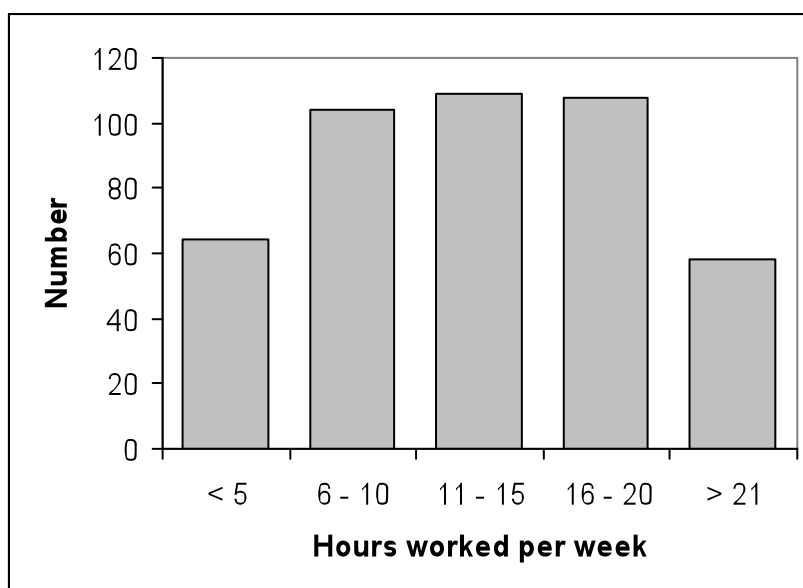
Despite the large proportion of students working, and the hours they allocate to it, there is still a widespread failure among many students to value this work experience as contributing to their future employment (Figure 4).

Figure 4: Students' perceptions of how their paid work, both inside and outside the University, will help their career (n = 447). Scale from 0 = no help at all, to 10 = extremely helpful
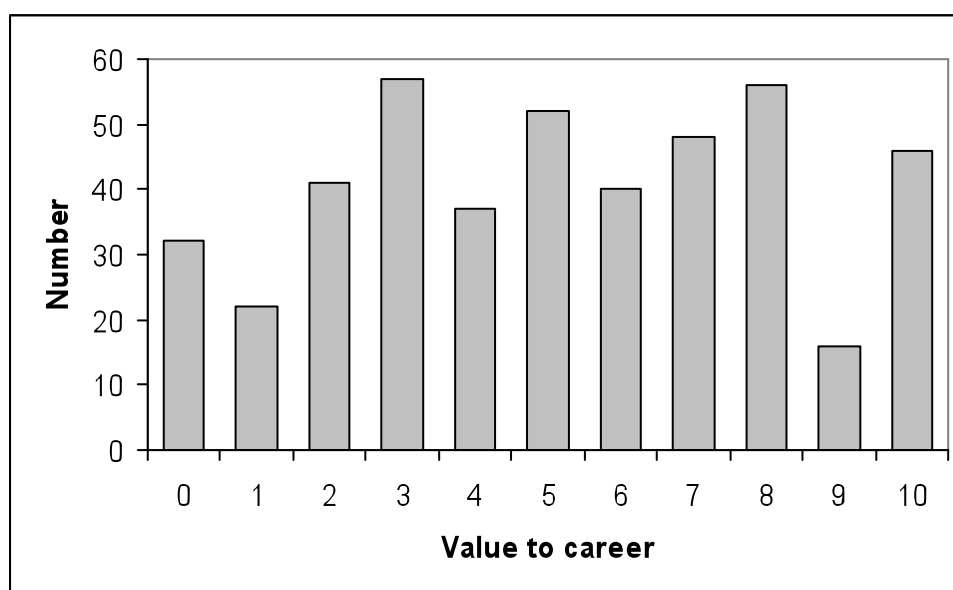
19% of those working said that they were not developing new skills as a result of their work, and a further 24% were unsure. Of the remainder who could identify skills, the vast majority were generic, 'soft' skills, including communication, teamwork, confidence, people skills, time management, customer service and IT. Some had developed more particular skills, and even been involved in certified training, such as food hygiene and safety or silver service, but these were not referenced to their careers. Perhaps reflecting the nature of the type of part-time and short-term employment typically available to students, only a small number of respondents were able to identify specific skills relevant to their chosen future careers:

> I work in a nursing home so appropriate for my course.
> Communication skills, personal care and hygiene.

> As I work in an Architects office and I am studying Architectural Technology, it has been a great help and I have learnt a lot more at work regarding how to tackle jobs that are relevant to my subject than I have at Leeds Met.

6.4.5 Tensions between work, ECA and academic study

In our introductory section on the current policy context and background to higher education in the UK, we noted that the changing nature of HE means that for many, the economic necessity of high levels of part-time employment means that 'full-time' study can never be achieved. From our personal experience as lecturers in HE, we recognise that students struggle to balance these activities, particularly as employers often require them to be flexible in the hours they work. Significant numbers of students reported that work and other

activities had caused them to be late for or miss academic provision and deadlines (Table 19). It is evident that fewer problems are caused by work or ECA within the University relative to those outside, but nevertheless they still persist.

Table 19: Impact of work and other ECA on students' academic activities

	Late for lectures/tutorials		Miss lectures/tutorials		Late in submitting work	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Paid work inside University (n = 62)	3	4.8	9	14.5	2	3.2
Paid work outside University (n = 412)	96	23.3	145	35.2	73	17.7
ECA inside University (n = 289)	21	7.3	38	13.1	8	2.8
ECA outside University (n = 326)	51	15.6	68	20.9	26	8.0

6.4.6 Prior cultural capital on entering the institution

6.4.6.1 Influence of parents

Parents (or carers) play a key role in developing the embodied cultural capital of their children. Work (or worklessness) patterns have significant consequences for children's outcomes or lifestyle choices (e.g. Bosco & Bianco, 2005; Ermisch *et al.*, 2004). Parents' occupation, class and income are significant determinants of educational achievement and access to HE (Reay *et al.*, 2001; Ball *et al.*, 2002), and other parental influences, including gender, educational and social background are critical in students' choices in higher education (David *et al.*, 2003). Given that parents who have attended university may better understand the field of higher education and the attributes and activities that are valued within it, we can hypothesise that those students with at least one parent who had attended HE (i.e. not first-generation students) might be more likely to engage in and value ECA. However, there is no statistically significant evidence for this for participation in ECA in general, either self-declared (Table 20) or prompted (Table 21), although considering the different types of ECA, there is a suggestion that some types of ECA, most notably volunteering and faith/cultural activities, may be more actively pursued by those students whose parents have a HE background (Table 22).

Table 20: Cross-tabulation of parental education on student participation in ECA (self-declared). Chi-sq = 0.703; df = 1; p = 0.42

Parental HE	Student ECA (self-declared)		
	Yes	No	Total
Yes	187	135	322
No	172	142	314
Total	359	277	636

Table 21: Cross-tabulation of parental education on student participation in ECA (prompted). Chi-sq = 1.36; df = 1; p = 0.24

Parental HE	Student ECA (prompted)		
	Yes	No	Total
Yes	215	108	323
No	197	120	317
Total	412	228	640

Table 22: Variation of type and location of student ECA (prompted) with parental education

	Student ECA (prompted) initiated *within* University		Student ECA (prompted) initiated *outside* University	
	At least one parent attended HE		At least one parent attended HE	
Type of ECA	Yes	No	Yes	No
Arts	21	21	49	23
Faith/Cultural	11	6	21	13
Political	7	10	10	11
Sport/Physical	101	99	109	103
Volunteering	44	32	51	36
Other	19	26	37	31
Caring/Domestic	-	-	28	33

Reviewing the comments made about how students valued their ECA for their careers (see Section 6.4.3), there is similarly no evidence that the nature of these comments, whether positive or negative, was linked to parental participation in HE. However, parental influence on students' habitus and capital is clearly not solely a function of their prior educational experience, and Diane Reay and colleagues have shown how occupation, income and class also have a key role. There is research that examines how parents' particular sporting activities subsequently influence their children (e.g. Auster, 2008), but as we

show in Tables 23 to 26, general parental engagement in ECA is also strongly related to student ECA. This relationship holds for both self-declared and prompted student ECA, and when domestic and caring responsibilities are excluded from parental ECA (responsibilities that perhaps define parenthood and are therefore self-evident).

Table 23: Cross-tabulation of parental ECA (prompted) on student participation in ECA (self-declared). Chi-sq = 7.77; df = 1; p = 0.005

Parent ECA (prompted)	Student ECA (self-declared)		
	Yes	No	Total
Yes	296 (47%)	203 (32%)	499
No	63 (10%)	74 (12%)	137
Total	359	277	636

Table 24: Cross-tabulation of parental ECA (prompted) *excluding* domestic and caring responsibilities on student participation in ECA (self-declared). Chi-sq = 12.35; df = 1; p < 0.001

Parent ECA (prompted)	Student ECA (self-declared)		
	Yes	No	Total
Yes	274	176	450
No	85	101	186
Total	359	277	636

Table 25: Cross-tabulation of parental ECA (prompted) on student participation in ECA (prompted). Chi-sq = 13.41; df = 1; p < 0.001

Parent ECA (prompted)	Student ECA (prompted)		
	Yes	No	Total
Yes	342 (53%)	161 (25%)	503
No	70 (11%)	67 (11%)	137
Total	412	228	640

Table 26: Cross-tabulation of parental ECA (prompted) *excluding* domestic and caring responsibilities on student participation in ECA (prompted). Chi-sq = 14.21; df = 1; p < 0.001

Parent ECA (prompted)	Student ECA (prompted)		
	Yes	No	Total
Yes	313	141	503
No	99	87	137

	Total	412	228	640

Parental engagement in ECA is a particularly strong influence on students engaging with ECA outside the University (Table 27). This suggests that students who have developed the confidence and skills within their habitus to engage in activities outside the school environment (where institutional, teacher and peer pressure can perhaps mean participation is not entirely voluntary) carry this forward to university, with the consequent potential benefit for graduate outcomes.

Table 27: Variation of type and location of student ECA (prompted) with parental ECA (prompted)

	Student ECA (prompted) initiated *within* University		Student ECA (prompted) initiated *outside* University	
	Parents engaged in ECA		Parents engaged in ECA	
Type of ECA	Yes	No	Yes	No
Arts	33	9	67	5
Faith/Cultural	15	2	34	0
Political	16	1	17	4
Sport/Physical	171	29	187	25
Volunteering	63	13	77	10
Other	36	9	58	10
Caring/Domestic	-	-	54	7
Total	334	63	494	61

While there is evidence that participation in some kinds of voluntary work is related to social class, we can see in Tables 28 and 29 the (related) result that previous engagement with HE is a strong predictor of whether parents are involved in ECA (and this persists when domestic and caring responsibilities are excluded). We suggest that the result is related because the parents of current students who are in their late teens or early twenties are likely to have attended university in the UK 20 to 30 years ago, before the more recent mass participation and when the student population in HE was more strongly biased towards the middle-classes.

Table 28: Cross-tabulation of parental education and parental participation in ECA (prompted). Chi-sq = 16.61; df = 1; p < 0.001

Parental ECA	Parental HE		
	No	Yes	Total
No	89	48	137
Yes	228	275	503
Total	317	323	640

Table 29: Cross-tabulation of parental education and parental participation in ECA (prompted) *excluding* domestic and caring responsibilities. Chi-sq = 36.87; df = 1; p < 0.001

Parental ECA	Parental HE		
	No	Yes	Total
No	127	59	186
Yes	190	264	454
Total	317	323	640

Thus not only do parents who have been to university influence the habitus and increase the cultural capital of their children directly, there is additional benefit mediated through their greater engagement with ECA. We might predict then that the next generation of parents who are first-generation HE students would themselves be more likely to engage in ECA and thereby pass on this inter-generational cultural capital to their offspring. However, the literature shows that the expansion of higher education has been largely achieved through almost universal participation by the middle-classes, with lower socio-economic groups still less likely to participate (Reay *et al.*, 2005; Ball *et al.*, 2002). Our results sound a warning note that class differences in participation in HE may become more entrenched in the future, rather than less so.

6.4.6.2 Influence of previous educational institution

The habitus of the school, and teacher expectations in particular, are key to educational outcomes within compulsory-age schooling (Dumais, 2002; Diamond *et al.*, 2004). The situation is not simple, however, as, for example, parental habitus, notably their educational expectations, may influence teachers' evaluation of their child's skills (Dumais, 2006). Nevertheless, the importance of the school environment persists, up to and including older pupils' choices and decisions made in embarking on a career or beginning higher education (Hodkinson & Sparkes, 1997; Smyth & Hannan, 2007).

When participation in ECA is self-declared, there is a consistent pattern of more students participating than not for those who came via school, except for those who came from FE college, where approximately equal numbers participate or not (Table 30). However, when prompted, the difference disappeared (Table 31) and students with an FE college background showed the same levels of participation as those from other types of institution. This suggests that those from FE are less likely to conceptualise what they do as ECA, and therefore perhaps to value and derive benefit from it. Nor is the result a function of the types of qualification students achieved prior to university. Participation does not vary among those with vocational or academic qualifications (Table 32). This suggests there is something specific about the habitus of FE that may disadvantage students and merits further research.

Table 30: Variation in participation in ECA (self-declared) with previous educational institution type. Chi-sq = 14.74; df = 6; p = 0.02

	ECA (self-declared)		
	Yes	No	Total
FE college	96 (15%)	104 (16%)	200
6th form	166 (26%)	109 (17%)	275
Comprehensive school	40 (6%)	24 (4%)	64
Grammar	25 (4%)	12 (2%)	37
Private	18 (3%)	9 (1%)	27
University	12 (2%)	10 (2%)	22
Other	2 (<1%)	6 (1%)	8
Total	359	274	633

Table 31: Variation in participation in ECA (prompted) with previous educational institution type. Chi-sq = 5.30; df = 6; p = 0.51

	ECA (prompted)		
	Yes	No	Total
FE college	135 (21%)	68 (11%)	203
6th form	173 (27%)	103 (16%)	276
Comprehensive school	44 (7%)	20 (3%)	64
Grammar	21 (3%)	16 (3%)	37
Private	19 (3%)	8 (1%)	27
University	15 (2%)	7 (1%)	22
Other	3 (1%)	5 (1%)	8
Total	410	227	637

Table 32: Variation in participation in ECA with type of prior qualification obtained (see Table 5 for description of categories). Chi-squared = 3.96, df = 3, p = 0.266

ECA participation	Nature of qualification prior to University				
	Vocational	Academic	HE	Other	Total
Yes	121	209	22	6	358
No	108	146	10	5	269
Total	229	355	32	11	627

6.5 Implications of the findings

The findings from the survey reaffirmed our view of the necessity of unpacking some of the complexities of definition of ECA and how they are valued through

the collection of qualitative data. In particular the whole issue of what constitutes ECA and the gaps between self-declared and prompted responses in the data suggest the need for considerable exploration, in particular with regard to gender issues and in both caring and employment. The findings that parents own voluntary and social activity was the mediating factor in inter-generational participation patterns, and that schools were also influential, were of considerable interest and suggest the need for a more nuanced understanding. The findings in relation to employment, ECA, and impact on students' academic activities was pursued as a theme in both student and staff interviews as it suggests that as well as there being considerable benefits from participation in ECA (broadly understood as including employment), there may also be disbenefits or tensions between the academic and ECA.

7. Student perspectives

7.1 Methods

We carried out 61 interviews with students. The student questionnaire asked whether respondents would be willing to be interviewed as part of the research and the interviewees were recruited from these respondents. The full demographics of the sample are in listed in Appendix II. In identifying the quotations in the text we have numbered the interviews to preserve anonymity. The numbers are chronological i.e. student 1 is the first student interviewed. In selecting the students to interview from those who had given us permission to contact them, we attempted to ensure that those demonstrating the characteristics we had identified of theoretical interest were included. In particular, we selected the sample to include both first-generation students and students whose parents/carers had been to university. All the students in the interview sample were full-time, Level 2 students. Of those interviewed 37 were female and 24 male, reflecting the greater willingness of women to be interviewed. Fifty-four were White British, two of Asian Pakistani origin, and one each of Mixed White/Asian, Asian Indian, Black Other, Black African and Black Caribbean origin. This is an unrepresentative sample of Leeds Met's ethnic profile; the current proportion of BME students within the University is more than double this percentage. The number in our sample reflects willingness to be interviewed. Insofar as we were able to, we positively selected BME students. Forty-four professed to having 'no religion', of the remaining 17, two were Muslim with the others answering to being Christian or Roman Catholic. While most were living in student accommodation, ten were living at home with family. Almost half (29) of the cohort were first generation – that is neither parent had been to university. The sample over-represented students undertaking Sport or sports-related courses again because a greater proportion of these students volunteered to be interviewed.

The purpose of the interviews was to understand how students defined and thought about ECA; what forms of ECA they were engaged in (using their own self-definition of ECA and after having been prompted with a wide list of possible forms of ECA); what was driving, or had driven, participation; whether they considered some activities to have more value than others; whether they

had used participation in ECA to support their application to HE; whether they felt employers valued ECA; and whether they would include this information on CVs. The interview schedule and the prompt list are in Appendix III and Appendix IV. The interviews varied in length from approximately 45 minutes to one and a half hours with most of them clustering at around an hour. All interviews were recorded and fully transcribed.

Analysis of the findings was based on repeated reading of the transcripts. From the outset we intended to analyse the responses through the lens of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). However, it soon became clear that what was also coming out of the data were issues of identity and participation and non-participation. Consequently the data were re-analysed through the heuristic lens of participation or non-participation in communities of practice (CoP) (Lave and Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). Therefore, following on from a discussion on how students conceptualise the term 'extra-curricular activities', the findings are presented in two inter-related sections: first understanding student participation in ECA through the lens of cultural capital and second through the lens of CoP.

In presenting our findings we have identified characteristics of students in brackets after the quotes. All the students quoted are living in student accommodation and have declared 'no religion' unless otherwise stated. The full list of characteristics for each student can be found in Appendix II.

7.2 Findings

7.2.1 Conceptualising ECA

The students who took part in the interviews were asked to define what they understood by the term 'ECA'. Their responses were varied but, in general, the students initially listed sports, sports-related activities, dancing, drama, gaining Duke of Edinburgh qualifications, volunteering and some arts-related activities, particularly music (playing a musical instrument or being in a band), as clear examples of ECA, with a mixed response as to whether paid work was also a form of ECA. However, these activities were, in the main, only considered to be ECA when taking place in *organised* and formal, or semiformal, settings as is clear from the following examples:

> So anything like a sports team or an associated club or a society I guess, and again I guess even stuff outside that is kind of formal you know, but it is all quite formalised as teams and things, that is what I expect it to be.
> (Student 42, Male, 21, White British, PR, sixth form college, 1st generation)

This might be understood in part by the fact that, despite having been in full-time higher education for well over a year, the students still defined ECA as related to 'out-of-school' activities and talked at length about how schools had organised ECA for them. They were much less likely to refer to ECA as being outside of their university curriculum, indicating the very strong influence that the habitus of the school still had over their conceptualisation of ECA:

> To me it probably just means like an extension of what you do at
> school already, even if it is just one part of it or it is with people from
> school kind of thing as well.
> (Student 7, Male, 20, White British, Graphics, FE college, not 1st
> generation)

In addition, the students conceptualised ECA as being activities that had some actual, or perceived, benefit rather than just being done for fun – in other words these activities cease to be hobbies when participation is *purposeful*, as is clear from the following examples:

> I would just say it's everything you do outside of what you have to
> do ... But then I suppose if you used that then you could say that
> students spend their whole life in pubs or something, so is that extra-
> curricular? So I would probably say it's something that's actually
> giving you a benefit in the future.
> (Student 39, Male, 20, White British, Christian, Sports Development,
> comprehensive school in state sector, not 1st generation)

> I mean it can, I mean for me, it can mean quite a few different things.
> I mean I would always say that extra-curricular activities when they
> are described as extra-curricular activities, are going to be something
> that are outside the school format anyway and some of the teaching
> format. But it is still either enriching or educating a learning
> experience though you can use it to describe anything really, a job
> outside school, things like that.
> (Student 32, Female, 20, White British, Fine Art, FE college, 1st generation)

Again this relates to the how they conceptualised ECA with regard to school-organised activities that, as later sections will show, were run for very purposeful reasons – partly to support future employability but primarily to support access to further, and, particularly, higher education. Where students were involved in activities that were informal, done alone and without a clear purpose (other than pleasure) they were invariably not considered to be ECA:

> *Interviewer*: do you currently participate in anything you consider to
> be extra-curricular activity?
> *Respondent*: No
> *Interviewer*: Right okay and are you doing hobbies at the moment?
> *Respondent*: Yeah, I like to make cards and I like to make jewellery, I
> like walking and I sometimes if I've got time go to the dog home and
> walk the dog 'cause we can't have a dog and I like reading and
> music and I go to the gym
> (Student 51, Female, 32, White British, Media & Popular Culture, FE
> college, not 1st generation)

Having given an initial definition of ECA, students were then asked to consider whether participation in any of a list of activities (Appendix IV) could also be considered as ECA. Despite most students having given a relatively narrow initial definition they then extended their definition considerably on further consideration, to include most of the things on the list with three exceptions: as mentioned above. Students remained divided as to whether paid work could be

considered as ECA, some students saw little value to paid employment, other than financial, which is discussed in greater detail later in the report. In addition, most students did not consider either childcare or faith activities as ECA – arguing that these activities were simply part of a way of 'being' – evident from the following two examples:

> *Respondent*: I don't really see work as extra-curricular. Although I guess it is really isn't it? I've never seen it as that before but thinking about it, yes it probably is. And they, others, yes I would say they are.
> *Interviewer*: Yes. So there is nothing that sticks out there as, sort of, not belonging to that list?
> *Respondent*: Well family, domestic or caring. I guess that's just a way of life, isn't it?
> (Student 56, Female, 21, White British, Methodist, Events Management, sixth form college, not 1st generation)

> I would class the work as extra-curricular, sports and everything, yes that's extra-curricular. All of these, I don't know about the faith, culture activities, I don't know if I would class them as extra-curricular, because if I am thinking, I go to church every weekend and we have activities that we do sometimes on Sundays, we do ball games and parks and all that kind of different things, volunteering, and I don't know, I just think that's part of my church.
> (Student 13, Female, 21, Other Black background, Seventh Day Adventist, house or flat on own, Law, high school in USA, not 1st generation)

7.2.2 Understanding participation in extra-curricular activities through the lens of cultural capital

As identified above, from a Bourdieuian perspective, *field* refers to a social arena in which people manoeuvre and struggle in pursuit of desirable resources or *capital*, of which there are three forms: economic, social and cultural – the linguistic and cultural competence required to access dominant systems and structures and subsequent access to academic rewards and higher status in society (Bourdieu, 1986).The position of each individual within the field is the result of the interaction between the agent's 'habitus' (durable patterns of thought and behaviour, resulting from internalisation of culture or objective social structures) and their 'capital' (Bourdieu, 1984).

It is clear from this research that there were clear differentials between students, and in the students' experiences, as regards:
1. those who had developed a habitus or disposition of participation in ECA – formed through the influence of home and school – and those who had not;
2. the influence individual and institutional habitus and possession of cultural capital had on students' decision making: to go in to HE or not, to participate in ECA on arrival at the HEI or not, and the forms of ECA to participate in;
3. the awareness that students had about the value of ECA to employers and for supporting their future employability;

4. the forms of ECA that students considered valuable to them either as current students or as the 'future employed';
5. the forms of ECA valorised by the HEI and the ways in which students were supported by the HEI in their participation in ECA, or not;
6. the ways in which students were, or were not, deliberately building further social and cultural capital through participation in ECA.

7.2.2.1 Habitus on entering the institution

A clear and very strong theme running through the interviews was the impact of families, particularly parents, on individual habitus. Many students had parents who valued participation in ECA very strongly and were also still actively participating in a wide range of ECA themselves. As a consequence many of the students interviewed had participated in many different forms of ECA from an early age as a direct consequence of their parents influence:

> I have always done extra-curricular activities since the age of 4 or 5 ... [my parents] I mean they were the only reason, I mean I used to play violin, I used to play piano, drums, do all the sports and that was all down to them really initially and they kept me doing it and I am glad they did.
> (Student 37, Male, 21, White British, Fine Art, FE college, not 1st generation)

Encouraged by their parents many students had used their participation in ECA to support their application to university:

> ... my mum and dad are, they were really sort of helpful with my application anyway, but my dad sort of, he's seen people being interviewed in the past for jobs and things, he's always said to me that people do take that into consideration what you are about, so he's always sort of warned me to include stuff ... I remember them saying to definitely put Duke of Edinburgh in so they just sort of advised me really on, I mean I didn't put everything in, like I didn't put in every sport that I played ... they sort of advised me to answer that but not list everything that I liked, so sort of be quite selective.
> (Student 28, Female, 20, White British, Art, FE college, not 1st generation)

> ... my dad was my swimming coach ... so my dad was like trying to push that on me which is a good thing, but then it kind of fizzled out towards the end when I had like a lot more school work on and stuff. But he said it would definitely be a good thing to put on especially with Leeds Met because like they are sports based up in Headingley.
> (Student 7, Male, 20, White British, Graphics, FE college, not 1st generation)

A second clear influence on individual student habitus was how schools had encouraged students, to a lesser or greater extent, to participate in ECA. As referred to above when defining ECA students were strongly influenced by the habitus of the school. It was clear that schools saw participation in ECA as being highly beneficial: for health reasons (physical and psychological), for the development of transferable skills (team work, organisation, time management

etc.) and in support of applications for employment and for further and higher education. Very few students identified their schools as not having encouraged them to take part in sporting and/or cultural activities:

> I had piano lessons which were an external thing, when I was a bit younger in secondary I did dancing which was also external but other than that it was all school stuff ... I did the Duke of Edinburgh award so, it's walking I don't know if that classes as a sport but they taught you all the different other skills as well, so we did things like first aid and map reading so quite a lot of things covered in that and then I went to an art group once a week when I was at in A-level year ... from the age of 11 to 16 sport was quite heavily pushed as a good thing to get involved with a sort of health and teams idea.
> (Student 28, Female, 20, White British, Art, FE college, not 1st generation)

> ... at school we were told it was a really good idea to get involved in extra-curricular activities because they would help us develop skills that a) looked good on a CV and b) just help us in life.
> (Student 2, Female, 23, White British, No religion, shared house, English Literature, FE college, not 1st generation)

> ... as you got to sixth form it was, this will look good on your personal statement, for getting into Uni, but then that was towards the latter half of first year, sort of year 12, when you started thinking about UCAS forms and applying to University ... I think we all knew that it was the value of making new friends and getting yourself out and doing something you enjoy.
> (Student 16, Female, 19, White British, family home, English & History, sixth form college, not 1st generation)

> ... we were made aware that it was quite good to mention if you did anything outside of school if you did Duke of Edinburgh or if you had any plans to do this within the year between filling in the form and going to University ... you just got told to talk about all the things you think are useful like even if you have driving lessons or you have passed your driving test.
> (Student 3, Female, 21, White British, PE & Sport & Exercise Science, FE college, 1st generation)

However, many students commented that it was often one particular member of staff who had supported and encouraged their progression to higher education rather than it having been an institutional approach. Individual members of staff were regarded as being highly influential in shaping student dispositions, and students commented on how much support they had been given from schools in crafting their applications to higher education:

> I went mainly to my form tutor at school and my head of year who I had a very good working relationship with and I used to sit down with him and go right, what do you think I should put in here and he said, I mean they had everything on file everything that I had done, throughout the years yes, so my form tutor said well you did this and

you did that, so put that in and combine that, and do this and that
and the other.
(Student 16, Female, 19, White British, family home, English &
History, sixth form college, not 1st generation)

7.2.2.2 The influence of habitus and capital on participation in ECA at university

It was clear then some students understood the 'field' and what was involved if
they wished to be successful in it. This was apparent from how they had
approached applying to university in the first place:

Feels a lot like sort of like, like you are playing a game with the
person who is at the other end like you are trying to justify why they
should pick you and they are trying to justify why they should, so it is
like I don't know like a battle in words isn't it, trying to point out to
them yes you know, it is trying to … just not give them any excuses
to say no.
(Student 49, Male, 20, White British, PR, other university, not 1st
generation)

In addition, the social and cultural capital possessed by students on arrival,
inherited from the family and reinforced through the habitus of the school,
strongly influenced decisions about whether to participate in ECA, as well as
ease of participation.

Family was considered to have played an extremely strong role in the building
of both habitus and cultural capital that together facilitated participation in ECA.
The knowledge and skills students possessed made them successful in the
'field'. 'Embodied' cultural capital, which includes "long-lasting dispositions of
the mind and body" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 243), was clearly linked to individual
habitus. This can be clearly seen in several ways. First, some students had the
pre-existing knowledge of the types of ECA that might be available to them at
university – gained from family and friends – and on arrival actively sought out
these opportunities. This contrasts with those students who were unaware of
what might be offered and were also waiting for others to draw attention to
possibilities:

I keep looking at volunteering and it's something that I want to do so
much but I really cannot fit it in and I wouldn't even know where to go
to get involved in CALMS [Community Action at Leeds Met] and the
only reason that I know that it's called CALMS is because it's on the
board as I walk to the SU bar and apart from that I never got given a
starter pack for anything to do with extra-curricular activities, never
got told whether the little stalls are busy that you could sign up and I
think that's a major problem in people signing up to them they don't
know where to sign up for them so that's probably mainly to do with
peoples involvement in them.
(Student 9, Female, 19, White British, Social Sciences, sixth form
college, 1st generation)

Second, many students had developed the 'disposition' of mind to make it
easier for them to actively seek out new opportunities – including confidence,

self-esteem, motivation and commitment to an activity. Here parents were considered critical with regard to building a secure platform from which students felt able to participate in ECA:

> Kind of like my mum and dad do help me out a lot with these kind of things just general like backing me up like just building my confidence saying 'oh you have done this and that already' ... remind me about things when I am a bit down or whatever or if I have forgot things, so that helps out definitely a lot, yes and I help out like my brothers and stuff with that kind of thing if they ever need it.
> (Student 7, Male, 20, White British, Graphics, FE college, not 1st generation)

> ... being committed to something and sticking at it, I think I've had that drilled in since an early ages, you know, if you do something you do it you don't do it half heartedly, you either do it or you don't do it, you don't faff about with it ... they don't faff, and I hate faffers. That probably comes from them ... I don't have very much patience or tolerance ... that's probably from them. Well it's easier and better if you just get things done isn't it?
> (Student 56, Female, 21, White British, Methodist, Events Management, sixth form college, not 1st generation)

Finally, students had previous experience of being involved in social groups or networks through participation in ECA, which meant that they immediately felt comfortable in joining clubs and societies and participating in similar activities once at university.

Taken together, the strong influence of parental and school habitus on the individual habitus of students meant that on arrival at university many students immediately signed up to participate in ECA:

> All my family are active people, my Dad's always encouraging, well not encouraging me, it wouldn't bother him if I didn't do it, but I know he likes to see me active and he has always been there when I was playing rugby and anything else, so yes ... and as soon as I started here I joined the rugby team.
> (Student 15, Male, 20, White British, Graphic Arts & Design, FE college, not 1st generation)

7.2.2.3 The forms of ECA valorised by employers

Influenced by family and school, the majority of students we interviewed considered that participation in ECA in general was highly regarded by employers. They were aware that employment was highly competitive and that employers were able to choose from among a wide pool of graduates. They were also aware that employers looked for examples of participation in ECA as providing evidence that students were 'more than just a degree', but instead were well-rounded holistic people with a range and breadth of experience:

> My Dad has always said when he hired people that he would look more towards their extra-curricular activities. He always looked more towards those activities than actual academic skill, he said he would rather have someone who had a 2:1 and lots of activities than a first

that had just sat in and done the first for three years. He would always rather they had done something, it didn't really matter what it was just something that they could talk about and be passionate about that showed they were a real person rather than a robot.
(Student 8, Female, 22, White British, English & History, sixth form college, not 1st generation)

I think it's a big thing. I think extra-curricular activities are a big thing to employability. I don't whether it's because I've always done it so I've always thought it was important. I don't know I just think if I was an employer I'd like someone who does other stuff just apart from their work, but that's just my view so other people might say they like people who are just devoted to their work, I don't know.
(Student 55, Female, 20, White British, Nursing, sixth form college, not 1st generation)

However, it was clear, through further discussion, that some forms of ECA were more highly valued than others, with volunteering, paid work and sports activities considered the most highly valuable to employers and participation in faith, caring and political activities, the least.

7.2.2.4 The forms of ECA valorised by students

Volunteering
Regardless of whether students were participating in volunteering activities or not, volunteering was regarded as the most valuable form of ECA by the students we interviewed. Volunteering was considered to be highly valued by employers and so would help their future employability. Students considered that employers valued participation in unpaid activity more highly than paid activity because it demonstrated a level of motivation, commitment and dedication to a job than could not be simply attributed to being paid to go to work:

Yes, some of them are probably more valuable than others. It does depend on the job that you are doing, but certainly … I would imagine that volunteering would be very well looked upon, because it shows a sort of self discipline and willingness to go the extra mile kind of thing. So that would be really favourably looked on, I would imagine.
(Student 52, Male, 19, White British, Politics, sixth form college, not 1st generation)

... there are certain things like volunteering which whether they give you skills or not they give just look good on your CV ... I always think volunteering does look good on application forms and when I have had to look over application forms for people that I have worked with in different jobs. If you know they have got, if it is just volunteering then maybe not but if it is volunteering in, you know, together with work experience and education then yes it does look good. Because that is someone who can actually put their time into doing something.
(Student 23, Male, 27, White British, Music Production, other HEI, not 1st generation)

Many had undertaken volunteering activity prior to accessing higher education and many were participating in volunteering while studying. This ranged from voluntary activity facilitated by the more vocational courses such as those related to the film, events and sports industries, through to voluntary work supported by the University (particularly international volunteering) and to activity that students were undertaking for personal rather than course-related reasons. However, even when participation was not facilitated by the University, students were aware of the value of participation:

> Because you have given up your time in general I just think it looks well... selfless and yes it just shows you that you have got more important things than earning money.
> (Student 25, Male, 21, White British, Sport & Exercise Nutrition, sixth form college, not 1st generation)

Paid work

Paid work was considered the second most valuable form of ECA (when it was recognised as ECA). It was valued both with regard to value to employers and employability, but also of value to them as students in supporting their course work. Many students were very aware, without much prompting of the skills they were developing through employment:

> Possibly the main thing is my actual confidence in teaching, communicating ... organisational skills, time management, I have had to improve, just because my whole life had come to absolute chaos in the beginning because I have to make sure I am here at the start of the lectures, I have to make sure that no-one is going to want me anywhere else until the end of that lecture.
> (Student 39, Male, 20, White British, Christian, Sports Development, comprehensive school, not 1st generation)

However, what is particularly interesting is the difference between those students who considered paid work only valuable when it was within the same or similar field to the job they would be applying for, and those who saw the value of generic, transferable skills:

> I mean it depends like what job I've got in my third year but if there's something that would look better on a ... that would look better than working in a night club, like sometimes I think working in a call centre looks quite good or a nursery but a night club and a supermarket I thing aren't particularly good.
> (Student 9, Female, 19, White British, Social Sciences, sixth form college, 1st generation)

> [on working in a club] ... well just dealing with people, you know, you are given briefings day to day, you are managing a team. Its all relevant, it's what, you know, what being an Events Manager is which is effectively what we are training to do. There are loads of transferable skills, such as dealing with money, finance, business, marketing, you know.
> (Student 56, Female, 21, White British, Methodist, Events Management, sixth form college, not 1st generation)

Some students appeared particularly adept at writing CVs:

> I mean my paid work it will help me because obviously I have got the reference of actually having a job but also I have been ... I have got fork lift driving licences as well, I have got money handling experience, I have got responsibilities that I have gained from, so yes they definitely will be something extra on my CV when it comes, and it is something I can show that I have got ... because at the end of the day there are that many people who go to university you have got to be able to show that you have got something extra on top of them and at the end of the day your degree qualification will only get you the interview it won't get you a job.
> (Student 34, Male, 21, White British, History & Politics, sixth form college, not 1st generation)

Sporting activities

The majority of students also saw participation in sporting activities as valuable – again partly because it simply demonstrated to employers that they were well-rounded people, but also because through participation in (team) sports activities students developed the kind of skills that were useful to employers. The skills they felt they could gain through sports-related activities were very similar to those skills to be gained through either volunteering or participation in paid employment:

> [when asked for his opinion of the most valuable form of ECA] ... sport. You have to work as a team you have to get to know everyone and you can't really fall out with people.
> (Student 24, Male, 19, White British, Sport & Exercise Science, comprehensive school in state sector, not 1st generation)

This was particularly so for those who were actively involved in sports themselves and particularly those on sports-related courses, although those on non-sports-related also recognised the benefits:

> I think by having to stand up in front of 30 people and address them and say 'oh welcome to the club and my name is this' or have people crying to me on a river saying that 'they can't go on' and having to think 'oh my god how am I going to get this person down to the end'. Or like putting people in bed after they have drank too much alcohol it is all part of my role. Which I think develops those sort of negotiating skills and learning skills and the ability to feel comfortable within yourself and knowing who you are ...
> (Student 5, Female, 19, White British, Sports Coaching, sixth form college, 1st generation)

Caring activities

Caring activities were conceptualised very differently by students. Most students did not regard caring activities as forms of ECA. Exceptions to this were those students who were either on courses in a caring-related field or were carers themselves. Both of these groups saw the value of caring as a form of ECA:

> I think a bit of everything. Caring and responsibilities maybe but then also sport to see whether you do stuff outside nursing. Any, all of

them it just shows that you've got an interest I don't think it matters what it is. It's that you do stuff outside nursing and you like to take part in stuff personally ... Politics, no, I don't. I think care and responsibilities would be a big one.
(Student 55, Female, 20, White British, Nursing, sixth form college, not 1st generation)

In terms of being a mother, just thinking, whilst she's helped me to mature, be more responsible, and prioritise, being more organised, you have to be organised and I think I don't go out as much either like all the other students, they party quite a lot. I don't do that as I can't, so I think in a way that's a good thing, I can get more work done.
(Student 36, Female, 26, Mixed White & Black Caribbean, Christian, Psychology, FE college, 1st generation)

I don't know if you can put it into words really. You can just tell the difference. I'm more organised in a lot of ways because you have got to be organised because you have got to get up at a certain time, you've got to get uniforms done, this that and the other, got to be out the door by this specific time or you're not going to get to school and I'm going to miss my bus then I'm going to be late for Uni, so everything, you get things done to a routine more, but it makes you a lot more psychologically aware in what's going on in world as well.
(Student 12, Female, 30, White British, family home, Biomedical Science, FE college, 1st generation)

However, and very importantly, despite recognising the value of caring activities, some of those who were parents stated that they would not necessarily admit to this when applying for jobs, even in a way that would refer to the skills developed through caring, feeling that employers would regard caring responsibilities as a disadvantage and rarely an advantage:

I reckon a lot of places aren't really going to care less about your family and your caring responsibilities. They don't want to know. And I think it can put a lot off as well. Say oh she's got kids she is going to be off sick when kid's sick and so I think that can definitely go against you.
(Student 12, Female, 30, White British, family home, Biomedical Science, FE college, 1st generation)

Arts, drama, and music

Arts, drama and participation in musical ECA were considered relatively neutrally – they were neither of any great advantage or disadvantage. Students might put down that they had played a musical instrument to a certain high level as, again, this indicated that they were a well-rounded person. They were, in the main, aware of particular skills that this would offer to employers:

[on applying for teaching] ... drama by an absolute mile. If you can get involved in theatre do. Oh it is just so many skills that you get from it. I mean the ability to talk in a decent lucid manner is so important in an interview, in any situation, and drama really does

help you with that and your confidence and with team building everything, it just, nothing can beat it.
(Student 8, Female, 22, White British, English & History, sixth form college, not 1st generation)

Faith and cultural activities

Faith and cultural activities were seen differently by the students we interviewed. Most students did not regard participation in faith activities as a form of ECA since, like being a carer, it was simply something that you 'just were':

Faith ... that is just, I wouldn't class that as an extra-curricular activity for obvious reasons. I mean faith in something if you, obviously everyone has got some sort of faith whether you are atheist, Muslim, Christian, Hindu or whatever your faith might be, and that is just something that you are doing out of your own choice because you have been brought up in it and once you have been brought up with it you have got your free choice to choose and then ... faith isn't something you can just do, you either believe or you don't.
(Student 20, Male, 20, Asian British (Pakistani), Islam, family home, Law, sixth form college, 1st generation)

However, where students defined ECA as a purposeful and beneficial activity they were significantly more likely to consider faith activities as a form of ECA:

I think extra-curricular activities are something that you can, I think they are something that you can gain something from ... everything I think everything on there it gives you, you know, it gives you skills and it like, for instance I might have maybe said faith and cultural activities but that is still a skill because obviously it broadens your mind and it is still, you know, it gives you a better understanding of the world, so say you know whether you are religious or not you still learn about other people's faiths you are more accommodating to their thoughts and beliefs and opinions and things like that it gives you, you know, more of a sense of awareness.
(Student 45, Female, 20, White British, Roman Catholic, Human Geography, sixth form college, 1st generation)

This was also the case for 'cultural' activities – which students took to be those activities that 'broadened the mind' such as travel, often linked to volunteering, including international volunteering. Once again, students tended to see these forms of activity as ECA when they could see the purpose and value of participating in them:

... she doesn't go on and on and on about it but she does say obviously it is a Geography course and you should be thinking about travelling and you know going off to different places and obviously getting a wider view of the world. So obviously I could see that as obviously extra-curricular but I suppose it is just the time and the money, you know.
(Student 45, Female, 20, White British, Roman Catholic, Human Geography, sixth form college, 1st generation)

Political activity

Political activity was, almost without exception, seen as a form of ECA, but not one that would be valued by employers. Students were strongly minded that mention of participation in political activity should be avoided when applying for jobs:

> The only one that's sticking out to me would be political activities, but I'm not saying that completely maybe obviously it depends what the persons belief's were, but I think if maybe if they were extremist or sort of people are going to raise eyebrows then part of me would think don't put it on, but the whole point in an application is to be sort of honest about yourself, so it's a tricky one to whether you should put it on or not.
> (Student 28, Female, 20, White British, Art, FE college, not 1st generation)

> [on what to put on a CV] ... I mean political things are always going to be dubious, but it depends what it is, if it's, you know if you're part of the debating team then that's going to go on, but if you're part of the monster raving loony party, you maybe might miss that off.
> (Student 18, Female, 21, White British, Christian, family home, Law, FE college, 1st generation)

This was true even for those students who were studying Politics – where there was seen to be a difference between having an awareness of politics and undertaking political activity. These students identified that they would be very selective as to which specific activities they might refer to on a CV:

> Some of the other stuff I would be quite reluctant to put down on a CV, especially if potential employers have access to the internet and type in the unions thing, you know, address and then the website comes up, because there is quite a lot of stuff that they would probably not be too appreciative of in there. I mean I can't imagine that if the choice is between me and another one, and I have got this, they are going to say well we will have the other one, but I imagine it probably would have some impact on it – depending on the company as well. I mean some companies are more anti-union than others.
> (Student 52, Male, 19, White British, Politics, sixth form college, not 1st generation)

7.2.2.5 The valorisation of ECA by the HEI

Referring specifically to pedagogy, Thomas (2002, p. 431) argues that: "educational institutions are able to determine what values, language and knowledge are regarded as legitimate, and therefore ascribe success and award qualifications on this basis. Consequently, pedagogy is not an instrument of teaching, so much as of socialisation and reinforcing status." However, the ways in which the HEI both legitimised and valorised the ECA students were participating in also contributed to the ways students were, or felt they were, differentially treated.

Students frequently complained that the university didn't make them aware of what ECA were available:

So we were doing a bit of exploring [in 2nd year] ... and we found [a gym] and its like wow and it was a really nice surprise to find we have something like that here ... so my friend goes, there's a gym, we're like what, excuse me!
(Student 16, Female, 19, White British, family home, English & History, sixth form, not 1st generation)

There were also many examples of where students felt that their lives outside of the classroom were of no value or interest to their lecturers and were either overlooked or irrelevant, as this example demonstrates:

And I won't mention the name, but a lecturer mentioned how students are referred to as 'resource units' or something by the management, which is quite disturbing. I mean another student says 'oh well why is that a problem kind of thing, as long as we are getting the education?'... and referring to students as resource units and things like that – it is partly dehumanising and stuff, it is reducing people to statistics
(Student 52, Male, 19, White British, Politics, sixth form college, not 1st generation)

Because many tutors did not know what their students did outside of classes, they were consequently not valuing participation, not making links between ECA and curricular activity and so failing to utilise the experience students were gaining through their participation in diverse forms of ECA. This is particularly true for participation in paid employment:

I mean probably the sad thing is they don't really take much interest in you as a personal student. They're just really interested in the class so they probably don't know what each single person does so they probably won't know that I actually have a job in an architect's office and play golf for the university team, they just see me as another student coming to each tutorial or lecture.
(Student 10, Male, 20, White British, Architectural Technology, FE college, 1st generation)

This is in sharp contrast to how other students were being treated. Many were in a clearly more advantageous position, with tutors or lecturers well aware of what they were participating in outside of the classroom and providing support for them. They were being given clear support to recognise and develop their employability skills through participation in ECA, through PDP activities, discussion on ECA within the curriculum and direction to other sources of support such as Skills for Learning for the development of CVs. Where this had happened students recognised and strongly appreciated this support:

We filled in this massive actual portfolio about ... it was competence and everything was 'are you competent in the work place?' Like you had to give like a critical, you know, like a story what happened in your life like what changed you and things like that ... and it obviously made you think about what you had to do ... as we went through the portfolio I was thinking I haven't got, you know, examples ... and then I was, the more and more I filled it in things were just springing to my mind and I could just, I was easily just writing it and writing it and

writing it and then I finished it you know within the day and you know it was so high. So yes I think that it sort of your mind sort of needs like sort of provoking to you know be aware of these skills but as soon as, but obviously now like as I said when I am at work like I show quality of leadership. Well tonight I am working tonight and we do like this Bistro thing and I am like the head waitress and I am in charge of six other people, I don't think I had leadership skills but you know. We take loads of tips and everyone is happy and it all works out well and everyone goes home happy and we have all had a good night. So I was thinking well that is leadership everyone is happy and you know I never get any complaints or anything, so I was like there you go that is it.
(Student 45, Female, 20, White British, Roman Catholic, Human Geography, sixth form college, 1st generation)

The differential treatment students received depended on two factors: the form of ECA students were participating in and which were (or were seen to be) valorised at institutional level, and the dispositions of individual lecturers.

Institutional valorisation of different forms of ECA
Those students involved with (university-supported) international volunteering opportunities, BUSA activities (or other high level sporting activity) and other university societies or clubs, appeared to receive greater recognition than those involved in other forms of ECA:

... when I was a woman's officer [in the Students' Union] ... I missed a day of University for that but I think that is kind of they understand if you want that and they are not going to sort of mark you down because you had to go for a day because you are part of the Students' Union.
(Student 17, Female, 20, White British, English Literature, sixth form college, 1st generation)

I've missed a few lectures through having games [at BUSA level] but I went and saw the tutor and she wasn't too bothered. She said it was all on X-stream and she gave me some help because she is quite … what's the word I am thinking of … you know, she really encourages you to play extra-curricular sport and things like that and get involved in the university teams.
(Student 54, Male, 19, Christian, Physical Education, sixth form college, not 1st generation)

In addition, it was clear that some students came from families where the habitus did not support participation in certain forms of ECA. The University valorisation of certain forms of ECA creates an alternative habitus for some students. The University not only allowed students to legitimately miss classes or lectures, it also provided them with opportunities to participate in ECA, which they otherwise might not have had:

[On travelling to Russia with the University] ... parents ... devastated … they are really scared. Yes they, I am seeing them tomorrow and they are terrified, they even, my mum keeps ringing

me and she is going 'oh L. please, please, please be careful' and I am like well 'I will be alright' because the thing is I don't, I said I don't know whether I can phone you or not because I don't know how expensive it is going to be ... I mean I want to go because it is a fab experience. And if I didn't go I would be jealous of everybody else going and you know they would all come back talking about it and I would just be sat there like you know.
(Student 45, Female, 20, White British, Roman Catholic, Human Geography, sixth form college, 1st generation)

This contrasts with how students were treated if they were late for lectures or had to miss classes because they had a part-time job. Participation in paid work was considered to be a particularly unacceptable reason for missing classes, causing significant tensions between students who had to work and their tutors:

Well one tutor, I did like him but last term he said 'I don't care if you've got paid, if you've work, this comes first' and that's very, very difficult when I've got my managers on my back saying work comes first. Work is your priority when you're here, so I was really caught in the middle because obviously my priority is me but I can't come to university if I don't work and you know that's just how it is. So that was very frustrating that tutor saying that because there was nothing I could do and I almost felt like I understand that they want us to put the best effort in but there is other commitments here you know. I don't have mummy and daddy to pay the bills.
(Student 51, Female, 32, White British, Media & Popular Culture, FE college, not 1st generation)

We have a Monday morning meeting every Monday, and M. my tutor, was basically like 'people who have got jobs really can they just cut down on their hours and maybe kind of come in more' ... And I think obviously the tutors get quite annoyed about it as well. It's obviously disturbing the whole class as well as them, and reorganising things and tutorials.
(Student 14, Female, 21, White British, Graphic Arts and Design, sixth form college, 1st generation)

Despite the large number of students working, paid employment was reported by some students as never being discussed with students with regard to the positive benefits it could be providing for them, such as the development of their employability skills:

I don't think they have a clue, because a lot of us, not a lot, quite a few of us are doing some really, really good relevant things and, I mean, I worked on a tiny one, probably like the most menial thing I've done only the other day and I was mentioning it in passing to my friend walking down, we were going on a little field trip to Millennium Square and my tutor heard and he's like, 'That's dead good you're doing that'. And I'm thinking that's like a completely pointless one and if he thinks that's good if he knew like some of the things all of us were doing I think they'd be quite surprised to be honest.

(Student 56, Female, 21, White British, Methodist, Events Management, sixth form college, not 1st generation)

Finally, while there are few parents among the cohort of interviewees, it was felt that, to some extent, the university also failed to recognise caring responsibilities (although as outlined later some parents were given good individual support from tutors):

My module tutor she knows that I've got a child, well she knows it does get in the way as I have had to apply for mitigation for one of my assignments and the reason why I applied for that is because I couldn't get childcare for one of the exams in January as it finished at 6 'o'clock, so she is aware that it can get in the way. It doesn't always tie in and I think they don't expect to have a lot of students with kids. (Student 36, Female, 26, Mixed White & Black Caribbean, Christian, Psychology, FE college, 1st generation)

Dispositions of staff

In contrast to the experiences above, some staff were seen to be very supportive of participation. Students described the support they had been given by individual members of staff. This was true of ECA that were not linked to specific courses, as well as ECA that were linked closely to the courses students were undertaking:

... [the president of the African-Caribbean Society] she sees it as very, she just has that kind of personality you know, trying to get people involved in stuff, because its like a small community of Black people in Leeds Met and I think she's just trying to look out for everybody even though its not tailored towards Black people, anybody can join, but she's just trying to help people develop. (Student 36, Female, 26, Mixed White & Black Caribbean, Christian, Psychology, FE college, 1st generation)

Like my course tutor she is like really up for, there are a few of us that do sport on our course and she takes a big interest actually in what we do ... She is always asking how we get on because I am club captain in athletics and there is another lad that is club captain of rugby union and so I mean she is always, I mean she has been to watch, there is the Carnegie Cup that we hold here every year and they have been to watch that a few times. (Student 46, Female, 19, White British, Sports, sixth form college, 1st generation)

Those with caring responsibilities had very varied experiences. While all carers found it difficult to manage childcare and studies, what was critical was the support given to them by individual tutors. Their recognition of the difficulty of carer responsibilities meant the difference between them being able to attend lectures or not:

... [the tutors] are pretty good, they understand that from where I live and what times of school it's, I can't possibly get in any earlier ... next week because it's school half term that we don't get, so that's a case of well the Wednesday and Friday we've only got a one hour lecture

Wednesday, a one hour lecture Friday I'll bring her with me and she has come before and she is quite good she gets her little pen and paper she copies notes off the board she has a couple of sweets, you know a little bribe, you can have some sweets and be quiet for an hour please.
(Student 12, Female, White British, family home, Biomedical Science, FE college, 1st generation)

7.2.2.6 Building capital through participation in ECA

For some students their participation in those forms of ECA they considered fundamental to their future employment dominated their lives and they were single-mindedly focused on building their social or cultural capital at the expense of all else:

Everything else has developed, but my actual ability to socialise with people my own age has shot backwards, because I am never able to do it anymore. It concerns my friends more than me ... I would be up hours and hours before anyone else was, so I had a very different life and it seemed to me to be sort of seen as, not excluded, but like the different one if you know what I mean and at one point it was almost verging on sort of bullying, because they didn't understand what I was doing, they didn't understand why I wouldn't want to be with them and they sort of took offence to that and tried to make it difficult for me. I wasn't trying to make them feel offended, so of course they would say 'do you want to come out?' and I would say 'no', so perhaps that did have an impact on me I don't know ... for example a typical day at times, the odd extreme would be 8 until 4 at [volunteering], 4 until say 9 University work, so there was almost 12, 13 hour working day which doesn't leave any spare time at all.
(Student 20, Male, 20, Asian British (Pakistani), Islam, family home, Law, sixth form college, 1st generation)

The differential valuing and support for this sort of capital building activity is thus experienced as involving peer support and pressure as well as that from staff. The respondent above has resisted these pressures, but the use of the term 'bullying' suggests that peer pressure can be intense and even painful.

7.2.2.7 Capital building and habitus

The sections above demonstrate the complexities of capital building, and show the ways in which inherited advantages and dispositions predispose some students to take advantage of the opportunities presented by the field. Differential valuing of activities within the field also mean that students have widely differing experiences as regards their abilities to engage in capital building. Some of these differences are local to courses, some relate to the highly individualised opportunities provided by individual staff. Others, however, are systematic. The general devaluing of caring, with the exception of those on caring courses, suggests that there remains a strongly gendered dimension in forms of capital valued. Those courses that do value caring are the most persistently feminised with regard to the students they recruit. Socio-economic advantage and disadvantage also appear resilient in students' accounts with

students having to differentially participate in paid work, but with this form of activity only variably recognised or valorised by staff.

7.2.3 Understanding participation in ECA through the lens of Wenger's theory of communities of practice

A community of practice (CoP) has three interlinked characteristics that forge the identity of those who participate within it: it has a shared domain of interest (with a commitment to the domain); members are involved in joint activities (sharing information and building relationships); and those within it are practitioners – rather than just having a shared interest (Wenger, 1998) with this practice giving members their sense of joint identity (Lave & Wenger, 1991).

Most of what has been described in previous research regarding participation in CoPs relates to participation in curricular activities. However our research found that:

1. Many students were deliberately using participation in ECA to move from peripheral to full learners within two different communities of practice: participation in ECA to support the development of a student identity and participation in ECA to support the development of an employee identity.
2. Participation in CoP resulted in the development of five clear learner identities across these two groups: i. the Career Climber; ii. the Employment Builder (employee identities); iii. the Embedded Student; iv. the Pleasure Seeker (student identities) and v. the Giver (a combination of the two).
3. Some students, primarily due to caring responsibilities were unable to participate in ECA, which would facilitate their movement from the periphery of a CoP. This non-participation in ECA resulted in the development of an additional identity: vi. the Onlooker.
4. In addition, a further group were participating in ECA but for no other reason than to support themselves financially: vii. the Earners.
5. Depending on the role(s) each learner developed, there was significant variation in how students valorised ECA as facilitating their movement from the periphery of a CoP to becoming experts within it.
6. Many students found that their participation in an ECA CoP facilitated their participation into other CoPs.

The descriptions above represent a way of characterising different positions we found in the data; however, students might take on more than one identity at one time, or at different times.

7.2.3.1 The different communities of practice

The community of practice of the workplace
Since Lave and Wenger (1991) wrote their seminal work (looking at the learning of midwives in the Yucatan, Vai and Gola tailors, naval quartermasters, meat cutters, and a group of alcoholics anonymous) much of the subsequent literature has centred on the community of practice of the workplace, and how the acquisition and development of social capital and the sharing of knowledge can aid participation and so learning. We are extending this idea to students to

indicate the ways in which ECA can be used as a form of peripheral participation in preparation for participation in the workplace CoP.

Many of the students in our study were involved in activity that would lead them from the periphery of the workplace CoP to the eventual centre and were actively involved in ECA that could support this transition at a future date:

> I'm getting fairly involved with the student newspaper at the moment, I have just sent off the national student magazine ... so I am mainly involved in sort of writing and things that I really enjoy, it's actually, I mean I have been writing since I was 7, I put my first book together ... Journalism is a ridiculously hard market to get into, there are hundreds of people who want to be journalists and not enough spaces for them ... I mean I talked about this at high school when I did my careers interview and she said, 'well basically what you can do, train to be a teacher and submit pieces to your local newspaper and see if you get published that way', sort of sneak into it if you see what I mean.
> (Student 16, Female, 19, White British, family home, English & History, sixth form college, not 1st generation)

Those students involved in participation in ECA to become eventual experts in a workplace CoP were the 'Career Climbers' and the 'Employment Builders' – both actively developing employee identities. We recognise Career Climbers primarily as those students who were enrolled on courses with a clear link into future employment in specific industries. They were deliberately participating in ECA that would help them build their CVs and climb from their existing positions as students direct into employment. The Employment Builders comprised those students also involved in ECA to facilitate access to a future workplace CoP but in a yet-to-be-determined field of employment.

The student community of practice
While the CoP literature is more developed in relation to the workplace, it has been used to characterise student participation in learning communities. We have chosen this approach as a useful heuristic in conceptualising some forms of student participation.

For some students the movement from the periphery to the centre was in relation to the 'student community of practice'. In other words, they were deliberately setting out to become expert learners. There were two clear ways in which they were doing this – through the acquisition of knowledge and through leading activities, including ECA, that would make them 'experts':

> Like for instance ... it is like, 'right tell me something that has happened within one of your coaching sessions', so you will say, and he will be like 'right how did you deal with that?' and 'what was the outcome?' and 'what did your athlete say?' and 'what happened?', and it is really like tearing it apart. But it is like creating this community of practice so my friend might have said this and I was like 'oh well how did you go about doing that because that happened to me last week' ... and it is like this big debate that goes off and that happens a lot in our seminars because it is small enough to be able

to sort of bounce ideas around the room ... and then in the lectures it is more the knowledge and then you can sit and think, 'oh yes so that happened last week'.
(Student 5, Female, 19, White British, Sports Coaching, sixth form college, 1st generation)

I was a Course Rep and I am also currently the Vice-President of the Student Law Society and I am also Mooting Clerk for it as well, but I am also the chair person – I chair all the meetings between the committee members. But no, I haven't had any paid work I don't think I have got time for and the commitment for paid work.
(Student 20, Male, 20, Asian British (Pakistani), Islam, family home, Law, sixth form college, 1st generation)

The desire to become experts in the student CoP lead to the development of clear student identities: the Embedded Student and the Pleasure Seeker. Finally, some students, through participation in ECA were developing identities as Givers (a combination of employee and student identities). This leaves a final cohort of students who, primarily due to carer responsibilities were unable to participate in forms of ECA (other than caring) and so were not able to develop any other form of identity. These we have called the Onlookers.

7.2.3.2 The development of learner identities

The Career Climber

The Career Climbers were a strong presence throughout the interviews. For them, their choice of ECA was specific, focused and linked specifically to developing the knowledge, skills and experience to be successful in a competitive labour market in a chosen field. They included Law students undertaking mooting or debating activities; Film School students working on paid or unpaid film projects for community organisations; Graphic Design students working on arts-based volunteering projects; and Sports Science students involved in sporting activities with young people:

... at this moment in time I am looking for voluntary work in the Refugee Council because I have done some voluntary work before in Newcastle ... it is something that I like because it has a connection with my course, a bit of what I want to do in the future, because I plan to do my Masters in Immigration ... after I have finished the course in my Masters I want to do immigration and I want to work in my country.
(Student 44, Female, 23, Black/Black British (African), Christian, Spanish & International Relations, FE college, 1st generation)

I am obviously being constantly being CRB checked, I am constantly having to do different things, I am always having to update things, like the child protection course lasts only five months or something ridiculous, so I am having to keep, it might not be a CV but I have to keep a very accurate log of what I have done, when I have done it, where I have done it, so I am very focused on it, but whether or not you would call it a CV, its more sort of an up-to-date list because you're always getting coaches ringing up and saying when was the

last time you did the Sports Coach UK theme, you have got to know basically.
(Student 20, Male, 20, Asian British (Pakistani), Islam, family home, Law, sixth form college, 1st generation)

These students were, in the main involved in ECA that were recognised and valued by the institution. This included activities put on by staff (such as curriculum-based work-based learning opportunities, mooting and debating activities and opportunities to gain coaching certificates outside of the curriculum), opportunities facilitated by staff (such as facilitating links with community organisations to develop paid or voluntary projects including film making, or graphic design projects), BUSA sporting activities, Students' Union activities and university-sponsored volunteering opportunities.

These students came from families where participation in ECA was high and they had already participated in an extremely wide range of ECA at school and in the community:

... my Mum, I mean she used to organise thing for us like, I have got two older brothers and a younger sister as well ... my mum would organise things for us to do the whole day, because they had the same holidays as us. Which was great, but we would go off on there are like local archaeological digs and things like that for children and teenagers and we got sent off on those sort of things. Like re-enactment days and that sort of stuff, so yes my parents were definitely sort of very, they wanted us to learn all the time and you know, but yes it was good.
(Student 23, Male, 27, White British, Music Production, other HEI, not 1st generation)

Some of these students were also in the advantageous position of not having to work, allowing them to be very selective about those activities they chose to participate in:

My late Gran left quite a large inheritance and my Grandma's got quite a lot which has helped because some students may have wanted to do what I have done but couldn't have done it because 20 to 25 hours a week unpaid work for some students would kill then, as they don't have the, I have been lucky that I have got the financial backing to do that. So for me obviously its constant good quality teaching experience and most nights I am going home and making notes of that lesson was good, I enjoyed that, that was okay, I practically could have done it differently, that sort of thing and obviously that sort of thought process is setting me up very well for the future.
(Student 20, Male, 20, Asian British (Pakistani), Islam, family home, Law, sixth form college, 1st generation)

Overall, these students very clearly recognised the contribution that participation in ECA could contribute to their future employment in a specific field. They had clearly researched future careers and had gained information from family, friends, current employers and lecturers:

So then if you go for a job within your career ... I can be safe in the knowledge that I have done everything that I can to make sure that I am the right person to do that. So I think getting involved in extra-curricular activities does that.
(Student 5, Female, 19, White British, Sports Coaching, sixth form college, 1st generation,)

There are a lot of people that I know on my course don't go to the lectures and they don't take registers in lectures but they do in tutorials so I always go to the tutorials, but I mean I'd hate for them to change it and make it compulsory to go to the lectures cause it would affect me working and then I definitely think that the work should come first in that respect cause your learning, am learning a lot more at work with regards to my course than I am coming to university sometimes.
(Student 10, Male, 20, White British, Architectural Technology, FE college, 1st generation, part-time working in an architect's office)

They always say the best degree is a 2:1 with experience, not a first without and I think that's probably more important to teaching than anything else, because on the PGCE you go through the different perspectives, which are very interesting to see, but the actual requirement of a 2:1 is at the bottom of the page, everything else above it is experience in this and experience in that. You sort of get down all the way and right at the bottom it's like oh you need to have a 2:1, which is quite an interesting thing to see, so you can tell very quickly what they prioritise, almost more than the actual qualification you have got to prove you have got the experience.
(Student 20, Male, 20, Asian British (Pakistani), Islam, family home, Law, sixth form college, 1st generation)

Through their contacts and the subsequent knowledge gained, these students were keenly aware that employers are placing increasing emphasis on the development of a 'personality package' (Brown & Hesketh, 2004, p. 35) to the extent that "the self is now a key economic resource; 'who you are' matters as much as 'what you know'" (ibid) and were participating in ECA designed to build this personality package:

The qualifications are important in getting you that interview but it is your extra-curricular stuff which is important in getting you through that interview and getting you the job ... I mean all my family like my parents, my brother, my elder sister, at the minute they are all directors or have been directors of companies, and very keen hiring people and it is from what they have explained to me, like the current situation, explains why you have to certainly be this way, and they say it is not a fair system but it is the way the system works ... I would say I have a key advantage over several members just from the benefits of having successful family.
(Student 34, Male, 21, White British, History & Politics, sixth form college, not 1st generation)

However, what makes this group different to the Employment Builders (below) is that while this group included students of all ages, it was dominated by those who had been working, even if only for a short time, prior to coming to university. They were without exception living away from home and did not have any (mentioned) caring responsibilities:

> I've worked in the casino for 12 years you know. It's pap, but when I look at the things that incorporated when I worked on the cruise ship, I had to go on stage at the beginning of each cruise and introduce myself and welcome people to the casino. I had to teach lessons ... and carry first aid so when I look at all those things together actually there is quite a lot there that I could offer in another way but it's taken me a while I think to realise that these are qualities that can be used ... actually not everybody can keep 30 chattering Americans together.
> (Student 51, Female, 32, White British, Media & Popular Culture, FE college, not 1st generation)

A further characteristic of this group was that it comprised students who were changing career: police to teaching, croupier to media and advertising, service sector work to sports coaching and so on.

These students were supported by the institution, or individual staff within the institution – either by facilitating activities within the curriculum that would develop future careers or by undertaking a supportive role outside of the curricula:

> ... one of my lecturers has been mega supportive she proofread every chapter as I wrote it ... she has been a legend, and so I finished this first draft and so it is like well I want to get a bit of advice if I am getting it published and just advice before I go into the second draft. And so then I was told, advised to join a writers circle ... then having written the first draft of the book my lecturer said that my characters where really good but they are a bit, the two of them were very similar so maybe I wanted to do some cameos and develop them ... and now I am properly into short stories and I can't, well this lecturer is reading as many of my short stories as possible in her own time of her own volition just because she is kind.
> (Student 2, Female, 23, White British, English Literature, FE College, not 1st generation)

> They have a lot of people coming in and talking like industry [PR] professionals coming in and talking to you. Although it is not always direct a lot of it is essentially to make it show you that how to get a job in the industry, so they are trying to sort of say this is how you do it and obviously if you do these things you will get a good job and so instinctively you will you know have got it instilled to you that employability is the important thing, so I think yes so yes very much so ... they do push ... personal skills so like communication skills and confidence and things like that and so they paint a very accurate picture of the things you need to do and sort of the features you may need to have or work on anyway to be in this career.

The Employment Builder

The Employment Builders were also clearly present across the interviews. They were more numerous than the Career Climbers, but the messages they were giving out, and the formation of their identities, were weaker. This group comprised those students who were involved in similar activities to the Career Climbers, but their participation in ECA was designed to build knowledge, skills and experience that would facilitate access to the labour market in general, not necessarily within a specific field:

> ... it looks good on a CV it looks good on a university application like it is one of the things that you highlight when you come to university, what you have done in your spare time and things like that ... and also it has been noted when I have been for job interviews recently like being the captain of the club and the treasurer of the same club last year, it is positions of responsibility so being involved in those things come off in a really positive light definitely, I don't think it can, I have never know it to be negative yet.
> (Student 7, Male, 20, White British, Graphics, FE college, not 1st generation)

Like the Career Climbers, they were aware of what employers wanted, i.e. which ECA are most valued by them. They were also aware that information on a CV can be tailored to match what employers are looking for from potential employees:

> I think sport and other physical activities would look good. Paid work, volunteering definitely, I would say mainly all of them would look good. They are generally interested in everything, aren't they? Even what we do at home and stuff, domestic stuff, that can all tie into a CV ... I would probably mention a bit of everything. Because that would come under responsibilities and stuff and I think it can tie in, can't it, the things that you do at home. Like being organised for instance, you could say you have experience of being organised because if you have a child, there are things you have to do at home.
> (Student 36, Female, 26, Mixed White & Black Caribbean, Christian, Psychology, FE college, 1st generation)

In addition the Employment Builders recognised, to a greater or lesser extent, the skills they had developed through ECA and what they had to offer to employers:

> Obviously with my job where I work within a team you can't work alone, you know, you have to work as a team in a café otherwise you just don't, nothing functions right. And obviously you have to understand people, what are people's strong points and what they are good at and what they are not so good at and obviously you have to work towards, you know work with that and around that ... And know how, and obviously be able to, would also be able to sort of like give people directions as well as not just being, you know, without being bossy.

(Student 45, Female, 20, White British, Roman Catholic, Human Geography, sixth form college, 1st generation)

I think that is all the activities [casual work such as bartending] that I have done and the amount of people I have met ... I think it has made me a more tolerant person, even though I was pretty slack and tolerant anyway ... which was kind of a good thing and a bad thing. I think I have become more steadfast in my beliefs and my ideas of things and how things work a bit more, shouldn't work like that kind of thing. But it has not really developed any like hands-on skills, it is more just the confidence as well definitely.
(Student 7, Male, 20, White British, Graphics, FE college, not 1st generation)

These students had also been supported by schools, families and/or the institution to understand the value of their participation in ECA and how that could enhance their employability, but they were more initially haphazard in their approach than the Career Climbers. Given adequate support and guidance they soon began to recognise the skills they had that would be valorised by employers and they also recognised the transferability of skills developed through their ECA participation:

... at the beginning when I never knew how to do CVs I included every single extra-curricular activity I did from dance to volunteering, the German club, all of that was quarter of a page when I originally did it. As my work experience started building up, like paid work experience and everything, we were advised not to add too much of the irrelevant stuff because they said that for a lot of these firms volunteering and stuff looks really good, but for paid work, work experience, they are like hmm you know.
(Student 13, Female, 21, Other Black background, Seventh Day Adventist, house or flat on own, Law, high school in USA, not 1st generation)

... in one like the seminar we have they gave us a York Council application form for this job that was going. And they said read through it and tick what you can do and I was thinking I bet I can't do anything you know on this ... what have I got to give to this employer but as we went through it there was like team-working skills being able to work to a deadline, you know basically really simple things as you broke it down and you went through it together all us thought yes we could all apply for this job, and actually have a good chance of getting it.
(Student 45, Female, 20, White British, Roman Catholic, Human Geography, sixth form college, 1st generation)

The Embedded Student
The Embedded Students were those students for whom participation in ECA was an intentional activity designed to provide them with the skills, knowledge, networks and recognition to become 'expert' students. They were deliberate in their approach to ECA and often chose not to participate in any form of paid

employment that might detract from their development of a student identity. The Embedded Students were less evident from the interviews than those students participating in ECA to become experts with the CoP of the workplace. Nonetheless they were still notable in that their identities were strongly worked and strongly held and they were very focused in the pursuit of their goals:

> I would rather just stick with University while I am a student, not get out in the big bad world yet. I think while I have got the student loan coming in, I would rather just live off that and rather just not get another job, just not worry about it yet ... in the 1st year we had a Craft Circle, which our tutor made up and basically taught us how to do all crafty things, like taught how to knit, crochet, we were doing felt making, loads of different things ... and British Sign Language ... and being a student ambassador ... it kind of made you more closer with the tutors kind of thing, people got on.
> (Student 14, Female, 21, White British, Graphic Arts and Design, sixth form college, 1st generation)

These students formed strong relationships with their tutors and lecturers that were reciprocal and a source of enormous pleasure to the students:

> It's just been, well one tutor in particular and then he has kind of passed my name onto other tutors who have then kind of borrowed me for various things. Like I did a photo shoot the other day for the University, that kind of was a result of this one particular tutor, he's passed me onto someone else who now knows my name and like rings me up for help with other things and it's kind of ended up like that, I've got about five or six lecturers who just ring me up when they need to know something and you go, 'this is a bit bizarre' ... I had a really random one the other day where a tutor called me and said 'can you recommend 20 ethnic students to go to a launch?'
> (Student 18, Female, 21, White British, Christian, family home, Law, FE college, 1st generation)

These students were, in the main, different from many other students in that they didn't have to work, or worked fewer hours leaving them time to be 'real students', a luxury that they were keenly aware of and consequently did not squander the opportunities given to them. The only paid employment they tended to participate in was to be a Student Ambassador. Other ECA they were involved in included the Students' Union, sporting activities and internal university activities arranged through the Students' Union.

The Pleasure Seeker
The Pleasure Seekers were a small group, notable in the interviews in that they considered higher education as a place within which to have as much fun and enjoyment as possible. While they may have participated in ECA before they came into HE these habits were not persistent:

> ... ever since I've come to Uni I don't play as much sport at all, I think it's just the social side of things ... I'm not being big headed but I've got loads of friends in different circles ... and I'd rather like spend like some of the time seeing other people obviously.

(Student 1, Female, 19, Mixed White and Asian, Sports Nutrition & Exercise, independent/private school, 1st generation)

They were 'happy-go-lucky', had a very wide circle of friends and got pleasure out of socialising:
> ... the social side and you know you get to know so many people a couple of the girls train here ... you build up a little network and it is really good fun, it is worthwhile, it is worth doing because they really enjoy it too and they appreciate the effort that you put in.
> (Student 22, Female, 21, White British, Roman Catholic, Sport & Leisure, sixth form college, not 1st generation)

More importantly they considered a career to be something in the very distant future, and that they still had years of being able to avoid gaining employment or facing having to make any harsh decisions in life. If they were working it was more so that they had funds to continue enjoying themselves than for any other purpose:
> ... the dream is to become a famous artist and I think a lot of people have that belief in me that I can do that and I just need to, I think at the moment I am still quite young and I don't want to push myself to that's all I am doing in life, is working to live. I think especially with fine art, if you look at a lot of great artists, they didn't start doing their own thing until they were in their 30s, 40s you know, but I don't know, I try not to think about jobs. I'm going to go travelling after Uni anyhow.
> (Student 37, Male, 21, White British, Fine Art, FE college, not 1st generation)

> I would rather just go travelling, I said to my Dad the other day like my dream is like when I'm older like to have like a shack on a beach and just do that all day and go surfing ... He was like 'you do it', my Dad's just like, my Dad just knows that I live in dream land anyway so my Mum was like … and I was like 'yeah Mum, whatever'.
> (Student 1, Female, 19, Mixed White and Asian, Sports Nutrition & Exercise, independent/private school, 1st generation)

What was particularly interesting about this group of students was that although they might be participating in a range of ECA, they did not see the value of these activities with regard to anything else other than fun, enjoyment, or perhaps keeping fit and healthy. They certainly did not consider that their participation in ECA might be of relevance to them as regards employability and were, in the main, totally unaware of the skills they might be developing that might be transferable.
> ... in sports, like my dance and stuff, I think that only helps me to keep fit and to keep active to tell the truth. I don't think it contributes anything to my education or skills-wise, I think it just helps me to keep fit, to keep active, keep my brain going.
> (Student 13, Female, 21, Other Black background, Seventh Day Adventist, house or flat on own, Law, high school in USA, not 1st generation)

The Giver

The Givers were an interesting group in that they were participating in ECA not, primarily to benefit themselves but predominantly for the benefit of other people or groups in society:

> I'm going to try and get involved in a project in Harehills where it's teaching the Asylum Seekers and Refugees basic English, it's working with people in the community, people who are on the borders of society and excluded.
> (Student 40, Female, 21, Black British (Caribbean), Christian, Social Science, sixth form college, 1st generation)

However, while the *prime* reason for participating in ECA was to contribute to the 'community', either within or outside of the University, many of the students were participating in courses that were allied to the type of ECA they were involved in such as Peace and Development, Teacher Training and Youth and Community work. Consequently their involvement in these activities was designed to embed themselves further as students:

> I did set up a society. But it just didn't take off at all because I just don't think people are interested ... we had set up a film club as well ... But not actually any of my classmates turned up for that either ... And then we did a day trip to Fylingdales, which is the military base in Whitby, but it was an 8 'o'clock start and nobody turned up.
> (Student 43, Female, 22, White British, Pagan Wiccan, Peace & International Relations, FE college, 1st generation)

What makes the Givers particularly interesting is that through these forms of participation, many of the students were developing skills that were transferable to future employment – and of which they were keenly aware:

> Through my political engagement I have learned how to be sort of more compromising for people who aren't of the same beliefs and ideas as me. Also as well I have learned how to, I don't know, talk to people more and be more friendly towards people because that is how we engage people and sort of draw them in and get them to sign their name on the dotted line. Sign their soul to the devil so to speak.
> (Student 17, Female, 20, White British, English Literature, sixth form college, 1st generation)

In other words, the Givers were participating in ECA that were developing dual identities and might facilitate their access into more than one community of practice – albeit within a relatively narrow field of employment.

The Onlookers

Some students, a small number, were participating in no forms of ECA (that they recognised as ECA, although many were carers). In his research Redmond (2003) named these students the 'Wash 'n' Go' students – students who come on to campus, attend lectures and then go home, and for some the only form of ECA they participated in was their final graduation ceremony. They included

those with caring responsibilities, those working part-time and those living at home:

> I think that aspect of buying the house didn't help me in that being in halls I suppose you are sort of immersed in Uni culture and you tend to sort of go out and join groups in a desperate attempt to find some friends and sort of fit in, in your area, but because I am still very linked to York so I suppose I sort of have that as a safety net so I haven't felt the need to go out and find things to do.
> (Student 8, Female, 22, White British, English & History, sixth form college, not 1st generation)

This group was different to all the others. Rather than developing identities that facilitated their access *into* a community of practice, their lack of participation excluded them *from* communities of practice. Reflecting research by Christie *et al.* (2007), many students saw quite clearly that they were not full members of a CoP:

> ... when I first applied to University, see all the prospectuses and all groups and you think 'oh Rugby, Archery all this stuff oh I'll join this that and the other' – but then you don't realise that all woman's rugby team, they have matches in Edinburgh, so they have to set off the night before, well who is going to take my daughter to school, so I can't do that ... and then even if you could and you'd miss those matches, training is during the week and I live at other side of Leeds as well.
> (Student 12, Female, 30, White British, family home, Biomedical Science, FE college, 1st generation)

As identified by others (Gallacher *et al.*, 2002; Christie *et al.*, 2007) for some learners, particularly those non-traditional learners who start from a position of 'difference' the movement from peripheral engagement to full engagement is distinctly more problematic than for others. For these students, fuller participation is not inevitable. The institutional opportunities presented (or not) to these non-traditional students and the practices in which they individually engage deny them full participation and maintain their peripheral identity. This included the types of learning, teaching and assessment activities offered, the mode of study entered into and the institutional support given to those with financial or childcare needs. Those students with caring responsibilities felt that they were a problem to the University who, despite claiming to support widening participation, found it difficult to accommodate their needs. This resulted in feelings of loss, separation, isolation and difference, particularly when these students compared themselves to other students:

> So it's a bit you know it makes you a bit sad when you first join – everyone is going 'oh I've just joined this and it's great' and you sort, and you're left sat thinking 'oh' ... You know its not fair, then you get a bit jealous and you think 'oh' you see them all in first year and they are all staying in halls and meeting new people and you have to trundle off home, you know it is it's a bit, it's hard.
> (Student 12, Female, White British, family home, Biomedical Science, FE college, 1st generation)

The Earner

The final group, the Earners were working, but they failed to see that the work they were doing had any other value other than paying a wage. They were a small but significant group:

> I don't necessarily see the fact that I have been in paid work outside of the teaching kind of sporting area will affect me too positively. I can't see it having a negative effect, I think it would be like neutral, it is just one of them things that I did ... but I have like the last year I have become more focused on how things I do will affect my career like before I just did them because it was a job I had and it saved me looking for another one ... and I was happy doing it so that was it.
> (Student 3, Female, 21, White British, PE & Sport & Exercise Science, FE college, 1st generation)

This group may have had parents who had attended higher education, but they were those who appear to have found their degree of little use compared to the benefit to be gained from working in full-time employment and working their way up from the bottom:

> [Talking about her sister] ... So dad always says 'why did I pay all that money, what was the point you could have come out of your A-levels and just gone into a job like that and worked your way up to where you are'. I suppose it's fast-tracked her in a way to where she is in that like company but ...
> (Student 11, Female, 19, White British, Christian, English Literature, sixth form college, not 1st generation)

Yorke and Knight (2006) argue that although HEIs are not able to reach directly into students' ECA, they can, through co-curricular activities such as career development, help students to recognise the significance of those activities and represent to best effect achievements that can be supported with evidence from ECA. Earners were, in the main, not being given support by the institution to recognise the value of their participation in paid employment to their future employability. This was particularly true for those students who were forced, because of financial circumstances, to undertake a significant amount of paid employment. This form of participation in ECA invariably was considered of no benefit to the student but was simply a disadvantage:

> ... in the morning I'm always tired and I don't pay attention anyway so I'll just get it off the internet, and I mean I know that's bad but at the end of the day if I'm going to be asleep during it or just not even pay attention then I'd rather like go to the library, and then if I've got any queries follow it up with like the tutor.
> (Student 1, Female, 19, Mixed White and Asian, Sports Nutrition & Exercise, independent/private school, 1st generation)

> ... sometimes I've missed lessons ... because of work because I've just either haven't been able to get out of it or like if lectures are cancelled and moved to another day and I work that day then I can't go to my lesson because it's just too difficult for me to swap and change my shifts ... But you can always do the extra reading you can always catch up on what has gone on in that lecture and all of the

lecturers like literally every single one are really good and put all the notes all the handouts on X-stream anyway so if you do have to miss one you are usually alright.
(Student 11, Female, 19, White British, Christian, English Literature, sixth form college, not 1st generation)

The continuance of inter-generational advantage and disadvantage was evident in the earlier analysis using a cultural capital lens. The section above highlights the negative implications for learning of those students who need to work in order to support themselves.

8. Staff perspectives

8.1 Staff interviews – methodology

We carried out 18 interviews with staff selected from across the range of university courses, and to reflect different length of experience, seniority, gender and ethnic composition. The sample was designed with diversity of experience in mind and was not intended to be representative. Nine of the interviews were with women and out of the total, fifteen self-defined as White and three as BME. Six respondents were at Principle Lecturer level or above. In the reporting we have grouped courses together to indicate the disciplinary/professional areas as this was important for our analysis, but we avoid the use of course titles as this could compromise anonymity. The purpose of the interviews was to understand how staff thought about ECA, to delve into their definitions and probe whether they saw some activities as more legitimate than others, and to explore if and how experiences gained through ECA were represented or acknowledged in any way in the curriculum. We also explored possible areas of tension and if and how they recognised commitments to ECA as legitimate sources of mitigation. The interview schedule is in Appendix V. We used the same prompt sheet of possible ECA that we had used with the students (Appendix IV). The interview varied in length from approximately 30 minutes to one and half hours, with most of them clustering around an hour. The interview approach was to prompt until we were clear about meanings of ECA for the individual, and how individuals understood the curricular in their area in relationship to the extra-curricular.

The analysis was based on repeated reading and analytical coding based on this reading. Our categories were more inductively derived than the analysis of the student data where we had a prior theoretical framing, although it rapidly became apparent that previous work on PDP and disciplinary orientations was relevant (Clegg & Bradley, 2006). In this work we explored different approaches to PDP in relation to Bernstein's distinction between singulars that involve strong boundary maintenance and generic modes where, according to Bernstein, "the performances to which they give rise are directly linked to instrumentalities of the market, to the construction of what are considered to be flexible performances … From this point of view their identity is constructed by the procedures of projection" (Bernstein, 2000, p. 55), and his distinction between introjection and projection. Additionally, it became apparent that the

boundaries between curricular and extra-curricular varied considerably between disciplines/inter-disciplines and professions. As Barnett and Coate (2005) note, 'curriculum' is a missing term in much thinking about higher education. The ways staff defined extra-curricular varied widely depending on their implicit understandings of what they deemed to be the scope of the curricular and therefore what is 'outside' or 'extra' about extra-curricular. Our analysis is presented in two interrelated sections. The first deals with the issue of curricular/extra-curricular. The second deals with a Bernsteinian framing of the differences between the disciplinary, inter-disciplinary and professional courses described by staff. Based on our reading of the interviews we also explored how staff worked with issues of identity in relationship to the student and the extent to which they saw their business as the discipline or knowledge, i.e. as epistemological concerns, and the extent to which they were engaged in the essentially ontological task of producing particular sorts of persons. Different stances on these issues emerged within courses sharing in the same position in our Bernsteinian quadrant.

8.2 Findings

Curricular and extra-curricular mappings and knowledge
We found that:
1. There is considerable blurring of what constitutes curricular and extra-curricular.
2. Many participants appeared not to have stable or highly developed views on the subject prior to interview.
3. Respondents had a varying sense of the extent to which they had knowledge of the ECA in which their students participated.

8.2.1 Blurring of the curricular and extra-curricular

The issue of the boundaries of the curricular became immediately obvious in the ways in which staff approached the question of the extra-curricular. Some staff answered immediately with regard to what *they* provided:

> I interpret the term, for me it's about doing something extra, over and above, providing something extra for the students, over and above the standard kind of 12-week teaching programme so we've got, over and above the theoretical aspects I suppose so that they can apply the theory to the industry.
> (Staff 2, Male, White, SL, Hospitality)

Here, extra-curricular is assumed to be provided by staff in addition to the formal curriculum, which is understood in restricted terms as involving only formally organised classroom teaching. There is a considerable blurring in his definition. Paid work, for example, occupied a double position. Extra-curricular in the sense above, organised as work experience and placement for the students, and also extra-curricular as outside both formal teaching and outside the extended course sense of extra-curricular. This second sense encompassed work in the industry that students were doing out of economic necessity and was organised and initiated by them completely independently of the course. Both forms of employment were valorised as learning experiences

in what is a heavily vocational area. Students without this sort of experience were seen as at a considerable disadvantage in their ability to see the salience of the more theoretical aspects of the course. The distinction that was drawn between the two forms was not in relation to the potential for learning and the relationship to the narrowly conceived formal teaching curriculum, but rather in relationship to the amount of such activity students engaged in that could distract from their studies. This definition of extra-curricular as being initiated by staff, and being seen as both 'extra' and simultaneously a curricular activity was also expressed by a humanities lecturer who spontaneously volunteered the example as follows:

> One thing is that we've got a history of taking students on study trips. Paris for the first-years, so several years of doing that except this year, we didn't have enough people sign up to make it worthwhile so that's collapsed I'm afraid to say. And we've taken second-years on a study trip to Berlin and are planning to take them to Krakow this year so I see that as a kind of extra-curricular activity where there's a kind of, we produce some teaching materials and we take them on educational walks and trips and then give them free time to go and do whatever they want to do.
> (Staff 3, Male, SL, Humanities)

Examples of staff initiated and organised activities being deemed extra-curricular, even where in some instances they earned credit, were common across the disciplines:

> I suppose when I was back as a teacher, I did extra-curricular activities, like drama classes and netball groups and all sorts of things like that, so the whole range of sport and extra interest, creative things here and I would apply that to older people and students and even myself I suppose as well. But I then put, thinking that I'm not as concerned with that sort of thing at the moment, my immediate reaction when you said this and in particular because of what we are dealing with this morning, is that I co-ordinate Erasmus exchanges within the Faculty and so there's that aspect and international placement and I have lots and lots of international links, like project work and various things, so involving students that I can, it's hard work and very little return.
> (Staff 9, Female, SL, Education)

The Erasmus placements bear credit, which the member of staff thinks an advantage.

Who is initiating and what makes these activities extra-curricular is somewhat blurred:

> Activities that students are given that they engage in outside of the course in their own time, but I suppose are provided for by the University.
> (Staff 15, Male, Professor, Built Environment)

This blurring of where the initiative for ECA lies, and whether they are credit bearing or not, is in some ways unsurprising given the high profile advocacy of

volunteering and other community activities within the University. While these sorts of activities might be seen to be classically ECA, engaged in completely outside any form of curricular engagement, the Community Partnerships and Volunteering Office (which is distinct from the SU based Community Action @ Leeds Met) operates both as volunteering and as a form of accredited community learning:

> Well the Community Based Learning is curricular related, so if that's how students and staff are making their links with these low income, these organisations serving low income communities, they are doing it as part of their curriculum. When we try and motivate this and they often ask me to go and talk to the students prior to their programme of study really or learning, I always stress that, and this often is the case, that it's very likely you are going to find this so interesting and so uplifting and such a development of your thinking and understanding and commitments, that you might well want to stay on after you have got your 15 credit points or whatever as a volunteer. Now if that happens, I guess you would call it, you know it goes from curricular to extra-curricular. All the other stuff, the mentoring, the international volunteering, the staff action, well I'll come back to staff action days actually because they are slightly different, but wherever students are involved with us otherwise, yes they would see it as an add-on, as something extra.
> (Staff 10, Male, Manager, Sociology)

This boundary-crossing activity is not unusual, and what constitutes the curricular is likely to become more complex in the future not less so, with more employer-led and influenced programmes and schemes that emphasise the values of experiential and work-based learning outside the University.

Not all staff, however, adopted this cross-over position. Some were very clear that ECA was in addition to the opportunities provided on the course (which included similar examples to the above) and that ECA were genuinely voluntary and outside the course, even though they provided similarly positive opportunities for student learning:

> I envisage that it encompasses sporting activities, paid employment, work experience through students' choice. A range of non-academic work so anything extra to what they're expected to do within the University.
> (Staff 4, Female, Lecturer, Sport and Leisure)

This respondent drew a very clear distinction between work experience that was part of the curriculum and additional ECA even where she helped students gain access to these opportunities:

> ... [work experience] where they're doing it as part of their module, so they have to do 90 hours' worth of work experience, then obviously that's part of their curriculum. However, I do have some students that work with me on some of the projects that I do that are completely voluntary, that, I see that as an extra-curricular activity.
> I currently am working alongside [school] which is a local primary school just at the bottom of the road, on [name], and we've set up a

programme there or we have a committee there that is looking at the healthy eating aspects of the school, school meals, packed lunches but also promotion of physical activity. And then in the Summer we did a health week within the school where we went in and ran activities and did cooking sessions and those sorts of activities so that was part of the programme. And then we continued it and so I do have students that come along with me to the meetings to find out. It's normally the students that are interested in maybe going on to further fields in terms of nutrition or looking, working with children or those sorts of things.
(Staff 4, Female, Lecturer, Sport and Leisure)

She is clear that this activity is entirely voluntary on the students' part. So, although they are working alongside her, for both her and her students the activity is extra-curricular. There are other examples of staff responding with regard to their own voluntary and professional activities outside the University that provide their students with opportunities:

Well the NMC [Nursing and Midwifery Council] would say that as specialist Nurses they need to shape policy so that they can be advocates for their client group and the only way of doing that is to become politically aware of the policy, aware of political drivers and have the skills and knowledge and competence to shape that policy and change the policy if necessary. So there's a lot of skills involved there and the students don't always see where they can get involved in that kind of thing. But there are lots and lots of opportunities as consultation papers come out through the Government so I give them all the opportunity to show how they influence policy by at least taking part in a consultation and giving feedback, but if they can actually be at that baseline where policy is being shaped, that's excellent. Like for instance the Darcy review, that's the review of the NHS, Lord Darcy has been reviewing the NHS and there have been lots of opportunities to provide feedback and to consult with that, we have just had the Nursing and Midwifery Council have just consulted on shaping the pre-registration education curriculum and the post-registration and education curricula.
(Staff 11, Female, SL, Health)

She describes 'bombarding' her students with emails of opportunities that she forwards to them. However, it is clear that the students participate on an entirely voluntary basis and that they initiate participation. The course requires a portfolio and these examples of ECA are therefore highly visible in the course, alongside multiple other examples of her students' ECA including: captain of the ladies hockey team, working in a local children's home, working in a local hospice, Brownie and Guide leadership, Church activities (particularly among African students). She positively values all these as ways of demonstrating leadership and advocacy skills, and she herself is active in her local amateur dramatic society and uses her experiences to model the balancing act of domestic, work, academic and other activities to her mainly female, mature (post-qualifying) students.

8.2.2 Instability of definitions

Although we have distinguished between staff who primarily identified ECA as staff-initiated and part of courses, and student-initiated, voluntary and outside the curriculum in the fuller sense, there was considerable overlap. In some interviews staff appeared to have an unstable definition of ECA switching definitions in the course of the interview and in relationship to the different sorts of activities they discussed. The instability of the term and definitions of ECA are not surprising, given that the term 'curriculum' is not in common usage. 'Module', 'course', 'programme', and 'teaching and learning' all have common currency, but staff are rarely invited to think of 'curricular' understood more broadly. The flavour of the interviews was, therefore, interesting. Our staff respondents appeared not to be re-rehearsing opinions they had already formed and were stable, but rather to be thinking out loud, backtracking and questioning whether that was what they really thought during the course of the interview. The two quotes below are illustrative – the first from the first few minutes of the interview and the second from the last:

> Yeah, it is interesting. It's stuff that students do that we haven't directed them to do which isn't necessarily a requirement of their assessment in some way. But to call it extra-curricular I suppose in my head it does relate in some way to their kind of personal development, their learning, if not being drawn on as part of assessment purposes per se but if it weren't called extra-curricular activities, it would just be life or social life or family life or something like that. And I think some things probably can fall into all those different categories.
> (Staff 1, Female, PL, Design)

> I don't think there is anything in my head that I'm thinking you didn't ask about that, you haven't gone there. What will happen, it's quite true, you've made me think about things that I've not really questioned and thought about myself so I probably will, maybe not in two hours, but in two days or two weeks' time, follow up a train of thought that you've started today. So that's good.
> (Staff 1, Female, PL, Design)

Staff changed positions as they almost argued with themselves in the interviews. Some staff, for example, started by saying they would not regard paid employment as an ECA and then later in the interview went on to talk about the possible benefits and how work might be legitimately conceptualised as an ECA. Our participants also checked with us about whether they talking about the 'right' things and, as above, a number of them said they would go away and think about ECA more and perhaps also reconsider how they treated them in their teaching.

8.2.3 Staff knowledge

The interviews also provoked questions for staff about what they actually knew about their students, their own positionality and identity, and some reflections about the increasingly mass nature of higher education:

I am conscious that our students are involved in other activities and, because a number of our students are from the region, they'll often do them at home. It's not far to go to go home. So yeah, they're involved in a range of activities at home but you know I don't have experience of students being … OK, I suppose for me the bottom line is, we haven't done research into what students do when they're at home. What we do, what we do know is that students, we are getting more students from, from the region than we used to do and fewer students from, you know, the extremities and students have generally done some form of extra, extra-curricular activity whether it's paid work or voluntary work. The thing is, we don't actually know what they do.
(Staff 6, Male, PL, Sport and Leisure)

Knowledge of students was also mediated through the academics own personal interests and identities:

One of the problems for me is that as I have become more senior in the School, I have become more separated from the students. So I don't know students now, in the last two or three years, as I would have known them before. Certainly when I started, more students talked to me about what they did outside of their course, as in terms of either voluntary work or sporting activities in particular, and occasionally their role within the Students' Union. Now, I don't know if it is that students aren't doing it as much, or whether I am just not having that kind of relationship with students that enables them to talk about what they do outside of their course.
(Staff 15, Male, Professor, Built Environment)

While another staff member felt that she was aware of some students' activities based on her own (Muslim) religious identity:

Faith and cultural activities, again depending on which groups you're looking at, certainly the, from my point of view, because I am Pakistani, maybe I've got a greater awareness of what goes on in the Pakistani faith or the Muslim faith, and the Indian culture as well, I tend to know a little bit about that. So I think the Pakistani, the Muslim and the Indian students tend to be quite involved in cultural activities. I'm not sure whether that would be the same for other British students or not but again that's probably my ignorance of what goes on outside of those cultures to be honest.
(Staff 7, Female, SL, Health)

Knowledge of students appeared to be highly gendered, with more male lecturers having knowledge of the sporting activities and interests and more women lecturers giving examples of their students caring and other responsibilities. However, there were also felt to be institutional and organisational reasons for their relative ignorance or knowledge relating to the size and organisation of courses, with unsurprisingly smaller courses and course teams facilitating a greater feeling of knowing about students ECA activities, whereas larger courses limited their sense of knowing. Moreover, factors like student paid employment, and accessibility of campus parking were

felt to limit the amount of time students actually spent on campus, again restricting the sense in which students were viewed by staff as part of the University community and limiting students' access to opportunities for legitimate peripheral participation in university life.

8.3 Disciplinary orientations, epistemology and ontology

We found that:
1. Discipline, inter-disciplinary and profession orientations varied in their degree of projection and that this was associated with the valuing of ECA.
2. There are differences between courses that are primarily knowledge or ontologically orientated and the understanding of ECA.
3. Staff were aware of disbenefits as well as benefits of ECA.

8.3.1 Degrees of introjection and projection

A simplified Bernsteinian model allows us to distinguish between courses based on whether they are primarily singular or generic, and whether they are primarily based on introjection or projection. This does not equate simply to discipline, in previous work we have shown that in some circumstances both history and science can share the same mapping depending on the orientations of the course (Clegg & Bradley, 2006). There is nothing essentialist about our approach as we are adopting this mapping purely as a heuristic in trying to make sense of our data. As in our previous research we are interested in these positions based on the local understanding and structure of courses themselves not some prior or pure conception of discipline as such. However, the mapping does help us distinguish between: traditional academic orientations (singular involving strong boundary maintenance, and introjection based on an orientation towards distinctive academic concerns and knowledge); and professional courses such as Health and Education based on projection outwards to the profession but with strong boundary maintainence. Market/employment-orientated courses are projectional but involve loose boundary maintenance with regard to the curriculum, and similarly highly value-orientated areas like global ethics have loose boundaries but the projectional is towards the ethical values of the voluntary sector and NGOs rather than the market. We have distinguished between these two forms of generic/projection in order to flag the ways in which not all projectional projects are necessarily simply orientated to the market, but might in themselves share highly valorised ethical stances that have much in common with volunteering; this position is characteristic of some of the courses in global ethics. We did not have data that could be characterised as residing in the introjection/generic position and we suspect this positioning is rarer; however, we speculate that some courses in some places might fill that space – for example, there are developments in the field of global ethics that while highly generic are introverted in their academic orientation. The examples in our study, however, were clearly projectional.

Figure 5: Mapping the disciplines

	Singular	Generic
Introjection	Examples: Humanities, Sociology	
Projection	Examples: Education, Health	Examples market/employment: Sport and Leisure, Hospitality, Design, Music Technology Examples value: Global Ethics

In presenting our analysis around this mapping we should be understood to be generating theory rather than testing it. However, our data suggest that there are some distinctive patterns in relationship to the understanding of ECA and their recognition in the curriculum that are related to the orientations of courses.

The more academic courses (introjection/singular) appeared to valorise the sorts of ECA that could be seen to relate to the curriculum in a direct way and to struggle with relating to ECA to more general outcomes such as employability. The example in the previous section of the History trip is a good one, where a study trip had been organised with notes from staff. This activity could be seen as directly contributing to the knowledge base of the subject. The same participant also gave examples of where participation in political events and seminars was positively valued in relation to curriculum content. However, while recognising that such participation might also contribute to employability this respondent described himself and his colleagues as struggling with their expertise in making these linkages:

> *Staff 3*: I think they need to be encouraged to realise that they can draw upon these things [ECA]. Again go back to the Employability Office as the people who I think are kind of like best at doing that.
> *I*: And you know the Employability Office do they offer that service across the University?
> *Staff 3*: They do but they're only small and I think they've got smaller and they've got, they might have a limited life span so they've said to us that this is the last year they're gonna help us and that really they think we ought to embed it ourselves and do it ourselves whereas we think well, we don't know anything about this really. This isn't our area of expertise.
> *I*: They're the experts?
> *Staff 3*: Yes, they're the experts so we're just gonna get, you know we're just amateurs about it. If we could get better jobs we would have got better jobs and gone so … I have been given like a big folder of, you know about employability and PDP etc for the future.
> (Staff 3, Male, SL, Humanities)

This interviewee also represented paid work as creating problems for the course:

> *Staff 3*: I think more students are just relying on student loans but there are always some who are, who do have to work. And actually in terms of extra-curricular activity, if that's included as extra-curricular activity, that is probably where there's a bigger tension of, between our demands and their demands. You know like people unable to make seminars because they've got work commitments or missing lectures because they've got work commitments or whatever it is. There's always several students who are in that position.
> *I*: Right and do you have a sort of position or a stand on that, how you would deal with that?
> *Staff 3*: Well, by negotiation really because I think, I've got to say that you must prioritise your academic commitments. That's got to be the main thing but we recognise that you know some people are going to have to work and if there's a clash, we expect you to resolve it in favour of your academic demands.
> (Staff 3, Male, SL, Humanities)

These tensions extended to other activities, not just employment. Activities that distracted from the intellectual engagement with the course and created conflicting time demands were seen as causing difficulties:

> I think some of the sporting activities – we have problems in that our timetable is always very crammed, and so we have to have lectures and seminars on a Wednesday morning. And we don't have a lot of students who are actively involved in sport at a very high level, but I think that has occasionally caused problems in the past with them needing to go fixtures and that kind of thing. Political activities – I think the students on the History Politics degree probably benefit from that kind of involvement, because it is what they are studying anyway. And to be honest, I think family and domestic responsibilities probably detract from your engagement with the course.
> (Staff 12, Female, Reader, Humanities)

While this tension was a theme across the whole dataset, it nonetheless appeared to be more acute in relationship to those courses/modules that were most firmly rooted in the academic and is a major structuring theme in this interview. One member of staff reflecting back on his experiences in Sociology generalised the argument in much the same way as we are suggesting in this report:

> Well I mean, my colleagues, I mean it was blatant, my colleagues didn't think in sociology, didn't think there was either the time or the expertise to get students out into neighbourhoods for their dissertations or for part of their learning experiences and I never tried to introduce it, I mean I used to encourage students who wanted to do dissertations that were slightly of a more engaged nature, I used to encourage them, but it was positively discouraged by other colleagues, it was one of the things that absolutely amazes me about the social sciences here and there are other universities where they

have massive programmes of community-based learning, you know, fully accredited, I have seen module handbooks and things, so my stuff are doing amazing work with their students in the social sciences, so to be honest I haven't really, you know in my own teaching practice, I haven't really tested this out and I have become much more interested in it and making much more effort to promote it in this new job and where I am pushing at a completely open door is with all the vocational courses, whether it's PR students or whether it's Sport and Leisure students or whether its Occupational Health or whatever, they see all these connections.
(Staff 10, Male, Manager, Sociology)

While we are not suggesting that Humanities or Sociology are distinctive in these respects, and it would be easy to imagine courses with the same disciplinary basis but with a different orientation, it does seem likely that courses that are singular and introjected will struggle with the language and ideology of the contributions of ECA, even in fact if students on these courses are gaining both curricular and extra-curricular benefits (Clegg & Bradley, 2004).

In contrast to the introjected/singular position of the courses above, staff on Health and Education courses (projected/singular) embraced the contribution of ECA. Our respondents on some of these courses gave sophisticated accounts of how the ECA of their students were recognised within the courses. They were used as launch pads for reflections and documented as part of a portfolio demonstrating the developing the attributes necessary for future graduate employment and leadership:

Interestingly, even those who are employed by their Trusts [NHS Trusts are responsible for the delivery of health care] and will go back to work in that Trust, they are working at a lower level and have got to apply for their job as a specialist level, so they are still in that. Some Trusts kind of have a process that when you have done the degree you'll automatically get it, and some are being supported by one Trust but only for that period of time while they are doing the course and then they have got to look for a job, so they have got to look for a job, and we do employability and CV building as part of the course. But I do stress the importance of those other things that are done outside of the work, like for instance the Chair of the hockey club or the Captain of the hockey team and the Brownie leader and the Lay Preacher, you know the different things they do, that those are actually important things to get down on your CV, and they wouldn't necessarily think it is. But you know, saying to them how you can articulate that what you are doing there is helping you to be the good specialist nurse that they want you to be. You know the Captain of the hockey team, most of her kids are about 16, 17, you know so she has, she manages young people with all the kind of facets of their personality and challenges that go with it and that's really excellent for her work that she's in working in her paid time.
(Staff 11, Female, SL, Health)

Similarly in Education, ECA were valued but there were anxieties about a narrowing of curriculum that made the valuing of ECA more difficult:

> Well I think and strongly believe we should be accounting for the breadth of what they're doing and experiences and valuing it and I definitely, because when you're working with young children coming from a range of backgrounds, some of our students have got narrow experiences and how do we widen that so that they can work in children's best needs. So yes, I'm not sure without rewriting our courses which we have just done, how we would get there. But I think we should be valuing them, we should be showing this is of value, this is really important.
> (Staff 9, Female, SL, Education)

She attributed the narrowing of the curriculum, and the scope therefore for being able to recognise the value of extra-curricular, to external professional regulation and the narrowing effects of government reforms of the curriculum in schools. She felt that these pressures were restricting the capacity of courses like hers to develop the full range of graduate attributes she would like to see and that she felt were necessary for professional flourishing. The tone of the interview was one of regret for a period in which there was more scope for a recognition of the value of ECA.

This desire to incorporate and recognise ECA was echoed by respondents in our projected/generic quadrant. Although analytically we have distinguished market and values-orientated courses, there were strong value drivers in the more market/employment-orientated courses as well, but as might be expected this was seamlessly integrated in the global ethics courses. Volunteering has a double position as an extra-curricular activity, but also as a module that functions as the work experience module for the course:

> *Staff 18*: Amnesty, People and Planet and things like going to Menwith Hill on vigils. But we've also actively encouraged this on the course because last year we had a conference in October titled 'How to Change the World' and we invited in lots of campaign groups to make it easy for them to make the connections. … But a lot talk about the activities they're involved in to get brownie points and also they ask me to advise other students. But they also talk about the difficulties of doing paid work. The other thing, I don't know how you'd put it in the continuum of ECAs, but as part of the course some do a lot of travelling. Several have time out before they come and for example one goes back to the country he visited then. She's gained an interest and her sister is doing Voluntary Service Overseas or something there. And also our students have to do a volunteering module as part of their course and she's going back to do that there.
> *I*: Why a volunteering module?
> *Staff* 18: One of the difficulties with the sorts of jobs our students go into is how do you get experience. So we devised the module to give them experience and also credit on the course. They can go locally or nationally or internationally. We hope they'll develop an ongoing relationship but we are clear that they are students and learning.
> (Staff 18, Female, SL, Global Ethics)

This latter point echoes the comments we made in the previous section about the instability of categories. 'Volunteering' is both part of the curriculum and extra-curricular but arguably the forms of learning and potential for graduate outcomes are the same on these types of courses.

Similarly in the hospitality area there are overlaps between employment in the industry that is extra-curricular and employment as work experience. The different position, however, doesn't reduce tensions between the priorities of education and the priorities of employers:

> And they brought the timetable out, the staff rota. And he was on 35 hours. And he keeps saying to his employer 'I can't do these hours' and they say 'well we need you, we need you, we need you. It's either that or nothing'. So the industry needs to get a grip. They need to understand. And they don't because I know for a fact, because I've worked in industry, there's a huge gap between what we're trying to do and what the industry wants of these young people. They want it both ways. They're very naïve, I don't know what the word, very naïve about you know the importance of, in some cases very derogatory of what we're trying to do, what we're trying to provide and I think they take the mick. But that's because of the diversity of the industry. The hospitality industry is very diverse. It's very kind of fragmented. Eighty per cent of the industry is small employers and the job's got to be done. If there's people in front of you to be served and this is why you've got this paradox I suppose between this young lad who wants to do his studies and it's 20 years he's thinking ahead and they're thinking about today, they're thinking about the hour where they haven't got cover in the restaurant so, you know… but you do get… I've been on some student visits in the last couple of weeks, students that are on placement in hotels and I almost kind of pray before I go into the hotel that the supervisor for the student that's on this placement, this young student that's 19 years old, has got someone that's got empathy, better still they've been a trainee manager before or they've done a degree and they've done a placement year and they understand that there's a kind of payback. The student's not there as an extra pair of hands. They're there to learn. They're also there to earn money and do a good job but they're there.
> (Staff 2, Male, SL, Hospitality)

So even clear curricular benefits do not mitigate the very real time pressures students experience:

> ... we have got some very high level performers on the courses that I teach on and sometimes they are taken away on tours, they have big matches, they have squad training and so on and sometimes students get behind but we try to help them compensate for that through the extension system, so you know sometimes there's a concern but often that's, the reason for that concern is because they're doing well in another area so I think you take some of these issues with a pinch of salt. I think we can work around students who

are, who are pushing the boundaries in their other worlds in this world because this is an important process here, the education process, but we can still nurse this along whilst they're doing their other activities so … education shouldn't really be a chore for them and we don't have to be beating them with a big stick either.
(Staff 6, Male, PL, Sport and Leisure)

However, it is clear on these more projectional courses that ECA, often involving paid employment, are considered crucial for the achievement of graduate outcomes even if these experiences (whether course or student initiated) present real challenges for course management.

8.3.2 Knowing and being

The distinctions between courses that have a strong emphasis on epistemology and those courses that seem to more at home with the ontological dimensions involved in producing a particular kind of person are clearly related to the analysis above. In this section, however, we want to specifically focus on the differential stress on knowing and being. These differences appear to be entailed by how staff think about the curriculum. They also influence the extent to which staff are happy to see PDP and other aspects of the curriculum as being about the whole person, or whether their concerns are more narrowly epistemologically focused. This should not be taken to equate with teacher-focused or student-focused as we did not probe this aspect, rather it is about how the student is understood in relation to the curriculum. The holistic ontological focus crossed the boundary between singulars and generic, and was a shared characteristic of both the Health and Education (singular/projectional) and Design (generic/projectional) courses. The Design courses have a very clear sense of developing the whole person and that therefore extending the horizons of students as people is fundamental:

We are always encouraging students to discover new cultures, new ways of living, working. A big frustration when we have an homogeneous student group in Design is that they end up designing for other 18-24 year olds, white, middle-class. There is actually a big world out there you've got to design for, to become a professional, so kicking them out to Japan for a year or going on exchanges to Milan or doing voluntary work in Indonesia or working in a call centre next to – forgive me – ordinary people. You know normal people! Is a bloody good thing for them to do! You know it opens their eyes up to sort of … to, for people that they are going to be designing for and challenges some of theirs and through them, their tutors' prejudices as well, towards mindsets, this is the way that the world is. The more experiences they have the more we can challenge that and the more that then means that you can see new and creative and innovative ways of doing stuff I suppose so yes, it is valuable and good fun, it keeps them happy too.
(Staff 1, Female, PL, Design)

This means that the courses adopt a promiscuous approach to ECA – perhaps the broadest in the whole dataset – which is that anything that is meaningful to

the student can become part of a legitimate concern for their curricular activities and indeed for their later being as designers:

> But also, it does give you a basis of conversation to find out more about what they are doing, to make it feel as though you are dealing with them as a holistic person which I truly do believe we have to do in, particularly in this kind of education. I couldn't teach with a capital T where I had to stand up in front of 200 students and that was the only kind of contact I had with them. We do do a lot of one-to-one work. We have that luxury and that privilege and long may we hold on to it at some level or another. So if you are going to ask a first-year student, and again the younger ones in particular, 'tell me about yourself, who are you? Where do you come from?' it's like 'I'm me, I'm just me'. It's difficult for them to do it but if you start saying you know, 'do you work? Tell us about your family, have you got siblings? Where do you go on holiday?' and sort of teasing out that stuff allows you in without them feeling like they are going through some kind of therapy session. We just chat about the other things that they do.
> (Staff 1, Female, PL, Design)

The luxury of small cohesive courses was a key factor for this sort of engagement both in Health and Design. There was also a clear sense of ease among the respondents about handling professional boundaries and drawing on their own life experiences. Some of these forms of talking appeared clearly gendered, but this is confounded by discipline as, with exception of Design, they were areas where women predominate; this is an area for further investigation. The ability to be comfortable with aspects of a student's life that might fall outside a traditional definition of ECA are likely to be related to the characteristics and aspirations of students. Staff 7 from Health, for example, was comfortable in describing a student dealing with terminal illness and was happy to draw on the faith experiences of her BME students and involving these aspects of their lives in classroom learning. While recognising the clear perils of going too far, the designer cited above spoke of the ways highly personal experiences could be creatively reworked in design practice:

> And even sort of very personal life experiences so, I am thinking of one particular student. I am very nervous when students try and use their creative studies as therapy but we have had on occasion students dealing with issues around self harm or bereavement or things like that. And in a very cautious way if there's enough distance, if they're strong enough, we'd maybe use that as part of their design development work as well.
> (Staff 1, Female, PL, Design)

This sort of approach is rather different from the need for 'experience' in Sport or Hospitality and is about the being of the student. There are also differences in the size and structure of courses. Sport and Hospitality share some of the same characteristics of the courses we encountered in the humanities. Both had a more strongly epistemological focus and appeared to be more orientated to the skills and knowledge necessary to succeed as a hospitality worker or an historian rather than the production of a particular sort of ethical, creative being. While these conclusions are tentative they do point us back to the fundamental

issue we started with about the lack of debate about curriculum (Barnett & Coates, 2005). If curricula are radically different in their boundaries, purposes and orientations, and if staff envisage the sorts of graduates they are producing in very different ways then it is unsurprising that, as we have found, the relationship of ECA to both curricular activities and graduate futures varies and is unstable.

8.3.3 Possible disbenefits

Whatever their orientations all staff appeared to acknowledge that there are some tensions over time, particularly, though not exclusively, in relation to paid work:

> ... the only time it can be disadvantageous is if there is, if the activity's paid and the student is desperately short of money and therefore they have to work to pay for their progress on the course and sadly, we have lots of students in that situation these days. Then of course that means that they sometimes are prevented from engaging in the course as much as they would like to or maybe as much as they should because they have to work. They have to work late and be up early for a nine 'o'clock lecture in the morning. That always saddens me because I remember when I was a student, the students on full-time courses were full-time students but things have changed a lot in recent years and that's rather quite sad. So that's, that's one area where I, or should I say one example where I think it could be a disadvantage.
> (Staff 5, Male, PL, Music Technology)

This member of staff, in common with many others, had given numerous examples of students creatively engaged in all sorts of work that could be relevant, and other ECA including a club run by technicians. His students emerged in his account of them as highly engaged and, although he recognised that not all staff were as encouraging as he felt himself to be, he worked hard to encourage his students to gain the full benefits of ECA for their graduate futures. Like most of our respondents, however, he recognised the real structural constraints on students' engagement. Many staff were frustrated and urged students to concentrate on their courses and recognised that absence was likely to be associated with less successful outcomes. How staff dealt with these dilemmas with regard to their own values varied; one Health staff member felt family comes first, while a female Humanities staff member felt the student must prioritise the academic. Sympathy prevailed, but nonetheless the problems of excessive work, family or other domestic commitments (although definitions of 'excessive' varied) were seen as invariably negative for curriculum engagement. As we have seen above this concern extended to sports engagement, which although on both sports- and non-sports- related courses was regarded as largely beneficial nonetheless presented challenges if the commitments became excessive as regards time. One of the advantages of our non-normative approach to the question of ECA was that it allowed staff to explore both the manifold benefits of engagement, but also to explore the real difficulties they encountered.

9. Conclusions

The overall conclusions from our research can be summarised as follows:

1. There is a considerable lack of clarity in definitions of ECA. While traditional definitions based on volunteering, cultural activities and some forms of work are shared, there was greater ambivalence regarding other forms of paid work, caring, and faith-based activities.
2. There is considerable variation in the habitus of courses, both as described by students and in the different disciplinary and professional orientations of courses as described by staff. Valuing of student ECA is influenced both positively and negatively by the dispositions of staff and their disciplinary orientations.
3. There is considerable evidence that inter-generational cultural capital is influential in the dispositional stances of students to taking advantage of ECA. The influence of the parents' own participation and dispositions towards voluntary and other forms of social engagement appears to be more important than parental education per se, but parental education is positively associated with the likelihood of their participation.
4. School experiences strongly influence the dispositions of students towards ECA.
5. While structural factors shape likelihood of participation, students exercise considerable agency in the ways they engage in ECA and in the identities they form in relation to both learner and employment communities of practice.
6. Some forms of paid employment are valued by both students and staff but tensions are reflected by both. The recognition of these tensions seems unlikely to be capable of resolving the dilemmas faced by staff and students alike.
7. The valuing of caring remains highly gendered among both staff and students and, with the exception of courses based on caring, this militates against it being regarded as of worth.

9.1 Discussion and recommendations

The lack of clear, or stable, definitions of ECA emerged from all three of our data sources as evidenced in the variations between prompted and unprompted responses. The qualitative data revealed multiple definitions and respondents changed and refined their definitions in the course of the interviews. Both staff and student data provided examples of activities that might be legitimately thought of as part of the curriculum. This instability of definition in part stems from the lack of any clear conceptualisation of curriculum in higher education more generally (Barnett & Coate, 2005), but also suggests that it is the activity itself that is valued for its possible connection to graduate futures, rather than where the activity was organised or its position in relation to curriculum. Both staff and students appeared to value the intrinsic characteristics of volunteering, for example, regardless of whether this was organised as part of community learning, featured in the curriculum, or was extra-curricular in the more traditional sense. This finding suggests the need for a clearer articulation of the qualities that might inhere in different sorts of activities and a recognition that

the broad categories of work or volunteering or caring, for example, can involve radically different experiences. Benefits are not just a property of the activity as such, but pertain to the varied meanings staff and students imbue them with. There are, however, limitations on the extent to which these meanings are open. Both staff and students recognised the significance of time in relation to benefits and also recognised elements of constraint or freedom in choosing activities – work and caring being the most obvious examples.

Our second conclusion relates to these definitional matters since the ease with which recognition of ECA were integrated into the habitus was closely related to how staff understood the purpose of their courses and whether the orientation was introjected or projected, singular or generic. While students participated as legitimate peripheral participants in the discourse of the discipline/profession, they did not frame their narratives as strongly in relationship to disciplinary orientation. It is clear from students' accounts, however, that the habitus of different courses (understood as durable patterns of thought and behaviour, resulting from internalisation of culture or objective social structures and the capitals valued in that field) varied between courses/disciplines/professions. Not all these differences were cultural. Some courses, mainly those where the profession strongly influenced the necessary nature of the student experience, were small, informal, and intimate. In other areas courses were much larger and the channels of interaction between students and staff were more impersonal. This is not to deny the individual agency of staff, or the ways individuals could make a difference as was manifestly clear from the student interviews, but it is to suggest that higher education is not a unified field.

Taken together with our first findings, concerning lack of clarity of definition, we would suggest that the contribution of both the curriculum and ECA to graduate outcomes requires clearer articulation. Based on the clear disciplinary differences we would further suggest that this is best done by practitioners (academics, professionals, employers, and students) in their respective fields along the lines described by Barrie (2004, 2006). This work is a requirement for curricular change to properly recognise the extra-curricular and for the field to exemplify how it shapes and contributes to graduate futures. This could lead to a greater consistency in the recognition of the ECA in the field, as it is clear from the student and staff data that this recognition, and hence the potential for learning and enhanced graduate futures, is patchy and subject to individual variation.

Recommendation 1 Graduate outcomes should be properly debated and specified within the fields made up by the different disciplines/professions. This work should include considerations of both the curriculum and the extra-curricular and should produce definitions of ECA relevant to the field.

The finding that parental participation is strongly associated with students' engagement in ECA is important, since it means that some students are considerably advantaged particularly in relationship to traditional ECA. There have, of course, been huge debates both about the class nature of social capital generated in social networks and about the general decline in community and

civic society activities (Putnam, 2000). The debate is too big to enter here, but we know that this sort of inter-generational capital advantages students and our research appears to confirm this. However, what our research also appears to suggest is that schools have done much positive work. If we take this finding alongside the insights of Yosso (2005), we think it is, therefore, sensible to recommend that higher education might pay closer attention to the capacities and capabilities that students bring with them from school and community since we know that inter-generational influenced activities are more likely to reinforce the status quo rather than challenge it. Moreover, we should endeavour to be sensitive to issues of time in relationship in the student lifeworld as it appears from this research, and from our previous work (Clegg & Bufton, 2008), that school continues to have salience for students in ways that staff with their more future-orientated timescapes (Adam, 1995, 2003) do not always recognise.

Recommendation 2 In recognising the contribution of ECA to the curriculum and to likely graduate outcomes, staff should consider ways appropriate to their field of allowing students opportunities to identify community cultural capital including that derived from school.

While we have emphasised the clear structural dimensions and inter-generational dimensions of participation in ECA and of the contribution to imagined graduate futures, it is absolutely clear that attention to agency and to the identity work of students in relationship to the communities of practice of work and learning are of profound importance. There is interesting theoretical work in the social sciences, notably by Archer (2007) in *Making our Way though the World,* that emphasises the active work associated with both social mobility and social immobility. Thomas and Quinn (2007) usefully remind us that inter-generational capital is a reciprocal not a one-way relationship. We would suggest, therefore, that we need further, more in-depth research that explores these issues of agency and identity more fully (see also Clegg, 2006).

Recommendation 3 More research is required to identify the active role of student agency in creating active learner and employment identities.

Our conclusions concerning employment undertaken out of economic necessity are hardly surprising. Our data provide positive examples from both student and staff about the ways in which the ways students integrate experiences into building a CV oriented towards graduate futures. There are also clear concerns about attendance and the relationship of course participation to success. Accounts of employers pressurising students, and failing to be flexible were also evident. Some previous research has looked to the ways in which curriculum can adapt to meeting the needs of students faced with employment (e.g. Smith *et al.*, 2004). Our research, however, suggests that there nonetheless remain very real tensions that are not simply attitudinal, although of course there are varying degrees of recognition and curriculum adaptation. We have decided to make a recommendation that recognises many students will continue to need to work, but looks towards attempting to understand the ways in which employers might be brought into the debate. This recommendation is not entailed by our

findings, rather our findings provoked us into the recognition of a gap in our knowledge and conceptualisations. Employers have clearly a stake in graduate attributes, but we know little, or nothing, about how they regard the neophyte graduates in their employment who are currently engaged in what for the student is an ECA.

Recommendation 4 Research is required that explores how employers regard their student employees and what, if any, attempts are made to recognise curricular pressures on students in relationship to what for them is an ECA.

Our final conclusion relates to the gendered nature of caring responsibilities and again in relationship to the general sociological literature, this presents no surprises. Women now make up over half the undergraduate higher education population and their participation might be accounted one of higher education's success stories. However, differential participation by discipline/profession remains. Our survey data also indicate that women may be less likely to self-report activities as ECA. Our final recommendation is, therefore, for more research into how gendered and other social judgements influence the valorisation of ECA. Our data were insufficient to identify any patterns in relationship to faith or ethnicity, although the examples we had of where religion was positively valued both came from the health area. We therefore suspect that recognition is highly complex phenomenon and relates to the intersections between class, race, gender and other forms of difference, rather than operating separately.

Recommendation 5 More research is required that addresses issues of inter-sectionality in relationship to the differential valuing of ECA.

We are aware that three of our five recommendations relate to calls for more research. The reasons for this are twofold: the relative lack of prior research, and our findings themselves, which revealed a complex, messy story. Our data are immensely rich and provide insight into the complexity of the meanings and valuing of ECA. We are cautious, therefore, of making firm policy or curriculum recommendations that are not entailed by our findings. Rather we hope the readers of this report will be stimulated to ask more questions of their own students, to consider more deeply the meaning of their curriculum, and to question their own definitions and valuing of the different forms of ECA.

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Appendix I Student survey

Please answer the following questions

Q1   **Gender**

	Male	Female
	❑	❑

Q2   **How old were you on your last birthday?**

_____

Q3   **What is your nationality?**

British		❑
EU		❑
Other		❑

If EU or other, please specify your nationality

_____

_____

Q4   **How would you describe your ethnic origin?**

White: *British*	❑	**Asian / Asian British**: *Chinese*	❑
White: *Irish*	❑	**Other Asian background**	❑
Other White background	❑	**Mixed White and Black African**	❑
Black / Black British: *African*	❑	**Mixed White and Black Caribbean**	❑
Black / Black British: *Caribbean*	❑	**Mixed White and Asian**	❑
Other Black background	❑	**Other mixed background**	❑
Asian / Asian British: *Indian*	❑	**Other Ethnic background**	❑
Asian / Asian British: *Pakistani*	❑	**Prefer not to say**	❑
Asian / Asian British: *Bangladeshi*	❑		

Q5   **Do you belong to any particular religion?**

Prefer not to say	❑
No	❑

Yes - please specify

_____

_____

Q6   **Are you currently living in**

A university hall or flat	❑
A house or flat shared with other students	❑
A house or flat shared with non-students	❑
A house or flat on your own	❑
Your family home	❑

Other type of accommodation - please specify

_____

_____

Q7   **Which qualification are you currently studying?**

BA (Hons) or BSc (Hons)	❑
HND or Fd	❑

Other - please specify

_____

_____

Q8   **Which faculty do you belong to?**

Carnegie Faculty of Sport & Education	❑
Faculty of Arts & Society	❑
Faculty of Business & Law	❑
Innovation North	❑
Faculty of Health	❑
Leslie Silver International Faculty	❑

Q9   Which subject area are you studying e.g. Education, Nursing, Tourism?

_____

_____

Q10 Before becoming a student at Leeds Met, what type of educational institution did you attend?

A further education college	❑
A sixth form college	❑
A comprehensive school in the state sector	❑
A grammar school in the state sector	❑
An independent / private school	❑
Other - please specify	

_____

_____

Q11 Before becoming a student at Leeds Met, what was your main course of study?

An AVCE course	❑	Vocational A-levels	❑
A GNVQ course	❑	Irish Leaving Certificate: Higher	❑
A BTEC course	❑	Scottish Advanced Higher	❑
An Access course	❑	IB Diploma	❑
GCE A-levels	❑		
Other - please specify			

_____

_____

Q12 Have your parents, guardians or carers studied at a higher education institution (e.g. a college of HE, polytechnic or university)?

Yes, one parent / guardian	❑
Yes, both parents / guardians	❑
No, none	❑

Q13 Do you participate in any extra-curricular activities?

| Yes | ❑ |
| No | ❑ |

Q14 Was the availability of extra-curricular activities a factor in choosing Leeds Met?

| Yes | ❑ |
| No | ❑ |

EMPLOYMENT INSIDE LEEDS MET
By this, we mean work based at the University with Leeds Met as the employer.

Q15 Do you have any paid employment inside Leeds Met?

Yes - at the moment	❑
Yes - within the last twelve months	❑
No	❑

Q16 How many jobs do you have inside Leeds Met?

1 ❏

2 ❏

3 ❏

More than 3 ❏

Q17 Approximately how many hours in total do you work each week inside Leeds Met?

0-5 hours per week ❏

6-10 hours per week ❏

11-15 hours per week ❏

16-20 hours per week ❏

21+ hours per week ❏

Q18 How did you find or obtain your job(s) inside Leeds Met? Please tick more than 1 box, if necessary.

Leeds Met Job Shop Service ❏

Through a Leeds Met course ❏

Personal contact or word of mouth ❏

Other - please specify

_____

_____

Q19 By working in paid employment inside Leeds Met, have you learnt any new skills?

Unsure ❏

No ❏

Yes - please list

_____

_____

_____

Q20 How much do you think your work inside Leeds Met will help your career? Please answer on a score of 0 to 10, where 0 is no help at all and 10 is extremely helpful.

0	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*
❏	❏	❏	❏	❏	❏	❏	❏	❏	❏	❏

Q21 Do you know what the Student Ambassador scheme at Leeds Met is?

No ❏

Yes - I have worked as a Student Ambassador at Leeds Met ❏

Yes - but I have not worked as a Student Ambassador at Leeds Met ❏

EMPLOYMENT OUTSIDE LEEDS MET

Q22 Do you have any paid employment outside Leeds Met?

Yes ❏

No ❏

Q23 How many jobs do you have outside Leeds Met?

1 ❏

2 ❏

3 ❏

More than 3 ❏

Q24 Approximately how many hours in total do you work each week outside Leeds Met?

0-5 hours per week ❏

6-10 hours per week	❏
11-15 hours per week	❏
16-20 hours per week	❏
21+ hours per week	❏

Q25 How did you find or obtain your job (s) outside Leeds Met? Please tick more than 1 box, if necessary.

Leeds Met Job Shop Service	❏
Through a Leeds Met course	❏
External employment agency	❏
Personal contact or word of mouth	❏
Newspaper or website	❏
Other - please specify	_____
	_____

Q26 When did you begin to work outside Leeds Met?

Before becoming a student at Leeds Met	❏
After becoming a student at Leeds Met	❏

Q27 By working in paid employment outside Leeds Met, have you learnt any new skills?

Unsure	❏
No	❏
Yes - please list	_____
	_____
	_____
	_____

Q28 How much do you think your work outside Leeds Met will help your career? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10 where 0 is no help at all and 10 is extremely helpful.

0	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*
❏	❏	❏	❏	❏	❏	❏	❏	❏	❏	❏

INVOLVEMENT IN LEEDS MET ACTIVITIES

This section focuses on activities that are organised (either formally or informally) through Leeds Met e.g. through the Students' Union or through your course.

Q29 For each of the following groups of activities, please tell us which ones you did inside school or college before coming to Leeds Met and which ones you do now at Leeds Met. Please tick all that apply.

	Before university as part of school / college	*Now at Leeds Met*
Art / Drama / Music	❏	❏
Faith / cultural activities	❏	❏
Political activity	❏	❏
Sport and / or other physical activity	❏	❏
Volunteering	❏	❏
Other activity	❏	❏

Q30 How many hours a week on average do you spend doing these activities at Leeds Met? (Include travel, training or general organisation etc.)

1-5 hours	*6-10 hours*	*11-15 hours*	*16-20 hours*	*21+ hours*	*Not applicable*

Art / Drama / Music	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Faith / cultural activities	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Political activity	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Sport and / or other physical activity	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Volunteering	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Other activity	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

Q31 **Do you participate in any competitions or examinations, or activity at a high level related to the above? (e.g. BUSA Team Championships in football, delegate to a regional or national conference, sitting on the regional executive of the Students' Union.)**

No   ❑

Yes - please describe _____

_____

Q32 **How do you think being involved in any of these activities will help your career?**

_____

_____

_____

_____

INVOLVEMENT IN ACTIVITIES OUTSIDE LEEDS MET

This section focuses on activities that take place outside the university.

Q33 **For each of the following groups of activities, please tell us which ones you did outside school or college before coming to Leeds Met and which ones you do now outside Leeds Met. Please tick all that apply.**

	Before university outside school / college	*Now outside Leeds Met*
Art / Drama / Music	❑	❑
Faith / cultural activities	❑	❑
Family, domestic or caring responsibilities	❑	❑
Political activity	❑	❑
Sport and / or other physical activity	❑	❑
Volunteering	❑	❑
Other activity	❑	❑

Q34 **How many hours a week on average do you spend doing these activities outside Leeds Met? (Include travel, training or general organisation etc.)**

	1-5 hours	*6-10 hours*	*11-15 hours*	*16-20 hours*	*21+ hours*	*Not applicable*
Art / Drama / Music	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Faith / cultural activities	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Family, domestic or caring responsibilities	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Political activity	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Sport and / or other physical activity	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Volunteering	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Other activity	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

Q35 **Do you participate in any competitions or examinations, or activity at a high level related to the above? (e.g. Sunday league football, piano - grade 3, delegate to a local or regional conference.)**

No ❑

Yes - please describe _____

_____

Q36 **How do you think being involved in any of these activities will help your career?**

_____

_____

_____

_____

Effect of activities on your studies

Q37 **Has your involvement in paid work or other activities caused you to be late for or miss lectures or tutorials, or to be late in submitting assignments or other work? Please tick all that apply.**

	Late for lectures / tutorials	*Miss lectures or tutorials*	*Late in submitting assignments or other work*
Paid work inside Leeds Met	❑	❑	❑
Paid work outside Leeds Met	❑	❑	❑
Activities inside Leeds Met	❑	❑	❑
Activities outside Leeds Met	❑	❑	❑

Q38 **Have you formally asked for mitigation as a consequence of your involvement in paid work or other activities?**

	Asked for and got mitigation	*Asked for but did not get mitigation*
Paid work inside Leeds Met	❑	❑
Paid work outside Leeds Met	❑	❑
Activities inside Leeds Met	❑	❑
Activities outside Leeds Met	❑	❑

CVs and JOB APPLICATIONS

Q39 **Would you include any of the following activities on a CV or job application in the future? Please tick all that apply.**

Paid work at Leeds Met	❑
Paid work outside Leeds Met	❑
Art / Drama / Music	❑
Faith / cultural activities	❑
Family, domestic or caring responsibilities	❑
Political activity	❑
Sport and / or other physical activity	❑
Volunteering	❑
Other - please specify	

_____

_____

_____

PARENTS / GUARDIANS' ACTIVITIES

Q40 **Thinking about the activities that your parents, guardians or carers have pursued in their free time, what sorts of things have they been regularly or actively involved in? Please tick all that apply.**

Art / Drama / Music	❑
Faith / cultural activities	❑
Family, domestic or caring responsibilities	❑
Political activity	❑
Sport and / or other physical activity	❑
Volunteering e.g. working in a charity shop	❑

Other - please specify

_____

_____

_____

Thanks for taking the time to complete this questionnaire.

We also plan to undertake short interviews to elaborate on some of the issues identified within the questionnaire and would like to invite you to take part in an interview.

Q41 **I am willing to take part in an interview with a member of your research team**

Yes	❑
No	❑

Q42 **Please provide us with your name, email address and / or telephone number so that we can contact you. Data protection statement - I understand that my personal details will only be used to contact me to invite me to take part in the interview and for no other purposes and that my personal details will be destroyed at the end of the project.**

Yes	❑
No	❑

Name

_____

_____

_____

Email address:

_____

Contact telephone number:

_____

_____

Appendix II Profile of the 61 students interviewed

Please note the Student IDs below refer to the codes from the survey not to the interview identifiers we have used in the text.

	Q1	Q2	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q9	Q10	Q12	Q13	Q14
Student survey id	Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Religion	Residence	Subject	Previous education	Parents in HE	Participation in ECA (self-declared)	ECA important in choosing University
10	Female	23	White British	None	Shared house/flat with students	English	FE College	One	No	No
15	Female	19	Mixed White / Asian	None	Shared house/flat with students	Sports Nutrition	Private School	None	Yes	Yes
20	Female	21	White British	None	Shared house/flat with students	PE & Sport & Exercise Science	FE College	None	Yes	No
22	Female	30	White British	None	Family home	Biomedical Science	FE College	None	No	No
27	Male	20	White British	None	Shared house/flat with students	Sport & Exercise Science	Sixth Form College	None	Yes	Yes
35	Male	20	Asian Indian	Islam	Family home	Accounting & Finance	Comprehensive School	None	No	Yes
41	Female	19	White British	None	Shared house/flat with students	Sports Coaching	Sixth Form College	None	Yes	Yes
43	Female	19	White British	Roman Catholic	Family home	Business Studies	Sixth Form College	None	Yes	No
52	Male	20	White British	Roman Catholic	Shared house/flat with students	Sports Science	Comprehensive School	None	Yes	No
63	Female	21	White British	Christian	Family home	Law	FE College	None	Yes	No
81	Female	20	White British	None	Shared house/flat with students	Graphics	FE College	Both	No	No
85	Male	20	White British	None	Shared house/flat with students	Graphics	FE College	One	No	No
95	Female	21	White British	None	Shared house/flat with students	Graphic Arts & Design	Sixth Form College	None	Yes	No
97	Male	20	Asian Pakistani	Islam	Family home	Law	Sixth Form College	None	Yes	No
104	Female	22	White British	None	Shared house/flat with students	English & History	Sixth Form College	Both	Yes	No
105	Female	19	White British	Christian	Shared house/flat with students	English Literature	Sixth Form College	One	Yes	No
106	Male	20	White British	None	Family home	Architectural Technology	FE College	None	Yes	Yes
111	Female	21	Black Other	Christian	House/flat on my own	Law	Private School	Both	Yes	No
113	Male	20	White British	Not stated	Shared house/flat with students	Graphic Arts & Design	FE College	Both	Yes	Yes
136	Male	29	White British	None	Family home	Childhood Studies	FE College	None	Yes	No
138	Male	20	White British	None	Family home	Law	Sixth Form College	One	Yes	No
148	Female	21	White British	Roman Catholic	House/flat on my own	Hospitality	FE College	None	No	No
153	Female	20	White British	None	Shared house/flat with students	English Literature	Sixth Form College	None	Yes	No
156	Female	21	White British	None	Shared house/flat with students	English	Sixth Form College	One	Yes	No
159	Male	22	Black African	Christian	Shared house/flat with non-students	Law	FE College	Both	Yes	No
168	Female	20	White British	None	Shared house/flat with students	Art	FE College	Both	Yes	No
172	Female	21	White British	Roman Catholic	Shared house/flat with students	Sport & Leisure	Sixth Form College	One	Yes	No
176	Male	21	White British	None	Shared house/flat with students	Fine Art	FE College	One	Yes	No
178	Male	19	White British	None	Shared house/flat with students	Sport & Exercise Science	Comprehensive School	One	Yes	Yes
212	Male	27	White British	None	Shared house/flat with non-students	Music Production	Other University	Both	Yes	No

214	Female	26	White British3	Christian	University hall/flat	Psychology	FE College	None	Yes	No
215	Female	20	White British	None	Shared house/flat with students	Psychology	Sixth Form College	None	Yes	No
220	Male	21	White British	None	Shared house/flat with students	Sport & Exercise Nutrition	Sixth Form College	Both	Yes	No
232	Female	20	Asian Pakistani	Islam	Shared house/flat with students	Sport	FE College	None	Not stated	Yes
265	Female	20	White British	None	Shared house/flat with students	Sport	Sixth Form College	One	Yes	No
268	Female	21	Black Caribbean	Christian	Shared house/flat with students	Social Science	Sixth Form College	None	No	No
274	Female	19	White British	None	Shared house/flat with students	Sports	Sixth Form College	None	Yes	Yes
283	Male	21	White British	None	Shared house/flat with students	History & Politics	Sixth Form College	One	Yes	No
284	Female	20	White British	None	Shared house/flat with students	Fine Art	FE College	None	Yes	No
293	Female	19	White British	None	Shared house/flat with students	Music Technology	Sixth Form College	None	No	No
298	Male	20	White British	None	Shared house/flat with students	Physical Education	Sixth Form College	Both	Yes	Yes
307	Female	20	White British	None	House/flat on my own	Media & Popular Culture	Sixth Form College	One	No	No
319	Male	20	White British	Christian	Shared house/flat with students	Sports Development	Comprehensive School	Both	Yes	Yes
341	Male	19	White British	Christian	Shared house/flat with students	Physical Education	Sixth Form College	None	Yes	Yes
359	Female	20	White British	None	Shared house/flat with students	Education	Sixth Form College	None	Yes	Yes
367	Male	19	White British	None	Shared house/flat with students	Politics	Sixth Form College	One	Yes	No
370	Male	21	White British	None	Shared house/flat with non-students	Public Relations	Sixth Form College	None	Yes	No
383	Male	20	White British	None	Shared house/flat with students	Public Relations	Other University	Both	Yes	No
385	Female	32	White British	Not stated	Shared house/flat with non-students	Media & Popular Culture	FE College	One	No	No
391	Female	20	White British	None	Shared house/flat with students	Not stated	FE College	One	Yes	Yes
434	Male	19	White British	Christian	Shared house/flat with students	Physical Education	Sixth Form College	Both	Yes	Yes
469	Female	20	White British	None	Shared house/flat with students	Nursing	Sixth Form College	Both	Yes	No
487	Female	20	White British	None	Shared house/flat with students	Business	Comprehensive School	None	No	No
512	Female	35	White British	Christian	Family home	Mental Health Nursing	FE College	None	No	No
521	Female	20	White British	Roman Catholic	Shared house/flat with students	Psychology with Criminology	Sixth Form College	Both	Yes	Yes
550	Female	19	White British	None	Shared house/flat with students	English & History	Private School	None	No	No
561	Female	19	White British	Roman Catholic	Shared house/flat with students	Psychology	Sixth Form College	Both	Yes	Yes
568	Female	20	White British	Roman Catholic	Shared house/flat with students	Language Studies	Private School	Both	No	No
583	Female	22	White British	None	Shared house/flat with students	Events Management	Grammar School	Both	No	No
585	Female	20	White British	None	Shared house/flat with students	Events Management	Sixth Form College	One	No	No
588	Male	19	White British	None	Family home	Music Technology	Sixth Form College	None	No	No

Appendix III Student interviews – semi-structured interview schedule

1) Run through education to date.

2) Have you heard the term 'extra-curricular activities' much before?
What do you understand by this term? What would it cover?

Do you participate in any ECAs? Which?
How big a factor in choosing Leeds Met?

Is this term used by tutors on your course?
Was this term used at school / college?
Messages from home / school e.g. when filling in UCAS form? Remember what put on UCAS form?

3) Have you given much thought to your future employment and career?
      Probe:
      Do you have a particular career ambition at this point in time?
      What are you hoping to do once you've graduated?
      What do you hope to be doing in five years' time?

4) Run through employment history to date.

Paid work at Leeds Met?
What? SA?
Why?
Hours per week
How long?

Paid work outside Leeds Met?
What?
Why?
Hours per week
How long?

Why stopped?

5) Can you tell me a bit more about other activities you've been involved in since starting at Leeds Met? [prompt sheet]

Inside / outside Leeds Met? Both?

Did you do any of these at school / college or did you start them at Leeds Met?
Are there any activities that you've dropped since coming to Leeds Met?

What would you class these as?

6) Have you found that your involvement in these activities [prompt sheet] is beneficial or advantageous when it comes to **studying or learning** on your course?

        Probe:

        Do your tutors encourage you to be involved in these?

        Do your tutors draw on your experiences of these activities during lectures or tutorials?

        Has your involvement had a positive impact on any of your grades?

7) Have you found that your involvement in these activities [prompt sheet] has created any problems for you when it comes to studying or learning on your course?

        Probe:

        Has your involvement had a negative impact on any of your grades?

        Absence

        Lateness

        Late submission

8) Has your involvement in any of these activities helped you to develop any **skills or competencies** that could be useful to you in your future career?

        Probe:

        What are these skills?

        How might they be useful?

9) Have you done a CV / job application?
How likely are you to include these on a CV or job application in the future?

Any more valuable / more important e.g. for employment prospects?

More valuable inside / outside Leeds Met?

10) Would you exclude any of these activities from a CV or application form (e.g. sport, child care)?
If so, why is this?

11) Do your parents / guardians encourage you to get involved in these activities?
Have they been involved in similar activities? [prompt sheet]

12) How useful do you think your degree qualification will be to your employability and future career?
How useful do you think your involvement in the activities we've discussed will be to your employability and future career / prospects?
Which more important or valuable for employment prospects?

13) Have you changed in any way since becoming a student at Leeds Met (e.g. changed direction, interests, views, aspirations)?

Have you been inspired / encouraged?
Do you think differently about what you're doing?

14) Open question – is there anything else you can think of that would be relevant?

Appendix IV Prompt sheet

Prompt:
Paid work at Leeds Met
Paid work outside Leeds Met
Art, Drama, Music
Faith / cultural activities
Family, domestic or caring activities
Political activity
Sport and / or other physical activity
Volunteering

Appendix V Staff interviews – semi-structured interview schedule

1) Current role:

        Probe: post / position held;
              length of time in current post;
              current teaching responsibilities including students' level / year;
              other responsibilities e.g. pastoral responsibilities;
              how many years have you taught in HE?
              how would you describe your ethnicity?

2) What do you understand by the term 'extra-curricular activities'?

3) Are you aware of any extra-curricular activities that your students are engaged in?

4) Are you aware of any other activities that students are engaged in?

              Prompt: Paid work at Leeds Met
                                Paid work outside Leeds Met
                                Art, Drama, Music
                                Faith / cultural activities
                                Family, domestic or caring activities
                                Political activity
                                Sport and / or other physical activity
                                Volunteering

How would you categorise / characterise these sorts of activities?

Do you distinguish between in-course activities (e.g. field work) and activities outside courses?

5) Have you noticed any patterns of participation in ECA by social group? Does participation vary by social group?

                e.g. in what they do and where they do it?

6) In your experience, does involvement in different activities have advantages or benefits for participating students? If so, what are these?
              Prompt: above list

Are some more valuable or beneficial than others, in your view?

7) In your experience, do students themselves recognise the potential value of engaging in ECAs [prompt list]?

Probe:
as a source of learning;
contributing to personal development;
as a way of contributing to outcomes or enhancing their future success (e.g. grades; employment and career prospects, contribution to society, status).

8) Does involvement in different activities have disadvantages or drawbacks for participating students? If so, what are these?

Prompt: above list

9) Are you directly involved with Personal Development Planning (PDP)?

Probe: What do you understand by PDP?
                      How is it offered to students?
Are there opportunities for students to engage in PDP?
If so, do you know if they're encouraged to reflect on things outside the course?
Do you know which sort of things [prompt list]?

10) Are there opportunities within the curriculum / course for students to participate in any of these activities [prompt list]?

11) In your own teaching, do you draw on any of the activities that students are engaged in?

Prompt: Do you use examples in lectures?
             Do you discuss during personal tutorials?

12) Does student involvement in these activities [prompt list] have any positive benefits for you in your role as a lecturer / tutor?

13) Does student involvement in these activities [prompt list] give rise to any concerns or problems for you in your role as a lecturer / tutor?

Absence
Punctuality
Late submission

14) Anything you want to offer / add that you think is important?