The CBHE Lecturer and Student

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2.1 Chapter overview

On CBHE lecturer Gail Hall's blog, she reflects that, 'professional identity is influenced by organisational culture…these are clearly exciting times for college HE professionals…we all have a role to play in helping to forge a clear, distinct, and valued professional identity for everyone working in college HE' (Hall, website). This chapter examines these themes - the importance of professional identity, the way it is created through external powers and this being a key time to determine what it means to be a CBHE lecturer and student – a defining moment. In order to conceptualise we need to contextualise so this chapter positions CBHE in a consumer-led context of university-level education driven by a government trying to maximise human capital. All such social-economic contexts can be negotiated with by individuals and so the chapter also shows how lecturers and students may, through the dynamic of refraction reinterpret their roles and given identities.

2.2 The framework of viewing education – branding and ranking

Since the 1992 Further and Higher Education Framework, most established universities have maintained their funding and dominance but the sector has opened up to 'new players' threatening their status and role. Today, there is a complex picture whereby HE is more universally available to students (at a cost) but there is a stratification of what it means to be an HE student.

Post-1992, FE was taken out of direct local authority funding control and effectively became private businesses in a move to open up education to a more free-market approach. Previously, FE had been 'marginal' to government concerns (Parry 2009; Scott 2009) for much of the latter half of the twentieth century, often seeing itself as a 'poor relation' (see ACM 2012) - a Cinderella sector (see Norton 2012) overlooked and put-upon. From the mid-1990s when a desire to increase HE student numbers to 50% of school-leavers in 10 years (Labour Manifesto, 2001 GET OTHER ONE) and, in response to the Dearing Report (1997), to doubling the proportion of people from disadvantaged backgrounds entering HE, universities could not meet the needs and the sector was called, to extend the Cinderella metaphor, to sweep up. In 2000, £9.5 million was paid by the Higher Education Funding

Council for England (HEFCE) in its first phase to support expansion, raise quality and standards of CBHE learning and teaching (HEFCE, 2001; see NICHE, 1997). In 2016 the rules were further relaxed so that, 'any high quality predominantly degree-level provider' can apply for degree awarding powers (DBIS 2016).

These changes to the organisational culture can be understood better if we examine neoliberal policies which have governed British and Western policies for the last 40 years (see Harvey, 2005; see Avis and Orr 2016). As part of the neoliberal agenda of private enterprise, freedom and competition, FE colleges which were funded by local authorities: 'became businesses, academic principals became chief executives and… college governors were made responsible for financial management, strategic direction and getting their institutions 'competition-ready' (AoC, 2015). Typical of the contradictions within the neoliberal experiment (see Harvey, 2005) the new 'freedoms' brought new controls. While the 1992 Act was heralded, as 'a defining moment of liberation' (Foster, 2005) (it repeated the phrase that FE 'may do anything') these privatised companies still needed public funding from government bodies such as the Office for Students (OfS) which puts CBHE in 'quasi-market relations' (Avis and Orr, 2016) where they have to justify their provision to external funding bodies. Another key tenet in the rhetoric of neoliberalism is 'equality' (see Harvey, 2005) - seen as addressing, measured in 'how free people are to improve their position in society' (Cabinet Office, 2011). Widening participation at university level and the merger of HEFCE and the Office for Fair Access into the OFS are measures towards a 'level playing field for all providers' (p. 24).

CBHE's expansion can also be understood as part of a global trend to support a tertiary sector which 'is a major driver of economic competitiveness in an increasingly knowledge-driven global economy' (OECD, 2008, p.8 in bathmaker new frontiers). The UK does not fare well in international comparisons - 16th out of 20 OECD countries' (HM Government, 2017a, p. 38 IN BAthmaker new frontiers) IN WHAT??. With one eye looking over the shoulder, the UK government faces a 'long-standing productivity deficit compared to other advanced economies' (Anderson and Education Policy Institute, 2017, p. 17 bathmaker new frontiers). According to the White Paper, The Importance of Teaching (DfE, 2010), the UK is in a global 'race' (pointedly, its only mention of race in the whole document) to secure the economic position of the UK. As part of this race, CBHE was positioned in the 2016 White Paper: Higher Education: Success as a Knowledge Economy as part of the wider 'market' (a word used 50 times in the report). International economic pressure is nothing new (the tertiary sector was borne from the Paris Exhibition of 1867 (see Evans, 2007, p.6) where again the UK's educational provision was found wanting in comparison to its European neighbours)

but there is a new necessity from this being ‘the age of human capital’ (Becker (2006, p. 292 cited in Bathmaker new frontiers) which needs investment. There is pressure to deliver courses ‘because of labour market demand’ (Wolf, 2015, p. 76 in bathmaker new frontiers 2016) and that bring capital benefit : ‘with many graduates left questioning the return they get for their investment (O’Malley 2018, unnumbered in bathmake nrew frontiers).

Those cynical that neoliberal rhetoric of equality and meritocracy are an ‘opiate of the masses’ designed to give the illusion that HE is available to all (at a price) while masking the reality that high status education which leads to powerful positions is still for the ruling elite. As the government found to its dismay when it allowed HE providers to choose their own fees and an intended differentiation of the market did not occur, the maximum fee for England and Wales being £9250 (UCAS, 2018) and the average university course fee being above £9100 by September 2018 (Research Briefings, 2018). Those skeptical of the neoliberal political and social framework believe it has a, ‘narrow understanding of social mobility (and)…a restricted conception of tackling inequality, which entails society’s divisions remaining in place while a few enterprising and deserving individuals may climb over them’ (Avis and Orr, 2016). The move towards CBHE was part of what Gallacher and Reeve called ‘mass higher education’ (CHECK Gallacher and Parry, 2017; Marginson, 2016) bringing to fulfilment the Trow (1973) prediction that middle-class young people and their parents would see HE first as a right and then as an obligation if they were to maintain their more privileged position in society. The middle class, having insisted on HE found that this did not always bring status because, as Chang (2011 in New Frontiers) imagined, it became like a theatre where some stand so others behind have to stand and in the end no-one is any better off. In truth, though, the theatre has a range of seats and some are in the balcony. As Gale (2012) put it: ‘While university student recruitment departments focus on ‘bums on seats’, equity advocates draw attention to which bums, in what proportions and, more to the point, which seats, where. But if the counting of ‘bums’ is crude, so is the differentiation of seats.’ In short, those from disadvantaged backgrounds were persuaded onto degree courses but gained little of the cultural, economic or social value that a traditional HE degree would have brought.

As with all markets, there is a stratification of the status and value of ‘products’ and CBHE ‘has traditionally been relatively low status’ (Gallacher and Osborne (in bathmaker new frontiers p. 195). Universities position themselves in the market (see Molesworth, Scullion and Nixon 2011; Hanna-Mari, Tienari and Waeraas 2015) with budgets which CBHE cannot compete working to increase the ‘cultural capital’ (see Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990) the university brand gives - Warwick University even used the tagline ‘The Cultural Capital’ in

2008. Universities are working very hard at branding themselves (Molesworth, Scullion and Nixon 2011; Hanna-Mari, Tienari and Waeraas 2015) by expressing their position in the market and stating their uniqueness. Rather than relying on the academic reputation or provision of education (Zaffwan and Whitfield, 2014) students can assess the 'cultural capital' (see Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990) the university brand gives and so: 'there has been a substantial investment of time, attention and financial resources into the management of 'image' and that growing importance has been attached to slick marketing approaches and practices.' (SOURCE, p. 342). Some universities gain much of their funding through government awards for research so strive to maintain their research status (Marginson, 2008). These awards and the money give them status, ability to build statement architecture and gain privilege - such as by the way the self-nominated 24-member Russell Group calls itself 'leading' (RUSSELL GROUP, 2018). Universities have been going through a 'boom time' in the past 20 years (Miranda Green in the Financial Times) with an estimated combined income from students alone of £10.7bn (The Economist, 2018). The University and College Union, has called it, 'the largesse that has embarrassed higher education in recent years'. Universities receive twice as much money per student since the 1990s and with this funding and by accumulating more debt (Britain's 130-odd GET FIGURE universities owe nearly £12bn an increase from around than £5bn in 2012 (Reuters)) universities are even reshaping cities (THES) spending £27.9 billion on improving its physical infrastructure since 2006 (HEFCE) with a further £19.4 billion to be invested up to 2020. This spending, though, is by the few, as, according to HEFCE, half the UK sector's projected expenditure in the period up to 2019/20 is accounted for by 18 institutions including Manchester University investing £350 million into a new engineering precinct and Bristol University of Bristol spending £300-million on 'one of the UK's largest urban regeneration projects' GET SOURCE. The situation, then, is one of an elite group of insitutions working to maintain dominance in the 'marketplace' (DBIS, 2016) of education. slick marketing approaches and practices. (p. 342 IN DANIEL AND BROOKER). This battle for hierarchical position and growing global competition is revealed in HE league tables in which CBHE is not even included, making it, to use football terminology, non-league (see THE, 2019 CHECK REFERENCE). The situation, then, is one of an elite group of insitutions working to maintain dominance in the 'marketplace' (DBIS, 2016) of education.

As a result, there is a stratification in brand value and CBHE students and lecturers are given lower status. This has resulted in poor job prospects: 'While HE in FE has widened participation, it has not systematically enabled relative upward social mobility, at least as measured by income' (Avis and Orr, 2016 GET PAGE). The Sutton Trust (2010) found that less than 2% of those on free school meals (FSM) - the indicator the UK government uses to

label those from low-income families - went to Russell Group universities as opposed to 26% of its population from the independent school sector. In 2016 (Sutton Trust, 2016) only 50 FSM pupils went to the 'top two' universities of Oxford and Cambridge. According to Participation of Local Area (POLAR) figures, 60% of young people in the highest fifth of the country's income groups went to university in comparison with 20% in the least privileged fifth - a figure remaining roughly the same for a decade (HEFCE 2014). It might be easier to see the inequality in selective primary and secondary schools (whether selection takes place through family income or grades) but not so much from what may still be seen in the UK as a 'state' university sector. Those in this 'lowest' fifth are twice as likely to be in CBHE (see Harrison and McCaig, 2014). CBHE may be fulfilling one of its traditional roles of widening participation but not of the eventual riches and rise in economic prosperity university-level education should bring as those at CBHE level, had very different destination profiles to those who attended universities (see Zipin et al., 2015). The proportion of graduates from FE colleges in 2010–11 employed full-time in professional occupations was 8%, compared to HEIs, which was 23% (HEFCE, 2013). The average starting salaries for CBHE graduates was 16% lower than those from universities (HEFCE, 2013) and in the long-term CBHE graduates earn less than university graduates (see DfE, 2011). It might be seen that the expanding of university education generally is no more than 'hope-goading gloss' (Zipin et al, 2015) for those from lower-income families.

This follows Brown, Lauder, and Ashton (2008) who found that the expansion of access to HE more generally in the UK 'has failed to narrow income inequalities even amongst university graduates'. The idea that CBHE, can improve the situation of low-income people in the UK, 'mistakenly conflates the concepts of widening participation and social mobility and elides the difference' (Avis and Orr, 2016). Indeed, there seem to be other ways of gaining social advantage beyond being at university or holding a degree: 'Postgraduate study, which is more available in HEIs, is arguably becoming a new and necessary distinguisher of social position for advantaged groups in English society' (Avis and Orr, 2016). It would be highly naïve to connect CBHE to this position without considering the wider issues that allowed students to attend universities and, anyway, 'Education can compensate for society – a bit' (Gorard, 2010). Writing over 40 years ago, Bourdieu and Passeron's (1990) study of the segmented and elitist French education system can be seen through the eyes of today's UK one where there are many capitals and a clear hierarchy of educational institutions (see Hayward and Hoelscher 2011). As Bathmaker (new frontiers) states 'distinction' will be determined by 'powerful 'academic' players' leading to 'vertical stretching' whereby those at the top move further away from those at the bottom (see Marginson, 2016 in bathmaker new frontiers), rather than increased parity through

distinction for both academic and higher vocational forms of HE. The diversity of college HE in England can be seen as evidence of how colleges have sought to position themselves in the context of a regularly shifting policy landscape, by changing and adjusting their offer rather than limiting themselves to a specific and distinctive vocational role. In short, the situation seems to confirm Orwell's Animal Farm scenario that all are equal but some are more equal than others.

2.3 Self-concept of the CBHE lecturer and student

Self-concept is a 'conviction in our own unity' (Freeman 1992, 16). It can be summed up as 'what a person believes about himself, or a map that each person consults in order to understand himself, especially during moments of crisis or situations in which he makes a choice' (Zlatkovic et al. 2012, 378). Education is partly about the students gaining identity - something which also comes from a range of personal, experiential, familial, social factors. If identity can be seen as 'situated, role-specific self-concept' (Reitzes and Burke, 1980, p.45; see also Erikson, Alexander and Knight, 1971; Stryker, 1968; McCall and Simons, 1966 CHECK THESE). University-level education, in particular has been seen as a critical time of identity development (see Chickering and Reisser 1993, Lairo, Puukari, and Kouvo 2011 Lairio, M., Puukari, S., and A.Kouv 2013). This might be further simplified on semiotic terms as the 'meanings of the college student' (Reitzes and Burke, 1980, p.45) or further simplified in the term 'doing being a student' as opposed to 'doing education' (Attenborough, 2011, p. 100). If we consider the semiotics of being a student and how various socially-made connotations fix on the individual who appropriates it (see Judith Butler) the CBHE student will be offered the meaning and may interpelate (see Althusser) into both 'HE student' and the sign-qualities of the college as part of their given identity. Signs only gain meaning through context and paradigm or the other sign-choices available. So, a CBHE student will also be given meaning through being an HE student and the possible other options including university, being a student at a particular institution and the other options including other colleges, through the possibility of being a non-student and other 'counter-roles' (see Lindesmith and Strauss 1966 cited in Reitzes and ??). Put another way, the CBHE student is partly subject to the 'discursive practices' (see Foucault) through which individuals are formed, regulated and positioned. Such subjectivity should not be taken uncritically as Jencks stated that it is in the formation of such discourses we see the 'exercise of power' (cited in Atkinson, p.104) where 'the constellation of interests inherent in and protected by any social order of signs….(and) the consensus world view that they seek to promote' CHECK QUOTATION. However-much the student negotiates with the given signs of CBHE and the institution, the 'outside view' on her/his status will become

apparent as ‘discourses constitute truths’ (Atkinson, p.105) and the ‘subject becomes subject through the agency of the signifier’ (Atkinson, p.106).

We can observe through the language used to explain and explore FE the way it impedes the value of the CBHE student. Panchamia called it the ‘everything else’ sector, (2012) and notes in a report for the Institute of Government: ‘The further education... sector is poorly defined and understood’. Sir Michael Wilshaw (Chief Inspector of Ofsted 2012-16) called FE a ‘mess’ in which pupils “head off towards the FE institution which is a large, amorphous institution... and do badly” (TES, 2016). However, the identity the CBHE student gains from being part of an FE institution is just one of the many roles s/he will be called on to play. The example of Collinson and Brown (2012) about being a Christian student shows how ‘relational and multi-faceted’ (Daniels and Brooker, p.65) identity is. The same can be true of class – seeing the self as belonging to a Working Class identity while a university student, for example may give an ‘imposed perception of alienation’ and level of negotiation (see Reay, Crozier and Clayton, 2009). When we see identity in terms of the ‘personal, professional and academic’ (see Chickering and Reisser, 1993) student identity is only part of who the person is. However much identity is conferred on the CBHE student there is always the ability to negotiate with it (see Hall) and embark in the power-struggle of meaning (see Foucault…). Being a CBHE student is, after all, like many belongings - to an ‘imagined community’ (see Anderson, 1983) and these can be re-imagined. Belonging to a community such as an FE college or in CBHE generally becomes merely a ‘reference point’ for identity (see Turn Sarbin and Allen, 1968). Individuals select widely from the role or counter meanings in forming an identity (see reitzes and ????) and also gain much power from their status within the college itself as they are studying at the highest level available.

For the CBHE lecturer, there are other concerns. within the confines of the institution, it may come with status (if not power) as it is teaching at a higher level plus it indicates the level of education of the lecturer. Even the word ‘lecturer’ comes loaded. Sasha Pleasance, a teacher training lecturer at South Devon College She says: “These words teacher, trainer and lecturer are imbued with meaning. It’s quite subtle but I think it has a huge impact on how we see ourselves.” That there is a knowing dialogue with the self about meaning shows how this issue is one which is constantly being negotiated with and also recognized. The poet Philip Larkin once wrote, ‘a man is what he does’ and if we can move this quotation out of the patriarchal presumptions of his day, we can see how this is complex as CBHE lecturer SARAH SIMMONS’s reflected: ‘You are what your diary says you are…To the outside world I’m an FE teacher, but in college I’m a lecturer, though I have never given a lecture in my life. My manager is also a lecturer unless she’s having a one-to-one session with a student,

addressing targets or pastoral issues, then she's a tutor. When she's delivering CPD to the rest of us in a formal setting she's a trainer, but if we're discussing how we can improve our practice individually, she's a coach. For many practitioners in the FE and skills sector, what we do depends on our diaries and we often assume a different role (and corresponding job title) on the way to the next meeting.' Here, the idea of multiple identity within an institution becomes clearer. Hilary Read, director of Readon Publications believes your identity in FE depends on your route into teaching 'if you've come up through the vocational ranks, then you believe that you're an assessor.' The author reflects on the problem, seeing 'training' is reductive in the multi-faceted role of the educator, regardless of the type of provision. Sasha Pleasance says: "The language has changed a lot. When I came on board we were called 'initial teacher training' but then about a year ago due to Ofsted and associated changes in semantics, we became 'initial teacher education' As Alsup writes, in her book on teacher identity: 'I hesitated to name such complex, even ambiguous discourse because of the fear of reducing it to something more simplistic than it really is' (p.5). Her term, 'borderland discourse' is a useful one as it 'reflects a view of CBHE lecturer identity as holistic – DOES QUOTE START? inclusive of the intellectual, the corporeal and the inclusive aspects of human selfhood'. (p.6). The dual (GAIL HALL) or even triple professionalism CBHE lecturers are expected to have teaching expertise and professional experience or credibility in their teaching area. This is particularly the case when teaching on university-validated course being which are often, 'in a state of flux due to the dual demands of their employer (the college) and collaborating institution (the university)'. (Turner, McKenzie and Stone (2009, p5). So, the CBHE lecturer is FE lecturer, HE lecturer, and professional within their vocational area. Many colleges offering HE level courses do not have provision on such a scale to be able to employ staff on solely HE teaching contracts, so end up teaching potentially from Entry Level 1 to Level 7. It is, as Gail Hall noted, 'unsurprising that college HE lecturers can feel frustrated, under-valued and uncertain of their professional identity.' (CHECK WHO STATED THIS).

Some state there is a Hegelian (see Hegel, 1974) way of finding identity through what one is not (see also Levi-Strauss's (1975) idea of binary opposition). One way to find an identity for CBHE is through contrasting it with HE. In contrast university lecturers are often on sabbaticals or study leave (HEFCE, 2003) but those in CBHE are in their offices during working hours and able to give much more to students. Many CBHE lecturers see themselves more as 'practitioners than as researchers or scholars' (Feather, 2011). This is partly because CBHE lecturers have a c.1100 hour teaching contract against HE's c.550. This heavy workload makes them less inclined to do the other acts university lecturers are

free to do such as be open to new ideas and research (Feather, 2011). In fact, all they can do is, ‘professional updating CHECK IT’S A QUOTE (King and Widdowson 2012).

Refraction can be seen in CBHE lecturers who release themselves from the managerial discursive practices in the institution and the way they are positioned by social forces and focus on their own values. For the CBHE lecturers Kadi-Hanifi and Keenan (2015 and 2016) studied their professional values of hard work, resilience, students-first and ‘being caring’ motivated beyond self-identity. Instead, there was moral purpose from FE including educating the working class meaning they became, ‘engines of social justice and they bring a distinct perspective and set of values to their work.’ (Elliott, 2019, p??). Individuals change or refract this power hierarchy (see Goodson) through pedagogical practice which becomes resistant to waves of intermittent policies. Coming from this centred position, CBHE provides a highly committed workforce, ‘more likely to be around for most of the day and ready to offer that support, in contrast to a typical HE environment, where an academic (often for good reason) may not be so readily available’ (Lea and Simmons 2012: 187). This is what Tummons called FE lecturers’ ethic of care (see also Noddings, 1995) which drives them towards an ethos of ‘emotional labour’, a form of ‘supererogatory professionalism’, whereby ‘they attend to the bureaucratic, managerial demands of their workplaces, sometimes more-or-less willingly, invariably strategically, whilst simultaneously ring-fencing their pedagogic practice as a locus for autonomy’ (Tummons 2019: 11). It is not surprising, therefore, that those who teach in the CBHE sector have been distinctly recognised and targeted by SEDA (Staff and Educational Development Association) who now offer a post-graduate Award for teaching and Learning in CBHE, leading to recognition and eventual fellowship of the Higher Education Academy. Whilst the widely used measures of ranking and metrics such as the TEF (Teaching Excellence Framework) are disputed (see, for example, French and O’Leary, 2017), for not only reinforcing performativity, marketisation and competitiveness (not to mention the contested methodologies for judging the quality of the educational experience) there is a GET DETAILS OF CBHE AND THE TEF.

2.4 The argument for a unique identity of CBHE lecturer and student

While the range of discursive practices and the power-players in HE will be difficult to break through, CBHE can forge its own identity and focus on its strengths. It is local, inclusive, affordable and needs to see itself not as an alternative (as it is sometimes positioned – ‘an alternative provider’ of HE) but as part of the HE landscape. Universities are needing to focus on their value for money (Simmons and Lea’s (2016) words, making it more ‘FE-like’ ‘.

The very nature of what it means to be a university and also a student has altered as students become customers (Cuthbert 2010; Saunders 2014) and the university a paid-for service.

One reason for the greater affordability is that while universities in the UK would traditionally involve a 'right of passage' of the student moving away from home, CBHE is community-based. CBHE contributes to what Hodgson and Spours (2013) have called 'local learning ecologies' which reflect the communities they serve and a diverse heterogeneity CHECK in both their staff and student bodies. The courses provided (Eaton 2015) are often specifically designed to provide vertical progression from their own BTEC National and A level courses. For many CBHE students, with inability or unwillingness to travel, fears about the costs associated with high fees and other living expenses for today's student, diverse (some might argue even 'divergent') social and cultural capital, maturity in age and outlook, family and parenting ties (including caring responsibilities), the need to work full or part-time (Bathmaker 2016) are amongst the barriers to their engagement. CBHE provides flexible attendance requirements, supported learning opportunities in environments adapted to suit student needs, characteristics and capabilities (Elliott 1999). Locality, therefore, might be the new 'pulling power' of CBHE. The concerns about funding GET STUFF ON FEES AND LOANS, perceptions of the unsustainable environmental effects of travel,….. Breda McTaggart's Irish CBHE experience shares the concerns of UK commentators about students not having the appropriate capital – economic and social. Just as in the UK, in Australia, 'Colleges are marked by their particular histories as well as and relatedly the local and regional contexts in which they are placed' (see Lucas, 2004).

As with UK FE, 'in the USA community colleges have been tasked and celebrated for the way they broaden access to HE from those in lower-income groups (Liu 2011). The kind of culture we are advocating was summed up by James and Biesta (2007): 'Cultures…are both structured and structuring, and individuals' actions are neither totally determined by the confines of a…culture, nor are they totally free. This conceptualisation describes a dialectical process that accounts for how both cultures and individuals can form and evolve through interaction.' A conscious evolution by CBHE providers might form the common ground to find an identity. By being aware of what connects on a UK and potentially (within the limits of those countries which share the same tertiary and HE structure, a global scale.

Any meaning can be refracted and currently there is a move towards making education something that means 'job-ready' and should this become a major imperative of success then CBHE will gain a greater status. Many are working through their degree from financial

necessity and CBHE in particular is aware of the need to provide 'graduate attributes'. - 'a set of achievements – skills, understandings and personal attributes' (Yorke 2004) - which prove the student has gained the necessary skills and knowledge for the chosen workplace. This process of commodification of the student in the marketplace (Green, Hammer, and Star 2009) makes the student an investor in self (Tomlinson 2010). There is also an argument that what it means to be a student per se is changing ADD TO THIS BIT 'shaping future identity' (DENAILES AND BROOKER 65; see Holmes 2013); Tomlinson 2010) with these AND, AS DANIELS AND BROOKER STATED 'skill-sets significantly influencing how administrators, academics and students themselves are encouraged to perceive the student experience' (P.65). In some ways, this has levelled the playing field with 'work-readiness now very much a part of contemporary tertiary education' (DANIELS AND BROOKER 65, Billett 2012Billett, S. 2012; Oprean 2007). FE has 'always focused strongly on connecting learning with work, now universities, too, are increasingly encouraging students to prepare for their future employment in a global environment' (DANIELS AND BROOKER P.65; Green, Hammer, and Star 2009). 'Preparation of work-ready graduates is now seen by some as a major role of higher education' DANIELS AND BROOKER 65, Green, Hammer, and Star 2009); Holmes 2013, Tymon). As the universities have changed so has the perception of what it means to be a student. (Mark 2013). One way is the focus on being employable and this means, 'less attention is, perhaps, being given to the student's own involvement in building identity as a student' GET SOURCE Instead, the developing student is seen as a work in progress, not yet complete, not yet successful (Holmes 2013; Tymon 2011). Success comes from an 'emergent identity' - 'to be successful, an individual must become a graduate' (p. 550). As ??? wrote 'The learning that occurs whilst the individual is still a student may be implicit, but it is not deemed 'successful' other than in its contribution to the graduate identity'. The link between tertiary study and employment is well accepted in most industrialised countries, with work-readiness now very much a part of contemporary tertiary education (Billett 2012Billett, S. 2012; Orean, C. 2007; Tynjälä, Välimaa, and Sarja 2003). Whilst vocational and further education institutions have always focused strongly on connecting learning with work, now universities, too, are increasingly encouraging students to prepare for their future employment in a global environment (Green, Hammer, and Star 2009) A consequence of globalisation has been 'shifting dynamics in the relationship between higher education and the labour market' Tomlinson 2010) that has been created, universities now market themselves as providers of resources – for example, skilled graduates – for the labour market (Cribb and Gewirtz 2013) Preparation of work-ready graduates is now seen by some as a major role of higher education (Green, Hammer, and Star 2009; Holmes 2013). Work-readiness of graduates is increasingly represented through particular sets of skills designed to align with both institutional philosophy and

industry needs (Green, Hammer, and Star 2009). The aim is to produce graduates who demonstrate 'a set of achievements – skills, understandings and personal attributes' (Yorke 2004) that will enable them to function within a rapidly changing work environment and to contribute to a range of employer requirements over their working lives (Tomlinson 2010) with these skill-sets significantly influencing how administrators, academics and students themselves are encouraged to perceive the student experience.

It would help if there was a common identifiable term for HE level study in FE. In the UK HE provision in FE colleges was known but the rather cumbersome nomenclature, 'Higher Education in Further Education' until the Association of Colleges and Association for Research in Post-compulsory Education settled on College-based Higher Education (CBHE). This lack of an established title is part of the 'terminological confusion' (Lea and Simmons, 2012) symbolic or reflective of the lack of a central identity which also true in America where although 40% of the country's (Mellow, 2017) attend community colleges there is no identifiable name though College HE is used.

2.5 Data profiles of CBHE lecturers and students

So far, I have examined the way the context of education positions the CBHE student and lecturer and works to form their identity. I have suggested that there is a way of refracting such positions though this process always starts from a position of weakness – get some FOUCUALT AND DERRIDA IN HERE. While the future is open and there is no reason why CBHE cannot expand and take positions occupied by HE, it would be a battle to wrest the power, control and money away from the HE sector. What is can do ie be local. 78% of students in CBHE come from the region local to the college (ETF and RCU, 2017, pp. 8–9). The Participation of Local Area classification (POLAR) looks at how likely people are to participate in HE across the UK and shows how this varies by geographical area. It can be part-time and flexible. Most part-time students and just over a third of full-time students studying HE in FE colleges were aged 25 or over in 2015/16 (ETF and RCU, 2017, p. 6). Despite a collapse in part-time numbers (between 2008–09 and 2012–13 numbers fell by 134,000), colleges continue to be important providers of part-time. Full time learners studying at an FE college are almost twice as likely to come from what POLAR call 'cold spots' – geographical areas from which people do not usually study at HE level. In 2015–16 56% of CBHE were taking qualifications at Level 4 with Foundation Degrees at over 40 per cent and 16%were studying for either HNDs or Higher National Certificates (HNCs) (ETF and RCU, 2017, p. 17). Those studying for Level 5+ check this is 30% full-time and 4%part-time numbers in the same period (ETF and RCU, 2017, p. 12). In 2015/16 there were

151,360 CBHE students and just under 50% were part-time students. Amongst full-time students, just over half (53%) were registered for a sub-bachelor's degree (37.8% Foundation degrees; 15% HNDs), but a much smaller proportion (19.3%) amongst those studying part-time (15.5% Foundation Degrees; 3.7% HNDs) (stats from bathmake new frontiers so go to the original)

One key trend in CBHE is the provision of Higher Level Apprenticeships (the number of higher level apprenticeships increased from 7,600 in 2013/14 to 16,300 in 2015/16). There has also been an increase in HNCs (from 14,125 to 17,593, a 24.5% increase). Enrolments on Foundation Degree and BSc/BEng courses has fallen over this same period (by 14.1% and 11.6% respectively). ore than 10% of Level 4/5 learners in colleges were taking an apprenticeship and a further 45% were studying part time (Figure 17). Approximately two-thirds of HEI Level 4/5 learners were studying part time, predominately taking undergraduate units that provide credits towards a degree, rather than standalone qualifications.

Another key trend is the provision of Science Technology E and Maths (STEM) subjects. The vast majority of HNCs are in core STEM subject areas with HNCs accounting for over 40% of all core STEM enrolments delivered by colleges. Approximately half of HNDs and a third of Foundation Degrees are in core or related STEM areas. Over the past three years' core STEM Level 4/5 enrolments in FE colleges have grown by 5.7% from 30,830 to 32,690. Level 4/5 core STEM enrolments in HEIs have remained at around 15,000 over the three-year period. This is a very small fraction of the total under-graduate provision delivered by HEIs (approximately 1% compared to over 20% for colleges - see Figure 2). 4 A number of different definitions of STEM exist and there is as yet no official way of categorising this type of activity across both further education and higher education. (see https://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld201213/ldselect/ldsctech/37/3705.htm). In order to capture the breadth of these definitions, the report identifies 'Core STEM' where there is most agreement and 'Related STEM' for other STEM type provision, which may fall outside of the strict definition of STEM in some research studies. Details of the STEM classification we have used is available in Appendix 1.

2.6 Experiences of CBHE lecturers and students

For lecturers the experience of teaching in CBHE is not always positive. Caught in the dual or triple role and in FE which has a management culture….There is also 'performativity': 'A drive for efficiency which assumes that it is possible to precisely gauge and make transparent the performance…through the use of audit technologies.' (Trotman, Lees and

Willoughby, 2018). While universities are constituted by Royal Charter (see Privy Council, 2018) FE colleges are owned by corporations. FE has a 'managerialist' (see Randle and Brady, 1997) approach, obsessed with business concerns (see Robson, 1998) and so there is a focus on benchmarks and 'best business practice' with a commitment to the brand values or 'mission statements' of the organisation (Mulcahy 2004; Simkins 2000). CBHE lecturers, 'first and foremost they will be judged by their ability to meet targets' (Simmons and Lea, 2013) and must fulfil performativity targets (see Brown et al., 1996). As Lea and Simmons (2012) conclude: 'It is our contention that these dimensions have so permeated the typical FEC, that it has had the effect of constituting a serious barrier to their ability to produce a culture of HEness'. Added to their other 'managerialist' (see Randle and Brady, 1997) approach, obsessed with business concerns (see Robson, 1998) there is a focus on benchmarks and 'best business practice' with a commitment to the brand values or 'mission statements' of the organisation (Mulcahy 2004; Simkins 2000). CBHE lecturers, 'first and foremost they will be judged by their ability to meet targets' (Simmons and Lea, 2013) and must fulfil performativity targets (see Brown et al., 1996). As Lea and Simmons (2012) conclude: 'It is our contention that these dimensions have so permeated the typical FEC, that it has had the effect of constituting a serious barrier to their ability to produce a culture of HEness'.

Another key difference between working in universities and CBHE is the 'managerialist' (see Randle and Brady, 1997) approach to public sector accountability in FE. This has penetrated the universities as well as the FE colleges but in the former it might be better described as more of an 'incursion' (Deem and Brehony, 2005). This 'managerialist' approach is obsessed with business and commercial concerns (Robson, 1998). It means a focus on benchmarks and 'best business practice' with a commitment to the brand values or 'mission statements' of the organisation (Mulcahy 2004; Simkins 2000). For the CBHE staff, 'first and foremost they will be judged by their ability to meet targets' (Simmons and Lea, 2013). FE is run like a business where profit, or at least breaking even, is the 'bottom line'. Lecturers in FE organisation must fulfil performativity targets (see Brown et al., 1996). Monitoring and performance-related pay have been mapped against measures of the new three Rs: recruitment, retention and results. Lea and Simmons (2012) conclude: 'It is our contention that these dimensions have so permeated the typical FEC, that it has had the effect of constituting a serious barrier to their ability to produce a culture of HEness. For example, FE teachers are now treated as employees of corporations, and accountable to the strategic objectives of those corporations, and because of that it is difficult to understand how

freedom of expression could mean what it does in a university environment. Furthermore, it is difficult to imagine research and scholarship'

For students, though….TEF RESULTS…NSS RESULTS

2.7 Chapter summary

Drawing on the tradition of emancipatory adult education from which it emerged, DETAILS one could argue that (mostly vocational) CBHE, at its best, can provide education that is an intervention into the world that reveals the deceit of power (Scraton 2013) and that reduces alienation, while also being a preparation for work. Whilst colleges are renowned for being focused on providing vocational courses, with Higher National Diplomas and Foundation Degrees having been forever the 'bread and butter' of CBHE, they are also respected for being innovative in their educational approach, being the champions of liberal education (See NIACE, 2009 and Hodgson and Spours, 2015).

There should be no reason that a high quality university provision across all subjects cannot be provided in CBHE. It would take investment in highly qualified lecturers and an infrastructure which could give access to knowledge but otherwise, universities, however impressive they look, can provide a limited educational experience for the individual GET STUFF. An other approach is to see CBHE as providing a particular place in the market. From an international study of English speaking countries, Gallacher and Osborne in bathmaker new frontiers (2005, p. 196) found three purposes to the sector : vocational higher education; Widening access to HE; close ties with local business. Rather than trying to appear to be like universities, CBHE and the nature of the experiences of its students and lecturers are different from the rest of the HE sector and need to be celebrated and advertised. CBHE could become more 'seamless' (Smith and Bocock 1999; Young 2006). Indeed, there is an attempt by some CBHE providers to do this by replicating a university appearance. As Lea and Simmons (2011) wrote: 'For, whereas an HE in FE Centre, with accompanying library and study space, might help to put a significant HE stamp in an otherwise exclusively FE environment, and all the trappings of degree congregation might significantly help to differentiate the nature of the HE qualifications, these are all surely the outward appearances of that essence one is trying to capture. Indeed, the very presence of these outward appearances might unwittingly contribute to the disguising and distortion of that essence.' DOES NOT HAVE A NAME NOEW FRONTIERS CALLS IT COLLEGE HE.

In 2016 in the UK, BIS and DfE, 2016b) and a White Paper Success as a Knowledge Economy (BIS, 2016), called for a 'technical education revolution' (Greening, 2017 in bathmaker new frontiers), with a view that the tertiary sector should provide 'fewer…larger…and efficient providers' (BIS, 2015a, p. 3 in bathmaker new frontiers) of education. And give these institutions, a more 'significant role in supporting skills development at level 4 and beyond' (Further Education Commissioner Letter, 2015 in bathmmaker new frontiers). DÉJÀ VU – ORGINAL CALL FOR A NEW 'T levels' CHECK WHAT THIS IS offered in 15 occupational areas that are intended to be equivalent to academic 'A levels' (DfE, 2017a) AND SETTING UP THE Institute for Apprenticeships and Technical Education TO register WITH A VIEW FOR 3 million apprenticeship starts promised by 2020 (BIS, 2015b).

Instead of viewing what CBHE is not, there is a place for a culture of its own but this, 'material form assumed by…social activity' would need to evolve over time (Richardson, 2001). Culture is situated in language in its wider sense of discourse (see Foucault 1980; Foucault 1991) - 'discernible in how lives are lived through actions and social relationships' (Geertz, 1993). A CBHE culture would emerge over time and through a common set of values, settings and acts. It is worth considering at a time of 'liquid modernity' (see Bauman, 2005), in late modern or postmodern period where there is no clear agreement on what society is, whether a central culture could be created. Perhaps today's society revels in difference, variety and choice. The idea of a single cultural identity in the CBHE sector is further complicated when considering the global element. Breda McTaggart's Irish CBHE experience shares the concerns of UK commentators about students not having the appropriate capital – economic and social. Just as in the UK, in Australia, 'Colleges are marked by their particular histories as well as and relatedly the local and regional contexts in which they are placed' (see Lucas, 2004). As with UK FE, 'in the USA community colleges have been tasked and celebrated for the way they broaden access to HE from those in lower-income groups (Liu 2011). The kind of culture we are advocating was summed up by James and Biesta (2007): 'Cultures…are both structured and structuring, and individuals' actions are neither totally determined by the confines of a…culture, nor are they totally free. This conceptualisation describes a dialectical process that accounts for how both cultures and individuals can form and evolve through interaction.' A conscious evolution by CBHE providers might form the common ground to find an identity. By being aware of what connects on a UK and potentially (within the limits of those countries which share the same tertiary and HE structure, a global scale.

To serve the local community.

The Adult Education and FE sectors have a 'vital role in vocational and community education' (Duckworth, 2014, p.3), in meeting the needs of local communities (O'Leary and Rami, 2017) and of fostering local and regional level partnerships with employers (Hodgson and Spours, 2017). The 1956 White Paper, Technical Education (see National Archives Cabinet Papers, n.d.) determined 'meeting local needs' as a central role while the FEFC today considers FE education to be 'within reasonable daily travelling distance from their homes' (Education Act, 1996).

To provide a learning space for adults.

FE and Adult Education provide a refreshing difference from the compulsory sector's National Curriculum's limitations curriculum and exam-system, giving subjects that were not accessible at school (see Green, 1986). With a greater focus on student choice the sectors allow an 'ethos of support, encouragement, choice and challenge' (Pleasance, 2016, p.13) for those who are part of it. The vocational nature of many courses means there should be a greater sense of purposeful study focusing on an inner drive to achieve. There should be a grown-up approach to learning not only in the amount of autonomy expected from the students but in the style of delivery which should be more dialogic with an andragogical (see Knowles, 1990) ethos.

To provide an education space inclusive to all.

As the history shows, adult and further education have 'strong bonds with disadvantaged groups and communities' (Duckworth, 2014, p.6). For Avis (2016) 'the heterogeneity of students' (p.93) in FE is a key feature to be praised as befits a sector which grew up out of a need to educate the poor. FE students, in particular, tend to be working-class (Thompson, 2009). A purpose of education for adults is therefore social justice by "facilitating social mobility of those drawn from disadvantaged backgrounds" (Avis, 2016, p.85). Education in such areas brings 'transformatory empowerment' (Duckworth and Smith, 2017) to individuals and communities.

To be a second-chance sector.

The Adult Education and FE sectors have a purpose to support 'disaffected and demotivated young people and adults' (Smith and Swift, 2014, p.258) and as such is a 'second chance' (Smithers and Robinson, 2000, p.3) sector in which students 'let down' by the compulsory system can find an education space in which they can thrive. This can include those who

enter at 14 years old and ‘returners to education’ who change career and/or up-skill (McLay et al., 2010).

One way of refracting the current situation is to see CBHE as a settled part of the HE landscape but each provider bringing its unique contribution to the student and the area. The alternative – setting itself up as a new force – would see CBHE as what it is not (university). In the rules of structural binary opposition, if ‘university’ and ‘CBHE’ are considered to be opposite concepts, whatever HE is (elite, intelligentsia, successful, rich) will impact on FE as it will gain the opposite connotations or characteristics (commoners, mentally slow, strugglers, poor). As Bathmaker pointed out, ‘Such a binary plays down institutional differentiation both within and between FE and HE’ (Bathmaker 2009; Parry et al. 2012) so we should perhaps be more aware of the uniqueness of the providers of CBHE and the way they connect with their localities. One such binary is noted by Bathmaker new frontiers - CBHE caters the ‘mass population, while universities are reinterpreted for the elite’. Seeing beyond the binary to complexity where ‘material form assumed by…social activity’ would need to evolve over time (Richardson, 2001). Here, culture is situated in language in its wider sense of discourse (see Foucault 1980; Foucault 1991) is ‘discernible in how lives are lived through actions and social relationships’ (Geertz, 1993). It is worth considering at a time of ‘liquid modernity’ (see Bauman, 2005) in late modern or postmodern period the amount of flexibility given to social interpretation and the liquid foundations on which the current HE hierarchy sits. This might be seen in the old ‘Polys’ rise up GET STUFF everything slid will melt into air

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