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Learning in the workplace: a Bourdieusian study of trainee further education teachers

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Learning in the workplace: A Bourdieuian study of trainee further education teachers

Sarah Elizabeth Jane Boodt

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of
Sheffield Hallam University
for the degree of Doctor of Education

January 2021

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2. None of the material contained in the thesis has been used in any other submission for an academic award.
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Abstract

Trainee teachers in Further Education (FE) come from disparate social and professional backgrounds. These disparate backgrounds can influence how they conceptualise themselves as teachers, often resulting in significant cognitive and emotional disruption as they seek to adapt their previously held dispositions in light of their workplace experiences. With teacher retention rates currently low, it is important to reveal the lived experiences of FE trainees learning in the workplace so that they can be better supported to understand and manage the challenges of teaching in FE.

This interpretivist inquiry builds theory by using the Bourdieusian theory of habitus as a multi-faceted concept to explore how trainees' habituated dispositions influence their interactions with learning opportunities in the workplace, how they operationalise their capitals to develop their practical teaching skills, and the role mentors play in these processes. Data were generated using semi-structured interviews from six case studies comprising in-service trainees and their mentors. Analysis of the data shows that habituated dispositions play a significant role in trainees' interactions with learning in the workplace, influencing their evolving teacher habitus and how they perceive and subsequently operationalise their capitals. Mentors are a key part of these processes as they support trainees to understand the culture, values and practices of the workplace field and in so doing, to become accepted and valued team members.

This study adds knowledge about trainee habitus-field fit and how trainees operationalise their capitals in the field to enhance their learning. It points towards ways for mentors and teacher educators to better support FE trainees as they learn how to navigate and acculturate themselves to the education field and provides further evidence for policy-makers of the longstanding need to ensure the status of FE teachers reflects the pivotal role assigned to the sector. Finally, it identifies areas for future research, such as how FE teachers enact emotional practice and the importance of informal trainee learning.

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I dedicate this thesis to my son Stefan, whose witty repartee has lightened many a dark moment and who makes me proud of what I do.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Study Overview

This study applies Bourdieu's theoretical framework to investigate how the social and cultural histories of trainee Further Education (FE) teachers influence their interactions with opportunities to learn in the workplace and the role that their mentor plays in this. In the current climate of challenging working conditions and poor teacher retention (ONS 2019) it is important to understand the processes FE trainees go through as they become teachers so that they can be better supported to improve their practice and knowledge. This may in turn develop their confidence and lead to greater job satisfaction and improved teacher retention. This study is useful therefore, to find out how mentors and teacher educators can most effectively support trainee FE teachers as they learn how to navigate and acculturate themselves to the education field.

The FE sector is under-researched and this contributes to it being overlooked and under-valued (Petrie 2015). This study seeks to address a gap in the literature by applying Bourdieu's theoretical framework to the context of FE initial teacher education (ITE). Bourdieu developed his framework to understand how power relations within society operate to reproduce and reinforce social inequalities and the ways in which education and social class contribute to this by giving us a sense of our 'rightful place in the social world' (Maton 2012:57). His thinking tools of habitus, capital and field enable consideration of the complex interplay of the historical, cultural and social factors that shape us and through which we shape our social world. This makes them very useful for understanding FE trainee learning in the workplace.

In my years as a Post-16 teacher educator, I have worked with many trainees who had been very successful and highly respected in their industry roles before entering the teaching profession. They were confident and passionate about their subject specialism and seemed to care very much that their students should share that passion. However, they frequently struggled to meet the competing demands of the workplace and the teacher training

course, particularly the written assignments. Part of this was their perception of themselves as being 'non-academic', sometimes formed as a consequence of negative experiences in education. Hence, initial teacher training represented a potential threat to their identity capital, which 'relates to self-esteem, self-efficacy, and a sense of purpose or direction in life' (Schuller, Bynner and Feinstein 2004:6). Part of it was due to their subjective experience of the challenges they faced in the workplace, where they felt overwhelmed and unable to cope with the pressures of limited time, heavy workloads and rigid quality assurance processes.

Trainee teachers in FE come from very disparate backgrounds (Bathmaker and Avis 2005), each bringing their occupational culture and personal and social experiences. This, coupled with the multiple and different types of FE organisation and the broad range of provision and subjects, means that an understanding of the context in which trainees are learning is also essential, since individuals are a reciprocal element of that context; they are influenced by it, whilst also influencing it. Furthermore, the histories they bring to that context will influence how they perceive it and engage with it. Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, capital and field have been useful for directing my focus beyond the trainee participants as the object of study, to a consideration of their social and cultural histories within the different contexts that constitute the FE sector. I am applying Bourdieu's theoretical framework to answer the following research questions:

1. How do habituated dispositions influence trainees' interactions with learning opportunities in the workplace?
2. How do trainees operationalise their capitals in the workplace to develop their practical teaching skills?
3. What role do mentors play in these processes?

These questions are important for several reasons. Firstly, they are addressing a gap in the literature by applying Bourdieu's theoretical framework in an original way to understand FE trainee learning against the backdrop of their socio-cultural histories and within the specific context of their workplace. This is important because it illuminates how these factors influence their approach to learning on the ITE course and also how they

conceptualise what it means to be an FE teacher, which is often based on their own prior experiences of education (Dixon, Jennings, Orr and Tummons 2010). The workplace is a crucial element of ITE, providing opportunities for both formal and informal learning (Maxwell 2014). However, how trainee teachers experience the workplace is dependent on a range of factors, including the workplace context (Dixon et al. 2010; Maxwell 2010a; 2014; Orr 2012) and trainee beliefs about themselves (Maxwell 2010a; Rijswijk, Akkerman, Schaap and Tartwijk 2016) and about teaching (Smith 2005). This often results in significant cognitive disruption as trainees seek to reconcile or adapt their previously held convictions in light of their current experiences in the workplace, but it is an important step for the development of their practical teaching. By understanding more about the role of trainees' habituated dispositions in their interactions with learning opportunities in the workplace, mentors and teacher educators can more effectively provide individualised support to promote successful outcomes for trainees on their ITE course and also improve their well-being and employability, which may also impact positively on teacher retention.

In this qualitative inquiry I use a case study approach to investigate the lived experiences of six trainee FE teachers. Each case comprises the trainee and their mentor within the context of their workplace. I conducted twelve semi-structured interviews with open questions to facilitate a fluid line of inquiry that enabled participants to respond in as much or as little detail as they wished in order to answer the above research questions. The research questions and data analysis are underpinned by a constructionist and interpretivist view which recognises the existence of multiple realities (Denzin and Lincoln 2013) and seeks to capture the subjective experiences of the trainees, and their mentors' perceptions of these.

Due to their industry experience and vocational expertise, FE teachers bring a range of social and cultural capitals to their teaching. However, when trainees perceive themselves as non-academic, perhaps following negative experiences in school, they often do not recognise or value these capitals. As a result, they may not operationalise them to develop their practical teaching or to benefit their students, either directly or through an enhanced curriculum. Nonetheless, even where trainees do not recognise their capitals, their

mentors might, and mentors may operationalise trainees' capitals to benefit the organisation and to improve both the students' experience and the trainees' position in the workplace field. This suggests that mentors could usefully support trainees to recognise their capitals and understand how they can be effectively operationalised during and beyond ITE. How mentor training and ITE programmes can facilitate that would be a useful subject for future study.

Overview of the chapters

The following section sets the context of the study with a brief introduction to the FE sector, which is the field of FE ITE. It is important to recognise that as a sector, FE is situated within the wider field of education and organisations and departments are therefore influenced and constrained by FE government policy. A detailed analysis of education policy is not possible within the scope of this study and this has already been done (Duckworth and Smith 2018; Orr 2009) but I provide an overview of some of the policies that have been significant for the continuously evolving FE landscape in this chapter. This is followed by an explanation of the dual professionalism that characterises vocational teachers. This is important for understanding trainees' habituated dispositions and the cultural capitals that trainee FE teachers may possess, and how these impact on their interactions in the workplace and their engagement with FE ITE. The final section of this chapter provides an overview of what FE ITE typically entails and the role of the workplace and mentor within this.

Chapter 2 summarises Bourdieu's theoretical framework, with specific reference to the elements that underpin this study and legitimise my application of a Bourdieusian framework. These include the thinking tools of habitus, capital and field, as well as the notion of doxa. I discuss how the conditions of the field shape the habitus, causing individuals to misrecognise the arbitrariness of the social order and perceive it as natural, thereby reproducing the field and reinforcing the habitus, and what this means for the trainee participants in this study. Intertwined in this is the role of symbolic violence and gameplaying which help maintain the low status of FE within the field of education and the unequal value of vocational compared with

academic qualifications. This is followed by a section reviewing extant literature examining education through a Bourdieusian lens. I begin the literature review section with a short overview of Bloomer and Hodkinson's (2000) cognitive apprenticeship. This is followed by a discussion of some of the literature which views secondary and higher education through a Bourdieusian lens. Given the vast quantity of such research it is not possible to review it all in this study and so I have focused on the research that resonates most closely with my research questions and illuminates specific themes emerging from my data. Chapter 2 finishes with a review of the literature that views FE from a Bourdieusian perspective. This includes Colley, James, Dimen and Tedder's (2003) notion of vocational habitus and the ways in which cognitive dissonance can rupture and transform the habitus (which I revisit in Chapter 6 when analysing data) and the work of Hodkinson et al. (2004) and Hodkinson and Hodkinson (2004a) relating to the reciprocal relationship between habitus and field in which trainees may be influenced by, but also influence their workplace culture.

Chapter 3 provides a detailed analysis of the underpinning methodology for this study. I explain the continual processes through which I formed and refined my research questions and the relationship between my chosen research methods, the ontological underpinning of this study and my epistemological stance. I also analyse how this informed my use of Bourdieu's theoretical framework and the implications of this for transcribing and analysing the resultant data. In the final section of Chapter 3 I explain how I ensured I conducted this research in an ethical way and identify the challenges that emerged and how I sought to mitigate them.

In Chapter 4 I present a contextual analysis of each of the six cases, which identifies the type of organisation participants work in, their teaching subject, the previous educational and life experiences of the trainees and how they came to undertake FE ITE. This provides the backdrop for Chapter 5 which analyses the role of the familial and cultural habituses in forming habituated dispositions. We perceive our worlds and our capitals through the habitus and our habituated disposition predisposes us to certain actions, such as whether to operationalise certain capitals. I explore how this in turn informs our habituated aspirations and how we manage the sometimes-powerful

emotions that can emerge when the habitus encounters an unfamiliar field. Chapter 6 takes a view of habitus and habituated dispositions in action as trainees seek to acculturate themselves to their departmental field and become accepted, valued members of the team. I consider the factors that contribute to a positive habitus-field fit, such as resilience, values and relationships and how trainees utilise their historical experiences and their interactions in the workplace field to mould their teaching practice which is embodied in their evolving teacher habitus.

In Chapter 7 I describe the process of reflexivity I engaged in as I wrote this thesis and seek to uncover the role my personal history has played in my choice of research topic, the approach I have taken to generate and interpret the data, and the conclusions I have drawn. My thesis concludes with a summary of the key findings and recommendations, presented in chapter 8. In the first section of chapter 8 I answer my research questions and identify the original contribution to knowledge of this thesis, which is that habitus and academic history have significant effects on FE trainees' ability to engage with learning opportunities in the workplace, and that cultural capital and habitus-field fit are key elements in smoothing this journey. I show how I have utilised contemporary applications of Bourdieu's thinking tools, such as the unsettled feelings conceptualised as 'hauntings' (Morrin 2016) arising from a cleft habitus, as well as the role of emotional capitals in the enactment of emotional practice (Cottingham 2016). This is followed by an outline of the limitations of this study, leading into the final section of this thesis where I discuss the implications of these findings for the FE sector and make recommendations for FE ITE programmes and mentor training.

The following section introduces the FE sector and briefly describes the policy landscape against which it has been evolving for nearly three decades.

The Further Education Sector

The English Further Education (FE) sector is a complex, 'hyper-diverse range of provision' (ETF 2014:11), where the majority of vocational and adult training and education takes place, as well as academic study (Orr 2012:51). It consists of:

'general FE colleges, ... sixth form colleges, ... specialist designated institutions, ... private and charitable training providers, ... public bodies such as local authorities offering adult community learning, ... HE institutions which also offer FE courses, ... National Skills Academies, the training departments of major employers ... government departments... the armed services and government agencies like the Prison Service' (Lingfield 2012:18).

The FE sector is characterised by radical and continuous change, and those entering the sector as teachers need to cope with ever-increasing workloads resulting from these changes. At the time of writing there are 234 further education and sixth form colleges in England compared with almost 500 when colleges were incorporated in 1993 (AoC 2019a). This figure reflects the steady flow of college mergers into 'super colleges' since incorporation. Incorporation is 'the removal of FE, tertiary, and sixth form colleges from the Local Education Authorities (LEA), creating a new sector with independent incorporated institutions funded directly by the government' (Withers 1998:223). The key reasons given for these mergers are to achieve higher standards of provision and therefore greater financial stability following the massive funding pressures of recent years as government funding rates have not taken into account rates of inflation (AoC 2019b; BIS 2016).

However, it is important to recognise that the creation of bigger colleges does not automatically equate to higher standards of provision; in fact, the ensuing disruption can have the opposite effect. The inevitable restructuring in the wake of these mergers has meant high levels of uncertainty for FE teachers about their future employment, as well as a loss of collegial identity (Thompson and Wolstencroft 2007), leading to a sense of isolation for those who subsequently find themselves working at multiple college campuses located many miles apart (Manchester News 2016). In particular this has implications for trainees whose mentor is not working at the same campus as them, making contact between them very difficult. Additionally, efficiency measures in the spirit of the mantra 'less is more' have brought with them changes in guided learning hours and student-staff ratios: more students are expected to achieve in less time (Daley 2015:18). This misalignment between policy-makers and teachers, and between educational policies, learning

theory and empirical evidence of 'what works' (Hughes 2015:51), together with the need for constant evidence-gathering to meet the requirements of the accountability culture that dominates FE provision can be especially detrimental to the well-being of trainee teachers who feel under pressure to return high student achievement rates while they are still learning their craft. It is perhaps unsurprising therefore, that the retention rate of FE teachers is lower than the retention rates of all other teaching professions (ONS 2019).

The binary classification of qualifications as either academic or vocational, and the portrayal of the FE sector as focusing primarily on vocational education for people who have had negative experiences at school (Duckworth and Smith 2018) positions the FE sector within an instrumentalist ideology as low status provision (Reay, Crozier and Clayton 2009) that caters for students with low levels of choice and agency (Duckworth and Smith 2018). The impact of this on trainees' perceptions of their cultural capitals, in this case their qualifications, forms part of the analysis in Chapter 5.

Research suggests that students who leave 11-16 education without good grades in English or maths are likely to continue their study in an FE organisation (Anderson and Peart 2016). This has implications for both FE students and their teachers, whose previous educational experiences may already have left them with low aspirations, low self-esteem and a sense of failure (DfE 2017a; Nuffield 2019). This is exacerbated by the unequal status of vocational education compared with academic study (Bathmaker 2005) so that young people undertaking vocational education are frequently aware that they have lower status in the hierarchy of 'student worth' (Ball, Macrae and Maguire 1999:32).

Since 1997 this deficit view of FE has been reinforced by the English policy narrative of successive administrations which has placed increasing emphasis on the importance of skills to the long-term prosperity and social stability of the UK (Keep 2012). Within this narrative the FE sector has emerged as the vehicle to increase the human capital of the workforce by delivering 'economically valuable skills' (Leitch 2006:2) as measured in terms of qualifications that lead to employment. Weaknesses in the UK skills base, the government has argued, have contributed to its 'longstanding productivity gap' (Department for Business, Innovation and Skills/HM Treasury 2015: 23)

and are responsible for 'serious social disparities with high levels of child poverty [and] poor employment rates for the disadvantaged (Leitch 2006:1). However, by conflating 'skills' with unemployment and social deprivation the meaning of the term appears to have become strongly influenced by conceptions of social class (Duckworth and Smith 2018). Social class therefore, is germane to any study of the FE sector. Bourdieu's analysis of cultural life has a strong focus on class (Crossley 2014) and is therefore an invaluable lens through which to investigate FE trainee learning.

Further Education Teachers

As reflected by the participants in this study, FE teachers come from a range of different backgrounds. Some FE teachers have a degree, which may or may not be in their teaching subject, others have extensive industry experience and are entering the teaching profession as a career change. Still others have come into teaching following years working in a teaching support role. Vocational lecturers in FE are characterised as dual professionals; they are industry professionals in their subject specialism and also teaching professionals (ETF 2014). Traditionally, colleges employed them for their vocational expertise (Avis and Bathmaker 2004) and until 2007 they were not required to hold a teaching qualification. However, with the increasing significance of FE as a means to improve labour force skills (Orr 2009; 2012) came a requirement for an improvement in the skills and knowledge of FE teachers (O'Leary 2013), and in 2001 initial teacher education (ITE) was brought under a legislative framework that required all new full-time teachers in FE to achieve a teaching qualification within five years of taking up post (DFES 2004; ETF 2014). Whilst this requirement has since been revoked (Lingfield 2012), its legacy continues in the form of a set of Professional Standards (ETF 2014), new teaching qualifications and revisions to the ITE Common Inspection Framework under Ofsted. As FE provision has expanded, organisations are increasingly expected to work alongside schools (DfES 2002; Lingfield 2012) and in partnership with universities, offering a wide range of vocational and academic provision at all levels from entry level to higher education degree courses. Learning to teach is context-specific (Calderhead and Shorrock 1997; Flores 2001), and each of these brings its own pedagogic practices and cultures and therefore understandings about

teaching and learning, adding to the diversity and complexity of the sector (Bathmaker and Avis 2005). This presents challenges for trainee FE teachers, who must not only integrate themselves into the culture of their workplace but may also need to simultaneously develop multiple pedagogic practices to teach a range of ages and levels (Bathmaker and Avis 2005). Moreover, this has significant implications for trainees' interactions and practices in the workplace and for the ways in which mentors support them to make effective use of opportunities to develop their classroom practice as they progress through their ITE programme.

Becoming an FE teacher

There are multiple routes into becoming an FE teacher. Trainee FE teachers can gain a teaching qualification through an in-service or a pre-service route. The pre-service route is a one year, university-based, full-time qualification with a minimum of 120 hours' practical teaching in an allocated, work-based placement in an FE setting. In contrast, on the in-service route, which typically takes two years, trainees are employed to teach in an FE organisation, and they learn to teach 'on the job' whilst undertaking a part-time teaching qualification. The expectation is that they will engage with the range of day-to-day activities of an FE teacher, with the support of other staff and under the supervision of a mentor. Trainees shadow experienced staff to learn from them and are observed and gain feedback on their practical teaching in order to develop the skills, knowledge and values identified in the Professional Standards (ETF 2014). In January 2019 an apprenticeship route into FE teaching was introduced, which is similar to the in-service route in that it is a two-year course that combines on-the-job training under the supervision of a mentor with non-teaching activity. The common element for all these routes is supervised teaching within an FE organisation. Thus the workplace is a crucial element of any ITE course, as it is 'a site for formal and informal learning' beyond the course, where 'trainees develop and reflect on their practice' (Maxwell 2014:378) and integrate theory into practice.

This introduction identified the aims, theoretical framework and approach for this study and gave an overview of each chapter of this thesis. I am using Bourdieu's theoretical framework to investigate the ways in which the cultural

and social histories of in-service trainee FE teachers impact on their engagement with learning opportunities within the specific context of their workplace. This includes how they operationalise their capitals and the role of their mentor in these processes. I am using a case study approach that analyses six case studies drawn from two different types of FE organisation and a mix of academic and vocational subject areas. Each case comprises the trainee and their mentor. In order to set the context for this study I introduced the FE sector within the policy landscape since incorporation. I explained how continuous changes in education policy, college mergers and the accountability culture that dominates the FE sector have been detrimental to the working conditions and well-being of FE teachers and how the binary classification of qualifications as either academic or vocational perpetuates and reinforces the low status portrayal of FE provision and the low self-esteem of those who work and study in it. Finally, I briefly summarised the different routes to becoming an FE teacher.

The original contribution to knowledge of this thesis is that habitus and academic history have significant effects on FE trainees' ability to engage with learning opportunities in the workplace and that cultural capitals and habitus-field fit are key elements in smoothing this journey. The original contribution to practice is that by gaining a better understanding of these processes, mentors and teacher educators will be better enabled to effectively support trainee FE teachers in the workplace. This is important as it may lead to greater job satisfaction, increased confidence and well-being and improved retention of FE teachers. In the following chapter I provide a more detailed overview of Bourdieu's theoretical framework, with specific reference to the elements that underpin this study.

Chapter 2: Bourdieu's theoretical framework

'Surely, sociology would not be worth an hour's trouble ... if it did not give itself the job of restoring to people the meaning of their action.'
(Bourdieu 1962)

This chapter begins with an overview of Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, capital and field and the ways in which these influence an individual's perceptions, actions and interactions in their social worlds. This is followed by an explanation of hysteresis, doxa, symbolic violence and gameplaying, many of which help maintain existing power relations and in so doing reinforce and reproduce the objective social structures which constitute the field. Throughout the discussion I show how these concepts operate within the field of education and in particular the FE sector in order to situate the discussion within the context of my doctoral study. I apply these concepts when analysing the data generated from this study and discuss them in more depth in Chapter 4, in order to better understand the subjective experiences of the trainee participants as they train to become FE teachers. The final two sections of this chapter discuss some of the literature viewing education through a Bourdieusian lens. Applying Bourdieu's framework was an iterative process: when carrying out my initial literature search, I sought out literature that resonated most closely with my research questions. However, during the data analysis stage of this study I revisited the literature to better understand themes that were emerging from the data. The ensuing discussion includes literature from the initial and subsequent searches.

Using habitus, capital and field to understand social practice

According to Bourdieu, sociological analysis is an intervention in the real world, by which individuals can recognise and free themselves from 'the social forces which determine our lives' (Grenfell 2004:2). A significant part of his work focused on what he perceived to be the relationship between scholastic outcomes and social origins, in particular the way that a student's background clashed or meshed with the dominant culture of educational institutions (Grenfell 2004). He developed his framework, comprising the three central and inter-relational organising concepts of habitus, field and

capital, as a tool to understand social practice, and in particular the ways in which the education systems of industrialised societies functioned to legitimise class inequalities (Bourdieu 1984). Harker, Mahar and Wilkes (1990:3) describe Bourdieu's framework as 'a spiral that moves between theory, empirical work and back to reformulating theory again but at a different level'. As a teacher educator this resonates with me as elements of my own practice are underpinned by Bruner's (1960) spiral curriculum; learners revisit concepts at different levels, moving up and down the spiral as they recap prior learning in order to build on it and move up to the next level. I also appreciate the parallel I can draw with my own learning as a doctoral student. Many times, having found an article challenging on first reading, re-reading it several months later has brought new, deeper understandings, whilst simultaneously highlighting previous misinterpretations that have yet to be corrected.

It is important to note that the concepts of habitus, capital and field can only be defined in relation to each other (Nash 1990) and 'within the theoretical system they constitute, not in isolation' (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:96). For Bourdieu, theoretical and practical knowledge are complementary to each other, and the flexibility afforded by these 'open concepts designed to guide empirical work' (Bourdieu 1990b:107) is a strength of his framework because it enables the researcher to reveal the logic of a practical knowledge that transcends and develops the theoretical. Indeed, by referring to his framework as 'a temporary construct which takes shape for and by empirical work' (Wacquant 1989:50), Bourdieu is arguably encouraging us to develop his theory through its application as a method. His thinking tools are just that; a means of asking questions to generate a way of understanding the world. Some of his concepts, in particular cultural capital, are better known than others; habitus however, while less well-known, is arguably the most contested concept (Reay 2004). In this study I draw on original, as well as developed notions of his concepts to investigate the impact of trainees' individual histories on their learning in the workplace.

Habitus

Habitus demonstrates the ways in which the individual both embodies and is part of the social world (Reay 2004). It is 'a complex amalgam of past and present' (Mills 2012:271), comprising the historical and cultural influences that shape us (Webb, Schirato and Danaher 2002). Bourdieu developed the concept to analyse the relationship between social structures (fields) and the behaviours that occur within them (Dean 2017):

'The habitus is a socialised body. A structured body, a body which has incorporated the immanent structures of a world or of a particular sector of that world - a field - and which structures the perception of that world as well as action in that world. '
(Bourdieu, 1998:81).

Habitus is more than perceptions and attitudes however, it is expressed in the ways of 'standing, speaking, walking and thereby of feeling and thinking' (Bourdieu 1990a:71); or in other words, in ways of being. It is therefore a useful tool for examining agency within a context such as the FE sector, that is characterised by its diversity and the disparate backgrounds of those who work in it.

Through habitus Bourdieu sought to explain how the social structures in which an individual was brought up affected their later everyday practice (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). We interpret and represent the social structures that surround us (Bourdieu 1984) through the habitus, which stems from the internalisation of the opportunities and constraints that framed our early life experiences (Dean 2017), especially socialisation within the family (Reay, David and Ball Reay 2005). These primacy layers of the habitus are significant because they determine how a person perceives and reacts to situations, thereby framing future actions (Forbes and Lingard 2015), leading to criticisms that habitus is deterministic (Jenkins 2002). However, by holding structure and agency in tension (Reay et al. 2005) habitus has the potential to generate a wide repertoire of possible actions. Sullivan (2002:152) criticises the notion of habitus because it does not allow for 'individual agency or even individual consciousness', rejecting Bourdieu's defence that the same habitus will produce different practices in different social fields, and that

the habitus can be changed by changed circumstances (Bourdieu 1990b). However, if habitus were deterministic then it would not be possible to recognise the practices of social and cultural exclusion used by dominant groups seeking to maintain their position. Furthermore, as Nash (1990) points out, to claim that habitus is deterministic is to reduce the complexity of life to a set of rules, which is even more difficult to reconcile in today's globalised world where technology enables people to easily access information beyond their immediate cultural community. Rather, the habitus simultaneously facilitates and limits choice; it generates a repertoire of possible actions without specifically determining them whilst predisposing individuals towards certain ways of behaving and away from others (Reay 2004). As a result, we see cultures and practices specific to subject departments in FE organisations, and vocational areas may also have echoes of those from industry.

Whilst in its early conceptualisation Bourdieu's framework emphasised the importance of social class for maintaining and reproducing the social order (Bourdieu 1984), later iterations recognised that whilst actions can be constraining, they can equally be transformative through a process of reflexivity, making agency and choice possible:

'The individual is always... trapped... save to the extent that he becomes aware of it - within the limits of his brain, ... that is, within the limits of the system of categories he owes to his upbringing and training' (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:126)

Individuals are not influenced by a single factor but are located within a matrix of overlapping influences comprising family, friends, individual and institutional (Reay et al. 2005). Duckworth and Maxwell (2015) posit that although the habitus reflects the social position from early childhood in which it was constructed, it is a dynamic entity that is continually restructured. Experiences are lived at individual level, in that everyone perceives things through their own lens, but also at a collective level since people can share similar stories about the same situation (Dean 2017). Therefore, whilst individual histories are vital to understanding the concept of habitus, it is important to remember that a person's individual history is not just

constitutive of habitus, but also of the whole collective history of family and class that the individual is a member of (Reay et al. 2005). Schools are a significant factor in this, since dispositions, which Bourdieu (1977:214) defines as a 'tendency', 'propensity' or 'inclination' to act, reflect the schooling context in which they are partially acquired and operate to align our subjective aspirations to the objective possibilities available to us (Forbes and Linguard 2015; Sellar and Gale 2011). What Bourdieu termed 'institutional habitus', therefore, is reflected in the dispositions or 'cultured habitus' (Bourdieu 1967:344) of an individual. There has been some debate as to whether the concept of institutional habitus can exist (Atkinson 2013; Burke, Emmerich, and Ingram 2013), with some suggestion that this is more a question of terminological disagreement, rather than of differing analytical frameworks (Atkinson 2013; Dean 2016). It is beyond the scope of this study to enter into this debate, but it is important to note where it has relevance. Whilst it is difficult to refute that an institution cannot have emotions (Atkinson 2013), it is equally important to recognise that institutions elicit emotions that are 'at times intense and powerful' (Dean, J. 2016:655). Furthermore, 'members of an institution have human emotions as members of that institution, and as part of their institutional or collective habitus' (Burke, Emmerich, and Ingram 2013:173). This will inform their practices, values and dispositions, and it is important therefore, not to underplay the agentic role of teachers in institutional habitus (Morrison 2009), as they mediate the culture of the organisation for the students they teach. In this study I observed institutional habitus through the physical features of an organisation, such as the word-play posters designed to alleviate maths anxieties in the maths department in this study. Institutional habitus can also refer to the ways in which the habituses of students affect, and are in turn influenced by, the culture of the schools and colleges they attend within a particular catchment area (Reay et al 2001), as well as the educational status of an organisation, which can impact on students' aspirations and choices (Ball et al., 2002).

According to Bourdieu (1990a), individuals are social agents acting in an objective world, who unconsciously take in rules, values and dispositions from their cultural history which then inform their own practice, values, aspirations and dispositions. The set of dispositions that form the habitus

strongly influence a person's actions in any given situation, but the habitus is in turn influenced by who the person is, their position in society, and their interactions with others (Bloomer and Hodkinson 2000). Consequently, habitus can be reinforced in fields where its dispositions are reproduced (Reay 2004) or transformed by encounters with new beliefs (Mills 2012), generating new responses capable of transcending the social conditions in which it was produced, for example by raising or lowering an individual's expectations and aspirations (Reay 2004). These responses are then internalised and become another layer to add to the early socialisations that formed the habitus. This means that habitus cannot be easily observed because it is 'internalised as second nature and so forgotten as history' (Bourdieu 1990a:54) and for some, this makes it a vague, 'slippery' (Holt, Bowlby and Lea 2013:34) concept.

Bottero (2010) argues that individuals are more likely to associate with those who are similar to them in order to avoid the dissonance arising from a destabilised habitus, and therefore habitus is a deterministic concept. However, as FE ITE demonstrates, this is not necessarily the case, particularly when individual circumstances change. There are individuals for whom habitus is not a deterministic concept, for example industry professionals who seek out and embrace the opportunity to become teachers and express pride in their successful transition to the field of education. Therefore, Bourdieu's concepts are able to reveal 'a practical knowledge with its own logic which transcends theoretical knowledge' (Bourdieu 1990a:252), suggesting that agents may know the social world better than the theoreticians.

Capital

Capital in all its forms is a relational concept that cannot be taken in isolation from the habitus, which comprises a combination of different forms of capital, or field, which in turn determines the relative value of the different forms of capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). For Bourdieu, capital is accumulated labour in an objectified or an embodied form, which when appropriated by agents or groups of agents in a field, confers power (Bourdieu 1986), such as

the relevant life experiences and industry qualifications and expertise of FE teachers.

Bourdieu identifies three types of capital; economic, social and cultural, which exist within a hierarchy in a field (Bourdieu 1986). Economic capital retains its traditional meaning within Bourdieu's sociology and relates to finance. It may also be institutionalised in the form of property. Social capital relates to personal connections or membership of a group, for example the professional networks of vocational teachers and all the advantages that such membership confers (Yang 2014). It may be converted into economic capital under certain conditions and in its institutionalised form could be a title or a managerial role in the workplace. Cultural capital exists in 3 main states: the embodied, the objectified and the institutionalised. Examples of the objective and institutionalised states are the possession of cultural goods or educational qualifications respectively (Yang 2014). Cultural capital in the embodied state relates to 'long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body' (Bourdieu 1986:245), such as the practices and judgements of others' practices conferred by social class. Cultural capital is integral to habitus because it involves an ability 'to decipher the cultural codes symbolised by material cultural objects for example, writings, paintings and monuments' (Yang 2014:1524) which is then exhibited through our tastes. Our social class also guides our tastes within our social world, thereby functioning as a means of social orientation (Reay et al. 2005) by giving us 'a sense of ... place' (Bourdieu 1984:467).

Under certain conditions cultural capital may be converted into economic capital such as when a trainee teacher is awarded a pay increase on obtaining their teaching qualification. While some forms of capital have value across all fields, their relative value is determined by each field and the dominant agents in the field. This can be seen when considering vocational qualifications, which are highly valued in the relevant industry field, but have less value outside it or when compared with academic qualifications of the same level. Therefore, the different types of capital and their distribution represent the immanent structure of the social world, including the constraints which govern the way that world functions and 'the chances of success for practices' (Bourdieu 1986:242). Whilst cultural capital may be

acquired, it flows from habitus (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977:94). This means that individual histories are key to understanding habitus, since if an individual perceives that they have low levels of cultural capitals they may have low self-esteem and correspondingly low aspirations.

Field

Fields are socially structured spaces which consist of 'a set of objective, historical relations between positions anchored in certain forms of power (or capital)' (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:16). They comprise institutions, rules, conventions and agents whose position within a field is objectively defined and determined by the species of capital they currently or potentially possess (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) in relation to each other. Fields exist at multiple levels in the form of subfields within a field. For example, within education the FE sector is a subfield of the wider education sector, and subject departments are subfields of individual FE organisations.

Bourdieu advocated a three-level approach to understanding field (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Firstly, through analysis of the habitus and the dispositions it generates at an individual level, secondly through the structure of the field as reflected by the relative positions of agents acting in the field, and finally in terms of the overall fields of power, which include socio-political events and heritage (Grenfell 2004:25). Agents and institutions compete for power in the field and distinguish themselves from each other through the possession of capitals, since an individual can improve their position in the field by operationalising relevant capitals (Lareau 2000). Autonomy within the field is limited by the dominant groups who determine which forms of capital have value and thereby reproduce the conditions for their dominance (Webb 2002).

A field can be viewed as 'a fluid set of dispositions that are constantly changing as individuals go through new experiences and interact with new fields' (James 2015:6). The field gives the habitus its dynamic quality (Bourdieu 1990a), as the habitus operates synergistically with it. On the one hand the field structures or conditions the habitus, which embodies the field, whilst on the other, the habitus helps constitute the field by giving it meaning and value and by identifying it as something worth investing in (Bourdieu and

Wacquant 1992; Grenfell 1996). This means that although fields tend to be resistant to change (Doolan, Lukic', Bukovic' 2016), they can also be influenced by the agents who inhabit them, such as when trainee teachers bring new approaches to their teaching that are adopted by their colleagues. Consequently, the concept of habitus should not be used in isolation, but in relation to field and capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992).

Hysteresis

Hysteresis is a psychological response an individual may experience when the beliefs and values of one world are displaced by those of another (Grenfell 2004), leading to a sense of being 'out of time' or 'out of place' (Morris 2016:124). As the habitus adjusts to the new field individuals frequently experience a sense of dislocation and imposter syndrome. Bourdieu (1977b:83) defines hysteresis as 'the structural lag between opportunities and the dispositions to grasp them', resulting in feelings of shame, emotional turmoil and missed opportunities. It is characterised by internal conflict, division and a strong sense of displacement between two competing worlds (Friedman 2016), such as when an individual perceives themselves to be aspiring beyond their position in society. Similarly, when habitus encounters a new, contradictory field, either through experiences or pedagogic action such as beginning ITE, it can result in a cleft habitus, which is a habitus that is divided against itself (Bourdieu 1999).

Ingram and Abrahams (2016) have developed Bourdieu's notion of habitus and field to produce a typology of habitus interruptions which analyses the resultant interactions between habitus and field when an individual seeks to navigate two different fields that are not aligned. A disjunctive response occurs when an individual inhabits either the new field or the original one. They may renegotiate their original habitus in response to the structuring forces of the new field, resulting in an abandoned habitus, or they may reject the new field and reconfirm their habitus. Alternatively, a conjunctive response is where they either successfully navigate both fields, resulting in a reconciled habitus, or oscillate between them, resulting in a destabilised habitus that is unable to assimilate the structuring forces of each field. It is

through the process of hysteresis that doxa becomes apparent and can consequently be challenged.

Doxa

Doxa is 'a set of fundamental beliefs which does not even need to be asserted in the form of an explicit, self-conscious dogma' (Bourdieu 2000:16). It relates to the taken for granted assumptions, shared attitudes and practices of agents within a field, that have been internalised by the habitus and is therefore closely linked to habitus and field (Deer 2014). Doxa allows the arbitrariness of the social order to be misrecognised and reproduced by conditioning the habitus of those involved. In this way, the internalised sense of limits, perceptions, aspirations and subsequent practices of agents in a field serve to reinforce the habitus and the field (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:66). An example of doxa prevalent in teaching is the unquestioned acceptance that planning lessons or marking in the evening and at weekends is an inevitable part of the job. Agents with a similar habitus misrecognise their allegiance to the 'rules of the game' as the established order and thus strengthen the doxa which defines, characterises and reproduces the field.

Bourdieu's aim was to make explicit the doxa underpinning the logic of practice that enables dominant social groups to maintain their position in a field. It is for this reason that Bourdieu calls upon researchers to engage in a process of reflexivity. He likens the pre-reflexive state to a 'scholastic slumber' which leaves academics '... in a state of unthought (impense, doxa) the presuppositions of their thought' (Bourdieu 1998:129) and from which they need to awaken so that they recognise the ways in which economic, social and cultural influences from their history inform their thinking. In Chapter 7 I attempt to wake up from my own scholastic slumber and recognise how the forces that have shaped me are now shaping my practice as a researcher and teacher educator.

Symbolic violence

Symbolic violence is 'the violence which is exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity' (Bourdieu 1977a:67). It occurs when those in a dominant position apply rules and judgements according to their own value

system (in other words according to their own habitus) and those subjected to the violence are in a weak position to challenge the dominance (Duckworth 2013). Teachers may unwittingly play a role in maintaining inequality through a lack of awareness of the role schools play in reproducing social and cultural inequalities by linking scholastic aptitude to cultural heritage (Mills 2008). The 'victim' accepts the status quo as if it were the natural order, considers that their aspirations and expectations are unachievable, and so resigns themselves to their position within it (Mills 2008). In other words, they adjust their hopes, aspirations and expectations according to the objective reality in which they find themselves and 'learn to love the inevitable' (Bourdieu 1977a:77). As a result, they reinforce their habitus and reproduce the field. Thus, by accepting the binary classification of qualifications as academic or vocational with its inherent bias towards the former (Duckworth and Smith 2018), FE teachers may be inadvertently maintaining the low status of vocational study and its role in reproducing social inequalities. For Bourdieu, this is a form of self-deception, as an individual's continued acceptance of a position is not the result of cause and effect, but rather of misrecognition (Richardson 1986). Agents misrecognise a situation when they take it for granted and 'forget' that there may be alternatives (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). They accept the world as it is because their mind 'is constructed according to cognitive structures that are issued out of the very structures of the world' (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:168). Misrecognition occurs in education when vocational subjects and by association those who teach them are perceived as inferior to academic ones.

Playing the Game

Bourdieu (1990a) uses the metaphor of games to describe power struggles within a field. Playing a game implies tacit agreement by the players regarding the hierarchy and relative value of the different forms of capital at stake in a field. This hierarchy can change across fields, and players can change the value of capital, discrediting some forms of capital and valorising others. Field and capital therefore are tightly interconnected, since the value of the different species of capital hinges on the existence of a game and of a field in which this capital can be beneficially operationalised. The game orients actions without specifically determining them and habituated

disposition orients engagement in the game. Players have unequal positions in the game, often as a result of the different amounts of capital they possess with which to play the game, or because of their position within the field. An example of this are the top-down performance management systems in FE (Coffield 2008) resulting from the high degree of centralised control, which lead FE teachers to experience their practice as a prescribed element of a pre-existing system over which they have no influence. Consequently, different players have unequal influence on the rules of the game and unequal resources with which to play, and the dominant players maintain their position of dominance in the field through acts of symbolic violence in which subordinated players are complicit by virtue of their engagement.

Bourdieu's framework offers 'a method: a way of looking at societies; a way of asking questions' (Mahar, Harker, Wilkes 1990:195) rather than a theory to be applied. In doing so the researcher must recognise the influence of the cultural practices of the social fields that have shaped them and that they in turn shape in order to question 'what is thought to be' (Mahar et al. 1990:196). Despite the challenges created by his 'maximally opaque' (Jenkins 2002:171) writing style, Jenkins acknowledges that Bourdieu is good to think with. As Nash (1999:185) sums it up below:

'... the struggle to work with Bourdieu's concepts ... is worthwhile, just because to do so forces one to think. Without concepts - the tools of thought - we will not make much progress'.

By applying Bourdieu's thinking tools to shape and refine my research questions and interrogate the resultant data I have broadened my focus to take into account the social and cultural history of the trainees and how this influences their aspirations, self-perception and behaviours within their teaching context. Bourdieu's framework has highlighted the inter-relationality of these factors, since the way an individual perceives themselves and their world will affect how they behave in that world and what they deem to be of value within it. This has enhanced my understanding of the complex processes trainee FE teachers go through and some of the tensions and inner conflicts they experience as they reconstruct themselves as teachers, whilst also illuminating the role that mentors play in this. During my many

years working in FE I had first-hand experience of the challenges created by the culture and conditions of service of FE teachers. However, it was Bourdieu's theoretical framework that gave me the means to recognise and articulate the workings of doxa and identify the role I unwittingly played in perpetuating those conditions through acts of symbolic violence and gameplaying as I moved up the managerial ladder.

As might be expected from its extensive reach and considerable longevity, Bourdieu's work has been widely contested (Alexander 1995; Jenkins 2002; Sayer 2005). Jenkins (2002) criticises Bourdieu's lack of clarity about how to determine or identify a field and its boundaries and rejects the concept of habitus as indeterminate because of its changing notions. For Bourdieu however, the openness of his concepts is a positive attribute because it facilitates their application as tools to be used as method to guide empirical research (Bourdieu 1990a:107):

'The core of my work lies in the method and a way of thinking. To be more precise, my method is a manner of asking questions rather than just ideas' (Bourdieu 1985, quoted in Mahar 1990).

Sayer (2005) condemns the concept of habitus for being incomplete because it fails to explicitly focus on issues of gender and race. However, these criticisms are arguably inherent strengths of Bourdieu's framework because as a result of these factors, it 'fits in well with the complex messiness of the real world' (Reay 2004: 438). We do not all share the same reality, and our lives do not follow a single, definitive trajectory, as evidenced by the previous careers of many FE teachers and the multiple constructs of what it means to be a teacher. Rather, our lives are the product of endless nuances, tensions and changes of direction.

Rationale for choosing Bourdieu's framework

Bourdieu's framework has provided me with the tools to interpret the subjective realities of the trainees in this study and the language to communicate them in this thesis. Furthermore, it offers a lens through which to investigate trainee learning that enables consideration of the interplay between trainees' internalised, subjective mental worlds and the objective

field of the teaching department where they are employed. This field comprises the professional culture and practices pertaining to their specialist subject and sits within the wider field of the organisation whose culture is shaped by FE policy, as well as the requirements of the ITE course. Trainee dispositions are shaped by their individual social and professional histories, the latter of which are particularly relevant for vocational teachers in their dual role as teachers and industry professionals. This has implications for the capitals they bring in terms of industry experience and qualifications, self-esteem and aspirations, as well as how they construct what it means to teach their subject. This impacts on their interactions in the workplace and how they are perceived by others, which may in turn increase or limit their access to learning opportunities. Finally, New Labour's designation of the FE sector as the vehicle to deliver social justice (Orr 2009) puts social class at the heart of any study of the FE sector and for me made Bourdieu's framework the obvious choice.

In the following section I provide a summary of the literature viewing education through a Bourdieusian lens, concluding with an explanation of how I used the literature to form my research questions.

Viewing education through a Bourdieusian lens

Research into teacher thinking and the ways in which teachers understand, adapt to and create the educational environment in which they work has largely focused on schools rather than Post-16 ITE (Hodkinson and Hodkinson 2004b). In the field of educational research, Bourdieu's framework has been extensively applied to the school or HE sectors, often with a focus on social justice and differentials of achievement in relation to social class (Reay, 2003). Its application to FE is more limited, particularly with regard to ITE in FE.

Bloomer and Hodkinson's (2000:584) conceptualisation of learning as a 'cognitive apprenticeship' resonates with Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and field. They emphasise the importance of the social context of learning and the interrelationships between learner, activity and context, which arguably has significant implications for a study of FE ITE. However, although this

study recognises the complex nature of learning as a cultural act, it does not explore the role of an individual's socio-cultural history in shaping their perceptions of their lived experiences and how they respond to them. This study seeks to fill that gap by applying Bourdieu's framework to investigate the impact of trainee FE teachers' habituated dispositions on their engagement with learning opportunities in the workplace in order to develop their teaching skills, and the role their mentors play in these processes.

Secondary and Higher Education

There is a plethora of literature applying Bourdieu's theoretical framework to education in the school and Higher Education (HE) sectors and it would not be possible in a study this size to review all of it. I have chosen to focus, therefore, on the literature that has resonated most with my research questions and which has been most useful to me for developing my understanding of Bourdieu's framework and its application as a research tool. In this section I discuss Crozier and Reay's (2005) work which builds on Lareau's (2000) earlier research investigating the impact of social class and the workings of cultural capital in parental involvement in their children's schooling to show how social class can determine the level of cultural capitals parents may possess and how this can impact on processes of individual choice-making. Abrahams (2017) examines the role of social class in individuals' disposition to operationalise social capitals in order to gain advantage in the job market, where disposition is 'a particular propensity to act' (Bourdieu 1977a:214). Lingard's (2013) research into an elite girls' school is useful for understanding habituated aspiration and the ways in which institutional habitus produces a disposition for certain practices, so that past experiences inform future possibilities and individual aspirations. This has parallels with the vocational FE students in Bathmaker's (2005) study who find themselves at the lower end of the aspiration spectrum. Similarly, the work of Leathwood, Archer and Hutchings (2001) and Reay (2003; 2015) applies the concepts of habitus and cultural capital to explore the powerful emotions arising from a cleft habitus. These studies and the implications of their findings for secondary and higher education will be considered below.

In a study of the impact of the education policy introduced to increase parental involvement in their children's education through increased choice Reay (2005) employed the concept of cultural capital to examine how class differences influence their interactions and relationship with their children's school and teachers. Parents' personal histories and educational experiences were found to be a major influence on their involvement in their children's schooling, especially on their effectiveness in dealing with teachers. Social class determines the capitals parents can bring into play and is therefore a significant influence on parental involvement, which is positively linked to school success (Lareau 2000). There are many different ways of understanding social class and it is beyond the scope of this thesis to engage in wider debates on social class. In this study I take a Bourdieusian approach to social class which moves beyond income or occupation to also take into account the cultural capitals an individual possesses, including their use of language. Crozier and Reay (2005) assert that significant differences in social class, ethnicity and race between children and their teachers can impact negatively on connections between home and school. For many working-class parents, negative experiences of schooling can undermine any sense of expertise or confidence in relation to academic work (Crozier and Reay 2005), making it very difficult and sometimes even painful to get involved in their child's schooling (McNamara, Hustler, Stronach, Rodrigo, Beresford, and Botcherby 2000). In contrast, middle-class parents who have done well at school are frequently more articulate and so better equipped to counter opposing viewpoints and get their point across than working-class mothers. This confers not only a confident disposition but also a sense of entitlement in relation to parental involvement (Crozier and Reay 2005). This means that whereas middle-class parents are able to use their cultural capitals to gain advantage for their children by influencing the core of the education system, working-class parents not only lack this cultural capital but often feel intimidated by teachers' professional authority and so seldom attempt to influence it (Lareau 2000). Consequently, school-parent links tend to be dominated by middle-class parents, often leading to an uneven distribution of resources away from those who needed them most (Crozier 2000). Inequalities are then reproduced, since at each stage of their education children's access to success may be enhanced or limited by their

class position (Lareau 2000). However, *possession* of capitals is not enough; to yield benefits they must be effectively activated and invested. Lareau (2000) makes a distinction between cultural resources and cultural capitals and argues that possession of high-status cultural resources is insufficient to realise social advantage from them since members of the same social class may possess similar cultural resources but may not operationalise them to gain educational and occupational advantages. Thus, self-advancement is the result of the interplay between these resources and the practices embodied within the habituated dispositions generated by socialisation within the family and at school. By developing the concept of capitals to include activated and un-activated cultural capitals Lareau (2000) explores the potential for capitals to demonstrate how individual biography intersects with social structure and explain the impact of capitals on individual aspirations.

Reay et al. (2005) assert that social class and the workings of cultural capital are tightly bound up in processes of individual choice-making. As referenced in chapter 2, recruitment processes and catchment areas operate to link the organisational cultures of schools and colleges to wider socio-economic cultures (Reay 1998a; Reay, Ball, David, and Davies 2001), excluding and constraining the choices of those with limited economic capitals and thereby reinforcing social inequality (Butler and Hamnett 2012). Thus, the catchment area of an organisation impacts on its expectations and institutional habitus and this creates a dynamic relationship between the characteristics of a school's intake and its educational status, in which they shape and reshape each other. Certain practices flow from habitus, particularly when there is alignment between disposition and position in any given field (Wacquant 2013). Consequently, some parents choose their children's schools because of the access this will give their child to a certain institutional habitus and the future advantages this may confer (Reay et al. 2005), such as progression to a prestigious HE institution (McDonough 1997). Educational experiences provide individuals with a sense of 'one's relationship to the world and one's proper place within it' (Bourdieu 1984:471). Past objective limits are used to identify what is 'reasonable to expect' (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977:226), informing anticipation of future objective limits and therefore aspirations. In a study of an elite girls' school in Scotland Forbes and Lingard (2013:121)

develop the concept of 'assured optimism' to explain how the positive conditions of possibility embodied in the institutional habitus produced in the girls a disposition for certain practices that will ensure future advantage. Their assured optimism about realisable future possibilities contrasts sharply with the practices of some dominated groups who reject future possibilities as 'not for the likes of us' (Bourdieu 1990a:42). Sayer (2005) explains that dominated communities are constantly devalued and subjected to feelings of shame about their tastes, practices and dispositions, leading to acts of symbolic violence where they reject what they perceive as already being denied to them, such as when working class individuals choose not to apply to elite universities, assuming they will not be accepted.

While Bourdieu's framework offers an explanation for why people may reject what is already denied, it does not explain why some reject what is available. Abrahams (2017) explores this phenomenon in a study of the contrasting predispositions of a group of working-class and middle-class undergraduates to use nepotism to gain advantage in the labour market. She observes the growing importance of social origins for shaping graduate outcomes in a skills economy, where meritocracy is the ideology used to justify the dominant position of the 'elites' and more people are obtaining degree qualifications. The study found that the middle-class students, whose habitus was aligned to the field, were more likely to operationalise their social capitals to secure employment than their working-class counterparts, who found such practices morally unacceptable. Abrahams (2017) offers several explanations for this. Firstly, a sense of honour, founded in meritocratic values was central to the habitus of the working-class students, generating a habituated disposition where honour and respectability are inextricably linked to feelings of self-worth and value. Consequently, the working-class students questioned the legitimacy of their existence in this field and preferred to 'make it themselves' (Abrahams 2017:632), whereas the middle-class students, who felt entitled to exist in it, saw nothing wrong in operationalising their social capitals to improve their employment prospects. The second explanation relates to social mobility. In order to succeed in a field, players must understand the rules that govern it. This means that on entering a new field, the habitus needs time to adapt and learn to play the game, potentially

misreading the value of capitals in the interim. In the current policy narrative where 'success' is defined by the position an individual has achieved in the labour market by virtue of their hard work and commitment, aspiring working-class people have to believe in meritocratic values if they are to believe in their potential for social mobility. Furthermore, for those who are already upwardly mobile, the stakes are higher as they not only have further to fall than their middle-class peers if they fail (Abrahams 2017) but do not want their success to be undermined by claims that they have cheated.

The concept of habitus has been criticised for focusing strongly on agency and structure (Reay 2015) at the expense of the affective domain (Sayer 2005). Habitus reveals how social class is embodied and enacted in individuals' lives (Bourdieu 1990a), and although Bourdieu does not focus explicitly on emotions in his framework (though they visibly run throughout his biography), powerful emotions and inner conflicts rooted in class are an integral and inescapable characteristic of the cleft habitus. Having developed the concept of capitals to include emotional capital (Reay 2004), Reay (2015) revises it in favour of a psychosocial understanding of habitus that explains the affective aspects of living in an unequal society. Using this concept Reay (2015:9) investigates 'the emotional dimensions of lived experience' of some middle and working-class students at comprehensive school and the discomfort they experience as they move across familiar and unfamiliar fields. She found that the resultant tensions and inner conflict of their divided habitus generated feelings of anxiety, fear and guilt in both groups. For the middle-class students, their social privilege juxtaposed with the disadvantage experienced by their working-class peers created tensions between empathy and a desire to distance themselves. Conversely, one working-class white boy grappled with feelings of guilt for betraying his social roots as he struggled to reconcile his working-class masculinity with his educational success. There are similarities here with the feelings of guilt experienced in earlier studies of working-class women students by Leathwood et al. (2001) and Reay (2003). The women in the former study sought to reconcile their feelings of guilt about wanting to move beyond their place and also preserve their social identity by 'giving back'. However, for the women in Reay's study, setting a good example by engaging in learning opportunities was a parental

responsibility; a cultural capital that could be operationalised to improve the prospects of their own children.

Several studies applying Bourdieu's framework to secondary and higher education focus on the impact of social class on engagement with education and further study. In the next section I review the literature viewing further education through a Bourdieusian lens and the implications this has for engagement with workplace learning and vocational education.

Further Education

In a study of learning sites in FE, Colley et al. (2003) develop the notion of a 'vocational habitus' to explore identity formation for particular vocational occupations. They argue that habitus is not the assimilation of a particular occupational identity, but rather that the vocational habitus is aligned to a particular vocational culture and dictates 'how one should properly feel, look and act, as well as the values, attitudes and beliefs that one should espouse' (Colley et al. 2003:488). The vocational habitus is co-constructed by vocational lecturers and their students, who interact with the dominant discourses in FE and the discourses of the vocational occupations they are preparing to enter (Colley et al. 2003). Indeed, Maxwell (2010) found that the vocational habitus of FE trainee teachers can have a significant impact on their teaching approach, which they may align to industry standards rather than the course syllabus, and also on their willingness to engage in learning through interactions with colleagues, particularly if they deem that their own industry experience is greater than that of their colleagues.

Hodkinson et al.'s (2004) study of workplace learning draws on Bourdieu's framework to explore agency and power relations within the field. For them, learning is a complex amalgam of 'often reflexive interrelationships between community of practice, individual dispositions to learning, inequalities of position and capital, and wider influences upon and attributes of the field' (Hodkinson et al. 2004:9). Context is key since an individual is a reciprocative element of the context in which they are learning. However, it is not just that an individual influences and is influenced by the social structures around them, it is more a case that those structures are represented through the

habitus, as well as through the fields in which they participate. Individuals exist within and outside the workplace field, and have histories that predate that field, but also that they bring to bear on it. Bloomer and Hodkinson (2000:590) use the concept of a 'learning career' to show how disposition influences a person's orientation to learning. Like Bourdieu, they emphasise the relationship of dispositions with position (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) and argue that dispositions change over time in relation to life events, the social context of learning and the interrelationships between learner, activity and context. This may help to explain how trainee teachers reconcile the mismatch between their early perceptions and expectations and classroom reality, and offer insights into ways of supporting trainees to make effective use of the workplace to develop their classroom practice. Habitus is central to this, defined as 'a portfolio of dispositions to all aspects of life, largely tacitly held, which strongly influence interactions in any situation - familiar or novel' (Bloomer and Hodkinson 2000:589). Like habitus, dispositions 'are largely held unconsciously' (Maxwell 2010b:187) and are embodied, involving emotions and practice, as well as thoughts (Hodkinson and Hodkinson 2004a). Nelsen (2015:86) draws on Dewey's conception of habits to establish a link between observable actions and dispositions. He conceptualises disposition as 'clusters of habits', where habits describe 'our predispositions to draw upon modes of response to situations and problems that arise within specific contexts'. While this definition allows for multiple responses to a situation, it lacks the sense of agency inherent in Bourdieu's framework and which has been found to be significant in other studies (Bathmaker and Avis 2005; Bloomer and Hodkinson 2000), particularly with regard to the construction of the vocational habitus (Colley et al. 2003). Furthermore, it fails to clarify whether habits, like dispositions, evolve over time in response to lived experiences, or just increase in number.

Hodkinson and Hodkinson (2004b) emphasise the importance of dispositions in teacher learning. They posit that like habitus, dispositions are constantly evolving throughout the life course as a result of an individual's experiences and interactions. This is particularly pertinent to FE trainee teachers who are vocational experts learning to teach. Learning in the workplace shapes the

practice of FE trainees, who perceive the workplace field and make decisions about engaging with opportunities to learn through their vocational habitus (Colley et al. 2003). The field in which the vocational habitus operates incorporates not only the learning sites that are the FE organisations but also the social relations within which the vocational occupations FE courses are preparing students for are located, and also the broader set of social relations in which these are located (Bathmaker and Avis 2005). These will all have an impact on the teaching and learning cultures in FE and can lead to situations where trainees' hopes and expectations of the workplace are often very different from their lived experiences (Avis, Bathmaker, Parsons 2002). If trainees are to make effective use of the workplace to develop their classroom practice teacher educators and mentors need to know how best to support trainees to acclimatise and adapt.

Grenfell (1996:219) conceptualises learning to teach as 'restructuring pedagogic habitus'. This is a process located in time and space, through which trainee teachers reshape the teaching discourse and pedagogy of their student or professional habitus in order to inhabit a new educational field as teachers. However, there is an added complexity for vocational FE teachers, since as dual professionals they must reconcile both their vocational and their teacher habitus, which often gives rise to powerful emotions as trainees seek to adapt to the unfamiliar field of education. Trainees' preconceptions of teaching are frequently based on their own prior experiences of education (Dixon et al. 2010) and can extend to their expectations of FE students (Bathmaker and Avis 2005) and of what the FE teacher role entails (Avis and Bathmaker 2006). Mills (2012) advocates using the workplace to create a mismatch between habitus and field in order to disrupt and modify trainee teachers' habitus, whilst also raising their consciousness about the challenging circumstances of many students' life worlds. Duckworth and Maxwell (2015) examine the role of mentors as change agents for social justice in trainee learning. They focus on the flow of different forms of capital within the field of FE ITE and conclude that this can not only shape the experiences of the various agents within the field, including trainees, but can also rupture and transform the habitus. However, a mismatch between trainee expectations and experiences can affect trainees' sense of identity,

which may lead to them distancing themselves from their students, and consequently denying themselves an important source of learning (Maxwell 2014). Whilst this could be seen as an argument for selective recruitment to 'pick the right people' (Mills 2012:269), it could be more usefully applied to help all those involved in teacher education, trainees included, to gain an understanding of where expectations originate from and how to manage them.

O'Leary (2014) notes that research questions direct the researcher to relevant literature, but for me it was the initial literature review that informed my research questions. I used my initial literature search to form my research questions, but on subsequent reviews of the literature my understanding of how to apply Bourdieu's framework developed and as a result I re-formed and refined my research questions in an iterative process to arrive at the questions below:

1. How do habituated dispositions influence trainees' interactions with learning opportunities in the workplace?
2. How do trainees operationalise their capitals in the workplace to develop their practical teaching skills?
3. What role do mentors play in these processes?

This process is discussed in more detail in the next chapter. The data generated by these questions prompted a further investigation of the literature which aided identification and analysis of emerging themes. Chapter 3 also analyses the relationship between these questions and the methodology and methods underpinning this study.

I began this chapter with an explanation of Bourdieu's tools of habitus capital and field and how they can be applied to understand social practice. I then went on to examine the concepts of doxa, symbolic violence and game-playing, showing how they are relevant to this study and the field of FE. This was followed by a summary of the literature viewing education through a Bourdieusian lens and an explanation of how this informed the development of the research questions for this study. The following chapter explores this in more detail, within an analysis of the rationale for my choice of methodology and research methods.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter sets out the rationale for the methodology, which was developed to answer the above research questions. Methodology can be thought of as a system of principles that guide the research and is based on how the researcher understands the world, their values and beliefs (Ravitch and Riggan 2012; Robson 2011). A researcher's methodology shapes the choice of methods for collecting and analysing data (Swain 2017). The aim of methodology is to describe, explain and justify the process of inquiry (Kaplan 1964), and therefore a good methodology for a sociological study is one that 'facilitates reflection on the construction of meaning' (Swain 2017:64).

The use of terminology in qualitative research is inconsistent (Crotty 2015; Punch and Oancea 2014), and the interrelations between the components it describes such as methods, methodology, epistemology and ontology are complex. Crotty (2015:1) notes the 'bewilderment' novice researchers frequently experience when introduced to the disorderly 'maze' of methods and methodologies they must choose from, particularly given that 'most researchers will not fit neatly into the categories of any given typology' (Hood 2006:151). Increasingly qualitative inquiry has focused on the socially constructed character of lived realities (Denzin and Lincoln 2005; Holstein and Gubrium 2008). Inherent in this is the epistemological assumption that the world we live in is not simply there, waiting to be discovered, but that we construct our everyday realities in and through forms of social interaction.

In the first section of this chapter, I explain how I developed my research questions, which I continuously revisited, at first to improve them and then during the later stages of this study, to maintain my focus. I then identify the ontological and epistemological assumptions that underpin this study. Ontology concerns 'the nature of being' (Gibson 2017:65), or what we know, whereas epistemology is concerned with '*how we know what we know*' (Crotty 2015:8 original emphasis). Implicit in this is the relationship between the researcher and what they can know (Denzin and Lincoln 2013) and how they understand and explain society and the human world. I show how these relate to Bourdieu's theoretical framework, analyse how I applied his theory

as method, and how the combination of these factors informed my choice of research methods and decisions about transcribing the data. Finally, I explain how I employed Bourdieu's thinking tools to interrogate and analyse the data and discuss the ethical considerations to ensure the study was conducted according to BERA (2018) guidelines with due consideration of my responsibilities towards the research participants. The rationale for the decisions I took during this process are interwoven throughout the narrative.

Research questions

Research questions are key when conducting social research (Robson 2011) since they act as a frame of reference that defines the nature of the inquiry and sets its agenda (Swain 2017). They also define the research topic (Swain 2017) and direct you to relevant literature and the methods that will help you generate the data you need to answer them (O'Leary 2014). In this study the research questions are inextricably intertwined with my choice of theoretical framework; they have been instrumental in shaping the research and directing the focus of the data generation and analysis. In short, the research questions are the linchpin on which the study has been built and so it seems logical that they should be the starting point of this Methodology Chapter. There is a wide range of approaches to educational enquiry (Thomas 2013; O'Leary 2014), and the approach a researcher settles on will be determined by the type of research questions being posed (Robson 2011), where they situate themselves in relation to their ontological and epistemological stance (Denzin and Lincoln 2013) and the kind of researcher they deem themselves to be (Swain 2017). Stake (1995:15) contends that 'the most difficult task of the researcher is to design good questions, research questions that will direct the looking and thinking', and this was certainly my experience.

My research questions were developed to support an exploratory approach that would build theory. I wanted to use Bourdieu's framework in an original way by focusing on the ways in which trainees' social and cultural backgrounds impacted on how they operationalised their capitals to help them develop as teachers and the role mentors played in these processes. My research questions therefore needed to be clearly situated within

Bourdieu's framework so that I could apply the tools of habitus, capital and field to interrogate the data, identify variables such as familial, institutional and industry influences and to reveal the inter-relationships between these and the workplace field. In order to test my original research questions, I conducted a pilot study with a single case, since even a single case is useful for what we can learn from it (Eysenk 1976). When analysing the data from the pilot case it became clear that whilst my original questions reflected constructionist and interpretivist underpinnings (which will be discussed later in this chapter) and acknowledged the existence of multiple realities co-constructed with others, they did not generate data relating to capitals or dispositions. Furthermore, they were also too broad and did not clearly define the boundaries of the case, which is crucial for a case study approach (Yin 2014). As I immersed myself in Bourdieu's theory, my understanding of how to apply it developed, and accordingly I revised and improved my research questions. I amended them to better ground them linguistically and conceptually within Bourdieu's theoretical framework, by explicitly using the terms of habituated dispositions and capitals. I also included a question that explored the role of mentors to clarify the boundaries of each case in the study and to gain an insight into the inter-relational nature of capital, habitus and field from the mentors' perspective. This would also enable me to find out whether mentors' perceptions of the culture and practices of the field would corroborate trainees' accounts.

My research questions are based on two key methodological assumptions. Firstly, that our cultural and historical background, or in Bourdieusian terms our habitus, shapes our view of the world and how we interact with it (Crotty 2015). For trainees this would relate to the way their habituated dispositions influence interactions with their mentor, colleagues and students in the workplace field, and their engagement with workplace practices such as planning, organisational policies, teaching and staff training. The second assumption is that individuals construct and understand their realities through social actions. Trainees bring capitals to the field that can be operationalised to influence their access to potential learning opportunities and to improve their position in the field. How far trainees operationalise their capitals will be influenced not only by their habituated disposition, which shapes their values,

beliefs and behaviours, but also by the extent to which these capitals are recognised, valued and operationalised within the setting. Context is key to this, as different departments will have different cultures and practices and value different capitals. Teachers may also have different vocational habituses, relative to the subject they teach. For these reasons I wanted to generate data from contrasting settings and subject areas to reflect the diversity of the FE sector and facilitate cross-case comparisons to explore whether common themes emerged.

As I progressed through my doctoral studies, I continuously returned to my research questions, initially to modify them, but later to maintain the focus of my inquiry and ensure that I stayed within the set boundaries and did not stray off topic. This was particularly useful when identifying themes as discussed in the data analysis section, and for preparing the interview schedule which I will discuss below.

Ontological underpinning

Ontology refers to a philosophical position in relation to the structure of reality, or 'what is' (Crotty 2015:10). It incorporates a complex body of assumptions that we make as researchers about how to view the world, (Crotty 2015) which shapes how we interpret and make sense of our world and explains what is to be studied and the presumed relationships among them (Miles and Huberman 1994). A researcher's ontological stance informs their choice of research methods (Crotty 2015) and provides a way of presenting facts in order to construct understanding of what is being studied and to interpret data through concepts (Gibson 2017). Accordingly, it enables the researcher to acknowledge and take account of the assumptions they bring to their research and supports them to decide what is and is not important to the research and therefore what data to collect and analyse (Robson 2011).

My ontological position is constructionist. In contrast to a realist ontology which posits that the world and things in it exist outside the human mind, a constructionist perspective holds that reality is socially constructed (Robson 2011). It is by engaging with the world that we bring it into being (Crotty 2015; Holstein and Gubrium 2013). Objects may be full of potential meaning, but

actual meaning is only realised through engagement with consciousness (Crotty 2015). In other words, individuals and groups construct their understandings of the world and their place in it, in and through forms of social actions (Gibson 2017; Holstein and Gubrium 2013) in a process of collective meaning-making. This view acknowledges the existence of multiple, context-specific realities and argues that whilst it is conceivable that a world can exist outside human consciousness waiting to be discovered, it would be a world without meaning until 'meaning-making beings make sense of it' (Crotty 2015:10). Consequently, the objective structures of the world and of the society within which we operate, what Bourdieu conceptualises as 'the field', cannot exist without our subjective engagement with them. Our engagement with the field gives it meaning and determines the relative value of the different forms of capital at stake in it. For trainee teachers the departmental culture and practices and organisational policies and systems of their workplace represent the objective structures of the field. Through their social interactions in the field trainees recognise and acculturate themselves into these structures as part of the process of constructing their understanding of what it means to be a teacher of their subject. How far trainee teachers engage with the workplace to develop their teaching skills will be influenced by their habituated disposition and may be indicative of the value they place on it as a site for learning.

Ontology is complementary to epistemology since the former defines what we can know and the latter how we can know it (Crotty 2015); or in other words, how the researcher views and understands the world. A researcher who believes that the world exists outside of human consciousness will approach their research differently to one who holds that there are multiple realities and that these are constructed through our engagement with the world. Therefore, a researcher's beliefs about knowledge will inform their research design and shape their choice of research methods. This will be further discussed in the next section.

Epistemological perspective

Epistemology concerns what constitutes knowledge and how knowledge is acquired. A researcher's epistemological perspective relates to 'the

philosophical stance lying behind a methodology' (Crotty 2015:66) and enables them to make decisions regarding what kinds of knowledge are possible (Maynard 2015), what is and is not important to the research and therefore what data to collect and analyse (Robson 2011), whilst ensuring that the knowledge is 'both adequate and legitimate' (Crotty 2015:8). As a result, the epistemological perspective provides a context for the research design which then informs the researcher's choice of research methods (Crotty 2015) and provides a way of presenting facts in order to construct understanding of what is being studied and to interpret data through concepts (Gibson 2017).

My epistemological stance is described as interpretivist (Crotty 2015; Swain 2017), which is a variant of constructionism (Holstein and Gubrium 2013). Gibson (2017) observes that the terms constructionism and interpretivism are frequently used interchangeably and suggests that they are difficult to define because they include principles from a range of disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, philosophy and psychology. It is precisely this amalgam of different disciplines, in particular sociology and psychology, that appeals to me because it acknowledges the existence of our individual history in our present and its role in shaping our future. An interpretivist perspective also holds that knowledge is socially constructed (Carson, Gilmore, Perry and Gronhaug 2001), but considers the processes, conditions and resources through which people make sense of their social reality (Denzin and Lincoln 2013; Gibson 2017). In this view, meaning is situated in language and culture, which aligns closely with my enduring professional identity as an English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) specialist and my role as a teacher educator for the FE sector. This stance is also reflected in my teaching approach, which is grounded in constructivist learning theories. According to constructivist theory, learning is an active process in which learners construct their own knowledge, using their existing structure of knowledge, concepts, skills and attitudes. Learning takes place when a learner's understanding is challenged, causing them to select information and create new hypotheses and understanding. People interpret the world through the perspectives of their culture, language and personal biographies (or in Bourdieusian terms their habitus) and co-construct

meaning with others in specific social contexts (Gibson 2017) or fields. It follows then, that multiple realities exist (Lincoln and Guba 1985), and these are constructed and experienced by way of how we define ourselves in relation to our position in society and the cultural capitals we possess. Acknowledging an interpretivist view I refer to research participants (not subjects), data construction (not creation) and research processes (not instruments) (Gibson 2017).

So far in this chapter I have described the process I followed for devising my research questions and have shown how these questions are underpinned by my ontological perspective and epistemological stance. In the following sections I explain how they have informed my choice of theoretical framework and research methods.

Using Bourdieu's theoretical framework as method

This section builds on the summary of Bourdieu's theoretical framework from Chapter 2. In this section I show how the framework is relevant to this qualitative inquiry as I discuss how I applied Bourdieu's thinking tools of habitus, capital and field to investigate the workplace experiences of the research participants and interrogate the resultant data.

For Bourdieu, reality is not an entity that can only exist either in the unconscious mind or external to the conscious mind, rather meaning is partly determined by the environment in which an individual exists. The concept of habitus is key to this, as it both embodies the objective structures of the social world and is part of the social world (Bourdieu 1977b):

'social reality exists, so to speak, twice, in things and in minds, in fields and in habitus, outside and inside social agents' (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:127).

This means that when habitus is used as a conceptual tool, the research focus is always broader than the specific focus under study (Reay 2004). In this study it invoked consideration of the structure of participants' historical and current social worlds and how this was represented within their small-scale interactions and activities in the workplace. Habitus becomes active in relation to a field (Bourdieu 1990a), and therefore the concepts of habitus

and capital informed my research questions and trained my focus on themes emerging from the resultant data. These included information about the culture and practices of the department trainees were working in, and also information about trainees' socio-cultural backgrounds, previous educational and professional experiences and the capitals they had acquired from these, not only in terms of qualifications but also 'softer' capitals such as values and skills. When interpreting the data, the relational nature of Bourdieu's concepts led me to examine connections within and between the themes, and revealed tensions arising from changes in direction, which I could then compare across cases as discussed in more detail in Chapters 5 and 6.

For ethical reasons, which will be discussed in the ethics section below, I tried to draw the cases from organisations with which I have no professional connection. However, the teacher education community is relatively small, and it was unlikely therefore, that this would be entirely possible. I was investigating participants' subjective experiences in the workplace as a whole and this was reflected in my questions. My primary focus was the interplay between trainees' habituated dispositions as manifested by their engagement with the professional context of the department they work in, and how their skills, knowledge and previous experiences were operationalised to help them develop as teachers. Institutional habitus was also something I observed, as reflected in the physical features of a department, such as the colours and displays chosen to create a welcoming, non-threatening environment in the maths department, as well as the departmental culture and practices of the teaching staff. Consequently, Bourdieu's thinking tools offered an ideal means by which to understand the workings of power and inequality in the different social spaces that constitute subject departments (Bathmaker 2015) and how these impact on the social practices of FE teachers. As a researcher, I also found them invaluable for directing my focus and keeping me on track as they directed me towards specific things to look for when generating and interrogating the data in order to answer my research questions. This will be explored in more detail in Chapter 7.

Methods

Researchers generally set about research by firstly identifying a real-life issue that needs to be addressed, and then planning the research around that issue (Crotty 2015) in order to identify which research methods are the most appropriate. Research methods concern the specific research activities the researcher engages in and the tools they use to collect and analyse data. These will be informed by what questions are being asked, what kind of data is being sought, who it is being generated by and under what circumstances (Robson 2011). It is important for researchers to be very specific when identifying and justifying their choice of research methods so that the research is recognised as sound and the conclusions stand up (Crotty 2015). To this end, the following section will examine the rationale for my choice of research approach (multiple case studies), sources of evidence (selecting the case and participants within the case), the research process (semi-structured interview) and questions, as well as ethical considerations. I will also discuss how data was generated and clarify how I used Bourdieu's tools to identify themes and interpret the data. In consideration of this I aspired to keeping a research diary (though this was a light-touch record) to document the key steps of my research, together with the decisions I made and the rationale for them.

Case study

As stated above, a constructionist stance posits that there are multiple realities which are context-dependent and socially constructed by groups and individuals, based on their subjective experiences (Guba and Lincoln 1994). Qualitative inquiry using case study research is appropriate within a constructionist framework as the reality of the case is defined by the participants, and there are multiple realities which do not exist independently of the researcher and the research participants (Blaikie 2007; Candappa 2017). This can present problems for generalisability and knowledge claims from a small number of cases (Yin 2014). However, case study is appropriate here since this inquiry focuses on the building of theory and does not seek to prove a hypothesis or to generalise. Yin (2014:72) cautions that case study is arguably more demanding 'on your intellect, ego, and emotions ... than any

other research method' in part due to the need to mediate the interaction between the theoretical issues being studied and the data being generated. As a novice researcher undertaking doctoral research one of the attractions a case study approach held for me was its inherent challenges and the opportunities these presented to develop the skills required to do good research (Yin 2014).

Although there is no generally agreed definition of 'case study' for research purposes (Punch and Oancea 2014), there is a consensus that case study research is an in-depth account of a complex social phenomenon or situation (Stake 2005) within a unique, bounded system (Pring 2000; Stake 2008). Boundedness is key to case study research (Stake 1995) since the boundaries define the individual unit of study (Flyvbjerg 2013). In this inquiry each case comprises the trainee and their mentor bounded within the time frame of their ITE course and the context of the department the trainees are working in. By bounding the case within the timeframe of the ITE course I am recording trainees' accounts of their evolving perceptions of themselves as teachers at a specific time-point, and how they feel this has changed in relation to their habituated dispositions as they perceive them at this time-point. Context is key to this, as trainees integrate themselves into the respective cultures and practices of the department in which they teach. It is important to note however, that perceptions of change are always modified in light of current experience and that I am only gathering data that participants choose to share with me, and therefore findings are not more widely generalisable.

Case study espouses the view that human behaviour is not universal and 'cannot be meaningfully understood as simply rule-governed acts' (Denzin and Lincoln 2013:174); my study explores the social phenomenon of learning to teach in an FE setting and relates to the impact of habituated dispositions on trainee engagement within that setting by asking 'how?' and 'why?' questions (Candappa 2017:174). For the findings of this study to be credible I believe it is important that the cases are in some way representative of the FE sector and those who work in it. As discussed in Chapter 2, studies viewing education through a Bourdieusian lens have found that habituated disposition is a key factor in the choices individuals make about education. I

wanted to understand why the trainees had decided to teach their specialist subject and how far this had been influenced by their habituated disposition, and so I decided to focus on teaching subject rather than individual characteristics when identifying the cases. Furthermore, given the significance of the vocational-academic divide for positioning FE within education I hoped to recruit participants from both academic and vocational departments in order to generate data from a range of contexts. I was interested to see if FE teachers had a role in perpetuating the perception of vocational education as the poor relation to a traditional academic curriculum (Lambert 2018), identified in Chapter 1. Limitations of the sample are discussed in the next section of this chapter.

Case study enables me to research the realities as defined by the various participants, and therefore coheres with my constructionist epistemological stance. It 'is not a methodological choice, but a choice of object to be studied' (Stake 2013:52). The choice of object to be studied in this inquiry is trainee behaviour in relation to learning to teach their specialist subject, situated within the context of a specific curriculum department, with the aim of developing concrete, context-dependent knowledge about their interactions in the workplace. Each case in this study comprises the trainee and their mentor within their workplace setting. Accordingly, the cases are likely to include 'a rich interlacing of past and present, individual and collective' (Reay et al. 2005:36) embodied in the trainees' habitus, but also in the habituated dispositions of their mentor. The assumption is that context and other complex conditions related to the case are integral to understanding the case being studied (Yin 2014). Candappa (2017) asserts that it is for the researcher to decide how much about a case can and needs to be understood in order to understand the case itself. To this end Chapter 4 begins with a contextual analysis for each case in this inquiry, which introduces the case, gives an overview of the social and professional backgrounds of the trainees, and describes the context in which they are working and training to teach. Although other staff in the workplace and the trainees' students are also factors which impact on trainees' workplace experiences, for practical reasons I decided not to include them as sources of evidence in this inquiry. This would not only have presented ethical and

accessibility issues, as discussed in the section below, but would have generated a volume of data that it would not have been feasible to analyse in a study of this scale.

Selecting the cases

Arguably the main criterion to be considered when selecting a case is its potential to promote learning, or its explanatory power (Stake 2005; Swain 2017) with regard to the research questions. Practical considerations include 'convenience, access, and geographic proximity' (Yin 2014:96). I considered all these criteria when identifying the cases for this study, but in order to answer the research questions it was also essential that each case comprised the trainee and their mentor, within the time frame of their ITE course. In social research validity refers to the accuracy of data and therefore the reasonableness of data-based interpretations (Alasuutari, Bickman and Brannen 2008), so that findings can be generalised to build theory. Given that my research questions are both theoretical and empirical it was important to generate data from both trainees and their mentors so that I could gain different perspectives on the same phenomenon (Cohen and Manion 2011). By asking trainees and mentors the same questions about trainee experiences I hoped to ensure the accuracy and therefore validity of data, such as activities trainees had engaged in and trainee capitals. However, I was also curious to see how far the trainees' and mentors' perceptions of trainee experiences differed or aligned, and how they each viewed the mentor's role in the trainee's transition to becoming a teacher.

In such a small-scale study it was not feasible or practical to select cases from every subject area or organisation type in the FE sector. Consequently, I originally set out to gather a purposive sample that gave a broad span of organisation types, subject areas and participants, which was representative of the sector. However, in the event I achieved an opportunity sample of participants from two types of FE organisation, and a mix of vocational and academic subject areas, which is further discussed below. Opportunity sampling involves 'drawing samples that are both easily accessible and willing to participate in a study' (Plano Clarke and Cresswell 2008:201). Whilst findings from an opportunity sample may not be reliable due to

selection bias, this was not relevant here, since as stated in the case study section above I am not seeking to prove a hypothesis or to generalise, but to build theory. Ultimately, selection bias was not an issue either, as I only received twelve responses and only eleven of these included the mentor and their trainee, since one mentor was mentoring two trainees. Therefore, I recruited all these respondents to form the six cases.

In order to gather the six cases needed for this study I approached the heads of ITE from different types of FE organisation across England, including FE colleges, Adult Community Learning and Higher Education Institutes. The information sheet (see Appendix 1) emphasised the diversity of the FE sector in terms of the curriculum and explained that I would be using an in-depth case-study approach, with each case comprising a trainee and their mentor in their workplace setting. I specified that I was interested in recruiting participants from a range of subject areas, including academic and vocational in order to reflect the diversity of the FE curriculum. Three cases from the sample had an academic subject specialism and three had a vocational one and in this sense the sample was representative of the FE curriculum. Whilst the participants in five of the six cases were working in an FE college, the remaining two participants for the sixth case were working in a Pupil Referral Unit (PRU) which provided an insight into a different FE context. One mentor participant (Becky) was mentoring two trainees (Dan and Andy), which meant there were five mentor and six trainee participants. Given that the goal of this inquiry is to describe and interpret, in order to build theory, six cases (totalling eleven participants) from contrasting subject areas were adequate and would enable me to seek out what was unique and what was common to them.

Achieved sample

Table 1 below compares participant sample data with FE workforce data for England relating to gender, age and ethnicity. No data was collected regarding disability.

Table 1: FE workforce data for England and participant sample data compared (ETF 2018)

	FE ITE trainee data 2015-16	Sample: trainees	FE workforce data for England	Sample: mentors
Gender	63% F	33% F (2 out of 6)	53% F	80% F (4 out of 5)
Mean Age	37	50% below 30 (3 out of 6)	46	60% over 40 (3 out of 5)
Ethnicity (% white British)	84%	100% (6 out of 6)	84%	80% (4 out of 5)
Disability	12%	unknown	6%	Unknown
Prior attainment	93% (level 4 or higher)	67% (4 out of 6)	10%-54% (level 4 in their teaching subject)	40% (Level 4 in their teaching subject)

The achieved sample was an opportunity sample because of the recruitment difficulties in finding trainees and their mentors to talk to. It was not possible in a study of this scale to achieve a sample that was entirely representative of the FE sector. Importantly, however, the sample includes some older trainees who had spent many years in industry before entering teaching, and this is likely to have implications for their habituated dispositions, which may be entrenched in their vocational habitus. It will also have given them opportunities to acquire significant cultural capitals in terms of experience and industry qualifications. This will be discussed further in Chapter 6. Only one trainee had entered teaching straight from their degree and their only industry experience was their placement as an under-graduate, which is also likely to have had implications for both their industry-related cultural capitals and their vocational habitus. I aimed to include a range of FE organisations from different regions in order to mirror some of the variation in the sector and this was achieved to some extent, since the opportunity sample included organisations situated in the East Midlands, the North West and the South East of England, and included two FE colleges and one offender learning organisation. My experience as an FE teacher educator and extant research on FE ITE (Hobson, Maxwell, Stevens, Doyle and Malderez 2015) indicates that trainees tend to have an internal mentor who shares the same

subject/vocational specialism as themselves, so I was surprised to discover that 2 of the 6 trainees did not have the same subject specialism as their mentor. Implications of the above for the research questions are analysed in Chapter 5. Table 2 below shows the key characteristics of each case.

Because this was a small-scale study, trying to perfectly ascertain a person's class using a formal scale such as the Great British Class Survey was beyond the scope of the study. Furthermore, I felt a direct demographic question about social class could have had a negative impact on the interview as it may have made participants feel uncomfortable and reticent to share their experiences with me. Consequently, social class was discussed informally through interview questions, rather than as a statistic for participants to categorise themselves by.

Table 2: Key characteristics of each case (* participant)

Organisation Type and Location	Case	Trainee*	Gender	Age	Subject	Highest qualification	Mentor*	Gender	Age	Subject
General FE College, North West of England	1	Ben	M	41-50	Scaffolding	Level 3 vocational	Tom	M	41-50	Scaffolding
	2	Dan	M	21-30	Maths	AS level maths	Becky	F	41-50	Maths
	3	Andy	M	31-40	Maths	BA (Hons) Music				
General FE College, East Midlands	4	Sophie	F	21-30	ESOL	MA Television Production	Amanda	F	41-50	Media
	5	Amy	F	21-30	Theatrical make-up	BA (Hons) Theatrical make-up	Hannah	F	31-40	Theatrical make-up
Pupil Referral Unit South East of England	6	Paul	M	31-40	Construction	BSc (Hons) Surveying	Sally	F	31-40	English

Semi-structured interviews

Interviews are one of the most important sources of case study evidence (Brown and Durrheim 2009) and the most prominent data collection tool in qualitative research (Punch and Oancea 2014). An interview can be defined as a form of jointly constructed interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee (Garton and Copland 2010). A semi-structured interview allows for a fluid line of inquiry (Rubin and Rubin 2011) which has the capacity to produce a 'nuanced view of reality' (Candappa 2017:174) such as that advanced by a constructionist epistemology and was therefore appropriate for this study.

Since I was seeking to generate data on participants' subjective realities, semi-structured interviews with open questions were most useful as they enabled participants to respond in as much or as little detail as they wished. Additionally, individual interviews were most appropriate as participants would not then be influenced by each other and would be less likely to feel inhibited by talking about their experiences in front of each other. This was also to protect them should sensitive data emerge. In the event, all trainees and mentors in the study had a very good relationship with each other and were highly appreciative of each other. However, some sensitive data were generated relating to the organisation and to unnamed colleagues who are not part of this study. I will discuss how I managed this data in the ethics section.

Punch and Oancea (2014:192) note that interviews are not a factual representation of an external reality, but rather subjective perceptions or descriptions 'actively constructed' (Silverman 2013:47) by the interviewee and interviewer. Furthermore, in qualitative research each interpretation is filtered through the researcher's lens as they construct and interpret the reality of the person they are interviewing (Lichtman 2013). These factors may bring some things into view and obscure others, compromising the integrity of the research. As a result, claims made from interviews relate to how people choose to explain and interpret their lives, and the researcher's role and positionality within this needs to be made transparent.

Acknowledging this I recorded my thoughts and feelings as they emerged

and immediately after each interview so that I could take them into account when interpreting the data. I have also sought to recognise and articulate the impact of my personal biography and my position in the social world and the research field I inhabit (Dean 2017) through a process of reflexivity detailed in Chapter 7.

Where the purpose of the interview is to gather information about people's opinions or feelings, supportive interviewer-interviewee relationships are essential for eliciting meaningful responses (Bourdieu et al.1999). O'Leary and Hunt (2016:178) recommend easing participants into the interview and using questions that 'open up conversations and draw out rich responses.' The prompts following these questions facilitated deeper probing in relation to the research questions, for example by exploring the impact of their habitus on their behaviours and their perceptions of these experiences, leading into a discussion about their values and aspirations and how they operationalised their cultural capitals to achieve these. The first question therefore was designed to begin the interview on a positive note:

1. Tell me about your experiences as a trainee teacher in [workplace name]. What has gone well?

Prompts: How well do you feel you fit in? Why?
How would you describe your relationship with your mentor/other staff/your students?

The prompt following these questions facilitated deeper probing in relation to the research questions. In the example above the purpose of the prompt was to generate data about habituated dispositions by asking about trainee relationships in the workplace and how far they felt part of the department.

Although the general structure of a semi-structured interview is the same for all participants, the interviewer may vary the questions as the situation demands. However, as well as asking the questions in a conversational and unbiased manner the interviewer must ensure they serve the needs of the line of inquiry (Yin 2014). I achieved this by preparing an interview schedule of all key questions that served as a checklist of topics to be covered, with additional questions I could use at different stages of the interview (Appendix 3, trainee interview schedule; Appendix 4, mentor schedule), to allow participants the freedom to discuss their interpretations from their personal

perspective (Cohen and Manion 2011). By changing the order of my questions in response to the participants' answers, the interviews flowed naturally, and participants were able to follow up and develop their thoughts through their responses, generating rich, extensive data (Yin 2014).

Skilled question-asking is central to interviews, but also the art of listening (Denzin and Lincoln 1994: 353), since the data are generated in a specific situation, and so represent 'situated understandings' that have been constructed through specific interactions. Indeed, it is this situatedness (Silverman 1993), coupled with the fact that interviews are influenced by the personal characteristics of the interviewer (Denzin and Lincoln 2005), that can make interpreting the responses problematic (Silverman 1993). Interviewer behaviour is a major influence on participants' willingness to talk freely and openly (Robson 2011) and so I listened more than I spoke, hoping to capture the affective components of the interviewees' responses (Yin 2014). I also endeavoured to vary my voice and facial expression in order to show interest in what they were saying (Yin 2014), and consciously sought to pose questions in a non-threatening way but one that also minimised the risk of leading participants to specific responses. My intention was to put interviewees at their ease so they would feel safe and behave naturally with me, thereby allowing me to observe aspects of their habitus such as their manner of speaking and thinking.

Credibility

Credibility refers to ensuring research findings are believable and have value (Lincoln and Guba 1985). Credibility was enhanced in this study by making the questions applicable to all participants so that I could generate data from multiple sources and triangulate participants' responses (Casey and Murphy 2009). The questions on the mentor and trainee interview schedules were the same, but the trainee schedule included an additional question about their rationale for becoming an FE teacher. This question was designed to generate data about habitus and aspiration, and to reveal hysteresis if present. An initial challenge when preparing the interview schedule was ensuring that the questions I asked were not only non-threatening, so that participants would feel able to reply honestly, but that they also generated

data that would answer the research questions. As I had found during the pilot study, the data generated by my research questions did not provide adequate answers to them, and I used my learning from this to more closely align my interview and research questions with each other and with Bourdieu's framework as discussed in the section on research questions in Chapter 3 above. One such example is the question and prompt about the impact of their qualifications to find out what cultural capitals they had and whether they had operationalised them.

Sarah: Do you have any qualifications/industry experience/industry contacts relevant to your subject specialism? What's your highest qualification?
Prompt: How useful have these been in the workplace so far?

Being the sole researcher interacting with all participants in this study gave me the opportunity to establish a consistent interviewer-interviewee relationship with all participants and view their constructed realities through the same lens. This had advantages during analysis, but also when generating data, as a uniform approach was used for all interactions with participants which strengthened the credibility of the findings.

The location of an interview has implications for the balance of power in the interviewer-interviewee relationship and can therefore be key to the quality and validity of the data generated (Punch and Oancea 2014). An additional consideration for this study is that I wanted to gain an understanding of participants' social worlds and the impact of their habituated dispositions on their behaviours. Habitus reveals the symbiotic relationship between individuals and the social world (Reay 2004) and thus it was important to situate the data within its context by interviewing participants in their workplace. Furthermore, from my experiences of FE I was aware that for some participants, my position as a university initial teacher educator, engaging in doctoral research might create an imbalance of power that could make participants feel uncomfortable and affect their responses. I felt that this would be alleviated if they were in a familiar environment where they felt comfortable. At times difficulties arose when the participant felt so comfortable that they wanted to extend the interview beyond the focus of the question. In these instances, I needed to take every opportunity to get the

interview back on course in a subtle manner to enable me to ask all my questions without taking up more of their time than had been agreed or making them embarrassed about digressing at length. Initially I had planned to video the interviews, anticipating that this would reveal aspects of the participants' habitus through non-verbal cues such as their mannerisms, appearance as well as participants' manner of speech. However, all but one participant declined to be video recorded, so I noted my impressions of the above in my field notes in order to obtain as full a record of the interview as possible.

Another challenge for me was mitigating biases and knowing how to conduct research ethically. This became apparent when transcribing and analysing the interview data. I knew that I had very strong views about what constitutes effective teaching and I needed to be aware of these to recognise when I was straying from analysis into evaluation or judgement. As a researcher I found it easier to distance myself from the data and take a more impartial stance when interviewing participants and analysing the data from subject areas that were different to my own, as I was not so easily distracted by issues relating to the subject and had fewer preconceptions about teacher habitus for that subject and what it meant to teach it effectively.

Member-checking is another strategy that adds to credibility. Part of this process involves sending participants a transcript of the interview data to ensure that they have been accurately recorded and are therefore credible (Stake 2006). Houghton, Casey, Shaw, and Murphy (2012) recommend member-checking should take place following transcription and before analysis since participants may not be able to recognise themselves if the study results have been synthesised and decontextualised (Morse, Barrett, Mayan 2002) and this is what I did. I sent out the transcripts to all the participants, asking them to confirm within two weeks that this was a true representation of their data and whether there were any parts they wanted me to redact. Only one participant responded, a trainee, who was very enthusiastic about the transcript from their interview and did not request any redactions. However, it is important to note that although participants will be able to acknowledge their own words in a verbatim transcript, they will still have no input into how their views are interpreted and portrayed. As

previously stated, researchers can seek to mitigate this through a process of reflexivity, which I did for this study, but there is no perfect solution that guarantees total credibility. I asked the participants at interview whether they would like to check my interpretations, but whilst three of them said they would like to read the final thesis, none of them wanted to read the interpretations in isolation. I agreed therefore, to notify them when the final thesis was completed and send them a link to it.

Analysis

Robson (2011) classifies 2 types of data analysis: exploratory and confirmatory. Whereas confirmatory analysis may seek to prove a theory, this was an exploratory inquiry and so my aim was to build on theory by interrogating the data using Bourdieu's tools of habitus, capital and field to see what they told me about trainee behaviours in the workplace. Lichtman (2013) observes that the researcher has a pivotal role in qualitative research since they not only generate the data but also interpret and make sense of it from their own perspective. As explained above, the data was generated from semi-structured interviews. I transcribed the interviews and analysed the data in multiple stages. The following is a detailed account of how I transcribed and analysed the data. The rationale for the decisions I took at each stage of these processes is interwoven throughout the discussion.

Transcription

The interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed in order to facilitate multiple readings during analysis, allowing the data to be interpreted and themes to emerge (discussed in detail below). Interviews are based on the underlying assumption that language is a good indicator of thought and action (Punch and Oancea 2014:192), since the ways in which people use language is a form of social action. It follows then, that 'descriptions are actions which do specific tasks in the world' (Wooffitt 1996:297), and how words are used and the context in which they are used confers meaning and is indicative of habitus. Whilst there is no single consensus in the literature about transcribing interviews, most researchers agree that a detailed transcript of some or all of the data can be necessary to carry out analysis (Lichtman 2013; Robson 2011).

Transcripts can be naturalised or denaturalised. Naturalised transcripts are verbatim accounts; language is taken to represent the real world and transcripts include idiosyncratic elements of speech. In contrast, within a denaturalised transcript these elements have been removed, suggesting that the meanings and perceptions that construct our reality are contained within speech (Oliver, Serovich, Mason, 2005). Hammersley (2010) finds that naturalised transcripts add rigour to the evidence because they offer a more accurate representation of the data (Hammersley 2010). Duneier (1999:13) advocates making verbatim transcripts because when 'a scholar is writing about people who occupy race and class positions widely divergent from his or her own, the inner meanings and logics embodied in language that is distinctive to those positions can easily be misunderstood and misinterpreted if not accurately reproduced'. Consequently, in view of the fact that I was seeking to capture an honest, detailed account of each participants' construction of their life-world as perceived through their habitus I felt it was essential to produce a naturalised transcript of all the data. Although very time-consuming, and initially a daunting prospect, I decided to transcribe the interviews myself so that I could familiarise myself with the data (Robson 2011), which would in turn assist in-depth analysis. Additionally, speech is an important component of habitus which reveals the symbiotic relationship between individuals and the social world (Reay 2004). Accent and dialect are embodied as 'linguistic identity' and signify an individual's positioning in the field (Duckworth, Thomas, and Bland 2016:265). Thus I wanted to ensure that I captured a complete and accurate representation of what had been said, including paralinguistic features such as accent, pitch, volume, speech rate, modulation, and fluency. Finally, as the sole researcher for this study I felt quite protective of it and believed I was best placed to make decisions regarding the level of detail I wanted to include in the transcripts. In making such a detailed transcript of the interviews in their entirety I was attempting to strengthen the credibility of the study by minimising the potential for imposing my own interpretation on the data when making decisions about what to transcribe. To this end I also included details such as laughing, false starts, incomplete sentences and notes regarding intonation and sentence stress shown in Appendix 5 and below:

Ben: "Couldn't do anythin' wi' maths (laughs). Still struggle wi' maths. Don't know what I'd do me level ..."

Amanda: "... erm (sighs) I can't think ... hmm, not off the top of my head no, cos, most of the interactions we've had are not always on site, so if things aven't gone quite right erm ... I haven't seen that ... erm ..."

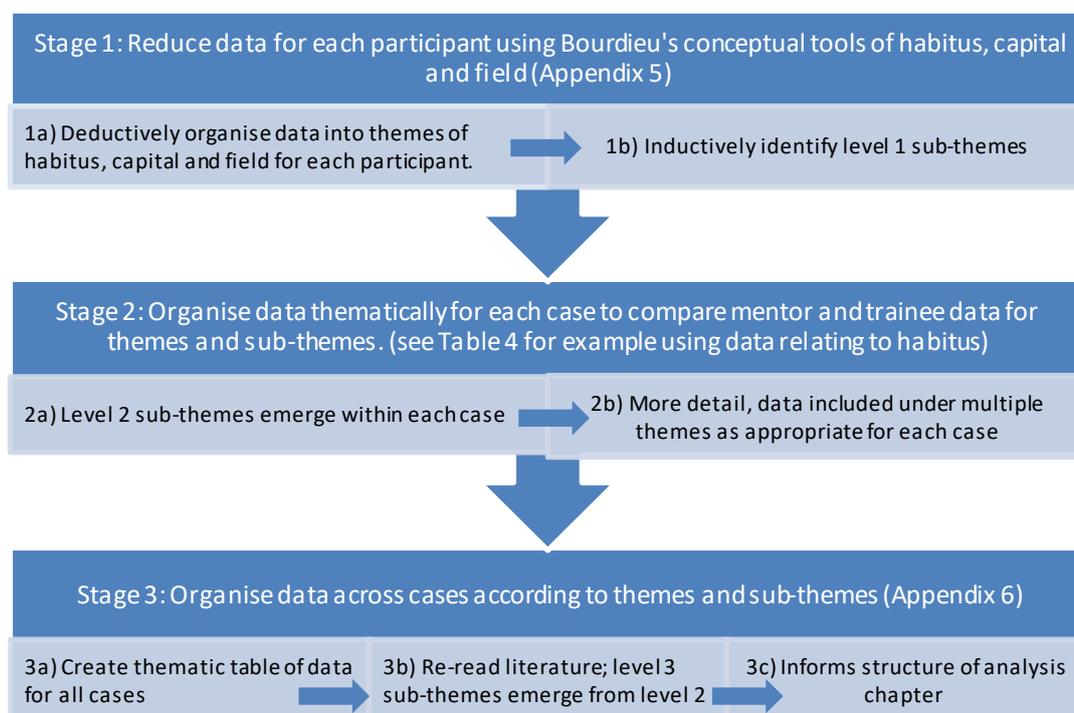
However, these decisions also raised some issues for me where participants used a particularly strong regional dialect or had a very specific manner of speech. As I was transcribing the interviews, I became aware of a personal tension between wanting to present a true and honest account of what participants had said, and an uneasiness about how they would feel if they saw their spoken words in print, complete with idiolect and regional dialect. Reading other research on this very issue (Hammersley 2010; Oliver et al. 2005) helped me to objectify it and engage with it intellectually rather than emotionally. Having transcribed the interviews I member-checked the transcripts, complete with annotations relating to body language (discussed above) and I asked participants to confirm within 2 weeks that they had no objection to me including their data in the study so that they could raise any issues in this regard. None of them did. On the contrary, one of them told me how delighted he was to see his words in print. Engaging in a process of reflexivity proved invaluable for revealing these personal biases and raising my awareness of when I was in danger of projecting them onto the participants.

Data analysis

Throughout the process of analysing the data I tried to maintain a conscious awareness of myself as a doctoral researcher who was learning how to apply a theoretical framework, and also of my beliefs and values as a FE teacher educator. I found this useful in helping me understand and accept the process I followed, which involved multiple readings and categorising of the data, each time at a deeper level of analysis. I recorded this process as notes on printouts of the data and also colour-coded the over-arching themes to facilitate more detailed analysis at the next stage. Initially, feeling quite daunted by the volume of data which I needed to transcribe and then analyse, I numbered each case according to the order in which the interviews

had taken place. The order was not significant for purposes of analysis, but it was a useful shorthand when discussing the data with my supervisors. Participants were coded according to their role: T (trainee) or M (mentor) and case number, e.g.T3; M3. Numbering the cases was also very motivating for me as it meant that I always had a clear picture of how far I had got in the data and it helped me avoid personal interest directing me towards some cases and themes within those cases and away from others. The flow chart below summarises the analysis process, followed by a detailed explanation that includes the decisions I made throughout. Whilst interpreting the data from this study, when themes I had not expected emerged, I returned to the literature to find out whether others had already written about these themes using Bourdieu's framework in order to help my analysis by comparing findings. During this entire process further reading of the literature relating to Bourdieu's framework demonstrated how to use it to interrogate the data.

Figure 1: Analysis process chart



The first stage of analysis (Stage 1a) was to reduce the data from the interview transcripts case by case by applying Bourdieu's conceptual tools of habitus, capital and field to deductively identify the over-arching themes (see Appendix 5 for an example of the theme of habitus using case 2). This was an iterative process that moved back and forth between the transcripts, initially

using a deductive approach to identify the data that related to the over-arching themes of habitus, capital and field. In order to anonymise the data, I used a code to identify each participant according to case, so that the trainee and mentor for case 1 were coded as T1 and M1 respectively. As I progressed through the data for each case (Stage 1b), level 1 sub-themes emerged inductively (see table 3 below) and so I returned to the data from previous cases to check for any references to them that I had missed on previous readings and added them as appropriate. It very quickly became apparent that there were much more data that explicitly related to habitus than to either capital or field, and as I analysed them in increasing depth the difficulties of separating these concepts out from each other in the data became increasingly apparent. Thus, the data relating to habitus were organised according to familial habitus and cultured habitus, both of which are instrumental in informing early conceptions of self; habituated disposition, which is significant for agency and self-esteem; vocational habitus, which I thought would be relevant to their evolving teacher habitus; habitus-field fit; and teacher habitus, which included resilience and professional values as teachers. Capitals included industry experience, industry and academic qualifications, industry and life experience, and emotional practice.

Table 3: Main themes and sub-themes

Main theme: Analysis stage 1a	Level 1 sub-themes: Analysis stage 1b	Level 2 sub-themes: Analysis stage 2a	* Level 3 sub-themes: Analysis stage 3b
Habitus	Familial habitus Cultured habitus Vocational habitus Habituated disposition Habitus-field fit	Teacher habitus Hysteresis Values Resilience Relationships	Habituated aspiration Habitus & shame -
Capitals	Industry experience Qualifications Life experience	-	*Emotional practice
Field	Departmental culture Organisational culture	-	-

**The level 3 sub-themes emerged as a result of further reading during the data analysis stage.*

Since the department was a sub-field of the organisational field, I looked for data relating to the culture of each, as the former was likely to be linked to the vocational habitus and the latter would be shaped by education policy. I wanted to see the impact of trainees' habituated dispositions on their behaviours in relation to the departmental and organisational fields and whether this had an impact on their evolving teacher habitus.

Given the inter-relational nature of Bourdieu's concepts, whereby habitus becomes active in relation to field, which then has implications for the acquisition and operationalisation of capitals, it should not have come as a surprise that data relating to capitals and field were intertwined with data pertaining to habitus. Indeed, this illustrates why Bourdieu insisted that the concepts should not be used in isolation (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) and is discussed in more detail below. Where data appeared to relate to more than one theme, I duplicated it in different places. I was careful to include entire sections of text and interview questions so as not to lose the context of the data, whilst highlighting the specific sections I thought were key elements of it.

Stage 2 involved creating more detailed tables of each theme for each case, and so I organised trainee contributions next to mentor contributions to facilitate in-depth analysis on a case-by-case basis. Table 4 below illustrates how I organised case two in terms of habitus-field fit. Interview questions are in blue. I included the interview questions at the top of each response in order to contextualise participants' responses and to support me to maintain the correct focus during analysis.

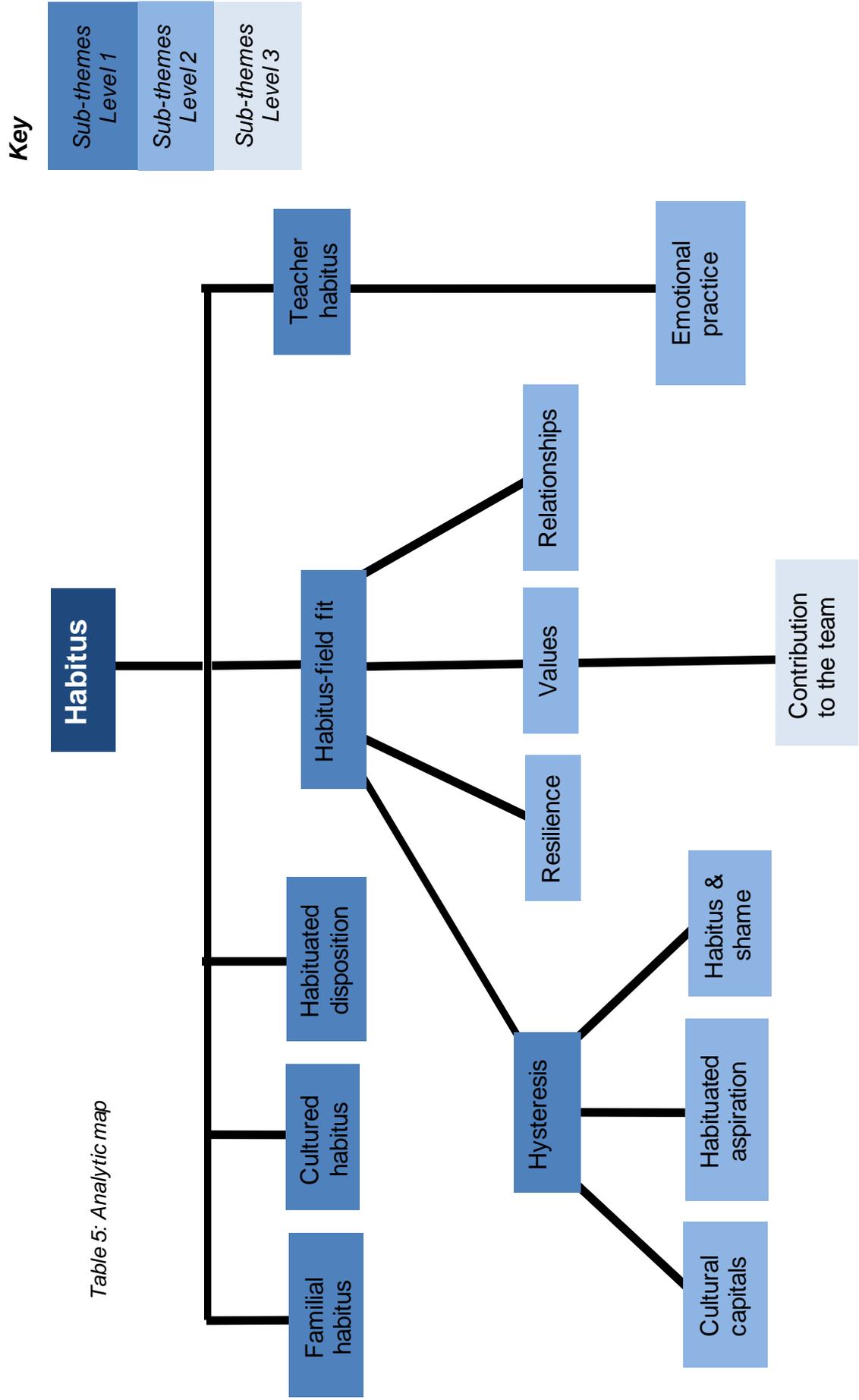
By comparing the data for each trainee and their mentor according to theme I was able to inductively identify level 2 sub-themes (Stage 2a). As I populated the tables I again identified data that could relate to more than one theme, for example, Paul's passion for his degree could be regarded as both a habituated disposition and a form of cultural capital. In these instances, I included the data under all relevant themes so that I could see if any patterns emerged and where best to include them in the findings (Stage 2b). It was at this point that I introduced pseudonyms for each participant as I felt that codes dehumanised them and disconnected the person from the experiences

described in the data, rendering the data less meaningful. In the absence of a video recording, I made field notes in my research diary about the interviews, relating to physical appearance and mannerisms and any feelings or impressions I had formed during the interview to raise my awareness of any unconscious bias that might influence my analysis of the data. I also added these notes to the tables since physical appearance and mannerisms are embodied elements of the habitus.

Table 4: habitus-field fit

Trainee perspective	Mentor perspective	Operationalising trainee capitals
<p><i>R: How well do you feel you fitted in with the team then, cos it sounds like you were coming at it from a very different direction</i></p> <p>T2: Erm, ... I think I fitted very well into the team, actually, even though I was comin' at it from a different direction I would never undermine a teacher, I would never step on a teacher's toes in that respect, if it was there classroom. I would be on the side. I don't fink that .. I was ... not suited to them team. I think that... we kind of melded together more in it.</p> <p><i>R: Has that impacted on the kind of experiences that you've been given access to as a trainee teacher, do you think?</i></p> <p>T2: Yeah, yeah, definitely yeah it's opened up opportunities in that respect, like goin on to the teacher conferences, an .. there's... the teachin' for mastery project that's she's doin at the moment</p> <p><i>R: Did you find that difficult as a trainee teacher, trying to get the other vocational teachers on board?</i></p> <p>T2: Um ... not... really, no, I don't fink I've had that barrier really, I've always ... when I first started, Emma was always quite good to say, you know, you're not a trainee teacher, you are a programme leader and you need to push yourself and assert yourself as if you are a programme leader and ensure that you know your expectations and you push your expectations on the uvver teachers</p>	<p><i>How well do you think he fits in here and in the maths department, and in the college at large?</i></p> <p>M2: I think it's quite seamless with Dan, actually, because Dan was a teacher before he started on the course</p> <p>... so ed come in an help students, and then ed end up coverin' lessons, and it just grows n grows n grows and all of a sudden e's got is own timetable because e's that good, and the Cert ed that e's doin alongside that, is to almost give some gravitas to the teachin that he's doin', so he is a seamless part of the department from what he's doin already, ... he's just... Dan (smiles)</p> <p><i>R: And how would you describe his relationship with other staff in the department?</i></p> <p>M2: They just see him as another member of staff, e's not a trainee teacher, 'es not ... e's just, e's got 'is own ... they value his opinion as well, they're interested in what he thinks about things, he's very good with spreadsheets n things like that, so when they're building up question level analysis, for exams, they'll talk to Dan about it, so e's, e's just part of .. what is goin' on</p>	<p><i>Do you think that your work as a youth worker has helped you as a maths teacher?</i></p> <p>T2: the young people that I was workin' wiv before had been frough like youf justice and they came from very different backgrounds an, an, so I fink I brought that to the team as in 'we should be tacklin behaviour in different ways and we can, we can get down to the students' level an we can work wiv the students ... in a different way.</p>

Once I had completed the in-depth case analysis of each theme described above, I undertook cross-case analysis to compare and contrast the themes and sub-themes and identify patterns within the data (Stage 3). Thus, I created thematic tables containing data from all six cases relating to specific themes (Stage 3a). A sample for the theme habitus-field fit can be found showing data for cases 1 and 2 in Appendix 6. From this it became apparent that some themes generated substantially more data than others, for example data relating to values did not arise for all participants, but there was a significant amount of data relating to habitus. This can be seen in Table 5: Analytic map below. This was partly because data relating to capitals were bound up in the theme of habituated dispositions, since trainees perceived their capitals through the lens of their habitus, and they were talking about the capitals they had acquired as a result of their educational and professional experiences. Resilience in trainees also emerged as a key theme from participants, especially mentors, and merits further research, particularly given the current interest in resilience in teachers and policy focus on teacher well-being. Space does not allow for full consideration of resilience here, but it is part of a bigger debate that challenges traditional constructs of resilience as an individual response to economic hardship (Hickman 2018) or unexpected adversity (Donoghue and Edmiston 2019). By comparing themes across cases I could see links between the themes which informed further reading and identification of different themes (Stage 3b). Two such examples are where data relating to dispositions and capitals combined to inform the sections on emotional practice and habituated aspiration. Accordingly, these themes were added as can be seen in the analytical map below. Some of this data also related to field as the data revealed actions and behaviours that resulted from encounters with familiar and unfamiliar fields. Consequently, my approach to analysis supported by additional reading was continuously evolving and shaping the analysis (Stage 3c) that follows in Chapters 5 and 6.



Ethical considerations

Robson (2011:197) defines ethics as 'rules of conduct' which typically conform to a code or set of guidelines. Where research involves human subjects, protecting them from harm arising from participation in research is paramount (BERA 2018; Robson 2011). An additional concern for case study is that researchers must avoid using this approach to substantiate or advocate a particular preconceived position (Yin 2014). What follows is a discussion of how I addressed ethical considerations in accordance with the British Educational Research Association (BERA) Guidelines (2018) in order to ensure the inquiry was conducted responsibly, respectfully and appropriately with due consideration of my responsibilities towards the research participants. These included gaining informed consent, right to withdraw, protecting participants from any harm by avoiding deception, and maintaining their privacy and confidentiality.

Informed consent and right to withdraw

Obtaining informed consent to participate in research is one of the responsibilities social researchers must fulfil towards their participants. It forms an element of the principle of respect, and 'reflects a moral concern for the autonomy and privacy of research participants' (Alasuurtari et al. 2008:99). According to Robson (2011), when gaining informed consent, the researcher should take into consideration the degree of inconvenience and likely emotional involvement to participants. To this end I provided an information sheet (Appendix 1) outlining the purpose of the study, data generation methods, confidentiality, potential benefits and negative consequences of participation, the right to withdraw from the study at any point and to withdraw their data within 14 days of the interview taking place. This was sent out to participants a second time when organising the interview date, together with a consent form (Appendix 2) and an email explaining that they would be given the opportunity to discuss this further and ask any questions before the interview began. The information sheet also clarified the time commitment of participants when conducting interviews, and the type of data that I would be seeking to generate from the interviews. I took care to time the interviews to ensure that they did not extend beyond the agreed time

limits and used the interview schedule to remain within the agreed boundaries regarding data generation. As discussed above, interviews were conducted in the participants' workplaces in order to limit the degree of inconvenience, but also to contextualise them within their natural setting. Due to the open-ended nature of semi-structured interviews, gaining fully informed consent in the initial stages can be problematic as researchers may not be able to anticipate the information that will emerge (Haverkamp 2005). To address this, I emailed participants the transcript of their interview, asking them to identify any data they wanted me to exclude from the study and to confirm it was a true representation of what they had said as discussed in the credibility section above.

Protection from harm

'Qualitative researchers are guests in the private spaces of the world' (Swain 2017:103) and have a moral obligation to protect their research participants (Kvale 2009; Stake 2005; Swain 2017) and make them aware of any possible detriment to themselves of participating in the research (BERA 2011). Before generating data therefore, I considered my duty of care towards the research participants in order to recognise potential risks, and to prepare for and minimise any distress or discomfort to them. A key problem for me was that trainees and mentors can read the study once it has been published and see any negative things that had been said about them and about the organisation that employed them. This may not only have compromised their responses to interview questions but also their professional relationships. Given that it could not be known in advance of the interview whether such data would be generated, in order to minimise the risk of this happening I undertook to send participants a transcript of their interview so that they could exclude any part of it from the data as discussed above. Additionally, due to the small scale of the study it is highly likely that participants may be identifiable from the data, which may have caused concerns for the trainees that this could impact negatively on their outcomes on the ITE programme and also on references in the future. To reduce this, I have not identified the organisations participants were working in by name or given their specific location and I have used pseudonyms for the participants in the transcripts and throughout the thesis. I decided to use pseudonyms as I felt a name,

rather than a code, enabled them to retain their identity as humans, which I believe is important and appropriate for social research into people's lived experiences. I clarified in the information sheet that participants and their organisations may be identifiable, and I discussed this with them before the interviews began. The consent form they signed stated that they had read and understood this information (Appendix 2).

Social research should not only protect against harm but should also seek to maximise benefit. A literature review identified a dearth of research specifically relating to the FE workplace as a learning site for teachers in training. This study seeks to address that gap in the knowledge base. Given the importance trainees place on practical teaching (Maxwell 2014), the challenge for teacher educators is to support trainees to derive maximum benefit from the workplace experience. The research processes encouraged participants to reflect on the impact of trainees' habituated dispositions on their behaviours and engagement with the workplace, as well as the role mentors play in this. By gaining a better understanding of these factors, I hope mentors and teacher educators will be able to find ways of supporting trainees to derive maximum benefit from their workplace experiences. Furthermore, whilst Bourdieu's theoretical framework has been extensively used in educational research (Galloway 2015; James 2015; Leahy 2010; Noyes 2016), adult education, and higher education, with a few notable exceptions (Avis and Bathmaker 2004; 2006; Bathmaker and Avis 2005; 2007; Duckworth and Maxwell 2015) its application to FE ITE is limited. I therefore thought using a multi-faceted approach to habitus to investigate trainee learning in the workplace would be an original contribution of my research.

Data security

All data were generated between in April and June 2019. From May 2018 researchers must comply with the legal requirements in relation to the storage and use of personal data as stipulated in the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) (BERA 2011; 2018). Accordingly, the information sheet specified that transcripts and recordings of the interviews would be stored securely in electronic format on a University drive and that access to data

from the study, with the exception of the interview transcripts, would be restricted to me, my supervisors and examiners. Additionally, participants were issued a pseudonym to protect their identity and no personal data was stored with the transcripts. Agreement to this formed part of the consent form (Appendix 2). The GDPR also confers the right to private citizens to have access to any personal data that is stored, and which relates to them (BERA 2018) and in order to comply with this I sent participants the transcript from their interview and stipulated on the information sheet that on request I would provide access to any information I publish from the study and that this would be done in compliance with legal requirements for the use of personal data.

To conclude, the first part of this chapter detailed the ontological and epistemological underpinnings of this study. I discussed how these informed my choice of theoretical framework and how this in turn shaped my research questions. I explained how I applied Bourdieu's theoretical framework as method, and how this influenced my choice of research approach and methods, such as case study and semi-structured interviews. I reviewed how I recruited participants for this study and sought to conduct research that was honest and ethical, including gaining informed consent, protecting participants from harm and seeking confirmation from them that I was presenting an accurate record of their data. I also examined how I transcribed and analysed the data. The rationale for my decisions at each stage of the research was integrated within each section of the chapter. The following chapter presents a contextual analysis of each of the six cases.

Chapter 4: Introduction to the cases

As an introduction to the field, I identify the type of organisation the participants work in and the subject they teach. I also include information relating to the trainees' social and educational backgrounds, as well as their work or industry experiences before entering FE teaching since this gives an insight into their habituated dispositions and the cultural capitals they bring to the field.

Duneier and Back (2006:554) stress the importance of showing people as 'full human beings' in ethnographic research, and I feel it is equally important for a study such as this which is seeking to understand the subjective experiences of the research participants within their social and cultural contexts. Indeed, the capacity of Bourdieu's concepts to direct and enable scrutiny beyond the research participants was another determining factor for my choice of theoretical framework. People are so much more than what they say, and therefore, in an attempt to 'get at the humanity of' (Duneier and Back, 2006:554) my research participants the following section will introduce each of the six cases with a brief contextual analysis regarding the type of organisation they work in, the subject they teach and the mentor's role in the organisation. This is important for understanding the culture and practices of the field they are working in and their interactions within this field. I also include information about the trainees' previous educational and professional experiences, their qualifications and how they came into teaching, as well as their perceptions of themselves as teachers. These relate to habitus, habituated dispositions and capitals, and are therefore significant for the discussion section that follows and for answering the research questions. All names have been changed in order to anonymise participants as discussed in the ethical considerations section of Chapter 3.

I generated data using a case study approach. There were six cases in total, and each case comprised a trainee and their mentor. The cases were drawn from two large general FE colleges in the north of England and one pupil referral unit (PRU) for learners aged 14 - 18 in the south east of England. They included a mix of vocational and academic subject specialisms to

represent the FE curriculum and to generate richer data that would facilitate cross-case analysis.

Case 1:

Ben and Tom are scaffolding lecturers in a large FE college in the north of England. Ben has just completed the second year of his Certificate in Education, and Tom is his mentor and line manager.

The scaffolding team is located within the construction department in an independent building, with a large workshop area containing scaffolding equipment and different types of built scaffold where practical sessions take place, as well as some small classrooms. In contrast to the rest of the college, the scaffolding team recruits students through a managing agency, but also deals directly with companies. Apprenticeship programmes make up 99% of their provision, and whilst most students are aged 16-18, there are also a few adults. Tom and Ben are the only permanent tutors in the team, and they see themselves as separate from the main college:

Tom (M1): "We don't get involved with much outside, in the college itself, I mean we're quite isolated, we don't see managers very much, we don't deal with erm, a lot of the staff in our college because we don't work the same way they do."

They seem to enjoy the independence that this confers and have used it to create a teaching space which is "just like bein' on a building site", and a culture of "building site mentality" (Ben). Course content is "quite prescribed" (Tom) via PowerPoint presentations which they are given by the awarding body. This, together with the roll-on, roll-off model of provision where students attend on 10-day block release, reinforces the lecturers' sense that they "don't actually fit in the college ... as a whole" (Tom). They are very proud of their teaching space, and Ben offered to give me a tour.

Students must have entry level 3 maths and English to attend the course, with the aim that they will achieve level 1 by the end of the apprenticeship. The students tend to come from "working-class backgrounds", or families where the parents "have never worked, or have not worked a lot" (Tom). Tom explained that this can have a negative impact on their self-worth, creating

"serious issues about where they've come from and how that affects them" in terms of limiting their life choices, which sometimes also leads to challenging behaviour in lessons or poor attendance and negative perceptions of self as being "thick,, that's why I'm doing scaffolding" (Tom).

Ben and Tom have a significant amount of experience as scaffolders, having worked approximately 20 and 30 years respectively in industry; careers they are both very proud of. From their professional experience they have developed complementary skills and knowledge, which underpin their relationship:

Tom (M1): "Ben and I have been able to do is bounce off each other, we've been very good at working with each other. So, when we've got a problem, between my experience and Ben's experience, we've never had a problem we can't solve".

They both come from working-class backgrounds, and for Ben the cultural expectation for sons was that if "... ya dad did it, so you did it" (Ben). His father took him to start working as a scaffolder the day after he left school. Having left school "wi nuffin", for Ben teaching was "jus' summat I couldn't imagine me doin'". Ben and Tom moved into teaching when the physical demands of scaffolding became too great. Ben took a health and safety course, hoping to work as a safety officer on construction sites, and it was while he was doing this course that the tutor suggested he apply for a job as a scaffolding teacher at the college where he still works.

Whilst he is highly qualified and very confident as a scaffolder who can "turn [his] 'ands to anythin'", Ben describes himself as disengaged at school: "school wasn't fer me at the time", and also lacks confidence in his academic ability. Consequently, he "dodged the Cert Ed for about 10 years cos [he] never thought [he] was clever enough to do it" (Ben). However, as he progressed through the Cert Ed course, his confidence grew, and he found himself enjoying it. Although he has passed the course and feels "quite honoured" to call himself a teacher, he is also careful to make the point that he "qualified as a teacher, not as an academic" (Ben). He appears conflicted in his role as a dual professional, diffident about his teacher identity: "I never see meself as a teacher, because I don't think I deserve ... I can't see meself

as givin' meself that credit" (Ben) and retaining a strong professional identity as a scaffolder:

Ben (T1): "I'm still a scaffolder, but I'm a teacher, an' that's more ... (sighs) challengin'. ... It's just that little bit in me that thinks, no, you're not an academic, you're nowhere near an academic, you're just a rough old scaffolder, just come in to teach and that's all you'll ever be".

This inner conflict resulting from his dual role forms part of the discussion in the habitus and shame section of Chapter 5. He clearly favours the practical side of teaching, and is most comfortable when teaching in the workshop, which he sees as "still ... kind of scaffoldin' to a certain degree" (Ben). However, he dislikes the accompanying paperwork intensely, perhaps because he associates it with his experiences at school. For his mentor getting Ben to complete his paperwork is a "daily battle" (Tom). They also have very different teaching styles, with Tom describing Ben's use of technology to enhance learning as "'touchy-feely" in contrast to his own style which is "a bit old-fashioned" and "archaic". They both believe passionately in the importance of education "to change people's lives" (Tom):

Ben (T1): "For me, education is solely about not makin' the same mistakes as I did. I just want my learners ta learn that life's all about education, tryin' a better theirselves. It really is".

Tom (M1): "I've got 5 students, since I started, who now own their own company (smiles) ... an' that, to me, is my payment".

Case 2:

Dan has just completed his part-time Certificate of Education to be a maths teacher in a large FE college in the north east of England. The maths department recently became one of the regional Centres for Excellence for maths, which has generated additional funding and increased status, both regionally and within the college.

A central role of the maths department is to support students on vocational courses to achieve a level 2 qualification in maths. Dan's mentor Becky is very aware that the students they have are often very anxious about maths and that this has a negative impact on their attitude to learning maths. The

ethos of the department is to reduce students' maths-related anxieties in the belief that if this barrier is removed then students will be able to learn maths. Consequently, some of the Centre for Excellence funding has been used to create a very welcoming physical environment. The classrooms are bright and cheerful, and Becky explained that great care has been taken in the choice of colourful posters that use word play and everyday situations to help students remember the names of shapes and to see that maths is a natural part of everyday life, rather than an extraneous, academic irrelevance to be feared. There are also anxiety coaches to support students and help them overcome their maths angst.

Becky was previously Head of Maths in a secondary school, where she was also a mentor for the secondary initial teacher education programme. The maths department has two managers, one of whom has responsibility for the curriculum, and Becky, who describes herself as "more of an enhancement, fluffy, glitter manager" with responsibility for staff development.

Not all the staff in the maths department have a maths degree; several have unrelated degrees, such as law or music, and some have no first degree at all. However, there is a strong sense that they teach maths "through the love of maths, rather than academic maths" (Becky), underpinned by the belief that "the students need the maths to do better in life, an' it's about that *do better* that's important" (Becky; original emphasis). The departmental focus is very much to inspire their students to develop a positive relationship with maths, which Dan shares.

Dan had been a high achiever at school and went on to study maths A-level at college. However, he struggled to adapt to the college environment, "didn't get along with [the maths] teacher at all" (Dan), and stopped after AS-level. Despite believing that he "can't just blame the teacher" for his disengagement with maths at college, this experience has been fundamental in shaping his own teacher persona and habitus (discussed in the teacher habitus section of Chapter 6), which sees student-teacher relationships as central to effective teaching:

Dan (T2): "I see the relationships with my students as paramount really, I fink that you need ta know

your students an' be comfortable, and for them to be comfortable with you, for them to be able to come and ask you a question an' for them to know that you care about them, in a way".

Dan's parents were both professionals and were keen that he should get A-levels, followed by a degree because this "would lead to better opportunities" (Dan). However, after finishing college Dan spent 4 years in Australia as a youth worker, working with young people who had been through the youth justice system. This experience is highly valued by the department because it "can really open the students' eyes" (Becky) and raise their aspirations. He started working at the college as a learning practitioner. His remit was to be "extra hands in the classroom ta try an' motivate students more than anythin'" (Becky). However, because of the potential he showed, he soon transitioned into a teaching role and asked to enrol on the Certificate in Education programme. Dan is highly reflective and the "forced apprenticeship" (Becky) model of in-service ITE has been very effective for him:

Dan (T2): "... jumpin' out the deep end and learning ... rather than spending the years in the classroom, and learnin' the feory side of it and then jumpin' after that ..., and actually having to be the teacher in a classroom and havin' the experiences n bein' able to reflect on those experiences and lookin' at what I can do to change ... whatever that experience was, an' improve on that experience ... that's been more of a direction to progress".

He feels his experience as a youth worker has been invaluable in helping him relate to his students and giving him alternative strategies for "tacklin' behaviour in different ways and [getting] down to the students' level an [working] wiv the students ... in a different way". Although he brought a different approach to managing challenging behaviour to the team, Dan is very respectful of his colleagues and is careful to "never step on a teacher's toes ... if it was their classroom" (Dan). His move from learning practitioner to trainee teacher was "seamless" (Becky); he "melded together" (Dan) with the team, who "just see him as another member of staff ... and who value his opinion" (Becky). The importance of trainee relationships with other staff in the departmental team is examined in Chapter 6. Dan is also comfortable to approach any staff member in the department for advice.

Dan has supported students in a range of vocational areas, including hairdressing, plumbing and animal care. He is pragmatic about the challenges he has faced on his ITE course, and says they have been "what everybody faces, ... time management ... keepin' up with the paperwork ... behavioural issues, ... communication wiv uvver departments' about how behavioural policies should be enacted", and with the "learners, and what they're actually there to achieve an' why they come to maths" (Dan).

Case 3:

Andy works in the same maths department as Dan, and Becky is also his mentor.

Andy has a first-class degree in music, and in addition to his teaching job he writes music for television. During the second year of his degree, he started working in the college library in a learning supporting role, and on completing his degree he enrolled on the full-time pre-service PGCE as a maths teacher. However, after the first term he found the challenge of balancing teaching and studying too great and he transferred to the part-time in-service programme. Although he initially wanted to train as a music teacher, there were no music placements and so he agreed to teach maths. His dissertation was on sound localisation, and he says it was while writing this that he realised how important maths was:

Andy (T3): "... not just music, but the whole erm ... engineerin' you know, it has, has big implications, big implications. ... it just inspired me, it opened up my eyes, and erm, so I started learnin' more about maths, and ... it's a subject that I think a lot of".

His highest qualification in maths is GCSE, but he is currently studying on his own and plans to take A-level maths after he completes his PGCE "just because [he] want[s] to progress ... to find out more about the subject ... [and because he sees] how [he] could use it for [his] future" (Andy). His mentor describes him as "very academic" and "always pushing 'imself" to improve his maths "almost like he's tryin' to fill in his maths gaps, with him being a musician" (Becky). There is a hint of tension between his love of music and his choice to train to teach maths, which I explore further in Chapters 5 and 6. He finds music a "beautiful subject [that is] very interesting

and ... very important" (Andy), but believes that maths is more important than music because it "has the keys to ... unlock doors" (Andy), and he wants his students to do well in life.

Andy describes himself as "quite an easy, ... laid back person" who gets on with a lot of people in college. He has a good relationship with his mentor who respects his love of "high level" maths and his tendency to "tell jokes, tryin' to make people laugh" (Becky). Becky explains that although initially it took him a while to realise that there was such a thing as maths anxiety and to accept that his students were unlikely to ever love maths, he reconciled himself instead with helping them to "be all right with it" (Becky). She feels he is "well-liked [by his students], *because of his quirkiness*" (Becky; original emphasis). He is very modest about his achievements, which may be part of why he feels it is important to gain recognition of his ability in maths through a formal qualification. Whilst the fact that he writes music for television has been briefly discussed in class, he is wary of "showin' off" (Andy). Similarly, when he talks about the positive relationship he has with his students, although he is clearly proud that some of them continue to attend his maths classes after they have passed their qualification and no longer need to, he seems a little embarrassed that he is "blowin' [his] own trumpet" (Andy).

Case 4:

Sophie is a member of the pre-employability team at a large general FE college in the north of England. ESOL provision comes under the curriculum area of ESOL, English and maths, and is offered both as a discrete course and within vocational courses. The classrooms have some posters relating to English language and maths, but nothing to suggest they are specifically ESOL learning spaces.

The ESOL staff at the college teach across the different campuses. As with all 16-19 study programmes, the ESOL provision has a strong focus on preparing learners for progression to further or higher education or employment. The ESOL team is very diverse in terms of their backgrounds and the length of time they have been working in the college. Relationships and tensions within the team are long-established, and Sophie's mentor

Amanda explains that the longest serving tutors are "very used to doing their own thing their own way". This can present as a "closed-offness" (Amanda), making integration into the team very challenging for new staff members. In contrast, the pre-employment team Sophie came from are "really supportive" and "very open in terms of sharin' materials an' sharin' resources an ideas" (Sophie). Consequently, despite now finding the ESOL team "a good team together" (Sophie), initially working with them was "a bit of a culture shock" because accessing support for teaching was "very much like tryin' 'a get blood out of a stone sometimes" (Sophie). I examine this as part of the discussion on relationships and making a contribution to the team in Chapter 6. Under the new Senior Leadership Team (SLT) the college culture is developing a more supportive, team-like ethos, through initiatives such as learning sets, which encourage staff to share resources, and this is slowly filtering down into the ESOL department.

Sophie's career started in Human Resources in retail, but she felt there were limited opportunities for career progression. She gained an insight into careers' advice and guidance through her mother's work in a learning centre, and this led to her taking a post-graduate diploma in careers' guidance and working as employability officer in an FE college. Following funding cuts Sophie moved to a larger FE college, where she was seconded to manage employability projects in the NHS. She subsequently returned to the employability team in the college and taught employability to Entry level 3 ESOL learners.

Sophie has just completed the first year of her PGCE programme teaching ESOL. Because ESOL is not her specialist subject she has had to simultaneously develop her subject knowledge and teaching skills. Lack of capacity within the ESOL team has meant that Sophie's mentor, Amanda, is not an ESOL specialist either. Whilst this could be perceived as a disadvantage in terms of Sophie developing her subject knowledge, Amanda feels it has enabled her to give Sophie "a different way of looking at things" by looking at pedagogy from a broader perspective. Amanda's role in the college is coach/mentor to tutors across the curriculum, and both she and Sophie feel that having Amanda as "a common link" (Amanda) between

Sophie and the ESOL tutors has helped Sophie integrate herself into the ESOL team.

Sophie comes from a "working-class" background and grew up in a "deprived area" (Sophie). Her father's career as a high-ranking project manager enabled the family to move to a more affluent area, which she feels has afforded them some social mobility:

Sophie (T4): "I don't think someone would turn round to me an' say that I'm workin' class now, but certainly when I was a child, that is what I would have been described as."

Sophie is an only child and despite attending a high school that was seen as "one of the ones which didn't have high achievers" (Sophie) she progressed to college and university. She has an undergraduate degree, a masters, and a post-graduate Diploma. She plans to take a level 5 ESOL qualification once she has completed her PGCE, because "it just shows how important it is havin' that English qualification an' havin' that knowledge" (Sophie). Sophie's father has a degree but her mother, who was "very keen that [Sophie] should go to university", does not. The possible impact of this on Sophie's attitude to learning is further explored in Chapter 5.

Sophie's early experience as a trainee teacher was "very eye openin' " and "really, really hard" because she was teaching a subject she didn't feel she knew and hadn't yet been assigned her current mentor. Her confidence was further undermined after a "very demoralisin'" (Sophie) internal quality assurance observation carried out by the college within 2 weeks of starting her PGCE course:

Sophie (T4): "so to know that you're not good enough, an' then be told that you're not good enough, was ... quite hard!"(laughs).

Sophie's mentor Amanda describes her as "very tenacious, ... determined" and "quite receptive" to different attitudes within her workplace. This is reflected by the strategies she has consciously applied to reintegrate herself into the employability team and to become part of the ESOL team, such as sharing resources, being very open and asking lots of questions, and being respectful and supportive of other ESOL staff:

Sophie (T4): " they know that I'm very mindful of things an' that I try 'n make sure that I'm not in anybody's way, but also that I'm supportive an' helpful an' I think that's worked quite well".

She has a pragmatic attitude to challenge and recognises that "although I was thrown in at the deep end, I'm very conscious that I volunteered for it" (Sophie). Sophie is proactive about finding solutions to problems and has used this to help her "power through" (Sophie) any challenges, drawing on staff from within and outside the ESOL team, including library staff and colleagues from the pre-employment team. This suggests a resilience that forms part of the analysis of Chapter 6. Her mentor notes that she is "eager to learn", very "open to ... trying different things" and "accepts that the nature of learning is ... to make mistakes an' *not* get it right first time" (Amanda. original emphasis). However, despite having the confidence to learn through making mistakes, she needs external validation of her teaching skills in order to acknowledge them:

Sophie (T4): "They're passin' their exams, but until an entry 2 teacher sees them next year, I won't feel like thoroughly happy that I've done a good enough job".

Case 5:

Amy is training to teach in the Theatrical and Media Make-up department of a large FE college in the north of England. The department is located in a large satellite centre of the college, together with other creative arts and media departments. Although I did not see inside the department, there is an impressive display of students' work, such as models and photographs, near the entrance which Amy proudly showed me.

The team comprises both male and female teaching staff, almost all of whom worked in industry before moving into teaching. Amy feels that the diversity of the team makes them "the complete polar opposite ... [to the all] female, ... quite heavily made up, ... quite fashionable, quite trendy [persona that people] would presume". In contrast Hannah, her mentor, feels they share typical traits of the trade, such as being "perfectionists", and able to "deal with lots of different people [and] personalities, but not show your emotion", as well as being adaptable and able to problem-solve. The team is close-knit

and staff all share a similar work ethic which puts " the students' best interests at heart" (Hannah).

Amy comes from a professional background, and both her parents had successful careers. Although they were supportive of Amy's decision to do a degree in make-up, she says that they initially had doubts "... cos it was a creative thing [and] they were concerned how sustainable that kind of career, would potentially be". Now she is training to teach, Amy says they are "incredibly proud, but [she thinks] they'd be incredibly proud whatever [she] did, cos they're just them kind of people". It is interesting to note that whilst their support gave her the confidence to pursue her first degree, when she reflects on her choice, she echoes her parents' views about the lower status of creative compared with academic qualifications I referred to in the Introduction to this thesis and examine further in Chapter 6:

Amy (T5): "... if I was to redo my degree ... I don't know whether I would do it in *makeup*" (original emphasis).

Sarah: What do you think you would you do it in?

Amy (T5): (sighs) ... I don't really know. I kind of feel ... that ... my degree should have been something more ... academic."

Both Amy and Hannah teach on the 2-year Foundation degree course in special effects makeup and artistry. As the only tutors on this course, they work very closely together. Prior to joining the department as a trainee teacher, Amy was a student on this course and Hannah was one of her tutors. In contrast to the majority of students on this course, who have vocational qualifications such as BTECs or NVQs, Amy came with A-levels, and Hannah feels Amy's "more academic background [has] definitely helped her", suggesting a good habitus-field fit for Amy. This is considered in more detail in Chapter 6.

Hannah clearly values academic ability, and notes that there has been "a massive shift in academic capacity" with increased numbers of students who "aren't as academically capable" (Hannah) and tend to be focused on the practical aspects of the subject, finding the academic elements more of a challenge. Hannah values Amy for being "a bit more of an all-rounder" who

has contributed to the department by helping raise academic standards (Chapter 6) and is proud of the fact that Amy has been nominated for the Student of Excellence Award on her PGCE course.

Whilst it might be expected that the transition from student to trainee teacher within the department could present significant challenges, Hannah sees the fact that Amy has come "fresh from the training" as a key asset because it gives her a unique insight into the course that she brings to the team:

Hannah (M5): " ... she can kind uv ... take from her experiences and she can think 'well, when I was taught that that didn't work for me', you know, on the course as well, erm which, like I say is great for us because we can kind uv ... use that ta develop the whole course".

Like Hannah, Amy holds academic ability and professionalism in high regard. Amy explains that when she was taught by Hannah, she " ... definitely felt like [she] needed ta impress [her], ... cos she always taught the academic stuff; she seemed very knowledgeable, she was very professional".

Sharing the same values and work ethic have been key to the mutual respect and very positive relationship they have (see sections on values and relationships in Chapter 6). Hannah greatly appreciates Amy's habituated disposition to "always give 100%. She's one of those people that ... if she's doing a job, she's doing it properly" (Hannah).

Feeling able to contribute to the team is very important to Amy. She initially felt she was a burden in the department, "like a little itch ... you just really wanna scratch an' you just can't (smiles)", as she had to ask staff about systems and processes. This drive to contribute in some way to the department was echoed by several participants and the impact it had on their engagement with opportunities in the workplace will be explored in more detail in Chapter 6.

Case 6:

Paul has also just completed the first year of his PGCE. He is curriculum leader for the construction department in a PRU for students aged 11-18 in the south of England. His mentor, Sally is an English teacher, and lead for

teaching and learning at the PRU. The heavily secured external fencing stands in stark contrast to the bright, airy classrooms and the open, communal spaces inside the school, where staff and pupils mix and interact in an atmosphere of non-judgemental acceptance and mutual respect.

The students at the school have come from mainstream schools. They are from socially deprived economic backgrounds, with approximately 95% of the students on roll in receipt of Pupil Premium. Their home lives are very unstable, and they have had "some really, really torrid and awful experiences" (Sally), one consequence of which is the challenging behaviour which has led to them being there. There is a very strong focus on understanding the challenging backgrounds of the students and building positive, collaborative relationships with them because "there's a reason that they're naughty and they can't help that" (Paul). The school work closely with local police to support students with issues such as drugs, gang violence, child sexual exploitation etc. and as a result, the teachers who work there: "... get the whole pastoral ... side, as well as the academic side ... [and are] ... very much exposed to ... absolutely everyfink to do wiv education" (Sally).

The school has been running for three years, with a closely knit team of 32 teaching staff who use each other as "soundin' boards" (Sally). Sally attributes the success of the team in part to the fact that "all of us ... have got that similar story that [we've] come from a place of failure or feelin' like [we're] not good enough", and this enables them to empathise with each other and also with the students. This has been important for shaping Paul's teacher habitus, discussed in Chapter 6. There are regular well-being and drop-in sessions with counsellors for staff, and the SLT ensure that they are easily accessible to staff so that "if people feel like they don't have answers ta stuff or they're carryin' a lot of information they just come and they just talk to a member of SLT" (Sally).

Sally describes the school as a "vocational hub" which aims to equip students with the skills and qualifications they need for employment; vocational and academic qualifications alike are highly valued. Paul prepares the older students for level 1 qualifications in a range of construction related subjects, such as plumbing, bricklaying and electrics, and he has just applied

to expand the curriculum offer to include construction qualifications at levels 2 and 3. Each curriculum team forms part of a much wider team who all "kind of bounce off each uvver, an help each uvver" (Paul), and consequently the school feels "like a big family" (Paul):

Paul (T6): "I've got the construction team for when we're in the class, and that's our little team but, it is part of a larger team, definitely, an' you don't feel like you're just in your department, with your guys. You are definitely part of a larger team".

Having gained a degree in surveying, Paul worked in a computer-based role as a surveying operations manager for several years, before gaining experience in the practical side of construction as a roofer, plumber, bricklayer and electrician. Following an accident at work, he enrolled in a 'Back to Work' project run by a local FE college and was given a two-week placement at the PRU as a teaching assistant. He showed "real potential in all subjects" (Sally), and within a week the school knew that they "had to have him" (Sally). At the end of his placement, he continued at the PRU as a volunteer and was soon offered a teaching contract and the opportunity to complete a PGCE. Soon after the start of the new academic year, the extant curriculum leader for construction left suddenly and Paul took over the role, very much enjoying rising to the challenge of being "chucked in the deep end" (Paul). His ability to adapt and respond effectively to challenges form part of his habituated disposition discussed in Chapter 5.

His professional experience, qualifications and disposition facilitate a very good habitus-field fit which has been central to his rapid promotion to curriculum leader. As noted in Chapter 6, this enables him to make a valuable contribution to the team, and his mentor enthuses that he "brings a wealth of knowledge that ... is priceless" (Sally). This, coupled with the fact that he is "absolutely brilliant with the children" make him a "perfect"(Sally) fit in the school:

Sally (M6): [Paul] "has a very faverly approach to the children.... ... The children absolutely love workin' wiv him an' they love his honesty, an' they love his, his raw quality an' the fact that he's come from a real place".

Paul comes from a close family; his mother was a nurse and his father a black cab driver. He says they were "quite proud" when he became a teacher, but not "overly surprised" as he was "always one ta ... be tellin' people what to do. Or ta be tryin' ta impart knowledge onto someone about something n stuff". Paul grew up in the same local area as the students from the PRU, and he feels that this, and the fact that he was "pretty naughty" at school and "often in trouble" mean that the students can relate to him. This experience has been key for shaping his teacher habitus, discussed in Chapter 6.

Just as Dan's experience working abroad was valued as a source of inspiration for his students, Paul's academic success and professional background is recognised for giving the students something to aspire to and this will be further explored in the analysis chapter.

Paul enjoys the challenge of the students and "couldn't wish for a better place to work". He feels that he's "a valued member of the team" in the PRU and as noted in Chapter 6 has also built relationships with staff across the other four schools in the Trust. Interestingly, like some of the other trainees in the study, despite his qualifications and academic success on the PGCE course, he lacks confidence in his ability to deliver academic subjects and is pleased that his mentor is an English teacher, as this will help him improve his "weaker" (Paul) side. This will be explored further in the chapter that follows.

Conclusion

In the above section I presented a case-by-case contextual analysis for each of the participants to frame the analysis and discussion that follows. I provided an overview of the information they chose to share with me regarding their social and educational backgrounds in order to give an insight into their habitus. I also discussed their previous life experiences and qualifications which represent the cultural capitals they bring to the teaching field, but also another facet of their habitus. By including information about the type of organisation they work in and the subject they teach I am presenting the field in which they are learning to teach. Given the synergistic relationship between habitus and field, this is important for understanding

how they use interactions in the field to develop as teachers; how they shape the field and how the field in turn shapes them as teachers. These themes form the core of the analysis throughout Chapters 5 and 6.

Chapter 5: The role of habitus and hysteresis in trainees' experiences of learning in the workplace

The following analyses and discussion apply Bourdieu's theoretical framework to investigate how trainee FE teachers' habituated dispositions influence their interactions in the workplace as they develop their practical teaching skills. As discussed in the data analysis section of Chapter 3, data were organised into over-arching themes with sub-level themes emerging from them. At first glance the concept of habitus appears to dominate the analysis and discussion (see analytical map p.71). However, as Chapters 5 and 6 illustrate, and as Bourdieu himself intended, the concepts of habitus, capital and field are inextricably bound, since it is through the habitus that capital and field are perceived and dispositions are formed, which in turn engender agency. Findings relating to capital and field are therefore interwoven within the discussion. In order to clearly show the relationship between the themes and sub-themes the discussion and analysis are structured as two separate chapters.

The first of these focuses on different facets of habitus, including familial and cultural habitus and how they inform habituated disposition. Bound up in this are trainees' perceptions of their cultural capitals, which in turn affect their habituated aspiration, and the ways in which trainees' capitals are subsequently operationalised (or not). Hysteresis and the feelings of shame that frequently arise when the habitus encounters an unfamiliar field are also relevant here as they are informed by the sense of who we are and our place in the world emanating from our early socialisation in the family and at school. For this reason, they have been included in this first analysis and discussion chapter. The second discussion and analysis chapter is situated within the workplace and focuses on trainee interactions and actions viewed as habitus and habituated dispositions. This chapter looks at the actions generated by their habituated dispositions as they seek to adapt to the unfamiliar field of teaching. It is important to note that some trainees appear in some sections but not in others. The trainees who are included in the sections are those whose data best illustrate the theme being discussed.

Familial habitus

Habitus is a 'structured and structuring structure' (Bourdieu 1994:170) that reveals and demonstrates the ways in which the individual both embodies and is part of the social world (Reay 2004). The 'norms, values and dispositions' (Burke 2016:9) that constitute the habitus are formed by many different influences. The two most influential forces are the family and education system, followed by environment and peer groups (Bourdieu 1977a). Thus, habitus is a structure that is a systematically ordered (Maton, 2012), complex amalgam of our past and present circumstances. With the exception of Andy, who did not say very much about his family, the structuring nature of the trainees' habitus was visible through trainees' perceptions of their position in their social worlds and how this shaped their present and future. Our sense of our position in society is fundamental to our thought and action (Grenfell 2004), and for some of the participants in this study, their sense of social class was very prominent as they talked about their education and career choices to date.

Bourdieu's notion of social class centres on the position individuals occupy in social spaces by virtue of the economic and cultural capitals they possess. For example, two of the participants in the study described themselves as working-class (Ben and Paul), which they ascribed to different social indicators, including family income and parental occupation. Ben and Paul's families could be said to belong to the 'traditional working-class' (Savage et al. 2013:240), as they both state that their parents had non-professional occupations, low income and low cultural capitals.

Both Ben's parents had traditional working-class occupations and for Ben this meant that his and his brother's futures would follow along the same lines:

Ben (T1): "As kids growin' up, I knew where I was goin' and I thought my brother was goin' same way".

His parents emphasised the importance of finding work, rather than self-improvement through education, and there is a poignancy in his reflections on how this has shaped his life:

Ben (T1): “They would push me to find work, he'd never ask me how I was doin' at school. I don't think it was 'cos 'e wasn't interested, it was jus' them times ... But you realise after your own mistakes”.

Paul's father had been a taxi driver, his mother was a nurse, and Paul is very aware of his working-class background and the implications this had for him growing up:

Paul (T6): “I'm not from a privileged background. I didn't 'ave a lot of money when I grew up. I didn't 'ave all the newest toys n computer games n clothes. I 'ad to go an' get a job when I was a kid, so work in Tesco's stackin' shelves to be able to buy nice trainers, or bikes, or whatever ...”.

Unlike Ben however, Paul does not appear to have felt constrained by his social background. Rather, as will be discussed in Chapter 6, he combines the cultural capitals from his degree with those acquired from his upbringing and operationalises them to improve his position as a teacher at the PRU where he now works.

Sophie appears to have no strong connection to any social class. Both she and her parents grew up in deprived areas, and she says that consequently as a child she would have been considered working-class. However, due to her father's income as a high-level project manager the family were able to move to an affluent area, which could also be considered as movement to a higher social class (Savage et al. 2013):

Sophie (T4): “... it is just because of postcode n school areas. So, in that sense, I don't think someone would turn round to me an' say that I'm workin' class now”.

As Sophie reflects on her early socialisation as working-class, it is possible to discern an ambivalence about how she now feels about her social class. This is reflected in the care she takes to point out that her father's income afforded them a better lifestyle, rather than social mobility:

Sophie (T4): “... because of the work that my parents did an' the careers that they have, erm ... my dad especially, has meant that erm, social class

is hard cos I don't want to say that we've moved classes, but perhaps our lifestyles have changed”.

This reluctance to call herself middle-class may be indicative of a habituated disposition that places central importance on meritocratic values (Abrahams 2017). Sayer (2005) notes that dominated communities are constantly devalued and subjected to feelings of shame. As a result, traits of honour and respectability become extremely important as the means by which individuals prove they have value and moral worth (Hey 2005). Bourdieu et al.'s (1999) concept of reified space where social structures can be converted into mental structures may also offer an explanation here. Reified social space is where a concentration of the rarest people and goods in a specific social space leads to an over-representation of the poorest and most disadvantaged groups in other social spaces. This then has meanings for those who live in it, and for those who do not by conferring negative or positive stigmatising properties to the people who live and work in them (McKenzie 2016). Sophie describes the area she grew up in as “one of the deprived areas – [but] not the most deprived”, and the school she went to as “not the worst, but ... one of the ones which didn't have high achievers”. It is possible that despite moving into a more prosperous area Sophie continues to be haunted by the stigma of the neighbourhood she grew up in and the school she attended. Ghosts are signs of oppression that haunt you when the field carries with it residues of the past (Gordon 2011) which habitus has yet to resolve. Thus, Sophie's reluctance to call herself middle-class may be because she does not feel entitled to exist in the middle-class field her family moved into. Her relentless pursuit of qualifications may be an attempt to exorcise the ghost and prove her value. I return to this notion of haunting by the ghost of the habitus in the section habitus and shame.

Dan describes himself as “egalitarian” and says that he “wouldn't put [himself] in any particular social class”. Yet as he spoke, his quiet confidence coupled with his family's socio-economic status and father's profession as a successful financial advisor who owned several businesses, suggest cultural and economic capitals associated with a middle-class background (Reay 2000; 2005; Reay et al. 2005). Different levels of economic capitals afford different experiences and practices through which people learn to consume

culture. Consequently 'taste is one of the key signifiers and elements of social identity' (Jenkins 2002:139), giving rise to criticism that the concept of habitus is 'self-perpetuating (and) mechanistic' (Jenkins 2002:118). This contrasts with Bourdieu's description of habitus as 'a power of adaptation' (Bourdieu 1993:88) that is permeable and responsive to what is going on around it (Reay 2004), and continually modified by a person's encounters with the outside world (Di Maggio 1979). As a result of his work with the youth service Dan has reassessed his values, and his childhood ambition "to follow [his] dad's footsteps and be rich (laughs)" has been abandoned:

Dan (T2): "I realised that actually there's more important things in the world than chasin' things like money an' rainbows (shrugs and smiles)".

In terms of his practice as a teacher he expresses this as a desire to help his learners lead their best lives, whatever they may be.

This section explored the ways in which familial habitus of the trainees had shaped their sense of self. For all the trainees, their familial habitus had given them a sense of their position in society. Some of them identified this as belonging to a specific social class, while others were more ambivalent. The influence of their familial habitus was clearly apparent when they talked about their values and what was important to them, and it was interesting to note that even when they recognised that their parents' income had enabled a degree of social mobility their familial habitus continued to carry with it the ghost of their social past which structured their future. At times this was reinforced by the cultured habitus resulting from their experiences at school.

Cultured habitus

The cultured habitus is the result of socialisation provided by schooling (Bourdieu 1967) and the cultural capitals acquired in the form of educational credentials (Bourdieu 1984). Bourdieu believed social provenance to be a key determinant of scholastic achievement (Grenfell 2004; Lareau 2000), since 'the very way we think is a construction of social background and the academic system' (Grenfell 2004:71). The participants in the study demonstrated a complex relationship with education and qualifications that appeared to emanate from their familial habitus. The family backgrounds of

the trainees in this study have been significant for structuring how they perceive themselves in the world in terms of their social class and the professional and educational choices they have made. Although Ben had very strong views about education, his cultured habitus appeared to have led him to avoid it rather than to engage with it, and the data he generated related more to habituated disposition and aspiration (discussed below) than to cultured habitus.

A person's individual history is not just constitutive of habitus, but also of the whole collective history of family and class that the individual is a member of (Reay et al. 2005), making some choices visible to us and others not.

Bourdieu's work highlights the interplay between economic and cultural capitals and the resultant opportunities and freedoms (Crompton 2008). Dan, Sophie and Amy all have parents from a professional background, which has afforded them certain economic and cultural capitals. They all said that their parents had been keen for them to follow an academic path and gain a degree qualification but had been supportive when they had chosen differently. It is possible then, that as a result of their family's economic and cultural capitals Dan, Sophie and Amy were able to perceive their choices as possibilities that were realisable and therefore worth pursuing.

For Dan, education for its intrinsic value is one of those "more important things" he refers to above, and this stance underpins his approach to his teaching. Like the mature working-class students in Reay's (2003) study, Dan talks about love of a subject as the motivation for learning it; he is passionate about maths and he takes this passion into his teaching:

Sarah: "(laughs) Ok. And why maths?"

Dan (T2): "I've always loved maths. when I was at school I did really well in maths, an' I've always enjoyed it, an' I had a passion for maths, wanted ta ... inspire uvver people to love maths as well - yourself included (laughs)".

This is far removed from the neo-liberal instrumentalist position where the overriding purpose of education is to improve an individual's employability. Dan's motivation to teach does not appear to have arisen from the sense of community commitment expressed as a desire to 'give back' expressed by

the working-class women in higher education in Reay's study (2003:306). Nor does he appear to be pursuing education out of any desire to find himself, or 'what one is' that Beck (1992) found. Like his youth work abroad, Dan's move into teaching seems to have begun with another fortunate coincidence:

Dan (T2): "I jus' came for a job interview, here at the college, and they said they was needin' some extra hands in the classroom ta try an' motivate students more than anythin' and er, yeah from there, those opportuni'ies wiv the course opened up and they said would you like to participate in the course and work towards becomin' a teacher, an' I jumped at the opportuni'y really".

The quote above also hints at the confidence and energy of his habituated disposition that has probably assisted him to operationalise his available capitals to date. Like Dan, Amy is also passionate about her subject and this was the overriding factor when choosing her degree subject:

Sarah: "What made you decide to do makeup as a degree?"

Amy (T4): "Erm ... I honestly don't know, I think, I look back ... an' ... when I was applyin' it was, like, 'Oh, you know, really passionate about makeup, 'n I really love creatives'".

However, the habitus is a multi-layered concept comprising collective and individual trajectories (Reay et al. 2005), predisposing us towards some options and away from others (Reay 2004). It is perhaps unsurprising then, that having grown up in the 1980s when unemployment rates peaked at 12% (ONS 2020) and a degree was more unique then, several of the participants' parents were keen for them to gain a degree, feeling it would offer future job security and therefore a better life. This was particularly marked where they themselves had struggled or had been denied the opportunity to get a degree:

Dan (T2): "My dad did his degree in education very late, so he left school without a degree, and I think that they always pushed that, they always pushed that onto us".

Although Sophie's father has a maths degree, her mother does not, which she appears to regret. Her mother places high value on education and Sophie, has internalised this as part of her habituated disposition:

Sophie (T4): "My mum was very keen that I should go to university. Erm, she reminded me the other day that I'm the first one in her family to have gone to university, so she was always keen for me to do it an' ta push me for it ... erm ... an' obviously it's quite funny really, cos obviously I'm on me 4th degree now (laughs) so ... there we go! It happened!"

Our position in a social field determines the range of choices available to us, and neither Sophie nor Amy had met with resistance from their families when they had decided to follow their passion for their first degree. Although Amy's parents "didn't get it" when she chose to do a degree in creatives because they were "concerned that it wasn't ... something that would be potentially sustainable" (Amy), they supported her decision. For Sophie and Amy's parents, it was not just the fact of having a degree that was important, but that the degree subject should also provide job security. Ultimately, both Sophie and Amy entered teaching for the status and job security it offered, illustrating how we carry our history within us and how this impacts on our dispositions and the choices we make:

Sophie (T4): "I'm keen to teach ESOL again, ... cos I feel that it's an area that's ... it's gonna continue to grow, there's no way about it, we've got massive waitin' lists, erm so it's an area that's secure".

Amy (M4): "[my parents are] definitely so proud. I think my grandad is, the proudest man. He likes to tell everybody that, that's what I do (laughs)".

Sophie and Amy chose their degree subjects for their intrinsic value, but their motivation to teach is more instrumental and aligned to the values of their familial habitus. This demonstrates that although dispositions are durable and transposable, becoming active in a wide range of fields, ultimately, they are not immutable (Maton 2012).

As previously discussed, the family's cultural capitals for Dan, Sophie, and Amy are not those normally associated with the traditional working-class and this is likely to have facilitated Sophie and Amy's ability to combine strong

connections to family with what are seen to be classically middle-class academic aspirations which place great value on degree level qualifications (Reay, Crozier and Clayton 2009), even though they both consider themselves to have working-class roots. Interestingly, whilst both Sophie and Amy's fathers have degrees in maths and engineering respectively, Sophie and Amy's degrees are in creative subjects. In a study this small it is not possible to ascertain whether this is a factor relating to gender rather than habitus, or whether it is coincidence, but it is interesting, nonetheless. Paul has also retained his connections to family whilst being the only member of his family to get a degree. Furthermore, he is the only participant whose cultural capitals have afforded him the opportunity to gain a management position in his workplace. As discussed in the next section, Paul's habituated disposition is closely aligned to the institutional habitus of the PRU where he works and this, together with his feel for the game, is likely to have improved his position in the new field represented by the PRU.

What these analyses reveal is that the combination of trainees' cultured and familial habituses had resulted in a complex and frequently ambiguous relationship with qualifications and education which was exacerbated by the academic-vocational divide that prevails in the UK education system. This framed their perceptions of themselves and their educational achievements, often creating unresolved tensions where they had followed a non-academic path of study, regardless of whether that had been through choice or lack of it. One of the ways in which some of them sought to resolve this tension was to gain additional, academic qualifications. The structuring nature of habitus means that trainees perceived their intellectual ability through their cultured habitus, and this subsequently informed their aspirations and habituated dispositions, as discussed below.

Habituated disposition

Habitus stems from the internalisation of the opportunities and constraints that framed our early life experiences (Dean 2017), which in turn generate a set of dispositions (Bourdieu 1990a). Disposition therefore is the result of the interaction of habitus, cultural capital and field that generates and reinforces certain practices, and prohibits others, particularly when there is alignment

between disposition and position in any given field (Wacquant 2013). For all the participants in the study, how they perceived their intellectual ability visibly shaped their interactions with learning opportunities in the workplace.

Burke (2016:20) describes the 'Pygmalion Dilemma' that may result when a context-specific source of capital enables an individual to break or alter their position in social space and the previous character of their habitus. On meeting former 'normal' levels of capital the habitus reverts to past dispositions and aspirations. This is evident in Ben's perception of his teaching qualification as cultural capital belonging to the field of academics, requiring specific behaviours and manners of speech. However, his durable disposition as a scaffolder remains and becomes dominant when he is amongst scaffolders:

Ben (T1): "I think classing comes later on, an' it's reflected 'oo ya around. Now if, if you've got a load of scaffold tutors in 'ere, we'd be ... effin' 'n jeffin' an' avin' a laugh, you know, but if you just put a row of academics in front of me, down the left to the right, an' we was talkin' seriously, then I'd 'ave ta speak posh meself".

Given that he spent 30 years as a scaffolder before entering teaching, it is unsurprising that his habituated disposition appears to be more aligned to the field of scaffolders, than to the field of academics, reflecting the durability of dispositions resulting from early experience. His efforts to develop what he perceives to be the appropriate disposition relative to context illustrates the symbiotic relationship between individuals and the social world (Reay 2004) and the potential for habitus to evolve in response to the structuring forces of the field, but also to be re-confirmed by them (Ingram and Abrahams 2016). Habitus manifests itself differently according to an individual's position in the field and their relationship to the dominant culture (Bourdieu 1984). Ben's sense of his position in society is clearly visible in the above quote; when he is with scaffolders, he feels able to swear and have a laugh, but when he is with academics, who he perceives as belonging to a higher social class, he feels he must be serious and "speak posh" (Ben). Ben's positioning of an academic as someone who is "up there (shows hand high up, eye level), very prim and proper, doesn't swear, doesn't basically do anything out of sorts" is

class-based and illustrates how class is revealed as a lived experience in which we are judged using measures which are often arbitrary.

These often arbitrary measures and the adverse effect this can have on our self-esteem are visible in the example Ben gives of his brother, who has a senior role with a major car manufacturer but underwent voice coaching in order to learn “ta talk proper, an 'ow ta pronounce, jus’ for ‘is own confidence” (Ben). Of course, it is possible that Ben is interpreting his brother’s actions through the lens of his own insecurities, with a hint of shame in his words that will be discussed below in the section habitus and shame, but at face value this statement shows one of the ways in which social class is embodied in language and the *illusio* that perpetuates it. *Illusio* is tacit recognition of the value of the stakes of the game and of practical mastery of its rules’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:117).

Habitus simultaneously embodies the past and frames the future (Forbes and Lingard 2015) by using the opportunities and constraints of our earlier life experiences to inform what we perceive to be our future possibilities. As a result, the most improbable practices are rejected as unthinkable, and a limited range of practices are conceived to be possible (Reay et al. 2005). ‘Assured optimism’ is a predisposition of the habitus to believe we can realise what we desire (Forbes and Lingard 2013). It is possible that Dan’s affluent family background conferred not only the economic capital to contemplate taking a gap year abroad as a volunteer but also the assured optimism that this could lead to something more:

Dan (T2): “One of my friends was workin' in the sector already, and he told me that there was gonna be opportunities arisin' and that I should go and volunteer for some time there and see if I like it and get my foot in the door”.

In the event, his expectation of “a happy accident” (Dan) was realised, a paid position opened up and he stayed for 4 years. Lareau (2000) asserts that if individuals are to benefit from cultural capitals conferred by social advantage they must operationalise and invest those capitals. By operationalising the cultural and economic capitals he had acquired from his family to go abroad, and through his work with the young people he supported in the youth justice

service whose lives contrasted sharply with his own upbringing, Dan was able to acquire further cultural capitals that he operationalises as enactment of emotional practice (Cottingham 2016) in his teaching:

Dan (T2): “The young people that I was workin' wiv ... before had been frough like youf justice and they came from very different backgrounds and they came from very different backgrounds an', an', so I fink I brought that to the team”.

All the trainees in the study brought diverse cultural capitals to their teacher training which they operationalised in different ways, and this forms part of the discussion in the section on teacher habitus below.

Reay et al. (2005) found that social class is a key factor in the choices individuals make about education, with few working-class people choosing to go to university. Whilst this may be true for Ben who “left school ... wi' nuffin”, Paul passed his A-levels and progressed to university, and although he says he went to university because he “just didn't wanna go to work (smiles)”, it is clear that he recognises the value placed on qualifications “as summink to distinguish you above others”. We see this disposition to ‘play the game’ through academic achievement from his early days at school; even as he truanted, he made sure he handed in his coursework and passed his exams. He recognises that in comparison with others who have similar school experiences to him this makes him “a little bit of an exception, that [he] was like this, but [he] did actually do quite well ... [which is] quite rare”. Interestingly he attributes his educational success not to inherent ability but to “luck” (Paul), echoing the link between social provenance and scholastic outcomes reviewed within the discussion on cultured habitus above.

However, at the end of the interview Paul reflects on “what [he] was kind of led to believe”, suggesting that his early socialisation gave him a ‘feel for the game’ (Bourdieu 1990a:66). This has become a cultural capital he operationalises to improve his position in the field of teaching, and one he also seeks to transmit to his students because “you 'ave to 'ave [a degree]; you aint gonna make it uvverwise. ‘Cos if you aint got a degree, someone else will” (Paul). Paul’s comment emphasises the importance of human agency in acquiring and operationalising cultural capitals. His story also

illustrates how cultural capital can provide a conceptual bridge between individual biography and social structure (Lareau 2000) by facilitating movement within and between fields. Similarly, Sophie's attitude to education echoes that of her parents in so far as she assigns great importance to qualifications. She refers to her PGCE qualification as her "fourth degree", and relentlessly pursues further study, already planning her next qualification after her PGCE.

Although both Sophie and Andy have a degree, it is in a different, but related subject to the one they were teaching, and as a result they both said they intended to gain additional qualifications in their teaching subject on completing their PGCE.

Sarah: "Would you think about doing an ESOL qualification?"

Sophie (T4): "Yeah, definitely! After I finish my PGCE I want to do a level 5 in English if I can".

Not having this qualification appeared to impact negatively on their confidence as teachers and on their evolving teacher habitus and they both said that this was a personal decision because they felt they needed to demonstrate their competence in their specialist subject. This was particularly evident with Andy who was studying for A-level maths alongside his PGCE course, because "you need the qualification ... people need to see erm ... evidence of, (laughs) what you're actually doin' and what you know" (Andy). McNay (2008) posits that when individuals engage in processes of self-conscious reflexivity, self-awareness and a propensity for self-improvement become incorporated into the habitus. For Sophie, it is the certification of knowledge she appears to value, rather than the knowledge that is acquired in the process of gaining a qualification. It is as though the certificate is a proxy for skills, and "as soon as you get that certificate that says actually you've done this, then actually, the rest of it doesn't apply" (Sophie). This is again apparent in her belief that a level 5 ESOL qualification is an essential mark of her competence as an ESOL teacher. Yet she seems to be unsure exactly what the qualification is, and refers to it as an "English", rather than an ESOL qualification:

Sophie (T4): “So it just shows how important it is havin' that English qualification an havin' that knowledge. But obviously, the government changed it so that it isn't a requirement of ESOL teachers ta have it, an' that's just ... appalling an' shockin' ta me (laughs ironically)”.

In this section, it has been explained that trainees' habituated dispositions were tightly bound up in their sense of class and this manifested itself through their use of language and their understanding of the rules of the game and willingness to play it. Elements of their habituated disposition manifested themselves through their confidence in their academic ability, but also in themselves as teachers, which was also informed by their cultured habitus. Consequently, one of the ways in which some of them sought to boost their confidence was by gaining additional cultural capitals in the form of academic qualifications as they felt these capitals would validate them as teachers and legitimise their choice of teaching subject.

Trainee perceptions of cultural capitals

Cultural capital flows from habitus (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977), which is responsive to current circumstances (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992; Reay 2004) since habitus operates synergistically with field. All participants have clearly bought into the neoliberal policy narrative in which ‘the position of everyone *in relation to* their fellow citizens in the context of knowledge and skills therefore will be decisive’ (CEC 1995:2, original emphasis). Thus, qualifications are used to assign a market value to individuals (Coffield 1999) and position them in society.

This is reflected in the participants' attitude to their own learning, and also in the importance they place on helping their students gain qualifications. This was particularly evident with Ben, Paul, Andy and Amy. Ben spoke with regret about his low achievement in English and maths at school, which he said had limited his career choices to becoming a scaffolder and prevented him from pursuing his dream of becoming a pilot. He feels responsible for his lack of academic prowess. For him “education is solely about not makin' the same mistakes as [he] did. ... life's all about education, tryin' a better theirselves. It really is”. As discussed above, his social identity has become

conditioned by his deeply held, limiting belief that a person's success is measured by the qualifications they hold.

There is a poignant irony in Ben's words as he negates his twenty-year career as a scaffolder and the advanced scaffolding qualifications he holds, without which he would not have been able to move into teaching. Ben's sense of self is dominated by what he lacks academically:

Ben (T1): "no matter 'ow qualified I am, it's just that little bit in me that thinks, no, you're not an academic, you're nowhere near an academic, you're just a rough old scaffolder, just come in to teach and that's all you'll ever be."

As participants talked, a qualifications hierarchy continued to emerge from the data, reflecting the FE policy discourse of deficit referred to in the Introduction to this thesis, which links economic competitiveness to qualifications in English and maths (Leitch 2006). Bourdieu's concept of doxa relates to the taken for granted assumptions (Bourdieu 1977a) which allow the arbitrariness of the established social order to be misrecognised and reproduced. As discussed in the symbolic violence section of Chapter 2, the participants all seemed to unquestioningly accept that academic qualifications were worth more than vocational ones, seeing them as the key to 'unlock doors' (Andy) that would otherwise have remained closed.

Despite his love of music, reflected in his first-class music degree and successful work writing music for television, Andy feels that music won't "help people" and that "for kids, erm who want to get a decent job ... I fink, erm, maffs is probably more important than learnin' music" (Andy). His use of the word 'decent' here is interesting given that he enjoyed a successful career in music before entering teaching, and hints at the academic-vocational divide that dominates education. His mentor noted that Andy's focus was on developing his personal maths skills, rather than his pedagogy, and that this may have been driven by a need to compensate for not having A-level maths, though it may also have been tied to his self-esteem, as with Ben:

Becky (M3): "Compared to all the people that I've mentored, it's more academic with Andy. He will talk maths through with me rather than pedagogy. So

he'll talk ... a proof through ... rather than talking to me about teaching techniques. ... It's almost like he's tryin' to fill in his maths gaps, with him being a musician”.

Paul also demonstrates a reverence for English and maths over vocational qualifications. The context of the PRU where the focus is on helping disengaged students gain employment after school suggests that Paul's view is informed by his early cultured habitus, rather than the culture of the PRU:

Sally (M6): “The whole vocational area in our school is literally at the heart of what [they] do (at the PRU) and what [they] try to do in terms of buildin' a career, so his area is absolutely vital in terms of makin' this whole system work”.

Paul teaches construction, and unusually his mentor has English as her subject specialism. As a teacher educator I felt this put Paul at a disadvantage for developing his subject pedagogy as a construction teacher, and this is something I reflect on later in Chapter 7. For Paul however, the academic input Sally can provide is essential to the extent that he seems to hold it in higher esteem than construction:

Paul (T6): “My mentor's] more ... on the academic side of things than the vocational, so that input I fink's essential, really, rather than just vocational and hands-on, kind of practical stuff, to have her input I fink's vital, really”.

This may be another indication of the durability of dispositions that Paul carries with him from his early socialisation at school, or part of the *illusio* that dominates the education system, and that Paul maintains. Likewise, although proud of her degree in theatrical make-up, Amy appears to regret her choice of subject, and feels her degree “should have been something more ... academic”. For her, academic ability appears to equate to personal competence, and she reflects that “because Hannah always taught the academic stuff, she seemed very knowledgeable, she was very professional, she kind of had this presence”. Hannah her mentor, however, has a different view. She believes Amy's degree confers valuable cultural capitals that outweigh industry experience because it has been instrumental in raising the academic standards of the department, which was a priority for her.

When individuals accept without question the justification of the social order as 'the way things are' their sense of reality, including their social identity and aspirations, become conditioned by its limitations subsequently reinforcing the very power relations that create their social world (Deer 2014; Jenkins 2002). A key remit of the FE sector is to promote social justice by giving vocational education parity with academic study. However, the above analysis of the data leads me to conclude that when enacting this role FE teachers frequently misrecognise the socially arbitrary power relations that have traditionally dominated education, and through their efforts unwittingly reinforce and reproduce the very system and social order the sector has been tasked with changing.

Habituated aspiration

According to Bourdieu (1990a), aspiration is the product of an individual's social, cultural and economic background. Socio-economic status influences parents' values, which can then influence their children's educational aspirations (Sewell and Hauser 1980). This is because those from non-elite backgrounds 'will be far more likely to make a virtue out of necessity' (Reay 2004:433) than to attempt to achieve what is already denied (Bourdieu 1990a). As a result, working-class people may position themselves outside of HE because they construct it as the domain of the white middle-class (Archer and Hutchings 2001). We perceive ourselves and interpret our worlds through our habitus, and this then informs how we value our cultural capitals and in turn our aspirations. Several participants in the study expressed a sense of unworthiness as they began their teaching careers, which they sought to resolve in a range of ways. Some, such as Sophie, sought external recognition from other teachers:

Sophie (T4): "I'm very conscious whether or not they've improved enough, or I've done enough with them. They're passin' their exams, but, until an entry two teacher sees them next year, I won't feel like thoroughly happy that I've done a good enough job".

Others actively sought out the opportunity to acquire additional cultural capital in the form of qualifications which they could then operationalise in their teaching role. It was not clear whether they valued the qualification as a

certificate of competence, or the content of the qualification as cultural capital. However, they were consistent in their view that further qualifications would help them improve their position in the field. For Dan, a formal qualification would enable him to “do more than just be a ... a learnin' practitioner ... [and] get into teachin'” (Dan).

Interestingly, as discussed later in the section habitus and shame, Paul had always understood the potential of qualifications for improving an individual's life course, and he valued it both for this, but also for the knowledge he would acquire:

Paul (T6): “I fought [teacher training] would help me develop quicker; it would give me more knowledge in the subject, ... I wanted ta progress wiv my teachin' and I fought that would be the way, so ...”.

In contrast, Amy “had the impression that the more qualifications you had, ... the more qualified you were for the job” (Amy), reflecting the instrumentalist policy rhetoric discussed above, in which qualifications are a proxy for competence.

Habituated aspirations reflect an individual's way of being, derived from their familial and sociocultural group and their position in society. Individuals can express a desire for an occupation which has the same or similar status of their parents, thereby reproducing their position in society (Zipin, Sellar, Brennan and Gale 2013), or may experience feelings of guilt at wanting to move beyond their place (Reay 2003). For Ben, socialisation within the family had generated an expectation where if “ya dad did it, so you did it” (Ben). The way Ben describes it implies that he did not so much aspire to becoming a scaffolder, as accept it as inevitable:

Ben (T1): “Monday morning I was getting the lights flicked on and off by me dad. And he went, 'don't think you're lyin' in bed'. I went 'no, what we doin' then?', he went 'we're goin' scaffoldin', I've got you a job’”.

The objective limits of prior educational experiences influence choice by becoming transformed into practical anticipation of an individual's objective limits. In other words, our prior educational experiences give us a sense of

what is 'reasonable to expect' (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977:226) from future engagement. Ben's habituated aspiration formed by his low achievement at school and positioning as working-class meant that the prospect of undertaking ITE was initially "an endurance" (Ben), that filled him with dread. Interestingly, not possessing the cultural capitals himself to overcome this he operationalised those of his colleagues who had already completed their ITE, so that their success helped him to anticipate his own:

Ben (T1): "It was like a benchmark sort of thing and I'm thinkin' to meself ... not bein' funny to' im, but I thought... oh ... 'e's done it, I thought ... and 'e's done it, and I thought, if 'e can do it, I thought, can't be that hard an' it wasn't".

The general disposition that can be generated by the cultured habitus is particularly significant for working-class students (Reay et al. 2009). Contrary to findings from earlier studies (Forbes and Lingard 2015; Reay et al. 2009), Ben's comment above shows that he is beginning to adjust his expectation of failure, using his colleagues as a benchmark for his own potential success.

However, habituated aspiration is not just influenced by family expectations and educational achievements, but also by the status of the institution where those achievements were accomplished. Research on elementary schools in the Netherlands (Rupp and De Lange 1989) develops the concept of educational status which is determined by the level of secondary schooling for which elementary school prepares its students. This research is relevant here because it highlights the dynamic relationship between the characteristics of a school's intake, including the students' aspirations, and its educational status referred to in chapter 2. Reay et al. (2001) use this concept to show how the educational status of FE and 6th form colleges is a significant part of institutional habitus. The role of institutional habitus in trainees' educational experiences was evident in Sophie's account of the school she attended which, while "not the worst, ... was seen as one of the ones which didn't have high achievers" (Sophie). However, her teachers had high expectations of her, and by engaging with them closely Sophie acquired the cultural capitals in the form of GCSEs to go to an FE college to do her A-levels. In contrast, her academic performance fell at college and as a result her A-level results were not very good. Sophie clearly has academic

potential, as evidenced by her masters and three other degree level qualifications. Furthermore, her family believe strongly in the importance of gaining a degree, which is perhaps why, in contrast to Ben she is so driven to gain qualifications, and very comfortable in an academic environment. Similarly, Dan had been a high achiever at school, with “a passion for maths”. However, when he moved to college to study A-levels, “difficulties with the course and with the teacher at the time” (Dan) caused him to drop maths at AS-level. Organisational expectations are an important element of institutional habitus (Bernstein 1975). It is possible that both Sophie and Dan were influenced by the perceived low status of FE colleges (Reay et al. 2009) and that this then impacted on their scholastic outcomes.

Appadurai's (2004) conception of aspiration as a cultural capacity differs from Bourdieu's in that he sees culture as a dynamic entity that may change over time (Gale and Parker 2015). Although five of the participants were high achievers at school, none of them followed a traditional academic route through education. Ben and Paul were both disengaged at school, and all the participants expressed a lack confidence in their academic ability, derived from their educational experiences and, with the exception of Amy, non-academic subject specialisms. Interestingly however, four of these have a first degree, (Andy, Sophie, Amy, Paul); two are qualified to level 3 (Ben and Dan), and they are all undertaking a teaching qualification. None of them expressed any previous aspiration to become teachers, and yet they all have. I argue therefore, that their 'sense of culture as pastness' (Appadurai 2004:61) has not been allowed to dominate their aspirations and subsequently limit their achievements, although it does appear to have undermined their perception of these achievements. This is apparent through their sense of dislocation and at times disbelief that they are now teachers.

To conclude this section, findings from this study are consistent with Forbes' and Lingard's (2015) research into assured optimism and highlight the importance of our early socialisation, particularly at school, for forming our habituated aspiration since our past experiences set our expectations for our future achievements. However, they also show that habituated aspirations can be influenced when we enter a new field and through our interactions with others in the field, although this may come at a personal cost in the form

of inner conflict. Trainees' experiences of hysteresis and its impact on their habitus forms the subject of the section that follows.

Trainees' experiences of hysteresis

As trainees described their transition into teaching the accompanying feelings of excitement, apprehension and disbelief emerged from the data as a common theme. Whilst some participants had simply not considered teaching as a career option (Dan, Andy and Sophie), others had believed it was beyond their capabilities (Ben, Paul and Amy), rejecting it as something they perceived they were already excluded from (Bourdieu 1984). Ben left school at 16 with low aspirations and no qualifications. His response to the academic challenges he faced at school, in particular with English and maths, was to "... just kind of [go] into a daydream". This lies in stark contrast to the confidence he displays when talking about his ability in practical tasks:

Ben (T1): "... do everythin' with me 'ands, plumbin' electrics, really, really good wi me 'ands, very creative, and I were a good scaffolder, I could do anyfin".

Ben equates teaching with being an academic, which for him is incompatible with being a scaffolder. His destabilised habitus (Ingram and Abrahams 2016) cannot assimilate the structuring forces of the construction industry and college fields and in an attempt to reconcile these two forces his habitus oscillates between two dispositions, whilst still retaining a firm grasp on his scaffolder identity:

Sarah: "How well do you think he's taken on the teacher role, the teacher identity, and moved away from the scaffolder on site and into the teacher in the classroom, teaching scaffolding?"

Tom (M1): "Ben ...has ... he's still a scaffolder, 'e ..., 'e, ... 'e swaps between the two still When it suits him to be a scaffolder, he'll be a scaffolder, and when it suits him to be a teacher, he seems to be a teacher".

Ben is aware of how strongly he brings his scaffolder identity to the teaching role, and describes it as a conscious, deliberate act:

Ben (T1): "I like this job cos I'm still teachin', I'm still ... kind of scaffoldin' to a certain degree, I still get the spanner and show it to em all, and that's me really, that's where I kind of position meself".

Paul moved into teaching after an accident at work ended his career as an electrician. Similarly, both Ben and his mentor freely admit that the only reason they are now teaching is because scaffolding "hurts you. Our business is physically demanding, so it hurts our bodies" (Tom). Ben makes a point of this in his advice to his students to "just try an' educate yaself a little bit, so ya getting off the tools, cos it's not forever, because it's a real, rough, body- destroyin' job" (Ben).

Given Paul's educational achievements to date, it would have been reasonable for him to have high future expectations of himself, yet his mentor tells us that despite having a degree in surveying, Paul "never, ever fought [he'd] be clever enough ta be a teacher. [He] never fought [he] was good enough ta be a teacher" (Sally). For Paul, the field he grew up in generated more disincentives than incentives for academic achievement; the first one in his family to go to university, he was also the only one of his friends to gain GCSE English and maths. This undermines criticisms that habitus is deterministic discussed in Chapter 2. However, whereas the working-class students in Reay et al.'s (2009) study avoided those groups in school who were perceived to be less committed to learning, Paul maintained his friendships, returning to learn trade skills like plumbing, roofing and electrics from them when he gave up his job as a surveyor. Throughout his education Paul does not appear to ever have felt the tension between working-class identity and middle-class educational achievement experienced by many working-class people. According to Bourdieu's theory of practice, the primary habitus is formed through socialisation both within the family and at school. This means that the primary habitus is the most influential and the most durable since it provides the lens through which all subsequent experiences are perceived and interpreted. As a result, it would be reasonable to expect that Paul would reject education, as did his peers and brother, who having been "chucked out of all the uvver schools ... ended up in a PRU" (Paul). But instead, he embraces education and achieves scholastic success. Unlike the working-class students in Abrahams' (2017) study, Paul does not experience

any dissonance between the feel for the game and the game itself (Bourdieu, 1990b); he displays an awareness of the rules of the game and is passionate about the potential opportunities arising from playing the game well. He neither excludes himself from school in the name of his class culture, nor seeks to efface all trace of his social origins (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992).

Paul's move out of construction into teaching does not generate the same hysteresis experienced by Ben. He sees the socio-economic disadvantages of his upbringing as capitals that he can operationalise to connect with his students:

Paul (T6): "Well, I fink that's one of the good things ... about ... the type of person I am, cos I was ... not far off them, when I was a kid. ... I fink bein' able to give 'em that side of fings, and to explain 'I know exactly what you're like. I was like you guys, but you can achieve, still".

Perhaps the cultural capitals he brings in the form of his degree have conferred a confidence in him which Ben lacks, and this enables Paul to reconcile his habitus to the structures of both fields.

When he talks about the benefits of education, Paul notes its potential to provide access to new experiences, rather than to facilitate social mobility. By conflating education with opportunity rather than identity, he reduces the risks involved in 'reinventing the self' (Reay 2003:314). Thus, his destabilised habitus is more readily reconciled to the interruption created by his entry into the field of teaching. Generating potential opportunities is clearly important for him, and he uses this try and raise the aspirations of his own students:

Paul (T6): "... you can go to college, you can go to uni, there's nuffink stoppin' ya. An' you'll 'ave, probably, the best time in your life, and you'll get out, and go an' experience some of the big wide world, an' not be 'ome wiv ya mum, gettin' shouted at all the time, that would be nice, wouldn't it? (smiles) ... stuff like that".

Research evidence shows that some working-class students at university struggle to maintain connections to their social background (Jetten, Iyer, Tsvirikos and Young 2008; Wentworth and Peterson 2001), but this does not appear to be the case for the participants in this study. Perhaps because of

having grown up in an affluent area, Sophie appears to have developed emotional capitals in the form of soft, transferable skills, such as empathy for others and tolerance, which are discussed in the section on teacher habitus and emotional practice. These have afforded her the adaptability she has shown in her career to date, particularly with her colleagues:

Sophie (T4): “I feel that ... sad really that ... she's in that position, even if she *has* put herself in that position ... I ... I feel ... quite sad that she's at that point” (original emphasis).

It has also enabled her to successfully move between the two fields of her family and working life. While Sophie admits to sometimes finding her parents’ “very strong views in terms of immigration ... very challengin’” she uses her classically middle-class academic disposition to look beyond their prejudice and attempt to understand it. As a result, her tolerance and empathy in the face of her parents’ strong views have allowed them to remain a “very close-knit” (Sophie) family:

Sophie (T4): “my views an’ opinions are very different ta theirs, an’ sometimes that can be quite challengin’, erm, but ... again it can be eye-openin’ n I know not to take, not necessarily everythin’ ta heart, but just ta kind uv brush it off, n think well if that's their opinion then that's that n jus’ move on, sort of thing ...”.

Like the students in Reay et al.’s (2009) study, Sophie does not feel disconnected from her family by her qualifications, and this is probably because her father’s cultural capitals are not typical of the traditional working-class (Savage et al. 2013). Reay et al. (2009) suggest that this ability to successfully navigate two very different fields, which Ingram and Abrahams (2016:148) term a ‘reconciled habitus’ is due to processes of self-reflexivity (McNay 2008) in which self-awareness and a propensity for self-improvement become incorporated into the habitus. Facilitated by her father’s high income, Sophie’s parents had already begun these processes when she was a child, and it is possible therefore, that the drive for continuous self-improvement is a habituated disposition emanating from early socialisation in the family, even though it was not reinforced by her schooling. What is interesting here however, is that despite acquiring high levels of economic and dominant

cultural capitals by virtue of her father's high-level job and degree, her parents' habituated disposition has retained the "very anti-immigration" (Sophie) position of their immediate family. It is not clear whether this is a deliberate choice, or whether this principle is so deeply embodied in the habitus that it is 'beyond the grasp of consciousness and hence cannot be touched by voluntary deliberate transformation, cannot even be made explicit' (Bourdieu 1977a:94).

In conclusion, the data reflect the ways in which different individuals perceive and respond to the challenges presented by new experiences and the role of habituated disposition in this. As they progressed through their ITE, the misalignment between habitus and field generated a range of emotions experienced as hysteresis which they sought to resolve in different ways. What some of those emotions were and where they emanate from forms the focus of the following section.

Habitus and shame

The relationship of working-class individuals to education is often characterised by fear of shame that they are over-reaching and will fail (Reay 1997; Plummer 2000) and this was particularly apparent in Ben's interview data. Fear of failure may explain Ben's reluctance to undertake ITE until after 10 years he was eventually "forced last minute" (Ben) to do it or face losing his teaching role. It may also be the reason for the hysteresis he experiences now that he has qualified. Reay et al. (2005) found that working-class people may also have a sense that they are not the right type of person to apply for traditional universities, even when they have achieved the appropriate level of qualifications to apply. Similarly, Ben expresses incredulity that he has passed his Certificate in Education, and his words carry a strong undercurrent of unworthiness to call himself a teacher:

Ben (T1): "I never see meself as a teacher, because I don't think I deserve, I can't see meself as givin' meself that credit, if you know what I mean, I don't think, I don't think I deserve that badge, and I never think I would".

In addition, he experiences a sense of unease or imposter syndrome that creates conflict and tension; on the one hand he is "quite honoured to say

that [he] ... can teach now”, but as he does so, the ghost of his vocational habitus rises and fills him with fear that he looks ridiculous:

Ben (T1): “The ole fella died few years ago now. ... if ‘e fought I got done, passin’ me Cert Ed, ‘e’d be laughin’ ‘is ‘ead off now [...] ... an’ some o’ me friends, when they see it on Facebook that I’ve passed this, an’ like, I put summat on, like cap n gown, they probably think Jesus, what’s ‘appened to ‘im?”.

Paradoxically, whilst he contemplates donning the academic’s cap and gown on social media his destabilised habitus reminds him that he is not an academic, as “for [him] to be an academic [he’d] have to be out of scaffoldin’” (Ben). Learning is tightly bound up with our identity and situation (Bloomer and Hodgkinson 2000) and Ben’s sense of dislocation is readily apparent as he struggles to reconcile the two facets of his dual profession in a way that allows him to retain both identities:

Ben (T1): “I’m a tutor-scaffolder an’ I’ll always be that at ‘eart, an’ I could never say I’m an academic, I say I’m a teacher now, no problems, I’ve qualified as a teacher, not as an academic, I wouldn’t like to ... (laughs) ... I’m punchin’ above me weight, if you know what I mean, I’m nowhere near an academic. I wouldn’t say I’m not intelligent enough, everybody’s intelligent in their own ways, but I’m just sayin’, I’m kind of a teacher-scaffolder, teacher-trainer”.

It follows then that Ben’s low self-esteem and lack of aspiration is also a characteristic of scaffolding students at his organisation. Tom observes that their students often:

“have serious issues about where they’ve come from and how that affects them, and how their self-worth is in their own mind ... the first thing out of their mouths ‘I’m thick, I’m a scaffolder, that’s why I’m doing scaffolding”.

Bourdieu conceptualises cultural capital as the process through which individuals realise advantages from their habitus. Lareau (2000) emphasises the important role initial dispositions play in operationalising these capitals in order to gain educational and occupational advantages. Paul’s negative school experiences lie in his emotional engagement with school – “I ‘ated

school!” (Paul) – and these have given him valuable symbolic capitals that he operationalises to build relationships with his students and that have contributed to a positive habitus-field fit, discussed in Chapter 6. Although he frequently truanted and says that as a result he could “easily have ended up” at a PRU, he even then understood the importance of qualifications and always submitted his coursework, subsequently progressing to university where he gained a degree in surveying. He brings this disposition to his teaching in order to introduce new qualifications at levels 2 and 3 so that the school “can start gettin’ level 2s out of the year 11s before they may leave or carry on, an’ if they do carry on, then we can get level free in” (Paul). Ben also uses his negative school experience to instil into his students the importance of education, telling them that “you only realise when you get older that education is the most important thing. That’s what I try and drum into me kids”.

McKenzie (2016) suggests a more flexible approach to the accumulation of capital than Bourdieu originally proposed, so that a resource can be recognised as legitimate because of its use as an asset to its holder, rather than its potential to realise profit through exchange. Interestingly, even though it was instrumental in his gaining employment as a teacher, Ben appeared to place little value on his advanced scaffolding qualification in the college context, and referred to it only in response to a question about his highest qualification. This may be because a lack of college facilities mean that he cannot utilise it in his teaching. But it may be part of the academic-vocational *illusio* that permeates education where academic qualifications are valued more highly than vocational ones, leading Ben to discount even an advanced vocational qualification as a legitimate form of capital in an educational context.

Amy is unusual in that she came onto the degree course at the college with A-levels, rather than vocational qualifications at level 3. Hannah her mentor believes that Amy’s “more academic background [has] definitely helped her”, and even though she recognises the importance of Amy’s creative side, she takes pride in the fact that she has “actually been nominated as student of excellence” (Hannah) on her teacher training/PGCE course. Hannah also

feels that Amy's academic ability has made her more effective as a teacher, and has enabled her to raise standards in the department:

Hannah (M5): "I'd say that she's kind uv almost ... set a precedence in some areas of how things should be done I think what's good about Amy is because she's so ... erm ... fresh erm to it ... an' I think ... other people would probably agree that she's improved the standard in the department."

These examples demonstrate the importance of micro-level social interactions in the field that is missing from Bourdieu's original framework (Lareau 2000) and stress the importance of human agency. It is through these interactions, influenced by the structures of the field, that individuals' initial dispositions become activated into capitals and function to realise social and educational profits.

Conclusion

The discussion of the data in this chapter has shown that habitus is a complex, multi-faceted concept that operates synergistically with capital and field. I contend that these concepts are so inextricably enmeshed that to seek to define their impact as separate entities is not only very difficult but arguably meaningless. Indeed, it is probably for this reason that Bourdieu intended them to be used in combination with each other and not in isolation. As the analysis unfolds it becomes apparent that Andy is less present in the data than the other trainees. He was the most reticent of interviewees and therefore generated slightly less data than the others; the transcript of his interview shows that he needed much more prompting than the other participants. My analysis of the data shows that familial habitus was very important for providing the trainees with a sense of place in society and how this, together with the cultured habitus acquired in school, shaped their habituated dispositions and aspirations. However, they also illustrate how different individuals may interpret the same reality in multiple and different ways (Denzin and Lincoln 2013). Both Ben and Paul describe themselves as working-class and disliked school, but whilst for Ben this meant leaving school at sixteen and avoiding further academic study, he now shares Paul's view of education as the means to improve life chances. This has informed

their aspirations for their learners and also their teacher habitus which is discussed further in the next chapter.

The trainees shared similar perceptions of their cultural capitals, which reflected the low status of vocational compared with academic education. For Sophie and Andy this expressed itself as a drive to gain further qualifications in order to validate themselves as teachers. As trainees progressed through their ITE course, the ghosts of previous habituses haunted them, illustrating the durable nature of habitus. Part of this process involved adjusting their previously low aspirations and repositioning themselves in both their workplace and their social fields. All the trainees expressed varying degrees of incredulity that they were now teachers and for Ben the resultant hysteresis led to conflicting emotions and feelings of shame that can emerge when individuals perceive themselves to be striving to achieve beyond the generally accepted limits of their social class. The role of habitus and habituated disposition in making the transition into teaching, and the factors that contributed to a positive habitus-field fit are examined in more detail in the following chapter.

Chapter 6: Habitus and habituated dispositions in FE trainee teachers

As previously examined in Chapter 2 the habitus becomes active in relation to field, so that dispositions constantly change as individuals encounter new experiences and interact with new fields (James 2015). The field structures the habitus, which embodies the field, and although fields tend to be resistant to change, they can be influenced by the agents who inhabit them. This chapter analyses the reciprocal relationship between the habitus and habituated dispositions of the trainees in this study, and the subject departments where they worked. Using themes that emerged from the data I explore the interplay between their habituated dispositions and capitals in the field and the role this played in facilitating (or not) a good habitus-field fit. This includes trainees' resilience and values, their professional relationships, and their evolving teacher habitus, which also incorporates their application of emotional practice. The ways in which participants' capitals are operationalised in the workplace are interwoven throughout the narrative.

As with earlier studies of the subjective experiences of teaching in FE colleges of pre-service and in-service trainees (Avis and Bathmaker 2006; Bathmaker and Avis 2005; 2007; Orr 2012), some of the trainees in this study reported a more positive habitus-field fit than others. The data showed a direct correlation between habitus-field fit and participants' perceptions of themselves as teachers. All participants were previously known to the organisations where they were teaching at the time of interview: Amy had done her degree at the college; Ben, Dan, Andy and Sophie had worked in a teaching support role; and Paul had been on work experience placement. Where there was a good habitus-field fit, participants demonstrated more confidence in their abilities as teachers. Some participants appeared to have had an effortless habitus-field fit from the outset, but others, particularly those who were not teaching their specialist subject, found this more of a challenge.

Resilience

Resilience in trainees emerged as a key theme from participants, with several mentors observing that a resilient disposition contributed to a good habitus-field fit. Resilience, defined as an ability to cope with an unexpected setback (Hickman 2018) or adversity (Donaghue and Edmiston 2019) is a quality that is more frequently associated with working-class, rather than middle-classness (Reay et al. 2009). It can also be defined as ‘good outcomes in spite of serious threats to adaptation or development’ (Masten 201:288), and within the context of this study this would include the behavioural and emotional responses of trainees that enabled them to successfully rise to the challenges they encountered as they sought to adapt to the field of teaching. Dweck (2019) coins the term ‘mindset’ to describe the beliefs people hold and how these beliefs can impact on their motivation, well-being and achievement. An individual with a fixed mindset believes that intelligence is fixed and unchangeable, leading to avoidance of challenge. In contrast those with a growth mindset have an implicit incremental theory of intelligence, believing intelligence can be developed through effort, good strategies, and input and mentoring from others. Several of the participants in this study showed high levels of resilience when coping with the challenges of ITE, suggestive of a growth mindset and reflected in a habituated disposition to see challenges as opportunities to learn and grow. Strategies they employed ranged from transferring from the full-time to the part-time course to better manage workload (Andy), to seeking support from the wider college context (Sophie), and devoting additional time to develop their subject specialist knowledge (Sophie and Andy), or aspects of teaching that held particular interest for them (Ben). Sophie’s mentor describes her as “very tenacious ... very determined ... (and) happy to learn from her own mistakes”; Andy is described as “determined” (Becky); and Ben, having “bottled it” (Ben) and run away on his first lesson, returned and gradually building up his confidence. Paul, Dan and Sophie all talk about the challenges of having been “chucked in at the deep end” (Paul), with Sophie displaying some of the stoicism deemed characteristic of the working-class (Reay et al. 2009) when she adds that she is “very conscious that I volunteered for it, I agreed to it”.

Throughout her varied career at the college, which involved changing departments and roles more than once, Sophie had shown astonishing levels of resilience and adaptability. Sophie describes her first experience of the ESOL team as “very much a culture shock” following on from her experience in the pre-employment team where her colleagues had been “really supportive n share[d] resources” (Sophie). Her mentor concurred, describing the ESOL team as “closed-off ..., very used to doing their own thing their own way” (Amanda), and unsupportive of each other. Sophie’s situation was exacerbated by the fact that neither she, nor her mentor are ESOL subject specialists. She was therefore having to simultaneously develop her personal English skills, and ESOL pedagogy, whilst trying to integrate herself into the ESOL team without the benefit of relevant cultural or social capitals from her mentor to assist her or a welcoming departmental culture.

Current research into mentoring emphasises the importance of a shared subject specialism between the mentor and mentee (Hobson et al. 2015; Hobson and Maxwell 2020). However, Amanda feels that her role as a staff mentor and coach in the college has afforded her different cultural capitals that have helped mitigate against any disadvantage Sophie may have experienced from not having an ESOL subject specialist as her mentor. Nevertheless, her response ends on a tentative note, which may indicate an attempt to 'learn to love the inevitable' (Bourdieu 1977a:77), rather than seeing the situation as desirable in and of itself:

Amanda (M4): “... it's sort of like a ... neutral person because I don't teach in that department, I come from a different department so it's a different way of lookin' at things. Erm ... possibly that's helped”.

Sophie’s tenacious disposition shows in her resilient response to this which was to “power through” (Sophie). She operationalised social capitals by consciously reintegrating herself with the pre-employment team in order to draw on their ESOL knowledge, and utilised her developing knowledge of college systems to take advantage of expertise and activities within the wider college, such as the library. In addition, she applied the interpersonal skills that she appeared to have acquired in her previous employment in retail and careers’ advice to build relationships by making a point of sharing resources

she had created with the ESOL team in the hope that they would be more receptive and supportive of her:

Sophie (T4): "I've very much shared anything that I do, though I've tried not to be kind of secretive with anythin', so if I have a resource left over, or I think somethin's worked well, I immediately shared it an' that has made some of them more open".

In addition to a resilient disposition some mentors commented positively on trainees' ability to independently "get on with things [and] keep up with the pace" as key to being "accepted into the team" (Hannah). Similarly, Sally admired Paul's ability to "go from not knowin' anythin' about teachin' a lesson, to actually runnin' a department" and Andy was working independently to develop his personal maths skills alongside his PGCE.

In summary, the data – largely coming from mentors, who may have a specific view of what resilience is and how it is manifested - revealed that resilience in trainees was a significant contributory factor for a positive habitus-field fit. Trainees' resilience was reflected in their attitude to learning but also their ability to rise to workplace challenges, and they operationalised a range of capitals to do this. Mentors were very supportive of their mentees, but equally appreciative of their mentees' efforts to take the initiative, learn fast and act independently. This is likely to be due to the limited time mentors have to carry out their role (Cullimore and Simmons 2010) and was also reflected in trainee anxieties around being a burden until they felt they could contribute to the team discussed in a later section of this chapter. This leads me to conclude that the affective dimension of learning to teach requires further attention and that ITE programmes could usefully emphasise the importance of positive relationships to support trainee development, and include input on incremental theories of intelligence (Dweck and Leggett 1998) to support trainees to develop a mindset that maximises the impact of mentoring (Hobson and Maxwell 2020).

Relationships

Relationships are an essential component of effective teaching, and positive professional relationships were a common thread running through the data, as observed in the introduction to the cases in Chapter 4. The data showed

that they were a significant factor for trainees' development and perception of themselves as teachers, and trainees put significant effort into developing positive relationships not only with their students but also with their mentor and other colleagues. This was particularly apparent with Sophie who addressed the aloofness of the ESOL team by taking on a mediator-type role to support a challenging colleague in the department. The values section below evidences how Dan's respectful approach to colleagues had enabled him to not only build positive relationships but also to initiate change with regard to promoting behaviour for learning in the maths department. Amy and her mentor Hannah share a reverence of academia and Amy has operationalised the capitals resulting from her degree to work with Hannah to raise the standards of teaching and learning in the theatrical make-up department. Similarly, Ben and his mentor hold each other's industry skills in high regard and for Tom, Ben's significant industry knowledge partially compensates for his disregard for the administrative aspects of teaching. The need to feel that they were contributing to the team was expressed by several trainees and so merits a separate section which is found below. However, it is with Paul that the theme of relationships was most prominent in the data and this forms the focus of the remainder of this section.

Paul's predisposition to build relationships was immediately apparent when he started working at the PRU and his mentor notes that this included colleagues, students, parents, and also staff from across the Trust the PRU is part of:

Sally (M6): "... the second he walked in, he built relationships. On day one, he built relationships ... an' the students here will go 'I like him, can we keep him?' They will tell you an' you know that there's somethink in that person that the children have seen. So, he built that relationship straight away".

Like Ben, Paul immediately felt a sense of belonging in his organisation, but for him it was "like family, like home" (Paul). He also felt valued, accepted and supported as an individual, but also as part of a cohesive team and this was important to him:

Paul (T6): "We all try an' support each uvver no matter what your background is, no matter how new

a teacher you are. I mean, ... I'm not even a qualified teacher yet, and I feel like I'm part of the team, like I've been 'ere years; I get trusted to do anyfin”.

We see the importance of other, inter-related elements of institutional habitus such as the curriculum offer, organisational practices and expectations, conduct, character and manners (Reay et al. 2005) in the PRU where Paul works, and these have contributed to what Sally perceives to be a “perfect” habitus-field fit. Paul participates in all aspects of PRU life and has even run some staff well-being sessions. Just as he understood how to play the game at school, Paul understands the drive for students at the PRU to gain qualifications and has developed the construction curriculum offer around this. But perhaps most importantly his early life experiences resemble those of his students, and he operationalises these to be more relatable and empathetic to them:

Sarah: “So how do they relate to somebody ... from your background, with a degree, because to them you must seem right up there?”

Paul (T6): “Well, I fink that's one of the good things ... about ... the type of person I am, cos I was ... not far off them, when I was a kid. I was pretty naughty. I wasn't that good in school. I was often in trouble”.

Sally believes that the staff are a close-knit team in the school because they share similar educational experiences, demonstrating as Reay et al. (2005) found, that habitus is not comprised of a person's individual history, but also of the collective history of their family and the social class they are a member of:

Sally (M6): “... all of us ... pretty much most of the staff here ... have come from that place of failure... all of us reflect on that, and have got that similar story that they've come from a place of failure, or feelin' like they're not good enough. Everyone”.

She explains about the dreadful life experiences of the children at the PRU, which are reflected in a very strong emphasis on building a school environment around them that they can ‘connect’ with, in the hope that they will leave with qualifications that will help them gain employment. This involves transparent, consistent organisational practices with regard to

expectations and conduct, underpinned by substantial pastoral care for staff and students alike. Paul understands the need to balance strong pastoral support with clear expectations to help his students learn and this contributes to a positive habitus-field fit:

Sally (M6): “He's very much 'I'm here for you to learn, let's get on wivvit”.

Paul (T6): “I do enjoy talkin' to the kids, tryin' to make them feel emotionally more stable, make them know they've got someone there to talk to ... then, try to get 'em back into the classroom and engagin' ... makin' 'em feel like someone does care about 'em, n stuff”.

Paul formed strong relationships with colleagues and students alike, based on shared values and common experiences that bound them together, nurtured empathy and created a sense of family.

It has long been known that positive student-teacher relationships are key to effective teaching, and consistent with existing literature, this section highlights the ways in which good relationships with colleagues also improved the trainees' confidence, and were beneficial for their development as teachers. The data from this study showed that positive relationships between trainees and their colleagues were facilitated when they were working within a culture of mutual respect and shared values.

Values

Unsurprisingly, a good habitus-field fit was facilitated when trainees' demonstrated that their values aligned with those of the departmental field, and several trainees appeared to put in significant effort to demonstrate that they shared the departmental values and culture.

Andy initially applied to teach music on the pre-service PGCE programme. However, unable to secure a placement teaching music he accepted a maths placement instead. When discussing his choice of specialist subject his rationale strongly reflects current education policy rhetoric:

Andy (T3): “I believe, I believe again maths it has the, it has the keys to ... erm ... unlock doors, you know, and this is it. This is what government's

saying, this is what business is saying, and ... erm, and it's, and it's important".

However, his mentor Becky notes that he is "a very accomplished musician [with] ... a first degree [in music], he's done sound-tracks for films and TV and things like that". While Andy dismisses his music degree, Becky celebrates it, illustrating the impact of habitus on how we perceive and value our cultural capitals. Andy's identity as a musician, combined with his response to a lack of maths qualifications have formed a disposition that sets him apart from the rest of the department "... cos with Andy it's all about maths" (Becky). As seen in the introduction to cases two and three in Chapter 4 the focus of the maths department is on reducing the anxieties of the students to enable them to access maths because they "need the maths to do better in life, an' it's that 'do better in life' that's important" (Becky). But while Andy understands that maths is the vehicle for improving students' life chances, his focus is on maths as an intellectual exercise, which is reflected in his relationship with his mentor:

Becky M3: "e quite often comes into my room, an 'oh, what d'you think about this one, what d'you think about this one?' and we go through maths. So, I have a very different relationship from with the rest of the department to what I have with Andy."

It is possible that Andy's efforts may unwittingly be proving counter-productive for his positioning within the maths department where he is perceived as "a "mad professor ... [who is always] ... sayin' funny things" and "a bit of an odd ball" (Becky), but in a good-natured way. Thus, the capitals he is operationalising to improve his maths and integrate himself into the team are not those which are most highly valued in the department, suggesting a disconnect between his habituated disposition and the institutional habitus of the maths department.

Habitus is strongly influenced by an individual's position in the field and also by their interactions with others (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992), thus, context is integral to an individual's disposition to learning (Bloomfield and Hodkinson 2000). Andy's reflection that if given the "tricky" choice between teaching music and maths he "would seriously consider" the former, suggests an uneasy habitus-field fit, particularly given

that maths was not his first choice of placement. His enthusiastic support of the policy rhetoric and zeal for maths, juxtaposed with his admission that he would love to teach music, hint at an attempt to 'make a virtue of necessity' and to justify his position as a maths teacher to both himself and his colleagues. His mentor feels that having been initially on placement in the department before transferring to the in-service route as an employed member of staff has further inhibited his integration into the department by giving him a "transient feeling" (Becky) since he may leave on completing his course. Additionally, she notes the disadvantages of this for the development of his teaching skills:

Becky (M3): "So he's having to learn how to structure lessons, let alone learning about management of students and all that kind of thing, at the same time. So, whereas I would see a normal in-service teacher would be already quite successful in their job as a teacher, Andy is starting from the beginning, and then doing the course".

Conversely, on beginning ITE Dan was already positioned as a member of the maths team in his learning support role and Becky attributes his "seamless" integration into the team to this fact. In addition, Dan's experience working abroad with young people from "very different backgrounds" (Dan) has enabled him to acquire symbolic capitals that align well with the nurturing culture of the department and which he operationalises in his teaching:

Dan (T2): "From an outsider's view lookin' in at the time, I fought that it, that it could have been done differently, that, that, learners could have been approached differently and could have ... say, brought them on board in different ways, and I fink that that came from where I'd been".

It is interesting to see in the comment above how, despite saying that he "fitted very well into the team", Dan positions himself on the periphery of the department as he learns to work within it by engaging in existing practice, whilst simultaneously acting to change practices, such as "tacklin' behaviour in different ways" (Dan) through the new approaches he brings with him. Although this could have created friction with other teachers in the department, particularly as Dan was in training, none was reported. This may indicate that in the department "they just see him as another member of staff"

(Becky) or it could be the result of the calm, respectful disposition that he also brings to his teaching:

Dan (T2): “Even though I was comin' at it from a different direction I would never undermine a teacher, I would never step on a teacher's toes in that respect, if it was their classroom”.

Becky (M3): “In the classroom he's got a very calm manner. I've never, ever heard him raise his voice ... ever”.

It is worth noting too, that by operationalising the capitals he brings from his work in youth justice Dan is contributing to the department, which as discussed in the relationships section above was an important contributory factor to a positive habitus-field fit.

For Bourdieu (1994), habitus is both structured and structuring in relation to the field. The field gives the habitus its dynamic quality since the habitus becomes active in relation to the field (Bourdieu 1990a), but agents can also change the field. One function of habitus then, is 'to mediate between structure and agency' (Nash 1990:176) and, as further discussed in the following section, several trainees initiated change in their department. Just as Dan initiates a change in the department's approach to disruptive behaviour, the trainees Sophie and Amy impact on the practices of their departmental field. Their mentors Amanda and Hannah use the analogy of a “breath of fresh air” when reflecting on the impact on the department of Sophie and Amy's dispositions. The mentors' words suggest they felt that the change was needed. Sophie's mentor Amanda observes that the ESOL team who “are very much used to working on their own” and for whom “sharing materials has been very much an issue” (Amanda) have, as a result of Sophie's behaviours, become more open and willing to share; while Amy has been a catalyst for colleagues to review their practice where they “have got a little bit comfortable”, with the result that “she's improved the standard in the department” (Hannah). Similarly, Paul has also initiated significant change within the department by developing the curriculum offer.

This section has shown that trainees placed high value on being accepted as a member of the department team they were working in, seeming to take this

as an indicator of their effectiveness as teachers. Shared values between trainees and the department culture were key to trainees' successful acculturation into the workplace field. By operationalising capitals that were valued and required in the field Paul, Amy, Sophie and Dan not only built professional relationships with their colleagues which facilitated their acceptance as valued members of the team but were also able to influence the culture and practices of the team by initiating change. However, when trainees operationalised capitals that did not align well with the accepted values of the field as seen with Andy, this proved counter-productive for their habitus-field fit. This highlights the need for trainees to understand the culture of the field and what capitals are valued in the field so that they can act to promote a good habitus-field fit.

Making a contribution to the team

There were several references in the data to the contributions that trainees could make to their department. Trainees who felt they were 'giving back' showed more confidence in themselves as teachers. Trainee capitals were operationalised by them and by their mentors, and mentors appreciated trainees' efforts to support the department, not only through their knowledge and experience but also by being self-reliant and proactive. Making a contribution to the team was therefore an important factor for a positive habitus-field fit, evidenced by trainees' integration as members of the team.

Like Ben's mentor Tom, Sally is very aware of the cultural capitals Paul brings to his management role and their value to the organisation. She believes his degree, combined with his industry experience make him a perfect fit for the school:

Sally (M6): "It's perfect actually. From the background that Paul has come from in terms of construction, erm, and the fact that we are a vocational hub as a school, it's ... they marry up perfectly, really".

Whilst pinpointing forms of capital allows us to plot an individual's position in social space (Burke 2016:9) it does not necessarily follow that individuals occupying similar positions in social space will have similar experiences and values (Crossley 2014). Sally and Paul occupy management positions in the

PRU, though Sally is part of the senior leader team and Paul's mentor, whereas Paul is a middle manager in the final months of his ITE. Although they both recognise the importance of Paul's degree, they interpret its value as a cultural capital very differently. Sally sees the fact that Paul chose his degree subject as an indication of his "passion" for it, as well as denoting a high level of knowledge in it. For her, this is an "absolutely vital" (Sally), but uncommonly found component of a successful habitus-field fit:

Sally (M6): "Findin' good construction teachers is very rare. It's not like lookin' for an English or a maths teacher, so ... to be able to develop someone like Paul, who is absolutely brilliant with the children ... erm, as well as havin' that subject knowledge is perfect really".

For Paul however, his degree has instrumental value because it has "massively helped" him reach this point in his teaching career. Passion for his subject was notably absent from his decision to go to university:

Paul (T6): "I wasn't plannin' on goin' ta uni', I just didn't wanna go to work (smiles). So I just fought, well, I don't wanna go straight to work, what can I do at uni'? Have I passed? Yeah, I've passed, I've got some all-right A-levels, let's see what I can get into".

Rather, he is driven by the part he plays in his students' success and "love[s] ... love[s] ... just love[s] workin' ere. Love[s] the kids. Love[s] seein' 'em progress" (Paul). Paul's passion for the students comes across very clearly in his repeated use of the verb "love" when he talks about his job. This is also a disposition of his teacher habitus he operationalises in his emotional practice. Like the working-class women attending an Access course in Reay's study (2003:306) Paul wants to 'give back', but unlike these women, Paul's motivation does not seem to stem from feelings of guilt, but rather from a strong belief that he is needed at the PRU and that he has something to offer that enables him to "really help these style kids, an' ... [he] should put that to use ... an' help them" (Paul). His use of the word 'should' suggests a sense of duty to make good use of a quality he has been given, rather than the need to assuage any sense of guilt.

It is unclear why Paul appears to place limited value on his degree, but his reverence of English over vocational qualifications suggests this could be an act of symbolic violence, as discussed in Chapter 2. Similarly, Amy, Sophie and Andy express low regard for their non-academic degrees, although like Paul, they have all operationalised them in some way, even if just as stepping-stones to their next goal. Paul is a good example of this. For Bourdieu (2004), capital decides the paths not taken, but by the same token Paul's cultural capitals have directed the fields of possibilities and decided the paths he *has* taken by generating opportunities he might otherwise have been denied:

Paul (T6): "I'm glad I've got my degree cos I don't fink I'd be able to achieve what I 'ave wivvout it. Although, still, I'm the same person, an' I could have achieved it, but I fink it's just opened doors that wouldn't have been opened uvverwise".

The way this comment is phrased suggests that for him the value of his degree lies in its potential to be exchanged for opportunities he would otherwise have been denied. We see the same feel for the game that he showed at school as he continues to operationalise his degree and his industry experience to expand the curriculum offer at the PRU in order to increase the number of construction qualifications offered at levels 1 and 2, thereby bringing the construction offer more in line with the academic one. This is clearly a development his mentor values:

Sally (M6): "So before, children would just study in construction generally, but now, ... children can specialise in plumbin', they can specialise in carpentry, they can specialise in bricklayin' and really build their skills up around that subject area, erm, so that ..., they've got that qualification in that specific area, whereas before it was quite broad ... because Paul's got that degree, so it allows us to be able to do that".

For Hannah and Amy, a degree level qualification is not only of value for the cultural capital it confers as a mark of academic distinction but also for the insight the circumstances of Amy's degree afford her. Having just completed her degree at the college where she is now a trainee teacher Amy has a unique perspective on the course as both student and teacher. Her mentor

recognises the singular position this affords her within the department, and how it can be operationalised to improve the student experience:

Hannah (M5): "... she can kind uv ... take from her experiences and she can think 'well, when I was taught that that didn't work for me' ... which, like I say is great for us because we can ... use that to develop the whole course".

Arguably, it could be expected that transitioning straight from being a student to becoming a trainee teacher at the college would present challenges for Amy when building professional relationships with the other tutors and with the students, not least of all because she is not much older than them.

Bourdieu views age as a factor that has an impact on cultural capital and the habitus that are in turn affected by their life-course experiences (Newman, Goulding and Whitehead 2013). Amy and her mentor believe Amy's young age combined with her degree, give her an advantage by making her more relatable to her students compared with older colleagues because the students "feel like they can maybe talk to [her] about things they maybe wouldn't want to speak ... to other members of the team about" (Amy).

Like Sophie, Amy also feels the need to validate her right to be there as a teacher. As Amy describes her initial feelings of discomfort and disconnectedness her metaphor of "a little itch ... you just really wanna scratch an' you just can't" (Amy) exposes the strength and persistence of these feelings, and also the relief she experiences when she resolves them by positioning herself as someone with capitals that enable her to make a contribution to the team. For Amy, gaining her mentor's approval and respect is paramount and we see the spectre of academic ability rise as she explains that when she was a student, she felt the need to impress her mentor who "seemed very knowledgeable ... [because she always taught the academic stuff]" (Amy). Interestingly, but perhaps unsurprisingly given the importance of education for the cultured habitus, her mentor shares this view and Amy's academic ability has contributed to the good habitus-field fit. It is worth noting that Amy and Hannah are the sole teachers on the degree course. They appear to feel that this confers symbolic capital in the form of status that grants them an elevated position in the field and sets them apart from the other teachers in the department:

Hannah (M5): "... you can find with people coming into the department (they) know all about the practical, without necessarily being able to get the academic standard up. Amy's definitely able to do both and I'd say ... based on her A-levels that's definitely, you know, the more academic background that's definitely helped her".

As with Sophie, Amy is very organised and proactive about taking the initiative when there are things she needs to find out about:

Amy (M6): "... if I can't find the answer from somebody else, I will take it upon myself to find that answer, and I like to get things done, ... I'm very organised, very ... this needs to be done, ... quite regimented".

Her mentor views this as a component of the resilient disposition described at the beginning of this chapter, that enabled her to initiate a culture shift in the ESOL department.

This is in stark contrast to Ben, who judged habitus-field fit by how familiar it felt, conjuring up an image of Bourdieu's (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) 'fish in water' metaphor. A scaffolder among scaffolders, Ben had immediately felt very much at home in the construction department in his college, perhaps because he perceived it to be no different from a building site:

Ben (T1): "I felt I fitted in fine, because we just, all, it was building site mentality. ... We'd 'ave ourselves a cup of tea and we used to go for a pint at dinner time, ... it was great, just like bein' on a building site. I didn't feel any different".

Conversely Tom his mentor, perceived the habitus-field fit in relation to teaching skills, and this suggests some limits to participants' perceptions of the habitus-field fit, bearing out the constructionist-interpretivist view that individuals may make sense of the same reality in multiple and different ways (Denzin and Lincoln 2013). Tom felt that initially Ben's limited understanding of the teacher role had impeded the habitus-field fit:

Tom (M1): "Ben at first was strugglin' at the very beginnin' of it, and umm, I did a lot of bits n pieces, helpin' 'im to understand some of the, what is needed doin'. To actually get 'im to realise how much work was involved. Cos 'e's never had to do anythin' like this, this is like school".

His use of the word 'actually' suggests a degree of frustration, which he later reinforces when he complains about the daily "battle" he has with Ben over paperwork. Tom likens teaching at the college to school and this may explain Ben's approach to those elements of his teaching he does not like. When Ben reflects on his school days there is an echo of disengagement; he states that he "can't remember one thing from school" because "school wasn't for [him] at the time". Tom observes a similar disposition with regard to paperwork when he explains that "Ben's memory's terrible. In some cases, especially if he's not interested in it, and paperwork's not 'is interest" (Tom).

However, like Paul, Ben has excellent industry skills and experience, and these represent capitals which are highly valued by his mentor, to the degree where at times they appear to compensate for the frustrations and challenges described above, enabling a good overall habitus-field fit:

Tom (M1): "Ben has a lot of experience erm ... and ... the one thing Ben and I have been able to do is bounce off each other, we've been very good at working with each other. So, when we've got a problem, between my experience and Ben's experience, we've never had a problem we can't solve".

In summary, the data show that it was important to trainees that they felt they were making a contribution to the team. This raised their confidence levels and made them feel accepted, valued members of the department, which in turn improved their perceptions of themselves as teachers. Mentors were also appreciative of trainees' efforts to give back and facilitated this by operationalising trainee capitals such as skills and experience. Mentors also recognised trainees' ability to be autonomous and responsive as important dispositions for the teacher habitus. Several mentors noted that this was not only highly beneficial to the trainees and the department they were working in but also helped bring about positive change in attitudes and working practices in the department, illustrating the synergistic relationship between habitus and field as structured and structuring forces (Bourdieu 1994).

Teacher habitus

According to Colley et al. (2003) the vocational habitus underpins the practices, values, attitudes and beliefs of a particular occupational identity.

For vocational trainee FE teachers this means that they bring their vocational habitus to their teaching, and it is often dominant when they begin their ITE. The resulting disjunctures and internal conflicts can generate not only change and transformation but also disquiet, ambivalence, insecurity and uncertainty (Reay et al. 2009) as their teacher habitus evolves and they seek to inhabit the new field of education in the role of a dual professional.

Unsurprisingly, the data reveal that teacher habitus, like habitus, is a layered construct that embodies our social and cultural histories. Where participants in this study had a strong industry identity prior to entering the teaching profession they retained elements of this in their teacher habitus. For Ben, who frequently switches between his “teacher’s head ... and ... his scaffolder’s head” (Tom), this resulted in a destabilised habitus (Ingram and Abrahams 2016) leading to cognitive dissonance and imposter syndrome. Similarly, Andy’s wistful speculation that teaching music is “still somefin’ that I might, erm, I might ... return to in future” (Andy) contains remnants of his musician’s habitus and undermines his fervent assertions about the relative values of maths and music. Conversely, the evolving teacher habitus of Sophie, Dan and Amy, who did not have industry experience of the subject they were teaching, was much more prominent. Sophie has renegotiated her habitus (Ingram and Abrahams 2016) in response to the ESOL field in which she now works, and there is no hint of any residual allegiance to her degree subject, or her former role. She does however add that she misses working with her previous team and has been careful to maintain links with them in order to support her development as an ESOL teacher. In contrast, Paul has been able to effectively accommodate his teacher and industry habituses, resulting in a ‘reconciled habitus’ (Ingram and Abrahams 2016:148) that successfully operationalises capitals from the industry field to enhance his teacher habitus and improve the curriculum offer and student experience. As a result, he had been promoted to a management position within his first year at the PRU.

Identity is about difference (Bourdieu 2002a) and school plays a critical role in identity formation as students construct their identity in relation to others, often through a sense of ‘what they are not’ and notions of how they are seen by others (Reay 2010). Ben’s perception of himself as non-academic was a

habituated disposition formed and reinforced at home through his parents' emphasis on work rather than education and in school through his poor academic performance discussed in the first two sections of Chapter 5. However, in the light of his enforced career change to become a teacher, he speaks with regret about his attitude to education and school experiences and has used them to shape his teacher habitus:

Ben (T1): "For me, education is solely about not makin' the same mistakes as I did. I just want my learners ta learn that life's all about education, tryin' a better theirselves".

However, Ben's construction of teaching as a process of questions and answers suggests the enduring dominance of his scaffolder disposition as he constructs his teacher habitus in the image of his vocational one. This may be because this is where his confidence lies, or may illustrate the durable nature of the primary habitus:

Ben (T1): "I'll explain, and I'll get things like bricks an' put 'em on t' table ... I like to have a big thing where I sit in the middle really, so I can, you know, get me, you know, just point to stuff n' ... just put questions and answers and can make it drag on for about an hour".

Conversely, Paul consciously operationalises capitals from his industry background to extend the range of construction qualifications available in the school and re-organise the curriculum to structure it around themed personal project work where the students make items such as a table or chair which they can then take home. This has not only made the curriculum more meaningful to the students but also more time efficient as they develop construction skills in themed blocks such as electrics and joinery. However, despite the glowing praise he receives from senior managers and his tutor, like Ben. Paul is haunted by the ghost of his social habitus who undermines his significant achievements and the pivotal role he has at the PRU by reminding him that vocational teachers are not "proper teachers" (Paul):

Paul (T6): "Oh them lot down there that just ... teach 'em 'ow ta build fings, an' use yer 'ands, like, it's not real, it's not proper. They're not gettin' 'em a qualification in English or maths".

Bourdieu (2000:78) writes that 'in each of us, in varying proportions, there is part of yesterday's man'. Ben's 'yesterday's man' is "really, really good wi' [his] 'ands" and non-academic. Habitus is a mediating construct which combines an individual's previous knowledge and experience to determine their responses to situations (Dean 2017). When asked about those elements of the teaching role he is uncomfortable with, Ben's impassioned rejection of lesson plans is full of disdain:

Ben (T1): "Lesson plans ... I don't see the point. They don't do nothin' for me. I think they should be scrapped anyway. I think teachers know what they're doin' now enough, when they do it day in, day out. I just think they're an unnecessary evil".

His words are loaded with emotion and whilst this could just be his strongly-held view, it could also be a throw-back to the feelings of shame emanating from his English lessons at school, analysed in Chapter 5. Conversely, when he describes his practical teaching, he is enthusiastic and creative, illustrating the inextricable interdependence of habitus and field. The separate "scaffolder head" and "teacher head" (Tom), which have previously frustrated his mentor and at times impacted negatively on the habitus-field fit, can also be an asset when he operationalises them together and turns the classroom into a make-shift construction site to breathe life into the paperwork associated with scaffolding, which he (and quite possibly his students) perceives to be banal and uninteresting. This not only makes it more relatable to the students but again reinforces the significance of context to learning:

Ben (T1): "Ealth n safety can be a bit mundane subject, ... I thought 'I'll use the classroom' ... so I said, 'I want you to build me a scaffold on this wall 'ere, right behind you, ere, and I want you to identify all the problems along that wall ... so once you've identified the problems, I want you to think how you're gonna make it safe'".

Unlike Ben, Amy fully embraces the administrative side of teaching, making it a core component of her teacher habitus. Given the importance of administrative tasks to teaching this disposition is likely to significantly promote a positive habitus-field fit. She describes herself as "a bit of a

paperwork weirdo” and “a paperwork nerd”. She thrives on being well-organised and is very driven:

Amy (T5): “Every mornin' [I write] a to do list, and if not everythin' on that to do list is done by the time I go home, ... I ... struggle to let go of that. So I'll either stay until it's done, or it'll come home with me, or it'll be at the top of the next day's to do list”.

Yet, like some of the students in Reay's (2010:21) study, she is almost apologetic and self-deprecating about it, as if she is afraid that being positioned as clever and organised will make her one of ‘the saddos of the class’.

Although at the beginning of her teacher training, Amy saw qualifications as the means to validate herself as a teacher, as she has progressed through her PGCE and gained confidence, teaching has become less about having “a bag of qualifications” and more about “what you give [the students]” (Amy). She attributes this to the things she has learnt from one of her PGCE tutors who uses the metaphor of putting on a jacket to describe the process of becoming a teacher:

Amy (T5): “I remember him saying to me on one of the first lessons that, when he comes into the classroom it's like he puts this jacket on (mimes putting on jacket), an' that's like his teacher voice, ... an' I think ... taking that forward into this academic year ... I felt like ... the coat was then a persona, as opposed to like a bag of qualifications? I kind of felt like I was enough ... the fact that they were comin' to me, an' I think I suddenly realised that I knew things that they didn't”.

This metaphor is interesting because it illustrates how habitus is embodied and revealed, but also that it is a multi-faceted structure that becomes dynamic in relation to field (Bourdieu 1990a), because depending on the field ‘the coat’ can be removed. After her first year on the PGCE course, Amy had shifted from a position where she previously identified herself as “a make-up artist that teaches” to one where “the teacher role comes first”. Interestingly, as her confidence as a teacher grew, her confidence in her industry skills declined and her emerging teacher habitus became dominant, illustrating that

capitals do not just function as a component of habitus, but that they can be generative (McKenzie 2016).

As seen in Chapter 5, disengagement with education and negative school experiences were common amongst the trainees in this study, and for some had been significant influences on their teacher habitus. Paul feels a very strong affinity to the students at the PRU which he attributes to his social background:

Paul (T6): “Well, I fink that's one of the good things ... about ... the type of person I am, cos I was ... not far off them, when I was a kid. ... I fink bein' able to give 'em that side of fings, and to explain 'I know exactly what you're like. I was like you guys, but you can achieve, still”.

Paul's mentor believes this connects him to a “real place” (Sally) and both he and Sally feel this makes him more relatable to the students. Unlike Ben, who feels his Certificate in Education has created a disconnect with his social roots, Paul's educational history has become a form of capital he operationalises to inspire his students and to emphasise that it is possible to gain an education and still retain social connections to family and friends:

Paul (T6): “From a group of say 15 of my friends, we was all very similar. I was the only one that went to college and went to uni. They didn't get their English an' maths GCSEs, but we was all good friends, hanging togevver, so ... you don't have to end up like that. It is possible to go on and achieve, and still 'ave, still 'ang around wiv your mates an' still 'ave fun, but you can achieve, an' do stuff”.

Creating a teacher habitus that incorporates a human side is important to Amy. She reports that this had been lacking in her own teachers and she wants her students to “see [her] as somebody” (Amy) with a life outside the classroom as she feels this would make her “a little bit more human”. Accordingly, she makes a conscious effort to embody pedagogy into her teacher persona, making it part of her teacher habitus, rather than the separate entity, as Ben perceives it to be:

Amy (T5): “... learnin' all the different learnin' theories ... I think it kind of became more about,

how I could embed that around me in the kind of person I am an' the kind of students I have".

Amy is undoubtedly invested in her subject specialism, but again differs from Ben in that she considers good teaching to be about much more than having industry expertise, since "you could be in the industry for 15 years ... an' not be a good teacher" (Amy). Whereas Ben's vocational habitus dominates, with his scaffolder self ever prominent, for Amy it is her teacher habitus that appears to dominate. This is likely to be due to the fact that Amy only worked in industry on placement as part of her degree, and consequently did not experience the same occupational socialisation that informs Ben's habituated disposition as observed in Chapter 5.

The data discussed in this section revealed how trainees developed their teacher habitus as an additional facet to their habitus as they progressed through their ITE. For all the trainees this resulted in interruptions to the habitus. For those trainees with a strong vocational habitus before entering teaching such as Ben, their vocational habitus remained very prominent, resulting in a destabilised habitus. Trainees with a student, or less obvious vocational habitus either accommodated this within their teacher habitus or renegotiated their habitus in response to the workplace field. Throughout this process all the trainees operationalised some capitals such as qualifications and prior experiences and these informed their teaching practice and became embodied as aspects of their teacher habitus. Trainees operationalised their capitals to develop relationships (Sophie and Paul), to raise standards (Amy) or to engage and motivate their learners (Ben, Andy and Dan).

The operationalisation of embodied emotional capitals can be thought of as emotional practice (Cottingham 2016). Although emotions are conspicuously absent from Bourdieu's framework, the data showed trainees experienced some very powerful emotions as they became teachers and brought the memories of equally powerful, and often negative emotions from their past to their teaching practice. There is no space in this study for a detailed analysis of the impact of emotions on FE trainee teachers' development, but the multiple references in the data to emotions, together with the current government focus on mental health and teacher well-being merit some

consideration. This is explored under the banner of emotional practice in the next section.

Teacher habitus and emotional practice

Robbins (1991) asserts that dispositions should take into account not just cognitive aspects, but also affective ones, leading to criticisms that Bourdieu's concept of habitus shows limited consideration of the affective domain (Sayer 2005; Sweetman 2003). Cottingham (2016) makes the distinction between emotional capital as a resource, and its embodiment and enactment as emotional practice. Emotional practice is the way in which an individual's habituated disposition directs them to experience and manage their emotions in a given situation. This may be the result of primary socialisation in the family, or secondary socialisation through occupational training. Cottingham (2016) posits that contrary to prior conceptualisations, emotional capital is neither wholly gender-neutral nor exclusively feminine, and in this study, it was the male participants who demonstrated greater operationalisation of emotional capitals than the female ones.

Through their interviews, Dan, Paul and Ben all discuss the importance of the pastoral element of teaching, suggesting they have a very nurturing approach to their students. They also describe how they consciously draw on their own negative educational experiences to shape their teacher habitus, explored above. For Dan, this experience combined with his occupational training as a youth worker, has helped him develop 'emotion-based knowledge, skills and capacities' (Cottingham 2016:467) that he operationalises to inform his teacher habitus and develop positive relationships with his students. This is apparent in his approach to promoting behaviour for learning, compared with that of some of his colleagues. Dan commented that some teachers in the department were attempting to address behavioural issues "in a very strict way an' a very stringent way, that was leadin' to less and less learnin' in the classroom" and that he introduced a "softer" approach, where the teachers "can get down to the students' level an' ... can work wiv the students ... in a different way" (Dan). His approach to behaviour management reflects his egalitarian views on social class outlined in Chapter 5, as it enables the balance of power to be more evenly distributed between the teacher and the

students. For Paul, Dan, Ben and Amy, it is important to incorporate a human side to their teacher habitus.

Reay (2015:10) proposes a psychosocial conceptualisation of habitus which allows us to understand the interrelationship between an individual's inner emotional world and 'the social relations within which they are enmeshed'. Paul's encounters with PRUs as experienced through his brother's time at one are "a massive part" (Paul) of why he has chosen to forge his teaching career at a PRU. Like Dan, he operationalises the embodied emotional capitals he acquired during socialisation within the family and at school to inform a more empathetic teaching approach that takes into account the affective dimension of learning and recognises the impact of students' social histories:

Paul (T6): "The way I kind of class it is ... those are naughty kids, that choose to be naughty, and these are naughty kids that can't help it. And there's a reason that they're naughty and they can't help that".

Interestingly, contrary to what might be expected this is not his view of the approach taken by all teachers in his professional context:

Paul (T6): "They're like the teachers, when ... they shout, it scares me, makes me fink like when I was in school, like I've done summat wrong or somefing (smiles) I jump an' turn around 'ah, you're not shoutin' at me, you're shoutin' at a kid. Woah!'. ... I'd call us more new ... new age kind of teachers we're more ... definitely more humanistic, definitely".

The above quote gives an insight into the feelings of fear he had at school as a result of teacher behaviours, and he has used these negative experiences as a guide of how *not* to be when moulding his own practice as a teacher. This is a conscious decision on his part, and he even coins the phrase "new age teachers" to describe this approach.

Dan also consciously uses his poor relationship with his maths teacher at college, combined with his experience as a youth worker, to inform a teaching style which has positive relationships and open communication with his students at its heart:

Dan (T2): "I see the relationships with my students as paramount really, I think that you need to know your students and be comfortable, and for them to be comfortable with you, for them to be able to come and ask you a question and for them to know that you care about them, in a way. My issues with the teacher at the time did have an impact on the way that I've dealt with my students this year".

It is this strong focus on emotional practice that makes Dan "a valued part of the department" (Becky) and contributes to his excellent habitus-field fit.

Becky observes that Dan's calm manner, which could be described as emotional practice, has a very positive effect on his students:

Becky (M2): "[he is] calm and collected, knows what he wants to do, doesn't get flustered, if something doesn't go right ... it doesn't phase him, he just rolls with the punches basically, and he enjoys the teaching you can see he enjoys it, so that helps the students as well, because they can see that, so they want to work for him".

As much as Ben spurns "the mundane stuff" of paperwork and quality assurance processes that are fundamental to the teaching role, he embraces the human elements, seeing the teacher role as multi-faceted, empathetic and person-centred:

Ben (T1): "you're a teacher, you're an agony aunt, you're a, you're all sorts rolled into one ... you're not just an educator, ... they're getting in problems at home ... they can't get here because of bus fares and stuff, and you borrow them money, you get all sorts, you just want the best for them".

For Paul's mentor the cultural capitals of an effective teacher in the PRU are literally embodied in their habituated disposition. Sally talks about the "different vein that runs through your body when you work in a place like this" that cannot be acquired through training or qualifications. The language she uses illustrates how embodied cultural capitals shape who you are and how you behave through the enduring dispositions of the mind and body that fashion our speech, preferences and orientations (Bourdieu 1977a):

Sally (M6): "I think you have to have that a streak in you that goes, 'ok, I'm here for the children, I understand their needs, it's ok for you to be angry, I'm wiv you on a journey".

Both Paul and Sally reflect the human side of the teacher habitus as they refer to the PRU as "a big family", and in Sally's description of Paul's "favverly approach to the children". She is highly appreciative of Paul's honest and authentic dispositions and recognises how he uses these to benefit his students, like the middle-class parents in Reay's (2000) study who seek to pass onto their children their own emotional capitals in order to encourage them to strive for academic success. Like Dan, Paul also favours a more even balance of power in the classroom, which his mentor sees as very beneficial positive for the habitus-field fit:

Sally (M6): "The children absolutely love workin' wiv him an' they love his honesty, an' they love his, his raw quality an' the fact that he's come from a real place an' he doesn't ... there's no hierarchy in his classroom".

Sally both appreciates and consciously operationalises Paul's cultural capitals as part of the ethos of the school and to enhance the curriculum offer. Indeed, they were instrumental in his rapid promotion to head of department, since together with his proactive disposition they enabled him "ta go from not knowin' anythin' about teachin' a lesson, to actually runnin' a department" (Sally) in his first year at the PRU.

In contrast, although Andy feels building relationships with students and "showin' them that you care" is important, when he talks about teaching, he unhesitatingly delivers the instrumentalist policy rhetoric of education to improve life chances. As discussed in the values section above, this was also his rationale for accepting a maths placement when a music placement could not be found for him and it is not clear whether his reverence for maths over music is an attempt to compensate for feelings of inferiority at not having studied an academic subject at degree level, or to reject what he has already been denied (Bourdieu 1990a). Similarly, whilst Sophie had a "good rapport" (Amanda) with her students and said she loved being with them this appeared to be driven by intellectual curiosity about them and not emotional engagement, which is consistent with her general approach to learning:

Sophie (T4): “I *do* love bein' with my students, an talkin' to them an' ..., I don't know ... the things that they don't know I find astonishing”. (original emphasis)

This was unexpected, given the support she had shown her ESOL colleague whose “challenging” (Sophie) behaviour had alienated her from the rest of the team, and suggests that a disposition to enact emotional practice may be situation dependent.

This section examined the affective aspects of habituated dispositions and the embodiment and enactment of emotional capital as emotional practice. The data revealed that trainees’ emotional practice was informed by their previous negative experiences of education which they used to shape their teacher habitus. Trainees emphasised the importance of positive, empathetic relationships with their students, and for several of them showing they cared about their students was bound up in helping them gain qualifications to improve their life chances.

Conclusion

In this second analysis and discussion chapter I have examined the aspects of trainees’ habitus and habituated dispositions that have impacted on their habitus-field fit. The data indicate that a disposition to be proactive and an understanding of how to operationalise capitals to cope with the challenges of the workplace are beneficial to a good habitus-field fit. Shared values between trainees and their department, and the ability to develop positive relationships with their mentor, but also other colleagues, help trainees become accepted, valued members of the team which is beneficial for their confidence and their development as teachers. Emotions are an important dimension of the teacher habitus and although the sample is too small to generalise, it is interesting to note that the male trainees talked more about how they operationalised emotional capitals in their teaching than did the female trainees. The former showed how they had embodied emotional capitals from previous experiences within their teacher habitus which they then enacted as emotional practice. FE teachers’ enactment of emotional practice would be an interesting focus for further study.

As explored in the methodology chapter, researchers bring their subjectivities to their work and these need to be accounted for. In the following chapter I describe the process of reflexivity I undertook in an attempt to identify the impact of my personal subjectivities on this study.

Chapter 7: Reflexivity

In this chapter I am going to address the personal, where I consider how my social class, ethnic background, and my position as a doctoral student and teacher educator have affected this study and my findings. For Bourdieu, research is simultaneously empirical and theoretical; the researcher uses theory to hypothesise about what they observe in the world and the underlying structure of relations that are observed. Inherent in this is the impact of the researcher's subjectivities and individual biography on their approach to their research as it will bring some things into view and obscure others, and influence how they interpret their findings.

Coming from a language rather than a sociology background reflexivity was an unknown concept to me when I embarked on this doctoral study into the unknown. Yet it is a crucial element of social research, through which researchers recognise their subjectivity in their research (Bourdieu 1998) and 'account for their own humanness' (Dean 2017:1). Dean (2017) identifies different elements of reflexivity; methodological, theoretical, practical, disciplinary and personal. I feel that I have implicitly addressed the first three of these already threaded into the narrative throughout this thesis and so in this chapter I will focus on the disciplinary and personal elements.

To account for their humanness, social researchers need to analyse their position in social structures and consider how their lived experiences shape how they define themselves and therefore how they approach their research (Moore 2012). This will include practical considerations affecting the research design, for example who the research participants are, how to gather, make sense of and present the data, as well as ethical and emotional decisions that need to be taken into account, such as how the research may change who you are and how you see the world (Swain 2017). When I started this doctoral study my objective was to investigate how trainees engaged with learning opportunities in the workplace. As my understanding of Bourdieu's framework evolved, so did the scope of my inquiry as I realised the significance of individual histories and in particular the role of social class in shaping the FE sector and those who teach in it. Inextricably bound up in all this is my personal history and how this has shaped my research interest and

who I am as a researcher and teacher educator. What follows is a brief, reflexive autobiography which attempts to unearth my personal subjectivities, tracing them back to their origins and forwards to where they have brought me as a social researcher. To quote Dean (2017), it is an attempt to examine the role of my own humanness as I investigate the humanness of my research participants.

Both my parents had come from traditional, working-class backgrounds, and had endured great hardship during the second world war. My mother was from the South West of England, but my father was Dutch and moved to the UK when my parents married. My mother was a primary school teacher, who took a career break of 12 years when my second brother was born, returning to work when I started junior school. My father studied at night school for 3 years to become a mechanical engineer. It is their passionate belief in education as a meritocracy that enabled all individuals to succeed if they worked hard enough, regardless of social background (Bourdieu 1977a) that is interesting for this study, as it underpinned my own disposition and motives for study and has shaped my practice as a teacher and teacher educator. Education had afforded them social mobility beyond their working-class roots to join the occupational ranks of the professionals (Friedman 2016). With a mortgage to pay and four children there was little money to spare. But they made the most of what they had to give us the things their working-class backgrounds had denied them; we had weekly trips to the library, we were taken to museums and we all learnt to play the piano. 'Taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier' (Bourdieu 1984:6) and the foundations of middle-class taste were being laid. As my parents' finances improved, we moved to a bigger house in a more affluent area, but the bigger mortgage meant that there was still little money to spare.

Looking back, there was tacit agreement in our family that talk of social class was taboo, but it was always there, bubbling beneath the surface of every aspect of our family life and shaping not only our use of language, and tastes but also where we went to school. We all attended grammar schools several miles away, and this, coupled with the way we talked, and our hobbies marked us out as different from our neighbours, who called us 'the posh family'. Whilst we were not working-class, my parents lacked the economic

capital to live amongst the middle-class they aspired to. We were middle-class pegs, not really fitting into a working-class hole. As a result, I am ambivalent about my own social class, and realised when preparing the interviews for this study that asking people about their social class makes me feel uncomfortable and embarrassed. I am afraid of summoning up a 'ghost of deficit' (Morris 2016:133) they might unwittingly be harbouring, like the one that haunted my parents, reminding them of their humble cultural roots. The same ghost that now haunts me, telling me I fall between two classes and do not really belong anywhere. Perhaps it was an unconscious attempt to exorcise this ghost that made Bourdieu's theoretical framework, steeped as it is in issues of social class, an obvious choice for me, although my initial intention was to add my voice to the others who rail against the systemic injustice that permeates education policy. During my time as a teacher educator in FE I had experienced first-hand the enactment of education policy on the conditions of service of FE teachers. I had seen its impact on those I trained and shared their anger, frustration and disillusionment. Consequently, I was drawn to the work of Coffield and Orr. Carefully circumventing any reference to social class, I wanted to speak out against the ways in which education policy has preserved the status of the FE sector as the poor relation in the education field, and marketisation has nurtured the illusion amongst the FE workforce that this is how it has to be. It was a long time before I could accept what had been blindingly obvious all along; social class is at the very core of this issue. The irony of my choice no longer escapes me.

As I progressed through the reflexive process, I began to unravel how my social and cultural background has shaped my career and led to my choice of doctoral study. Having started out as an ESOL teacher working with displaced refugees and asylum seekers, I became a teacher educator in the FE sector, working mostly with industry professionals training to become vocational teachers. The common denominator for these groups is that they include people who were highly successful and well-respected in their ordinary field, but who struggle to adapt to the new field. When habitus encounters a field with which it is not familiar, such as when an individual is required to act outside their comfort zone, the resulting discordance can

generate a sense of dislocation, wariness, or imposter syndrome (Dean 2017). Like Ben and Paul in this study, and indeed I now realise me, many of the people I have worked with in my role as a teacher educator, experience social hauntings (Morrin 2016) that unsettle them (in the Bourdieusian sense of 'unsettled') by reminding them of what is lacking in their past, and subsequently limiting their aspirations for a better future. As Sally concludes when reflecting on the backgrounds of the staff at the PRU, it "can't be coincidence that [they've] all ended up, workin' wiv children that feel like failures"; it has to be more than coincidence that led me to work with people who were entering a new field where they felt they did not fit in, and to attempt to understand their experiences of becoming FE teachers in this doctoral study. In retrospect, I suspect it was the ghosts of my parents' hauntings that were behind the drive for my siblings and I to achieve academically, combined with a belief in the meritocratic myth that each additional qualification would move us up another rung on the social ladder; a myth I myself have peddled throughout my career.

The youngest of four children, three of whom have a first degree, the first assumption I made about education was that it was a linear, single-track path from primary to secondary school and then on to university. Throughout school I excelled at academic subjects, particularly English and modern foreign languages, winning numerous prizes in all of these. These prizes became symbols of power (or cultural capitals) as they increased my worth both at school and at home. It is perhaps not surprising therefore, that the second assumption I made, reinforced by my education, was that education was 'the golden key' to a good job and a good life. Although I was unaware of it at the time, to utilise Bourdieu's concept of 'doxa' (1977), I had accepted as the natural order of things the individualist, instrumentalist ideology underpinning the neo-liberal policy rhetoric that a person is responsible for themselves, and their worth can be measured in terms of their qualifications. This doxic practice manifested itself in a deep respect for all things academic, and corresponding disdain for technical or vocational study which had been instilled in me by the institutional habitus, mediated through teachers' expectations, as well as the curriculum offer, of the prestigious central London grammar school I attended. However, habitus although durable, is

not permanent (Bourdieu 2002b). It can be altered by new experiences and pedagogic action and it was during my career as a teacher educator in the FE sector that I became fully aware of the vast range of skills and knowledge FE teachers need to master in order to engage learners from school to HE provision and everything in between, many of whom are disaffected teenagers who have been failed by the school system. I could see that my role as a teacher educator didn't have many of the often, complex challenges my trainees experienced with their learners, and I realised that what I had previously believed were values, were in fact little more than intellectual snobbery, and that the meritocratic ideology that underpinned them was part of the 'game' that dominates the field of education. Whilst my own naivety irked me, I was also curious to find out why some trainee teachers played the game better than others, whether their adroitness was related to the cultural capitals they possessed and the role of their mentor in this. But the primacy layers of the habitus shape every action which is to come (Garnham and Williams 1996) and despite my burgeoning awareness of my intellectual prejudices, they were deeply ingrained, and when interpreting the interview data, I frequently needed to remind myself to take a step back to remove any hint of judgement that might have been creeping into my findings. I achieved this by painstakingly sifting through the online thesaurus to avoid words which may have any pejorative connotations, and by making notes to check with my supervisors for any hint of unconscious bias implicit in the narrative of my thesis.

Perhaps because my father's first language was not English, language and words feature very strongly in my childhood memories and form a core part of my professional identity. My father loved words and took a delight in using a range of synonyms, almost as if he were afraid that using the same word repeatedly would somehow wear it out. Trainees and colleagues alike have always joked about my propensity to analyse the etymology of words, and I suspect it is the language of theory that has fostered my love of it and the central position I afford it in my practice. My mother had a strong West Country accent and an equally strong determination that her children would learn to speak 'properly', which for her meant using received pronunciation. She rarely missed any deviation from this, pulling us up for every dropped /t/

at the end of a word, or misplaced /v/ where a /th/ sound should have been. It is most probably from here that my fascination with language and keen ear for any idiosyncratic use of it emanate. For me, regional dialects bring a vibrant quality to language which would otherwise be two-dimensional and bland. Language embodies an entire social and cultural history, and the way an individual uses it conveys their emotional or cognitive connection to what they are saying. Consequently, language and what it can divulge was an important component of this study. When interviewing my research participants, I was alert to the linguistic details of their speech and keen to reproduce them when transcribing the data so that I could draw on them when analysing and interpreting them. However, this presented me with two further challenges. As my mother was aware, accents are class markers (Grenfell 2012) and I needed to be wary of inadvertently making judgements about the participants based on their use of language and the messages about language that I had imbibed from my childhood. Additionally, I needed to rein in my inner linguist and avoid attributing unintended meanings to participants' responses.

In language, context is integral to understanding, providing the objective framework within which meaning is constructed. Without context therefore, there can be no meaning. Similarly, in ITE the context of the workplace is an integral element of trainee learning. Consequently, for me Bourdieu's theoretical framework, was an obvious choice to investigate trainee learning because the inter-relational nature of habitus, capital and field direct the researcher to look beyond the trainees as the object of study, and consider their social and cultural histories against the backdrop of the different departmental contexts they are training in. In this I see similarities with the way that the grammatical structure of language provides a framework through which people communicate and interpret their subjective experiences of their world, often without consciousness of the nuanced meanings conveyed by their intonation and choice of word or tense. It is this engagement with the world that gives it meaning, and a key part of ESOL teaching is making the tacit, culture-bound features of the English language explicit in order to uncover the inherent and often unconscious meanings embedded within it. Indeed, this is the fascination that language holds for me,

and perhaps one of the reasons why Bourdieu's framework resonates so strongly with me as I see a parallel with habitus and agency; we unconsciously take in rules, values and dispositions from our cultural history, which then inform our own practice, values, aspirations and dispositions (Bourdieu 1990a). The field is the context in which social action takes place and it is the interplay between habitus and field that determines which capitals have value and how they are operationalised to improve an agent's position in the field. For me, this is mirrored in the way that people construct meaning as they engage with the realities of the world they are interpreting and the objects in it, through the lens of their habitus which has been shaped by and continues to shape their life experiences, language, culture and biography (Swain 2017).

Whilst taking my first teaching qualification, the RSA Diploma in teaching English to Adults, I became aware that there were multiple ways to teach and learn, and this sparked my interest in learning theory and the affective dimension of learning. We were introduced to the work of Carl Rogers and humanist learning theory. The principles of 'unconditional positive regard', choice, and personal responsibility that underpin humanist theory contrasted starkly with my own heavily controlled school experiences and limited curriculum, as did the constructionist approach inherent in English language teaching, where learners collaborate in the target language (English) to co-construct new understandings. I developed a strong interest in how people learn, and the role of education for personal fulfilment, which I bring to my practice and values as a teacher educator and also to my research. Indeed, this is probably what led me to my choice of doctoral study. I believe teaching is a collaborative process in which positive, supportive relationships are paramount. Effective teaching engages learners as active participants who co-construct meaning with their teacher and with each other (Freire 1976), and therefore it follows that different people may construct different meanings from the same phenomenon and make sense of the same reality in multiple and different ways. However, it is paramount that the researcher recognises that they are not representing an independent reality, but that they too, interpret their world and construct meaning through a specific lens that will bring some things into view, and lead them to ignore others (Crotty, 2015).

This chapter is my attempt to identify the subjective lens through which I view and make sense of my world in order to understand how it may have illuminated some things for me, and obscured others.

By engaging in a process of reflexivity I have become aware of what drives me and where those drivers emanate from. I am aware of who I am and what has shaped me. I am also aware of how my doctoral research has changed who I am and how I see the world. I bring this awareness of my humanness to my research. Having laid it out in this chapter in an attempt to produce research that is 'open and honest' (Dean 2017:33) I return to my original purpose in conducting this doctoral study, which was to apply Bourdieu's thinking tools to better understand trainee learning in the workplace.

Chapter 8: Conclusion and recommendations

The concluding chapter of this thesis presents the answers to my research questions and identifies the original contribution this thesis makes to knowledge and practice. The first section of this chapter identifies how I have used Bourdieu's theoretical tools and where my findings are consistent with, and differ from, existing research viewing education through a Bourdieusian lens. This is followed by a section summarising the ways in which trainees' habituated dispositions influence their interactions with learning opportunities in the workplace, including shaping their emerging teacher habitus and their response to the hysteresis they frequently experience as they enter the education field. I then go on to consider the different capitals trainees possess and how they operationalise them to develop their practical teaching skills. Mentors are central to all these processes and so the role that they play in them is interwoven throughout the narrative. Having answered the research questions, I identify the limitations of the study, before concluding with implications and recommendations for teacher educators and mentors to enhance trainee learning in the workplace and suggestions for further research.

The research questions this study answers are:

1. How do habituated dispositions influence trainees' interactions with learning opportunities in the workplace?
2. How do trainees operationalise their capitals in the workplace to develop their practical teaching skills?
3. What role do mentors play in these processes?

Bourdieu's theoretical tools and how they were used

I applied Bourdieu's thinking tools of habitus, capital and field within a case study approach to investigate trainee FE teacher learning in the workplace. Although a number of studies (Avis and Bathmaker 2004; 2006; Bathmaker and Avis 2005; 2007; Duckworth and Maxwell 2015) have applied Bourdieu's framework to examine the experiences of trainee FE teachers in the workplace, this study differs from other studies because I use habitus as a multi-faceted concept in which each facet interacts with others and with the field to generate habituated dispositions, in order to understand how trainees

engage with learning opportunities in the workplace. Enmeshed in this are the ways in which trainees operationalise their capitals in the workplace to develop their teaching skills, since this will be enacted through the habitus. The role that mentors play in these processes is factored in as mentors' dispositions embody and are part of the objective structure of the workplace field. Bourdieu's tools have been especially useful to my analysis as they have directed my focus beyond the trainees as the object of study and enabled consideration of their social and cultural histories within the different contexts that constitute the FE sector. In so doing, this study provides additional insights about habituated aspiration and how trainees operationalise their capitals in the workplace to develop their practical teaching skills and the role of mentors in these processes.

How trainees' habituated dispositions influence their interactions with learning opportunities in the workplace.

In the current climate of challenging working conditions and poor teacher retention, it is important to understand the processes FE trainees go through as they become teachers and cross between the fields of industry and education. For vocational teachers this involves reshaping their subject knowledge as industry specialists into vocational knowledge as teachers, whilst developing their identity as dual professionals; and for teachers of academic subjects, it involves learning how to make their subject meaningful and relatable in a vocational context. Mentors are key to supporting trainees through these processes and helping them to feel valued members of a team to which they can contribute. By examining the impact of habitus-field fit on trainee learning and trainees' application of emotional practice, this study draws and builds on the work of Cottingham (2016) and Reay (2003; 2005; 2015) and is therefore addressing an important gap in the knowledge base.

The research findings show that although trainee FE teachers may share similar traits in their habituated dispositions, these do not necessarily generate the same behaviours or perceptions. Bourdieu (1977) wrote about the ways in which an individual's biography influences their educational trajectories. Familial habitus together with cultural habitus is fundamental to our sense of position in society and our perceptions of what Bourdieu termed 'the field of the possibles' (Bourdieu 1984:110). Past repression can lay

dormant in the field (Gordon 1997), but when habitus-field relations rupture, this repression rises and creates dissonance (Morrin 2016). Trainee beliefs about themselves as non-academic can generate a disposition with low aspirations and low levels of confidence, which has a significant impact on their interactions with learning opportunities in the workplace. For some this manifests itself as a drive to gain further qualifications in order to validate themselves as teachers, while others resolutely resist them, rationalising their choice by dismissing them as unnecessary or irrelevant. Interestingly, in this study this applied only to formal learning opportunities, such as those comprising the ITE course, and not to the informal learning that took place when trainees worked collaboratively with their mentors and colleagues in the department. This leads me to the conclusion that trainees associate the learning opportunities afforded by ITE with assessment and consequently, these are seen to pose more of a threat to self-esteem than informal ones. It also suggests that mentors have an important role to play in supporting trainees and signposting them to learning opportunities in the workplace that will help them meet the learning objectives of their ITE course. By offer of explanation I turn to Morrin's (2016:133) ghost of deficit that rises in moments of crisis to unearth feelings of something-to-be done, explained or defended. I claim that as the trainees progressed through their ITE programme, the ghost of deficit from their familial and cultured habituses appeared as feelings of unsettledness to remind them of 'what they were' and 'what they could have been'. This led them to respond in one of two ways; they either sought out and embraced opportunities to gain more qualifications, or they avoided them for as long as possible. Even after they have gained their teaching qualification they see the ghost in the field, telling them they are not worthy, and they wrestle with it there, as they seek to reconcile the non-academic self of their past with the teacher self of their present. Whilst elated to have successfully completed their teaching qualification, consistent with findings from studies of working-class people engaging in higher education (Reay 2003;2015; Reay et al 2005), all the trainees expressed varying degrees of conflicting emotions ranging from unease to anxiety and shame, and a sense of disbelief, sometimes bordering on embarrassment that they were now qualified. I argue therefore, that for some vocational teachers, because of its association with academic success ITE is a double-edged sword. Failing it

will bring humiliation, but due to the push and pull of habitus that takes place when academic achievement is linked to notions of social class, passing it may provoke a sense of betrayal for trying to rise above your station. Habitus can generate a confident disposition that presents the field of possibles as something to aspire to or operate as a constraining force that removes choice by illuminating a single path. The trainees who had actively sought out and embraced learning opportunities were also filled with doubts about their academic ability, but they all came from families who had supported and enabled their earlier educational choices, even if they had not agreed with them. In light of this I conclude that the dispositions generated by the familial habitus are stronger than those generated by the cultured habitus. I contend that where the family environment supports choice, it generates a disposition where the individual has the confidence to challenge the ghost of deficit and look beyond the limited field of the possibles their educational experiences have mapped out for them.

Related to this is the role of trainees' habituated dispositions for the construction of their teacher habitus. The findings of this study indicated that where they had a strong vocational habitus before entering teaching this tended to endure and remain dominant, and it is possible that this was a coping-strategy trainees employed to reconcile the powerful emotions they experienced on encountering the new field. The more prominent the originary habitus, the more powerful the inner conflict. Ingram and Abrahams (2016) explain this as a type of hysteresis since a person with a destabilised habitus that cannot successfully assimilate the structuring forces of two fields, will oscillate between two dispositions. Conversely, the trainees in the study who had a less dominant vocational habitus were able to either reconcile or renegotiate their habitus in response to the structuring forces of the new field (Ingram and Abrahams 2016).

How trainees operationalise their capitals in the workplace to develop their practical teaching skills

The data revealed that how trainees understood the value of their cultural capitals was tightly bound up in their habituated disposition, which in turn affected their decisions regarding which capitals to operationalise and how to utilise them. It is interesting to note that mentors and trainees did not always

share the same perception of trainees' capitals. This was particularly apparent with regard to the relative status of academic and vocational cultural capitals. Whilst mentors demonstrated that they valued both the academic and the vocational capitals trainees brought, the trainees exhibited a narrower perception of cultural capitals and how to operationalise them to benefit the field in terms of departmental targets. I contend that this was in part due to the low status of vocational qualifications, but also because the trainees had not yet learnt the rules of the game and were still in the process of acculturating themselves to their department field and developing their skills and understanding of the teaching role. Just as educational success requires an understanding of the rules of the game, so an ability and willingness to 'play the game' improves the position of trainees in the FE field. These findings build on Lareau's (2000) concept of activated and un-activated cultural capitals and the link between individual biography and social structure.

Although the trainees operationalised capitals such as qualifications or industry experience to raise academic standards or develop the curriculum offer, they did not appear to be aware of how to utilise them to develop their teaching skills, and frequently dismissed them because they were not academic achievements. I argue that this tendency was reinforced by the low status of the FE sector and impacted negatively on the ways in which trainees perceived and operationalised their capitals in the workplace. My findings differ from Lareau's (2000) in that it was not solely the individual holding the capitals who had the capability to operationalise them or not. Where trainees did not recognise the value of their capitals their mentors did, and there were instances where the mentors operationalised them to the benefit of the students and their organisation. Although this was also beneficial for the trainees since it enhanced their status in the department, sometimes leading to permanent employment or promotion, it was not clear whether the rationale for doing this was made explicit to them or how far it helped them develop their practical teaching skills which raises ethical questions.

Interestingly, all the trainees were very keen that their students should gain qualifications, particularly in English and maths, reflecting the doxic practice

perpetuated by current neo-liberal education policy in which qualifications are a measure of an individual's worth and unlock the door to a better life. I contend that if we are ever to resolve the continuing academic-vocational divide we need to critique and challenge the deficit models of working-class culture that underpin neo-liberal educational policy initiatives (Morrin 2016). Where dispositions are formed within a discourse of disadvantage and deficit such as that used to describe the FE sector, this can lead to limiting beliefs that constrain choices and perpetuate the cycles of inequality the sector has been charged with addressing. To only value learning that can be formally measured is to impoverish education and to remind vocational learners of all they lack. It is my purpose to highlight the ways in which the individual histories of FE trainees affect their interactions with workplace learning opportunities so that teacher educators and mentors can better support them to understand the complex layers of who they are and what has shaped them, and to feel proud of what they bring to their teacher self.

Habitus-field fit emerged as an important factor for supporting trainees' overall development and they put a lot of effort into facilitating a good habitus-field fit, using this to evaluate their competency as teachers. I define a good habitus-field fit as one where trainees have acculturated into the department and feel that they are accepted as valued members of the team. Trainees operationalised a range of capitals such as subject knowledge, practical resources they had created, and also time to provide cover teaching if needed in order to facilitate a good habitus-field fit. A good habitus-field fit increased trainees' access to formal and informal learning opportunities, ranging from team teaching with colleagues to participating in externally funded initiatives relating to teaching and learning. Among the various factors that contributed to a good habitus-field fit, those that stood out in the data were dispositions such as resilience, shared values, and opportunities for trainees to feel they were making a contribution to the team. Resilience, which tends to be associated with working rather than middle-classness (Reay et al. 2009), proved to be an important determinant of the trainee-mentor relationship and therefore contributed to a positive habitus-field fit. Perhaps unsurprisingly, trainees who had emotional support from their mentor displayed the greatest resilience and several mentors talked proudly

about their trainee's ability to learn from their mistakes and work independently. Furthermore, trainees who demonstrated high levels of resilience were more likely to operationalise their capitals to initiate change in their department, this ranged from provoking a culture shift to modifying the curriculum. Thus, protecting trainees' well-being in ways that embolden them to contribute to their department are two sides of the same coin.

Positive relationships with colleagues were another factor that trainees considered very important, and this was particularly evident where the habitus-field fit was uneasy. Trainees operationalised emotional capitals such as empathy, compassion and consideration of others in order to develop positive, supportive relationships with their colleagues. Where trainees described a very good habitus-field fit their teacher habitus operated synergistically with the workplace field in that it moulded their practice as teachers, but they were also able to initiate changes to the culture and practices of the field. From this I assert that a good habitus-field fit is not only beneficial for the development of trainees' teaching skills but can contribute to the development of learning culture that benefits other staff, students and the organisation as a whole.

Another theme to emerge from my analysis was trainees' enactment of emotional practice through the operationalisation of emotional capitals. Consistent with Cottingham's (2016) findings that emotional capital is neither wholly gender-neutral nor exclusively feminine, this study did not reveal a greater predisposition to utilise emotional capitals in the males than in the females. However, the data did reveal gender differences in how they operationalised them. Whilst the female trainees described how they utilised emotional capitals to develop relationships with colleagues, the male trainees showed themselves to be more mindful of the affective dimension of learning and the importance of positive student-teacher relationships. This may in part be due to recent initiatives to raise awareness about young people's mental health, and it is possible that the different contexts the trainees were working in meant that the female trainees had fewer behavioural challenges with their students. Regardless, it was interesting to see how the trainees in this study who had had negative experiences of education at school utilised these experiences to identify the dispositions they did *not* want to emulate in their

teacher habitus. I conclude therefore, that habitus does not only predispose us towards certain ways of behaving and away from others as Reay (2004; 2005) found but can also generate a repertoire of actions *not* to be taken, not because they are inappropriate for our position in society, but because we do not want to expose others to the same negative experiences we have had.

In summary this study shows that habituated dispositions play a significant role in trainees' interactions with learning in the workplace, affecting their aspirations and informing their teacher habitus and how they perceive their capitals. This in turn influences the value they place on their capitals and how they operationalise them in the workplace to develop their practical teaching skills. Mentors are a key part of these processes as they support trainees to understand the culture, values and practices of the workplace field and in so doing to become accepted and valued as members of the team.

Generalisability

The ontological and epistemological assumptions underpinning qualitative research that knowledge is constructed and subjective (Lincoln, Lynham and Guba 2017) mean that statistical generalization is frequently problematic (Smith 2018). However, whilst the findings in this small-scale study are not statistically generalisable across the whole of FE ITE, they *are* generalisable in a naturalistic (Stake 1995), or representational (Lewis et al. 2014) way, in so far as anyone working in FE ITE will recognise the discomfort FE trainees frequently experience as they seek to form and adapt to their new teacher skin. The findings are also arguably transferable (Tracy 2010) in the sense that the contribution to knowledge and to practice they enable can be adopted by other FE teacher educators and mentors. Transferability, or inferential generalisation (Lewis et al. 2014), is underpinned by the epistemological assumption that there are multiple realities which are perceived through an individual's subjective lens (Smith 2018).

Limitations of the study

Before making recommendations, it is worth noting a few limitations to this study and the arguments I have presented here. Alternative theoretical models may have generated different results, and since context is also an

important element of Lave and Wenger's (1991) conceptualisation of learning as a socially situated activity within a community of practice (CoP), this would have been a possible alternative for this study. Whilst a CoP model may have generated data with a stronger focus on *what* trainees were learning as they moved from apprentice to master it suggests apprentices have limited agency. Furthermore, CoP do not consider the impact of disposition on an individual's actions and interactions with others, nor of their social and cultural histories on their learning, which were important elements of this study for me.

Additionally, it is worth noting that participants were each interviewed once at the end of their ITE course, and consequently the data are representative of a single point in time. A longitudinal interview study where participants were observed in the workplace and interviewed at the beginning, middle and end of their ITE programme would have generated richer and more extensive data that may have presented a more holistic record of trainees' development and their subjective experiences of learning in the workplace throughout their ITE programme.

Finally, the sample in this study, whilst broadly representative of academic and vocational subjects, taught in two contrasting FE contexts, was not representative of the full range of subjects or individuals training to become FE teachers. Indeed, that would not have been possible in a study of this scale. Nonetheless I believe I have successfully applied Bourdieu's thinking tools to develop theory, and to answer my research questions. This study has also built on the research of others to illuminate the ways in which the doxic practices that permeate FE are reinforced and reproduced by the habituated dispositions of FE teachers.

Original contribution to knowledge

The application of theory and findings within this research project have the potential to make a significant contribution to Bourdieusian sociology, FE ITE and policy, and how we conduct qualitative studies on learning. To reassert its original contribution to knowledge, this thesis identifies what the main learnings of this work have been, particularly that habitus and academic history have significant effects on FE trainees' ability to engage with learning

opportunities in the workplace, and that cultural capital and habitus-field fit are key elements in smoothing this journey. This knowledge informs an original contribution to practice which is that by gaining a better understanding of these processes, mentors and teacher educators will be better enabled to effectively support trainee FE teachers in the workplace. Finally, this study applies Bourdieu's concept of habitus in a different context to that in which he originally developed it and makes a methodological contribution by using it as a multi-faceted concept in which each facet interacts with others and with the field to generate habituated dispositions. This study has demonstrated the methodological possibility of applying habitus as a multi-faceted concept, the benefits this can bring about in data analysis and in revealing people's experiences and habituated dispositions in their full complexity. When habitus is applied in this way it builds more thoroughly to a sociology of education and should form a core part of studies of this kind and of theoretical applications in the future.

Recommendations for practice

The findings of this study these findings point toward ways to better support FE trainees as they progress through ITE into the early stages of their career. Teacher educators and mentors need to raise trainees' awareness of the contradictory and powerful emotions that arise from interruptions to the habitus. Trainees need explicit guidance on how to manage the resultant tensions as they integrate their vocational and teacher habituses so that they can feel proud of their vocational roots and utilise their vocational habitus to complement and enhance their teacher habitus without eclipsing it. Bound up in this is the need for academics and FE teachers to continue to challenge the policy rhetoric that commodifies vocational education and continues to fuel the vocational-academic divide to the detriment of the FE sector and those who teach it. Consideration should be given to ensuring that the pivotal role the political narrative assigns to the FE sector is reflected in the status of those who teach in it.

I have demonstrated that a good habitus-field fit is crucial to trainee development and therefore teacher educators should work with mentors and trainees to facilitate this. This could involve support for trainees to develop a

mindset for mentoring, as well as mentor training that helps mentors develop strategies for explicitly acculturating trainees into the department field. This process is facilitated when mentors and trainees share the same subject specialism. Furthermore, the significant efforts trainees put into developing relationships with their colleagues points to the need for teacher education programmes to help trainees develop their emotional practice with their students and colleagues alike. Mentors should model emotional practice so that trainees can learn how to embody it within their teacher habitus.

My findings show that trainees need to be able to contribute to their departmental team, and that this is an important element of feeling accepted and valued as a member of that team. Those who did appeared more confident in their teaching. Mentors are ideally placed to involve trainees in the daily practices and processes of the department and to identify ways in which trainees can contribute. I recommend therefore, that mentor training for ITE mentors should raise mentors' awareness of the benefits of empowering trainees and generate ideas for incorporating trainees into departmental teams.

Resilience of trainees emerged as a disposition mentors greatly appreciated, contributing to a good habitus-field fit. This stresses the importance of well-being and the affective dimension of learning which should form part of ITE programmes and the mentoring process alike. However, it is important to note that whilst improved resilience may initially impact positively on teacher retention, policy makers need to consider the conditions of service of FE teachers if teacher retention is to improve over the long term. Part of this is developing a culture where mistakes are viewed as evidence of learning and individuals are supported through this process. This indicates a need for the development of an expansive learning culture (Fuller and Unwin 2003) in FE organisations and also support for trainees to develop a mindset for mentoring. By helping trainees recognise and operationalise their capitals in the departmental field, mentors can develop trainees' confidence and construct a shared understanding with them of the values and practices that constitute the workplace field. The resultant flow of capitals between trainees, other agents and the field would provide mutually beneficial opportunities for each to mould and develop the other. Furthermore, supporting trainees to

manage their well-being during their training and in the early years of their career is a worthwhile investment, not least of all as it is likely to improve teacher retention and support positive outcomes for students. To this end, ITE programmes could usefully include input that raises trainees' awareness of the subjectivities they bring to their teaching, and how these impact on their engagement with the workplace and their understanding of what it means to teach their subject.

Recommendations for further study

I maintain that being able to modify the habitus in response to the teaching field is important for trainee and ultimately teacher retention, and as such, helping trainees manage this merits further study. Since FE students frequently lack motivation due to previous negative experiences of school which have left them with low aspirations, low self-esteem and a sense of failure (DfE 2017b), FE teachers need to be able to empathise with their learners and use different approaches to connect with them. The ways in which FE teachers enact emotional practice and the implications of this for student engagement, therefore, is another subject that merits further study. Finally, given trainees' different perceptions of informal as opposed to formal learning emerging from the data, informal trainee learning would also be an interesting subject for further study and would address a gap in the literature. An ethnographic approach for such a study would be useful as it would enable observation of trainees' interactions over time in a range of workplace contexts, with a range of people, thereby providing a more holistic and authentic representation of their subjective experiences.

In summary recommendations arising from this research are:

For mentors:

- Identify ways in which they can support trainees to integrate themselves into the department as valued members of the team.
- Construct a shared understanding with trainees of the values and practices that comprise the department culture and ethos.
- Develop trainees' confidence and empower them to become autonomous, proactive participants in their learning.

For teacher educators:

- Raise trainees' awareness of the contradictory and powerful emotions that can arise as they construct their teacher identity and provide support and explicit guidance on how to manage these.
- Work with mentors to find ways to help trainees integrate into the department and feel valued and useful members of the team.
- Emphasise to trainees the importance of being open-minded and flexible, and encourage them to take a proactive role in their development.
- Include training within ITE programmes to help trainees develop a proactive, open mindset for mentoring.
- Provide explicit support and guidance on managing the tensions frequently arising as trainees seek to integrate their vocational and teacher identities.
- Seek to develop trainees' confidence so that they become autonomous, proactive participants in their learning.
- Continue to challenge the policy rhetoric that commodifies vocational education and continues to fuel the vocational-academic divide.

For policy makers:

- Raise the status of those who teach in FE organisations to reflect the pivotal role assigned to the sector and to better enable FE teachers to be proud of what they do and who they are.

For future research:

- A qualitative study exploring the ways in which FE teachers enact emotional practice and the implications of this for student engagement.
- An ethnographic study to reveal the different forms of informal learning in the workplace by which trainees develop their practical teaching skills.

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Appendix 1: Participant Information Sheet: Trainee FE Teachers

Title of Project:

The workplace as a learning site for further education trainee teachers

Invitation to participate:

You are invited to take part in the above doctoral research study. Before you decide whether you wish to take part as a participant, please read this information sheet carefully, and ask for clarification if necessary, so that you understand what the project is about.

Background to the study:

The FE (Further Education) sector is very diverse in terms of those teaching in it, the subjects they teach and the type of FE organisation they work in. The workplace is a significant element of Initial Teacher Education (ITE) programmes, both for the development of trainee teachers' knowledge and understanding of teaching and learning, and also for the development of their classroom practice. I am investigating the trainee experience in the workplace and how trainees engage, or not, with the opportunities to learn offered in the workplace. The project will also include your mentor, in order to find out how you each view the workplace as a site for developing trainee teachers' knowledge and understanding of teaching and learning, and classroom practice.

What will my participation involve?

I will be carrying out an in-depth case study of how you, as a trainee FE teacher engage with opportunities provided by the workplace, to develop your practical teaching skills and knowledge about teaching and learning. The case study will be made up of you and your mentor in your workplace setting. All data from this study will be anonymised and securely kept.

If you agree to take part in the study I will contact you to agree a suitable time and location to meet for a one-to-one interview, which will last approximately 45-60 minutes. You will be invited to talk about your experiences in the workplace, that may help you develop your practical teaching skills, and understanding of teaching and learning, how you engaged with them and why. The interview will be recorded and the audio recordings will be

transcribed. The transcription will be made available to you, but to no other participant in the study.

You may withdraw from the study at any point, including during the interview, without giving a reason. You may withdraw your data up until 14 days after it has been collected. After this time your data will be anonymised and used for my doctoral thesis.

Will my participation be kept confidential?

The research base for this study will be restricted to you, your mentor and your University tutor. All data will be stored and secured on an encrypted data drive provided by SHU. This is a secure data drive. You will be given a number that links you to the research and your voice recording will be transcribed, to ensure confidentiality as far as possible. Data provided by participants will be anonymised and will remain confidential to me, my supervisors, Dr Bronwen Maxwell and Dr Jon Dean. All paper-based data from the study will be kept in locked filing cabinets in a locked office until data has been collected for the main study, after which time it will be destroyed in accordance with SHU guidelines.

The research from this study will be published as my doctoral thesis and may be presented at conferences. Although I will make every effort to anonymise findings in the reporting, it is possible that due to the small scale of the study some individuals or FE organisations may be identifiable. If you want any of the information I publish from the study I will provide access to it on request. This study complies with the Freedom of Information Act, 2000 and the Data Protection Act, 1998.

If you would like any more information or have any concerns about your participation during or after the study please get in touch with me.

Contact details:

Researcher: Sarah Boodt

Tel: 0114 2256118

Email: s.boodt@shu.ac.uk

The team supervising this research are:

Dr Bronwen Maxwell (b.maxwell@shu.ac.uk) and Dr Jon Dean (j.dean@shu.ac.uk)

Appendix 2: Consent form

TITLE OF RESEARCH STUDY:

The workplace as a learning site for further education trainee teachers

I volunteer to participate in the above research project, conducted by Sarah Boodt of Sheffield Hallam University (SHU). I understand that the purpose of the project is to explore how trainee further education (FE) teachers use the workplace as a learning site to develop their knowledge and understanding about teaching and their practical teaching skills. I will be one of approximately 18 participants in this project.

Please answer the following questions by ticking the response that applies

- | | YES | NO |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. My participation in this project is voluntary. I understand that I will not be paid for my participation. I am free to withdraw and withdraw my data from the study within the time limits outlined in the Participant Information Sheet, without giving a reason for my withdrawal, or to decline to answer any particular questions in the study without penalty. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. I have read and understand the Participant Information Sheet for this study and have had my questions about the study have been answered to my satisfaction and I understand that I may ask further questions at any point. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. Participation involves being interviewed by a researcher from SHU. The interview will last approximately 75 minutes. Notes will be written during the interview and the interview will be recorded and transcribed. If I don't want to be recorded for the interview I will not be able to participate in the study. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. I wish to participate in the study under the conditions set out in the Participant Information Sheet. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. I consent to the information collected for the purposes of this research study, once anonymised (so that I cannot be identified), to be used for any other research purposes. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. I understand that this research study has been reviewed and approved by the SHU ethics | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

committee. For research problems or questions regarding subjects, the Institutional Review Board may be contacted through (find SHU person here).

7. I have been given a copy of this consent form.

Participant's Signature:

Date:

Participant's Name (Printed):

Contact details:

Researcher's Signature:

Researcher's Name (Printed):

Sarah Boodt

Researcher's contact details:

s.boodt@shu.ac.uk

The team supervising this research are:

Dr Bronwen Maxwell (b.maxwell@shu.ac.uk) and Dr Jon Dean (j.dean@shu.ac.uk).

Appendix 3: Trainee interview schedule

1. Tell me about your experiences as a trainee teacher in [workplace name]. (habitus/field fit). What has gone well?

Prompts: How well do you feel you fit in? Why? *habitus-field fit; cleft habitus and coping strategies; pre-reflexive actions and 'field of possibles' (Burke)*

- How would you describe your relationship with your mentor/other staff/your students? (*habitus-field fit*)
- What have you been doing so far? (*identify how trainee has operationalised capitals to access learning opportunities*)
- To what extent do you think background has affected your experience in the workplace? (anything from IT course?)
- - What role do you think social class plays in people's experience in the workplace/ability to do well?
- Do you think your accent/clothes has had an impact on your experiences as a trainee?

b) What hasn't gone so well? (*cleft habitus & coping strategies; link to hysteresis; modified habitus or reinforced habitus (Morrin)*)

- Has anything changed to make it easier? Did your mentor help you with this?

How are you using the workplace to help you develop your classroom practice? (*operationalising capitals, or resistance; modified/reinforced/hybrid habitus; identifying pre-reflective and reflexive actions - feel for game (Nash)*)

- What have you found most/least useful?

2. Why did you decide to become an FE teacher? (*habitus and aspirations; impact of institutional habitus; evidence of illusio*)

Prompts:

- Did you always want to teach in FE?
- What did your school/parents expect you to do? (*How does influence of family and school shape self-efficacy and attitude to learning in workplace?*)
- Is FE teaching what you expected? (*hysteresis; understanding of the field for game playing*)

3. Do you have any qualifications/industry experience/industry contacts relevant to your subject specialism? (*cultural and social capitals*). What's your highest qualification?

Prompts:

- How useful have these been in the workplace so far? (*how far have these been operationalised and to what effect? Value of capitals according to context*)

Appendix 4: Mentor interview schedule

4. Tell me about your experiences as a trainee teacher in [workplace name]. (habitus/field fit). What has gone well?

Prompts:

How well do you feel you fit in? Why? (*habitus-field fit; cleft habitus & coping strategies; pre-reflexive actions and 'field of possibles' (Burke)*)

- How would you describe your relationship with your mentor/other staff/your students? (*habitus-field fit*)
- What have you been doing so far? (*identify how trainee has operationalised capitals to access learning opportunities*)
- To what extent do you think background has affected your experience in the workplace? (anything from IT course?)
- - What role do you think social class plays in people's experience in the workplace/ability to do well?
- Do you think your accent/clothes has had an impact on your experiences as a trainee?

b) What hasn't gone so well? (*cleft habitus & coping strategies; link to hysteresis; modified habitus or reinforced habitus (Morrin)*)

- Has anything changed to make it easier? Did your mentor help you with this?

5. How is your trainee using the workplace to develop their classroom practice? (*operationalising capitals, or resistance; modified/reinforced/hybrid habitus; identifying pre-reflective and reflexive actions - feel for game (Nash)*)

- What have they found most/least useful?

6. Why did you decide to become an FE teacher? (*habitus and aspirations; impact of institutional habitus; evidence of illusio*)

Prompts:

- Did you always want to teach in FE?

-What did your school/parents expect you to do? (*How does influence of family and school shape self-efficacy and attitude to learning in workplace?*)

7. Do you have any qualifications/industry experience/industry contacts relevant to your subject specialism? (*cultural and social capitals*). What's your highest qualification?

Prompts:

- How useful have these been in the workplace so far? (*how far have these been operationalised and to what effect? Value of capitals according to context*)

Appendix 5: Reduced data Case 2

T2: Dan	M2 : Becky
Habitus	
<p data-bbox="373 320 730 353">Attitude to ITE & learning</p> <p data-bbox="373 356 871 427">R: So they suggested to you about going onto the course?</p> <p data-bbox="373 430 877 757">T: Erm, not necessarily, actually ... it was ... it was probably more me - in my one to ones I always said that I'd like ta errm progress, I'd like to do more than just be a a learnin' practitioner, so I suppose it was more my direction that said 'oh, I'd like to get into teachin' ' yeah.</p> <p data-bbox="373 797 877 976">R: So you said it was a bit of an immersive thing; would you have done it differently, if you'd had the choice, would you have done it in a more gentle way?</p> <p data-bbox="373 978 877 1711">T: I don't fink I would, no. I fink I've learned more from just jumpin' out the deep end and learning and being given that support and direction towards what I needed to learn ... rather than spending the years in the classroom, and learnin' the feory side of it and then jumpin' after that... ...Just from the amount of hours that I've spend in a classroom, and actually having to be the teacher in a classroom and havin the experiences n bein' able to reflect on those experiences and lookin' at what I can do to change ... whatever that experience was, an improve on that experience ... that's been more of a direction to progress</p> <p data-bbox="373 1751 799 1823">Can I ask why you stopped at maths AS level?</p> <p data-bbox="373 1825 861 2038">I'd come from bein a real high achiever at school, to the college environment an I didn't get along with the teacher at all, an I started ... missin some lessons, n fallin' behind with the topics n... n... just</p>	<p data-bbox="908 320 1420 461">R: So can you tell me about your experiences of being an ITE mentor here at Grimsby college? What's gone well?</p> <p data-bbox="908 463 1428 1675">... within a secondary school they've gone through placements and all that kind of thing for their PGCE, an they're gonna get QTS at the end of it, so it's a completely different route to the FE student teacher trainers (sic) who, quite often are already in the job before they start on the course, so it's almost like they're in a forced apprenticeship to do, to do these things, so the difference ... I think I've found ... is the ones on the job tend to be actually better at the practical side of teaching, whereas the ones from the secondary school knew more about the theory and everything, what they should be doin, ... whereas ... yeah, I'm thinking of Dan in particular. He is very very good in the classroom, getting the attention and things like that, and he's learnt that himself, not because it was a class that 'e sat through at University. So I see that as a big difference; they seem to have more of the craft of teaching about them, you know, that teacher 'thing' (comma sign with finger) ... that, um, teachers seem to have, but I see it more in FE than I did do, in secondary school because, I think it's the levels of experience that they've got</p> <p data-bbox="908 1715 1428 2038">... But, yeah, the less academic side of it means they're DOIN the job, and the only way, I mean, just to put it plainly, that they're gonna survive doing the job in that environment, is by doing it well. So they need to find ways that work for them, and they need to find them quickly, because they're thrown in at the deep end.</p>

didn't get along with the course at the time. I don't think I approached it with the right frame of mind, to be fair, it was my own limitations as well, I can't just blame the teacher, of course.

I think Dan's the type who would make sure that he's getting ..that everybody else is getting as well (smiles and nods) So e doesn't get left out, basically, because e's Dan and a valued part of the department, definitely.

M2: he's a very good talker, and he's really good at reflecting, so ... if he had some trouble with anything he'd talk to ... well, whoever's there, really. So he knows that there are a lot of experienced people within the department, all with different experience levels, as well, so he'll talk things through, it doesn't always have to be me, so he'll go and talk things through with whoever, and because he's got that relationship with the whole department, he knows he can go, and get that, so he definitely pulls in on that (nods and smiles)

Hab-field fit
R: How well do you feel you fitted in with the team then, cos it sounds like you were coming at it from a very different direction.
T: Erm, ... I think I fitted very well into the team, actually, even though I was comin' at it from a different direction I would never undermine a teacher, I would never step on a teacher's toes in that respect, if it was there classroom. I would be on the side. I don't fink that .. I was ... not suited to them team. I think that... we kind of melded together more in it.
R: Has that impacted on the kind of experiences that you've been given access to as a trainee teacher, do you think?
T: Yeah, yeah, definitely yeah it's opened up opportunities in that respect, like goin on to the teacher conferences,

R: Ok, thinking about Dan; how well do you think he fits in here and in the maths department, and in the college at large.

M2: I think it's quite seamless with Dan, actually, because Dan was a teacher before he started on the course, if that makes sense ... yeah, that DOES make sense ... tryin' ta put myself So, he was already working within the department, and it was part of his performance management, so he said 'I was already doing some teaching, so why don't I get a teaching qualification to go with it, so it's almost like he was formalising what he was doing already.

M2: Learning support, so e'd come in an help students, and then e'd end up coverin' lessons, and it just grows n grows n grows. ated department.

Appendix 6: Habitus-field fit

<p>M1</p> <p>R: How well do you think he fits in with the team?</p> <p>Jon has a lot of experience errm, his experience is not as wide as mine, I've been in a lot more places and used my scaffoldin in different areas compared to Jon ... and... but the one thing Jon and I have been able to do is bounce off each other, we've been very good at working with each other. So when we've got a problem, between my experience and Jon's experience, we've never had a problem we can't solve</p>	<p>R: Um hum,. And what about ... can you remember when you first came here with your colleagues. How did you feel you fitted in, cos you said that you went into the classroom and you ran away for the first lesson (T1 interrupts)</p> <p>T1: After I felt ??? I felt I fitted in fine, because we just, all, it was building site mentality. ... Tom was a scaffolder, an I'm a scaffolder, Alan was a scaffolder. We'd 'ave ourselves a cup of tea and we used to go for a pint at dinner time, you know, cos 'e was the worst one forrit, ' im. E used to encourage me, so it was great, just like bein' on a building site. I didn't feel any different, it was just so much until I got used to the learners.</p>	
<p>2</p> <p>How well do you feel you fitted in with the team then, cos it sounds like you were coming at it from a very different direction?</p> <p>D2: I think I fitted very well into the team, actually, even though I was comin' at it from a different direction I would never undermine a teacher, I would never step on a teacher's toes in that respect.. I think that... we kind of melded together more in it.</p>	<p>How well do you think he fits in here and in the maths department, and in the college at large?</p> <p>M2: I think it's quite seamless with Dan, actually, because Dan was a teacher before he started on the course ... so e'd come in an help students, and then e'd end up coverin' lessons, and it just grows n grows n grows and all of a sudden e's got is own timetable because e's that good, and the Cert ed that e's doin alongside that.</p>	<p>R: And how would you describe his relationship with other staff in the department?</p> <p>M2: They just see him as another member of staff, e's not a trainee teacher, 'es not ... e's just, e's got 'is own ... they value his opinion as well, they're interested in what he thinks about things, he's very good with spreadsheets n things like that, so when they're building up question level analysis, for exams, they'll talk to Dan about it, so e's, e's just part of .. what is goin' on</p>