Social class, *habitus* and reflexivity: an analysis of trainee teachers' understandings

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Abstract

This thesis examines the relationship between trainee teachers' social class backgrounds and their early professional identity development in placement schools. Reasons why they seek to train in specific schools and how trainees' social class backgrounds affect their choice of placement schools is explored.

The concepts of dispositional understanding and *habitus* are used to develop an understanding of the social class values trainee teachers bring to an initial teacher training course and consequently, how these concepts are made manifest during training placements.

My epistemological position as a qualitative researcher defines the framework for how I gather and interpret my data. Using interviews that explore social backgrounds and details of placement experiences provides data that is rich in personal detail, as well as giving insight into how trainees perceive their training placements and early career professional identity development.

The findings indicate that trainees research their school-based placements in order to ensure that they have an increased chance of successfully completing their training. This leads to trainees preferring placements in what they perceive to be successful schools. Making such choices reduces the potential for failure through coming into contact with school students who may, through the trainees' perceptions of such students, disrupt trainees' progress. In doing so, they seek to detach themselves from students whom they perceive may damage their chances of successfully completing placements and ultimately, their entry into teaching. Analysis of trainees' recall of taught elements of their training reveals that they privilege information relating to ethnicity, race, gender or religion over students' socio-economic status. Finally, analysis of policy shows that with future changes to initial teacher training there are implications for courses due to *elimination* and recruitment to schools in areas of social deprivation.

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Dedications

Eileen Constance Smith

1911 – 1999

Grandma

Dennis Antony John Bridgeman

1931 – 2011

Father-in-law, journalist and a man who unceasingly shared his love of words.

Declaration

I declare that the research contained in this thesis, unless otherwise formally indicated within the text, is the original work of the author. The thesis has not been previously submitted to this, or any other university, for a degree and does not incorporate any material already submitted for a degree.

Signed:

Christopher Sweeney

Date: Friday 10th February 2017

List of abbreviations

BA (Hons)   Bachelor of Arts with Honours – undergraduate degree course

CAT   Cognitive Ability Test

DCSF   Department for Children, Schools and Families (2007 to 2010)

DES   Department for Education and Science (1964 to 1992)

DfE   Department for Education (2010 to 2013)

DfEE   Department for Education and Employment (1995 to 2001)

DfES   Department for Education and Skills (2001 to 2007)

DoE   Department of Education 1992 to 1995)

EHRC   Equality and Human Rights Commission

EMA   Education Maintenance Allowance

GTP   Graduate Teacher Programme

HEI   Higher Education Institution

HMI   Her Majesty's Inspectorate for Schools

ITT   Initial Teacher Training

NCSL   National College for School Leadership (until 31st March 2013)

NCTL   National College of Teaching and Leadership (since 1st April 2013)

NQF   The National Qualifications' Framework

NQT   Newly Qualified Teacher

NVQ   National Vocational Qualification

OfSTED   Office for Standards in Education

PGCE   Postgraduate Certificate in Education

PSED   Public Sector Equality Duty (under *The Equality Act, 2010*)

PSHE   Personal, Social and Health Education (school subject)

QTS   Qualified Teacher Status

SAT   Standardised Attainment Test

SDS   School Direct Salaried (teacher training qualification)

SDT   School Direct Tuition (teacher training qualification)

List of abbreviations (continued)

TA   Teaching Agency (2012 –present day)

TDA   Training and Development Agency (2007 – 2012)

TSA   Teaching Schools Alliance

TTA   Teacher Training Agency (1997 – 2007)

Glossary of terms

Education Maintenance Allowance (EMA)

A grant paid to students whose household threshold income was at least £20,817. The EMA was stopped in England in October 2010, but still exists in Wales and Scotland

Link tutor

A senior lecturer from the higher education institution who carries out quality control visits to placement schools.

Mentor

A qualified teacher in a department within a placement school. The mentor is responsible for the daily supervision of a trainee whilst on placement.

New Standards

The current eight teacher training standards that must be met by all teachers and trainee teachers since 1st September 2012. These are regulated by the NCTL and were updated in 2013.

Placement

The part of an Initial Teacher Training course where a trainee is placed in a school under the direct supervision of a mentor (see above). For the purpose of this thesis, these placements are carried out in both primary and secondary schools.

Professional Tutor

A member of the teaching staff in a placement school. The Professional Tutor is usually, but not always, a member of the placement school's senior management team. They are responsible for the oversight and management of all the mentors in a school (see above).

Q Standards

Any of the thirty-three standards required to achieve Qualified Teacher Status – the minimum standard that was required to teach in a maintained school in England (until August 31st, 2012).

Qualified Teacher Status (QTS)

Accreditation required in England and Wales to teach in maintained or special schools. It is gained by meeting the required Training Standards as laid down by the Department for Education. QTS is not required to teach in an academy, free school or private school.

Student

Any person who is in full-time education or training (aged between 5 and 18 years old).

Subject Tutor

A university lecturer responsible for ensuring that trainees have the requisite level of subject knowledge prior to starting their placements. The subject tutor is also responsible for arranging a trainee's school-based placements. They will usually have worked as a qualified teacher in secondary schools prior to working in higher education.

Trainee (teacher)

Anyone undertaking a Department for Education accredited course of Initial Teacher Training that may lead to Qualified Teacher Status (applies to England or Wales only)

Chapter One: Introduction

This thesis reports on a qualitative study of seven trainee teachers who have completed their Initial Teacher Training (ITT) at a university in the south of England. I explore the participants' personal understandings of social class and the impact that these understandings have when, during their training, they teach students from differing social classes. This exploration will be carried out through the lens of Bourdieu's twin concepts of *habitus* and *field*. Furthermore, I examine how the taught elements of the participants' ITT course provide spaces to explore their understandings of social class in the education of their students. The findings highlight the lack of reflexivity by the middle-class participants, demonstrating their indifference towards students from other social classes. My findings also identify a concern whereby some trainees seek to reduce the possibility of failing their placements by reducing their contact with students from different social class backgrounds from their own.

Contextual background

The background to this thesis lies in what I perceive to be differences in the education received by students from differing social classes. This is highlighted by the Sutton Trust (2011) who explain that:

> …poorer pupils perform worse in their examinations in schools with higher numbers of poorer pupils when compared with similar pupils in schools with more advantaged intakes
>
> (Sutton Trust, 2011, p12)

In my role as a senior lecturer, I train entrants to teaching who want to work with students aged between eleven and sixteen. This is the age group the Sutton Trust identifies as having the worst examination performance due to social class differences (Sutton Trust, 2011). The ensuing effect on social mobility (due to educational underachievement) is reproduced from generation to generation unless there is intervention to prevent this from happening (Evans, 2007; Sutton Trust, 2011). Furthermore, the report asks "what factors might be driving lower or higher mobility in different countries, given the differences that are observed" (Sutton

Trust, 2011, p3). In this thesis, I examine whether trainee teachers' perceptions and interactions with students from differing social classes may be one of these factors. What I evaluate is the extent to which trainee teachers are aware of and, therefore, how they respond to perceived social class inequalities during their training. At this stage, it will be helpful to understand how I define social class.

Social class is described by Anyon (1980) as the relationship between the production of goods, services and culture and to the ownership of property and goods. She qualifies this by stating that once we are attributed to a specific social class it is not fixed for life and that we have the ability to move from one social class to another through our efforts in gaining an education or work. This indicates that social class is a complex matter that it is more nuanced than just equating ourselves with a list of occupations (Office for National Statistics, 2010) to classify an individual.

However, a deeper understanding of social class can be gained by looking at the relationship Bourdieu (1986, p243) derives from his concept of capitals. To consider where an individual is positioned within a society, Bourdieu requires us to look beyond the economic capital we possess, defining economic capital as being convertible into money. Economic capital can also take the form of "property rights" (1984, p86). The level of education an individual has acquired, their family's attitude towards education, their cultural background and the future use an individual makes of these credentials, collectively constituting an individual's cultural capital, all form an important part in this positioning process. However, Bourdieu (1986) states that it is not merely a case of combining the cultural and economic capitals of an individual that positions them in regard to social class. To do this, he also considers the composition of the capitals held by that individual, so that each position may be differentiated according to the balance of cultural and economic capitals held. His examples include professors and business owners. They may both reside within a given social class; however, Bourdieu (1984, p126) says that, by the nature of their occupation, the professor would be expected to hold more cultural and potentially, less economic capital, whereas the business

owner would usually hold the opposite in terms of capitals. What is important here is to recognise that the possession of these capitals is not fixed. Instead, the interplay between the volume and stability of economic and cultural capital held at a given point in time, as well as the ability to convert these existing capitals into further capitals will indicate where that individual is positioned when considering the social class position of an individual. It is this deeper understanding of social class, as an evolving position of an individual, that I will use throughout this thesis.

Having discussed how I will use social class as a concept, it is worth pausing to understand how social class can be interpreted. How the reader of this thesis interprets social class will be affected by their personal beliefs, background and understanding of how social class is called into being. I will discuss this in more detail later in this chapter when I examine Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* (Wacquant, 2005). As I described in the previous paragraph, social class is not a binary position and therefore, the intention of this thesis is not to privilege one class over another, nor to portray one class as better or worse than another. Instead, the purpose of using social class in this thesis is to examine whether there are differences in the ways trainee teachers engage with students from differing social class backgrounds in as neutral a way as possible. While the focus of the thesis is social class from a Bourdieusian perspective and therefore uses this term, there is a focus on social disadvantage within policy and practice that overlaps with this and is therefore clearly relevant but is not the same.

At various points in this thesis, I shall also discuss social disadvantage in relation to the families and students encountered by trainee teachers. This is a complex concept to define as it is varies according to the policies and legislation enacted by the government of the day. In a report to the OECD, Machin (2010) lists several factors which contribute to social disadvantage "child poverty; parental education and income; parental attitudes; neighbourhood factors" (Machin, 2006, p10). It is useful to note that Machin's factors are all based upon data that is measurable. Within England and Wales, one long-standing measure

of social disadvantage has been a child's eligibility for Free School Meals (FSM). This was introduced under the *Education Act (1944)* and is currently reliant upon the parent(s) of a child being in receipt of specified state benefits and having a gross annual income under a given threshold[1]. A more recent initiative introduced to reduce social disadvantage is the Pupil Premium. Created by the Coalition Government in 2010, eligible individual students are identified by a range of factors, including whether they are in care or are receiving free school meals. Each school is then allocated an additional sum of funding for the education of that specific student[2]. Pupil Premium and FSM will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Two when I examine how these policies may affect trainee teachers' perceptions of students eligible for such programmes. What the use of FSM and Pupil Premium highlights is that unlike social class, which allows for agency to move between classes, social disadvantage is more readily defined by a range of measures to classify an individual or family. However, whilst students from working-class backgrounds can improve their opportunities (and middle-class students might choose to squander theirs), students starting from points of lower social disadvantage (e.g. lower household income or ability to pay for an education) will always face greater financial barriers to education or health and quality of life compared to those from higher social classes (Hills et al, 2010, p2). This will be important later when I examine the effect that Pupil Premium has on the participants' understanding of students' social class backgrounds.

In order to understand the context within which education, ITT and the concept of social class all intersect, I will also examine Santoro and Allard's (2005) study of the perceptions some trainee teachers have of particular placement schools. They raise the issue of why some trainees may prefer not to be placed in schools where they may feel "unfamiliar" (Santoro and Allard, 2005, p864). The causes of this unfamiliarity will be examined in the light of the capitals that trainees bring to their ITT course. Delpit's (2006) study of trainee teachers' perceptions of social class will demonstrate how trainees are more likely to imitate

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[1] At the time of writing, this was £16,190
[2] https://www.gov.uk/guidance/pupil-premium-information-for-schools-and-alternative-provision-settings Last accessed 1st February 2017

their placement mentor's behaviours, thus maintaining the status quo with regards to perceptions of students' class positions. The reasons why trainees imitate their mentor will be developed through two further Bourdieusian concepts: *habitus* and *field*. *Habitus* is described as "…the way society becomes deposited in persons in the form of lasting dispositions, or trained capacities and structured propensities to think, feel and act in determinant ways, which then guide them" Wacquant (2005, p316). *Habitus* will be used as the basis to demonstrate how dispositions brought to an ITT course by trainees may result in reduced levels of reflexivity during their placements. *Field* is defined as "a structured social space, a field of forces…It contains people who dominate and people who are dominated" (Bourdieu, 1998, p40). In the context of this thesis, the *field* most frequently discussed will be the schools where trainee teachers carry out their training placements. *Habitus* and *field* will be used throughout this thesis to demonstrate the complementary, and sometimes contradictory manner in which these two concepts work. This will be achieved by highlighting the tensions faced by trainees in schools who are trying to successfully complete their placement, yet having to conform to the requirements of that placement school at the same time.

Furthermore, I will discuss the development of professional teaching identity. Burke and Reitzes' (1981) identity development characteristics will be used to explain how trainees come to the profession with preconceived ideas of the teaching profession. These preconceptions may already be a part of a trainee's *habitus*, or, as I will discuss in Chapter Three, trainees may bridge a gap in their knowledge through reflection on their daily practices which may form an interruption to their existing *habitus.* This will be carried out through the work of Rajuan, Beijaard and Verloop (2007), who analyse why some gaps in professional knowledge may not be so easy to bridge. This also links to the discussion on *field* as trainees seek recognition as a qualified teacher and how, through a lack of reflection, they merely replicate the existing *habituses* of other teaching professionals. This concept of gaps will be explored in more detail through the opportunities trainees have for reflection on their practice. I will use Hascher, Moser and Cocard's (2004) work on reflection by trainee

teachers during their placements to explain why they may not reflect on their work in much detail. In the context of this thesis, this lack of reflection will be developed to show how trainees align their thinking with that of their mentor through a fear of failing a placement, rather than challenging formalised ideas about differing groups of students.

Throughout this thesis, I will also refer to Bourdieu's concept of "dispositional understandings". Dispositional understandings are described as "under 'typical' circumstances, action [that] can proceed on a pre-reflexive basis" (Weininger, 2005, p131). In other words, these are instinctive actions and not consciously made decisions based upon reflection on actions, with the consequences of those actions taken into consideration. In Chapter Six I discuss how trainee teachers make decisions based on their dispositional understandings of a given situation and their personal *habitus,* rather than reflecting on research or other external sources of information.

Having discussed the wider theoretical background that defines social class, I will set out in Chapter Two how legislation and policies shape the educational and ITT landscape. I will explain the effects that changes to equality legislation have had and consider the impact that these changes have on trainees' understanding of the protected characteristics and social class in the context of *The Equality Act, (2010)*. Introduced during the latter days of the Labour Government (1997-2010), this act introduced a Public Sector Equality Duty (PSED) for local authorities, including schools, to show consideration and awareness of the socio-economic circumstances of their service end-users (e.g. students in schools). However, in 2010, the Coalition Government (2010-2015) revoked the PSED. In Chapter Two, I argue that the removal of the PSED has led to trainee teachers' having a diminished understanding of the impact that social class has on students who come from differing social class backgrounds.

Following this, the changes to ITT policy frameworks will be examined. These changes include the move from higher education-based Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE)

to two forms of school-led training; School Direct Tuition (SDT) and School Direct Salaried (SDS). The effect of this has been twofold. Firstly, this change was introduced by the Coalition Government (2010 – 2015) to increase the range of options open to prospective trainee teachers. Secondly, and more importantly for this thesis, it means that greater control of teacher training moves away from Higher Education Institutions (HEI). This signifies that Teaching School Alliances[3] (TSA) can now select whichever HEI best suits their needs for training their trainees, depending on how the academic input from the HEI meets the alliance's requirements. In doing so, a question arises as the needs of school-led ITT may only focus on the specific content required to ensure that a trainee needs in order to qualify as a teacher, without recourse to deeper levels of understanding the background of the students in the classroom - what Giroux described as reducing professionals "…to the status of technicians" (Giroux in Harper, 2014, p1080).

That I am discussing applicants for a career in teaching is a good example of how the English education system removes those who are ineligible to undertake initial teacher training in the first place. In Chapter Three, I will use Bourdieu's concept of *elimination* to explain why only some people will reach the threshold requirements for starting an ITT course and the effect that this has on separating those entering teaching from those who do not achieve the requisite entry requirements. This will then be related to how aware trainee teachers' are of social class differences between students during their training placements and in their university studies.

The gap in the knowledge and the research aims for this thesis

From my discussions with the participants in this thesis, they appear to have an understanding of various aspects of inclusion for a range of students; e.g. disability, sexuality, gender and religious beliefs. This will have been developed through the lectures

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[3] Teaching School Alliances are defined as "outstanding schools that work with others to provide high-quality training and development to new and experienced school staff". Further criteria for forming a Teaching Schools Alliance can be found at https://www.gov.uk/guidance/teaching-schools-a-guide-for-potential-applicants Last accessed 31st January 2017.

they have attended as part of their ITT course, as well as being based upon the cultural and

social capitals they bring to their training. This would appear to reflect the importance placed

upon the protected characteristics[4] under the *Equality Act (2010)*, and which are reinforced

through the training standards that they must meet. In this thesis, I contend that some

trainees' knowledge of social class is not as developed, compared with characteristics such

as sexuality, race, gender or disability, and that this is due in part to a lack of reflexivity on

their part. As will be shown later in Chapter Six, they do not acknowledge the need to

improve their understanding in the same way that they might if there were a gap in their

knowledge of one of the protected characteristics.

In the literature, studies have been carried out that examine the effects of social class on

students' education. Writers such as Reay (2000) and Knowles and Lander (2011) explain

how coming from a working-class background may affect a student's chances of achieving

good GCSE[5] grades. Similarly, the Sutton Trust Report (2011) demonstrates how the quality

of education a child receives in England significantly increases their chances of gaining a

place in a university and, potentially, earning higher wages compared with a child who does

not achieve the government's minimum five GCSEs at grades A* - C. The works of Gazeley

and Dunne (2007) and Ball (2003) reflect concerns about the imbalance of working-class

students achieving high GCSE grades and the ways that trainees can reduce the chances of

this happening. Ball (2003) discusses how class-based values may play a role in how

parents make choices for their children when selecting schools and how they would like their

children to grow up. Gazeley and Dunne (2007) show that whilst trainees acknowledge that

underachievement exists, the underlying causes leading to this underachievement still need

to be addressed.

What is missing from these studies, and, therefore, why I believe that this thesis is important

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[4] The protected characteristics listed under the Equality Act (2010) are: age; disability; gender reassignment; marriage and civil partnership; pregnancy and maternity; race; religion or belief; sex; sexual orientation (c15, Pt 2, Ch. 1, Section 4)
[5] I use GCSE and A' Level descriptively here. Other equally valid qualifications are widely accepted by teacher training institutions and this should not be seen as a preferential hierarchy of qualifications on my part.

is the current lack of theoretical knowledge regarding social class brought by trainees to their ITT courses and subsequently, into their teaching careers. The reason why I believe this is a significant area to research is that whilst trainees are aware of, and can recall discussing racism, sexism, sexuality and disability during their education studies programmes, there may be little or nothing to raise trainee teachers' awareness of, and knowledge about, the social class backgrounds of students in placement schools. If this is not taking place, questions arise regarding how trainees' dispositions towards social class may affect the life chances of their students. Furthermore, if trainees have little or no understanding of the social class backgrounds of their students, it becomes more important to make sure that they are not unwittingly ignoring the needs of students who may not have the same social and cultural capitals as others. Therefore, this thesis examines the documentary evidence available from equality legislation, national policies for ITT and documentation from education studies modules to show where there are opportunities for trainees to discuss and debate issues of social class and social mobility.

The continuing move from university-lead to school-based ITT programmes has broadened the opportunities for prospective trainees to choose where they will train. However, it also widens the scope for them to only go to schools where their chance of success is increased. The impact of this is significant as the range of training placements available to trainees moves away from all schools to only those OfSTED have graded as either good or outstanding. In Chapter Six, I discuss how trainees attempt to influence which placements will be most likely to ensure a successful outcome for themselves; the implication is that pressure to have more trainees will be placed on those schools known to have high success rates, to the detriment of those schools which are not rated as highly by OfSTED. This will be examined through analysis of the findings in Chapter Five and the implications discussed in more detail in Chapter Six.

I will, therefore, be investigating what the effect of the social class background of each trainee is on their professional identity development and how these backgrounds and their

capitals have affected the trainees' perspectives of the types of placement schools they wish to train in. This will be looked at through the lens of their social class values in order to see how they manage any situations where students from different social backgrounds may contest the trainees' personal views and values.

The previous section lays out why I believe there is an issue to be researched. I have distilled the main aspects into the first two research aims. The third aim focuses on how both legislation and policies (at national and local levels) will have an impact upon trainees and their practice within schools. Therefore, the aims for this research project are to:

1. Examine what social and cultural capitals trainees bring to an Initial Teacher Training course.
2. Understand how professional identity development shapes trainees at the start of their professional careers.
3. Analyse the extent to which policies relating to social inclusion (nationally or locally) may affect the training of trainees in terms of their professional identity.

Description of the methodology

The data gathered for this thesis is premised on the understanding that all knowledge is constructed through interactions between the participating trainees and myself. Therefore, the primary method of data gathering was semi-structured interviews, carried out on two separate occasions with a single group of undergraduate trainees. The first of these was carried out before they undertook their first teaching placement. This allowed me to understand their backgrounds and any potential gaps in their knowledge relating to students' social class backgrounds. The second interviews took place after they had completed their second placement, an interlude of two years between the two interviews. This was to maximise the time available to me, during which trainees could develop their thoughts and ideas relating to social class during their placements. When I undertook the analysis of the interviews, I adapted Richmond's Analysis framework (2002). This was used to identify patterns of similarity and dissonance between the interviews from each of trainee. At the start of the interviews, the trainees were asked to construct concept maps to help them make connections between the various aspects of their personal and professional lives that I asked

them to recall. These were used to assist the trainees in recalling information, as well as enabling them to make connections their responses to the interview questions (Mavers, Somekh and Restorick, 2001: Cañas, Novak and Gonzalez, 2004).

The secondary means of data collection was an examination of policy documents and legislation that have an impact upon ITT. These documents provided insights into the legislative frameworks trainees must adhere to. Such documentary analysis covered education legislation from England and Wales and equality legislation from the United Kingdom. I also analysed policy documents from my institution, including equalities and admissions policies to see whether guidance was provided about what judgements are made regarding the teaching of social class values. The final set of documents I analysed were the education studies modules taught at my institution. These were used to explain what trainee teachers are taught about social class as it relates to education. All the research carried out was completed within my institution's ethical framework, with specific reference to the British Educational Research Association's guidance (2011).

Outline of chapters

The opening section of Chapter Two defines the contextual background of this thesis by showing how the field of ITT has been shaped by educational legislation in England and Wales since 1944. This section evaluates the changes to policy affecting ITT and how the discourse around social class has been marginalised within ITT. The second section examines how current legislation reinforces the protected characteristics of equality. Finally, I critique the education modules taught to trainee teachers at my institution in terms of how these shape trainees' thinking about social class. These documents are examined through the lens of Ball's (1990) policy-text to show how these modules seek to control the knowledge that is delivered to the trainees. I then explain the wider effects of social class in education and how differences in outcomes for students from differing social backgrounds

occur. This is then related to research into how trainees interact with students from differing social classes during placements.

In Chapter Three, I will put into context social class and then relate this to academic achievement. I use Bourdieu's concept of *elimination* to explain how the trainees participating in this thesis have reached their present levels of study compared with their school-based peers. The disparity between the trainees and their students is then explored as I look at trainees' professional identity development using Rajuan et al's (2007) concept of gaps in the trainees' knowledge. I also use Bourdieu's concept of *misrecognition* to demonstrate how some working-class parents may have a less powerful voice in relation to their child's education, thereby maintaining the dominance of schools in that relationship. Finally, I use Hascher et al's (2004) work on reflection to investigate how trainees seek to improve their knowledge so gaps they encounter can be explored through their reflections during their placements and lectures.

The Methodology Chapter considers my epistemological and ontological viewpoints and my justification for taking a qualitative stance throughout this thesis. The first section explains the epistemological position that I will take with the research whilst the theoretical perspective explains how events in the trainees' lives relate to the analysis of the data. The methodology section in this chapter provides the rationale for my choices of data collection methods. The final section describes the methods used as well as the selection process for my trainees. It also covers ethical issues and my position within the research process.

In the Analysis Chapter, I examine the responses to the interviews using an adapted version of Richmond's (2002) narrative analysis. This highlights the themes to be explored during the analysis of the findings. The data will be examined by comparing similarities and differences between individual trainees, starting with their family identities and finishing with their present roles as trainees undertaking their course.

The Discussion Chapter evaluates the relevance of *habitus* and *field* to the participants' experiences within their placements. The chapter identifies where these two concepts have an impact upon the trainees themselves and their roles as teachers. The chapter then assesses the impact reflexivity plays in the trainee teachers' lives and what effect this has on their understanding of social class as a factor they consider when planning their lessons. Finally, I discuss the broader context of changes to ITT and how these may have an impact on students from differing social classes, relative to how the participants have understood social class during their placements.

Chapter Six draws conclusions relating to the original research aims and offers recommendations regarding how aspects of ITT can be amended to include social class education in a more pragmatic and reflexive manner for both my institution as well as the wider Initial Teacher Training community. Further avenues for future research are explained as this thesis draws to a close.

Having explained how I will approach this enquiry, I will start by setting the contexts in which this thesis is set.

Chapter Two: Contexts within and surrounding ITT

This chapter sets out the connections between social class and initial teacher training (ITT). It will provide the context in which the research aims are set, giving a deeper understanding of the contradictions and complexities surrounding social class in modern schooling. This will be achieved through the use of both the institutional and policy contexts that form the background to this thesis. Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* will be used to show how trainee teachers joining the profession are acculturated into the existing practices of schools. This process will be evaluated through the combination of legislation and policies that schools are required to work within, therefore creating the boundaries of the *fields* of ITT and placement schools.

Theoretical contexts

The issue in question in this section relates to how schools in England and Wales have been shaped by a range of legislation over the last one hundred and fifty years. Specifically, I will look at how various methods, including legislation, have been used to maintain a range of schools, in order to give parents choices regarding which schools they may send their children to (Gille, 2010). The product of such schooling (in this case, the participants in this study) will have been shaped by the cultural capitals they acquired from their families and friends as well as during their education. In Chapter Three, I will demonstrate how these capitals are used during their ITT course.

Differences in the education provided by public schools and "schools for the masses" (Gillard, 2011) existed before the introduction of the *Public Schools Act (1868)* and the *Elementary Education Act (1870).* However, these two statutes demonstrate the extent to which the governance, curriculum and management of public and state schools were set by showing the value placed on educating different groups in Victorian society. In the case of

the curriculum, what was taught at the seven major public schools[6] was left to the discretion of the headmaster. In contrast, the publicly maintained schools were restricted to teaching the Three R's (reading, (w)riting and (a)rithmetic) as these were deemed to be all that the working-class needed to be able to function within the workplace. The report of the Commission on The State of Popular Education in England (1861) exemplifies the contradiction between the need for sufficient education for the working-class and their better-educated peers, who could attend university (once they had completed their compulsory education). The Introduction to the commission's report illustrates this, stating its purpose as being "…to consider what measures, if any, are required for the extension of sound and cheap elementary instruction to all classes of the people" (Education Commission, 1861, p22).

In the intervening years, and in order to improve the quality of education in secondary schools, both Labour and Conservative governments have legislated to change the education system in England and Wales. One of the biggest changes in the structure of schooling in England and Wales took place following the *Education Act (1944)* whereby the existing school system was divided into three tiers; grammar, secondary modern and secondary technical schools[7]. These three types of schools were established from existing provisions, based upon the recommendations of R.A. Butler in 1943. Butler's committee noted that the three types of schools would offer different pathways into a range of careers (Board of Education, 1943, pp7-9), directing the students by 'ability" into careers that were deemed to be academic, managerial or vocational. The intention was to create greater social mobility, especially for those who attended the grammar schools, the idea being that grammar school students would be the predominant group of students who would go on to attend university. However, the Crowther Report (1959) concluded that there were disparities between the quality of education in grammar and secondary modern schools, effectively excluding some students who could have achieved better academic qualifications had they

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[6] Listed under the Public Schools Act (1868) as Eton, Winchester, Westminster, Charterhouse, Harrow, Rugby and Shrewsbury.
[7] More commonly known as the tripartite system.

attended a grammar school (Central Advisory Committee on Education, 1959). This lasted until 1964 when the decision was taken to create comprehensive schools from the existing grammar, secondary modern and technical schools. There is an irony here that the final introduction of the tripartite system happened under a Labour Government (1945-1951) elected in the aftermath of World War II, but it was a subsequent Labour Government (1964-1971) who introduced comprehensivisation, following the Crowther Report (1959). However, the merging of differing types of schools to form comprehensives did not precipitate the wholesale removal of the tripartite system, as not all grammar or independent schools were abolished; there are still areas in England and Wales[8] today where grammar schools are offered as an alternative to comprehensive education. At the same time, private education still exists within the England and Wales, leaving us with a nuanced educational landscape.

There are still calls within the national newspapers for the reintroduction of more grammar schools (Doughty, 2011; Judd and Abrams,1996), to allow for greater choice by parents when choosing schools for their children at the age of eleven[9]. Most recently, changes to the types of schooling available in England and Wales have included the introduction by Labour of academies in 2003 and, under the Coalition Government, free schools. The admission by the Labour Government that they would no longer be committed solely to comprehensive schools made the move towards more selective forms of schooling possible, so that subsequent governments were able to create academies thus increasing the choice of schools available to parents (Morris, 2002). This also included the right for grammar schools to wholly select their intake through the use of entrance examinations (such as the Eleven Plus). In selecting students for grammar schools, those who may not be tutored to pass the entrance examination[10], or whose ability to comprehend written or spoken English might prevent them from understanding the examination papers are at a disadvantage. As a result, they would be offered a place at the local comprehensive or academy. The result of this is

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[8] These are predominantly found in Kent, Buckinghamshire and Yorkshire. Individual grammar schools can be found in other counties throughout England and Wales.
[9] Also known as the age of transfer. Today, this is the age at which students in England and Wales normally make the transition from primary to secondary education.
[10] There are forums on the Internet offering advice about how to pass the entrance examinations: one such is http://www.elevenplusexams.co.uk/ last accessed 31st January 2017.

that the likelihood of children from poorer backgrounds increasing their cultural and social capitals is reduced (Sutton Trust, 2011) so that those who achieve lower levels of qualification are less likely to attend university or achieve higher paid employment, which in turn affects their chances of increasing their social mobility. This will be discussed further in this chapter when I consider the results of the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) tests.

Social mobility and inequalities in educational outcomes

In a study of educational outcomes in Yorkshire, England, Jesson (2006) notes that children who fail the Eleven Plus and subsequently attend a non-grammar school are less likely to achieve the standard government measure of five A*-C GCSEs, compared with if they went to a comprehensive school in an area that did not select for academic ability (Jesson, in Hewlett et al; 2006). Furthermore, Jesson states that a new tripartite system is emerging in some areas where parents are choosing to send their children to the local grammar school, leaving the least able (academically) to attend what have become, according to Jesson, newer versions of secondary modern schools. This is supported by Dearden's finding that

> Children of well-educated parents (NVQ Levels 3 and 4) are significantly more likely to attend university than children of parents with no qualifications…

> (Dearden et al 2011, p25)

Some parents' perceptions of their local schools echo Jesson's findings. When, in the 1960s and 1970s, schools were converted from secondary modern or technical schools to comprehensives, those parents who attended the old secondary modern or technical schools still saw these as being for working-class children, instead of having populations that are mixed by social class, culture, ethnicity and gender. The effect of this is that particular social class groups have been noted as having different expectations of schools, depending upon their own experiences of school (Willis, 1977; Evans, 2007; Spera, Wentzel and Matto, 2009). According to Evans (2007), those described as working-class predominantly have

lower expectations in terms of outcomes from education (qualifications achieved, salary earned and job prospects) when compared with middle-class school leavers.

This demonstrates that where parents have a choice about which schools to send their child to, they will try to send them to the school they believe will provide the best opportunity to achieve qualifications which, in turn, enable them to enter college and possibly university (Jesson, 2006; Reay, 2001; Whitty, 2001). As a result of the competition created, some schools in a particular area will achieve better exam results compared with others and this has an impact upon recruitment of students and teaching staff to those schools. The schools at the bottom of the government's published league tables (and therefore potentially perceived as less successful) are more likely to educate students from the poorest backgrounds (Evans, 2007). This is significant in the context of this thesis for two reasons. Firstly, those trainees who are seeking to become teachers are required to have very specific qualifications[11] in order to gain entry to their chosen course. If they, for whatever reason, are not able to attend a school that will provide them with the opportunity to gain the relevant qualifications, then they may choose not to follow a path that, in this case, leads to becoming a qualified teacher (Dumais, 2002). Secondly, and this will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Three, there is the possibility that due to social stratification (see also page 57 for further discussion), some trainee teachers may not have encountered students from differing social class groups. Marie is an example of this when she discusses the fact that until she reached sixth form, she never mixed with students from the "other side of town" where she lived as a child (Marie, Interview One; see also Chapter Six). If that is the case, then concerns may arise when such trainees are faced with students from differing social class backgrounds, either because the trainee may find them personally challenging, or because the trainee believes that such students may jeopardise the outcome of a training placement. This possibility arises from the views expressed by some of the participants in this thesis who

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[11] Currently, the Department for Education requires all entrants to first degrees in education with QTS to have passed English Language and mathematics (and for primary teachers, science) at GCSE Grade C or higher. In addition, prospective entrants to my institution are also required hold three A' Levels at grades B or higher. For those seeking entry to a PGCE programme, they are also required to have GCSEs in English Language and mathematics as well as holding a degree in a relevant subject.

felt that failure to be placed in one of the highest performing schools in some local towns might harm their chances of successfully completing a training placement. Santoro and Allard (2005) found similar responses in their research where they discovered that some trainee teachers deliberately stated that they did not want to teach students from lower socio-economic backgrounds. This is an instance of where the trainee's *habitus* may come into conflict with the *field* of the school in which they are being placed and is a phenomenon that I discuss in Chapter Six when I assess the ways in which trainees try to influence where they are placed during their training.

There have been attempts to increase social mobility through education and the Assisted Places Scheme[12] (APS) is one example. The APS was introduced as a way of ensuring that some of the most academically able students in comprehensive schools were offered ways of enhancing their academic potential by attending private schools and having their fees paid for by the state. Power et al (2009) report that as a result of this scheme, those who had participated, earned significantly more than their state-educated colleagues. However, Whitty (2001) argues that this only affected a small number of students across the duration of the scheme and therefore, had very little effect on improving social mobility. In Chapter Six, Susan makes the point about her experience of scholarship students in a private school. She reports that these girls "knew their place" (Susan, Interview Two) in the school, demonstrating that even when there are attempts to enhance a student's education through attendance at a fee-paying school, there are still divisions between those who are paying for their education and those who are being assisted with scholarships or foundation places at private schools.

Further evidence of the lack of social mobility in England and Wales arises from the data produced by PISA (OECD, 2013a), which demonstrates that education does little to promote social mobility. Wilkinson and Pickett (2010) show that there are inequalities in the education

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[12] Introduced in 1981 under the Conservative Government (1979 – 1983) but abolished in 1997 by the Labour Government (1997 – 2010).

system for England and Wales, with students who come from the lowest income families being the least likely to enhance their social mobility as a result of eleven years of statutory education. This in turn leads to low levels of social mobility in the population, when measured as paternal income at the birth of a child correlated against that child's income at the age of thirty.

Similarly, Breen and Jonssen (2005) demonstrate that father-son earnings ratios have increased, resulting in widening gaps in social mobility in the United Kingdom (UK). Whilst patterns of increasing mobility have been seen in other countries in the PISA ratings, the UK has remained relatively unchanged (OECD 2013a). The most recent PISA report has noted that

> …socio-economically disadvantaged students in the United Kingdom are less likely to succeed at school than their more advantaged peers. However, some countries are more successful than the United Kingdom in reducing the influence of socio-economic status on student performance.

(OECD, 2013b, p1 see also footnote below[13])

When the UK results from the PISA tests are looked at in more detail, there are some concerns that arise. Firstly, the results cover the UK, in which there are three different education systems under scrutiny: England and Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. This means that there are three different sets of curricula under examination in one set of tests. Secondly, the cost of participation in the tests has to be borne by the participating school, which may feel that they can make better use of that money within their school[14].

Another factor affecting social mobility is the ability to pay for education with those who are least able to afford private education achieving lower grades at the end of compulsory schooling (Breen and Jonssen, 2005). This mirrors the findings of Jesson, as well as Green's analysis of the PISA scores. He states:

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[13] In this context, the OECD equates "advantaged" with being educated in a private school or a state school offering an equivalent level of education to the private sector. The same document fails to define their term "disadvantaged" (OECD, 2011, pp1-3).
[14] At the time of writing, this is £3350. Source NFER: http://www.nfer.ac.uk/schools/pisa-based-test-for-schools/ last accessed 31st January 2017.

> School systems…particularly in the UK, the USA and New Zealand, are notable for having regulatory systems, based on quasimarket competition and local school management, which are likely to increase school diversity. Since diversity in schools seems, in most cases, to mean diversity in school standards, these systems, although nominally comprehensive in structure, tend to produce high levels of between school variation in achievement…which is likely to increase overall inequality in outcomes. As far as school choice is linked to ability to pay— or to cultural capital endowment associated with occupation and income—then such systems are likely to increase the degree of social background determination in school achievement, thus reducing social mobility and increasing social inequality in education. This, as we have seen, may have negative effects on income inequality and—ultimately—on social cohesion.

(Green, 2006, p321)

It would seem, therefore, that greater educational success comes from having a flatter educational structure, with fewer types of schools available and with a more centralised curriculum. Further illustration is provided by the OECD,

> Private schools – and public schools with student populations from socio-economically advantaged backgrounds – benefit the individual students who attend them; but there is no evidence to suggest that private schools help to raise the level of performance of the school system

(OECD, 2011, p4)

From studies carried out by The Sutton Trust (2011) and McKnight (2015), it is clear that having a private education sector increases the chances of a student achieving GCSE and A Levels with good grades, going to university and obtaining a degree and then finding better paid employment. Perversely, there will be less likelihood of a student widening their "verbal facility, general cultural awareness, aesthetic preferences…and educational credentials'' if they attend a local comprehensive school (Swartz, 1997, p75). If the student, when they leave school, fails to gain the requisite qualifications to attend further education and potentially, higher education, they will be more likely, according to The Sutton Trust to remain in lower paid employment (Sutton Trust, 2011) and so their social mobility and cultural capitals remains unchanged. Paton quotes the former Chief Inspector of Schools (Sir Michael Wilshaw) as saying,

According to figures, children from the poorest homes – those eligible for free school meals – currently fall behind wealthier classmates throughout compulsory education. Last year, just a third of these pupils gained five good GCSEs, including the core subjects of English and mathematics, compared with some 62 per cent of other children. White British boys eligible for free meals officially performed worse than any other group -aside from gypsy and traveller children – with fewer than 29 per cent gaining good grades.

(Paton, 2012)

Here then lies the critical complexity at the heart of this section. If a student is to gain further cultural and social capitals through education and thus improve their chances of greater social mobility, they need to have the opportunity to attend schools and be taught by teachers who will widen the horizons of the student in order to provide better prospects for achieving good academic grades. This is very much a problem of agency and the ability of the individual student to make changes to their personal circumstances. I would argue that the student, *per se,* does not have the agency to make those decisions. Therefore, the question of agency and the role of the trainee teacher in helping students to achieve their aims is the subject of the section on agency later in this chapter.

More immediately, the role of the school as *field* becomes important here. In terms of Bourdieu's *field,* this is the idea that "structured structures, predisposed to act as structuring structures" (Bourdieu, 1990, p53) are playing their part in shaping the education system where trainee teachers are firstly being educated and secondly, they are then seeking to work in. Therefore, the *field* (in this case their schools) they have left as students will already be familiar to them. Whilst in itself this is not necessarily problematic, it becomes so if the trainees do not question why there may be structural inequalities within the education system in the form of social class differences in educational outcomes. Alan, one of the participants, demonstrates why this question is important when discussing this aspect of his work in schools. He states that he is not concerned with the social class backgrounds of the students he is teaching, but only that he should have to focus on the teaching of his subject to those students (Alan, Interview Two). For me, this exemplifies why understanding social class within education is an important aspect of ITT and therefore, needs to be explored in greater

depth. Alan's example is a practical demonstration of Bourdieu's dispositional understanding, underpinning his individual *habitus,* and so producing unreflective thinking and working practices.

The picture that emerges from this first section is one of unchanging change. As I have shown at the beginning of this chapter, education legislation over the last seventy years has been amended in order to try and achieve a way of improving social mobility but with little or no effect (Sutton Trust, 2011). In the next section, I explore the legislative and policy contexts surrounding ITT and in particular, I focus on the *Equality Act (2010).* The removal of the Public Sector Equality Duty (PSED) will be used to show how an opportunity to bring socio-economic inequality to the attention of trainee teachers has been lost.

National policy and legislative contexts

This section focuses on the policy frameworks that encompass ITT in relation to social class and mobility. The first part considers national policy and legislation, including the removal of the socio-economic duty from the *Equality Act (2010)* and the implication this has for developing trainee teachers' understanding of social mobility and social class. I will then look at the changes to education legislation that have specifically affected ITT in terms of social class.

The *Equality Act (2010)* was enacted to consolidate and clarify previous legislation that related to a range of inequalities. The act specifically covers discrimination against anyone on the grounds of age, disability, gender reassignment, marriage/civil partnership, race, religion/belief, sex or sexual orientation. Collectively, these aspects are known as the 'protected characteristics' under the terms of the act.

The Labour Government (1997 – 2010) added a further provision to the act known as the Public Sector Equality Duty (PSED). This stated:

> An authority to which this section applies must, when making decisions of a strategic nature about how to exercise its functions, have due regard to the

desirability of exercising them in a way that is designed to reduce the inequalities of outcome which result from socio-economic disadvantage.

(*Equality Act, 2010* Chap 15 s1 ss1)

The PSED therefore required all public-sector bodies, including schools, to put in place policies that ensured these bodies could not discriminate against any person on financial grounds. However, following the introduction of the *Equality Act (2010),* a report commissioned by the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) found that whilst there is "evidence of widespread goodwill and support for equality, and some considerable progress in implementing the duties", (Bukowski et al, 2011, p. *xv*), there was also, "…limited awareness of the new Public Sector Equality Duty…signalling a steep learning curve to come in implementing this work" (Bukowski et al 2011, p. *xv*).

However, the Coalition Government (2010 – 2015) did not support the PSED. The former Minister for Women and Equality, Theresa May[15], explained, "…you do not improve the lives of those at the bottom by limiting the ambitions and opportunities of others" (May, 2010). The PSED was therefore abolished in 2010. As it had had a life span of fewer than eight months, its effectiveness was hard to gauge (Reay, 2012). The inference drawn here is that the socio-economic position of each individual is considered to be more important than the collective needs of groups within society whose social mobility may not be as great as that of others within that society. What the abolition of the PSED did was to remove the need for authorities (e.g. teachers, schools and local education authorities) to think about differing groups of people in terms of social class. Reay highlights the idea that by moving funding from specific social class groups to individual students, there is less likelihood of collective action by a group of students (or their parents) in order to achieve parity between those students and others who may not receive any additional funding in schools (Reay, 2012).

As the PSED was specifically introduced to ensure socio-economic parity and has since been abolished, it appears that one way of raising awareness of social class inequality in the realm of education has been removed. I argue that, in the context of discussions around

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[15] As of 13th July 2016, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

inequality during ITT courses, the protected characteristics are discussed, but the question of social class does not arise so readily. Therefore, if we are not discussing the educational effects of social immobility, then we may be missing opportunities to shape the individual *habituses* of trainees. If there are gaps in the knowledge of the trainee regarding social class (or, as in the case of Alan, a refusal to see that social class may be a factor in a student's development), then that may be a missed opportunity to have such a discussion, or to challenge trainees' existing disposition regarding social class. I pursue this further when I consider the literature on professional identity development in Chapter Three, specifically in relation to theories of gaps in knowledge and whether or not trainee teachers attempt to find out about the social class backgrounds of their students. In Chapter Six, I discuss which aspects of equality the participants recall from their studies during their training, the value they place on discussing aspects of equality and whether or not they implement their knowledge of equality into their teaching.

Having considered the removal of the PSED and its potential influence on trainee teachers' understandings of social mobility and social class, I want to move on to the role of ITT in education legislation, starting with the McNair Report (Board of Education, 1944). The last part of this section will show how subsequent governments have micromanaged ITT to the point where it is now being reduced to "the status of technician" (Giroux, in Harper 2014, p1080). In doing this, they have therefore, allowed the need to consider socio-economic considerations of the students to be marginalised within the educational discourse.

Policy relating to Initial Teacher Training

The McNair Report (1944) described two tiers of entry into ITT; university- and college-based, the difference being that "Poverty has not…set its mark on [university trained teachers] as it has on the training colleges" (Board of Education, 1944, p11). In other words, those trainee teachers who attended university-based teacher training were better suited to working in the new grammar schools introduced under the *Education Act (1944)* whilst the college-trained ITTs would teach in the secondary modern and technical schools. National

government allocated places for teacher training, but the McNair Committee was split as to whether university schools of education or Joint Boards of Education were better suited for providing ITT. The McNair Report also included the concept of quotas for each type of school (grammar, secondary-modern and technical) providing students from their ranks who would be eligible for teacher training in order to go back into the same type of school. This is interesting as this could have led to a perpetuation of the tripartite system as only those who would have gained the requisite education could teach in that type of school. It also reflects Susan's observation that at least two long-serving teachers at her placement in a private school had attended the same school, completed their degrees and then returned to the same school, having never taught anywhere else.

Since the McNair Report, ITT has undergone a series of changes to the level of qualification required to teach. Various routes into teaching have been created, including Certificates of Education, through first degrees in education until we now have a range of qualifications that allow for entrants to the profession at postgraduate and undergraduate levels (Brooks, 2006; Furlong, 2001). Furthermore, programmes such as Teach First, Troops to Teachers and School Direct have been developed to draw a wider range of potential teachers into the profession. The publication of Circular 9/92 (DfE, 1992) introduced competency-based teacher training, the precursor to the teaching standards that are currently in place for every institution offering ITT courses in England and Wales. Subsequently, every government since 1992 has used various teaching standards to meet what it believes are the priorities that affect the standards of education in England and Wales. In this way, they have controlled the priorities they believe all ITT institutions must apply for awarding Qualified Teacher Status (QTS). In the following section, I will compare how the current (2013) and previous (2006) versions of the teaching standards have required all teachers, including trainees, to ensure that students from a range of social class backgrounds are included in their lessons.

Between 2006 and 2010, the Q Standards were set as the requirement all trainees had to meet in order to achieve Qualified Teacher Status (QTS). Under these standards, there was

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some direction as to how this could be interpreted from the wording of those standards, specifically Q Standard 18, which stated that trainees should,

> Understand how children and young people develop and that the progress and well-being of learners are affected by a range of developmental, **social**, religious, ethnic, cultural and linguistic **influences**.

<div align="right">(Training and Development Agency, 2008, s1.10, my emphasis)</div>

This meant that teachers needed to take into consideration the social backgrounds of the students, including their social class origins. Compare this to Part One of the current Teachers' Standard Five, which states that, "a teacher must set high expectations which inspire, motivate and challenge pupils" (DfE, 2013, p5). This section includes the requirement for teachers to, "set goals that stretch and challenge pupils of all backgrounds, abilities and dispositions" (DfE, 2013, p5). This is more ambiguous than the old Q Standard 18 in that there was some recognition in the Q standard of the multiplicity of factors that may affect the progress made by students. The absence of the word 'social' from Teachers' Standard Five places reliance on an individual teacher's interpretation of what each student's background and disposition actually is. If the teacher has no understanding of, or empathy with, a student's social class background, this interpretation may lead to the teacher labelling the student as underachieving (Gazeley and Dunne, 2007). If that teacher is also mentor for a trainee teacher, then a trainee may, in the early stages of their training, rely on the mentor's interpretation, use that as a working model and therefore, fill a gap in their knowledge using potentially erroneous information.

Further reading of the document provides guidance for the interpretation of the current standards. Germane to Teachers' Standard Five is the statement that a teacher should, "adapt teaching to respond to the strengths and needs of all pupils" (DfE, 2013, p6). A teacher should also "have a secure understanding of how a range of factors can inhibit pupils' ability to learn, and how best to overcome these" (DfE, 2013, p6). Moreover, teachers should "demonstrate an awareness of the physical, **social** and intellectual **development** of children, and know how to adapt teaching to support pupils' education at different stages of development" (DfE, 2013, p6, my emphasis). What is important here is that the wording of

the standard itself is mandatory, whereas the guidance is not. Therefore, the trainee, or their mentor, is not compelled to take notice of the guidance.

If the guidance statement is followed precisely, it could be read as meaning that the teacher merely needs to know that a student has external factors outside of school that may have an impact upon their educational development. The phrase, "how best to overcome these" can, at its simplest, mean that teachers, with little or no time to reflect on the reasons why a student is failing, may simply pass their concerns on to a pastoral manager (a non-teaching position) within the school who refers the student to an external agency (e.g. social services). If, during their placements, a trainee sees this as the way in which such concerns are managed by their mentors, they may simply absorb that into their developing set of teaching skills and therefore not reflect upon the matter any further – a gap in their professional knowledge that remains unclosed. Later in Chapter Three, I will consider in more detail how trainees reflect upon their learning, teaching and how their professional identity development continues during their ITT training.

When looking at the current ITT requirements and standards, there appears to be much emphasis placed upon the need for skills trainees employ as they start their teaching careers. Winter, citing Whitty (1993), explains that the move towards a more skills-based form of training has come about because traditional ITT routes were perceived as,

> ...placing too little emphasis on subject knowledge and classroom skills; placing too much emphasis on educational theory as well as emphasising irrelevant theory; …producing teachers who have no respect for traditional values and being too expensive and ineffective.
> (Winter, 2000, p156)

However, as Mahony and Hextall (1997) explain,

> Teaching involves relationships between people whose personal, social, economic, cultural and political identities and positionings are complex. Negotiating and succeeding within this arena calls for sophisticated, everyday repertoires of skills which teachers constantly need to develop. Reference to such creative professionalism is, however, absent from the TTA's documentation which instead concentrates almost entirely on concerns about teachers' subject knowledge and pupil performance, both of which are treated as de-situated.
>
> (Mahony and Hextall, 1997, p143)

With a greater emphasis on the move towards school-based training, I would question whether time is available for trainees to reflect upon their daily activities, interactions with students and the lessons that they have taught. The time available for reflection upon practice is a theme that is discussed in the findings in Chapter Six, where all the participants state that the time available for reflection on personal and professional development is often sacrificed to meet other course requirements, assignment writing or lesson planning being two examples of these requirements.

With the recent introduction of the School Direct route into ITT, a further complication arises. Previous attempts to introduce schools-led ITT precede World War Two and the *Education Act (1944)*. However, under Michael Gove (Secretary of State for Education 2010 – 2014), a change in ITT took place. The introduction of School Direct as a way of making schools responsible for recruiting and training their own teachers meant that universities were required to work with teaching school alliances in order to recruit and share the training of new entrants to the profession. Within School Direct, there are two routes that a potential teacher can apply to. Either they can choose the Tuition Route, whereby they apply to an alliance and know which schools they will train in, but their pedagogic education is agreed in advance with a recognised ITT provider (usually a school of education in a university), or they can select a Salaried Route. The difference, and where my concern regarding social class and mobility lies, is with the SDS route. In this form of training, the alliance school in which they work employs the trainee, unlike the SDT trainees, who regularly attend university lectures. This means that from the beginning of their training, SDS trainees are teaching students and are only able to attend relevant educational lectures selected for them by their alliance school. Any other lectures that are needed to help the SDS trainee complete their training successfully are provided by the placement school, drawing on expertise within that school to do so. Put simply, my concern is this. As an SDS trainee may not be aware of many issues facing them at the start of their training, they will not necessarily have the information and expertise to make informed decisions when faced with unknown situations in the classroom. For the purpose of this thesis, I define these unknown situations as gaps in

their knowledge and will explore this concept in more detail in Chapter Three. However, when a SDS trainee is faced with a gap in their knowledge, they seek further advice from either a mentor or other professional colleague within their school. If that mentor or other professional does not have the pedagogical or subject-specific knowledge to help that trainee in an informed way, then the trainee may, at worst, simply copy the behaviour of the mentor and simply affirm their understanding at a most basic level (Hascher et al, 2004). If the gap encountered by the trainee is related to the social class of a student, then there are two factors I believe may be detrimental to that student. Firstly, the PSED offered a way of discussing social class almost on equal terms with the protected characteristics under the *Equality Act (2010)*. However, as described by Bukowski et al (2011) earlier in this chapter, the requirements of the PSED were not being implemented very consistently, which reduced the effectiveness of the PSED. Subsequently, the abolition of the PSED has removed the likelihood of seeing any form of parity between the PSED and the protected characteristics, meaning that social class remains an area where discriminatory practices may still go unchallenged. The second detrimental effect for students is caused by the pressure teachers face to produce good GCSE grades. This may result in teachers ignoring aspects of a student's background that they are not legally required to focus on (i.e. their social class backgrounds). In the case of the participants in this research, four of the seven stated that they would not consider a student's social class background when either planning lessons or making any provision for students in the classroom.

If a SDS trainee only sees their mentor acting in a specific way in response to any given situation, the trainee may not have the time or temerity to question the actions of the mentor. Furthermore, by not having the opportunity to question these actions independently (e.g. in a university setting where reflection on the actions may allow space for the trainee to explore rationales for those actions) then I would question how well the professional identity development of that trainee can be said to be developing. Such action, taking place within the school/classroom, is further discussed in Chapter Three where I specifically consider the value of reflection and reflexive action in the professional identity development of trainee

teachers. This also exemplifies where trainees do not reflect upon a situation and instead employ their dispositional understandings to resolve a particular situation. The choices that they make when resolving a situation in a school often reflect the school policy or rules and they fall back onto these, rather than using a more epistemic reflexivity to explore what may be a better way of determining a course of action.

Institutional policy contexts

The previous section discussed the implications of legislation and government policy on initial teacher training and the changing landscape of teacher training itself. I now turn to consider policy and documentation institutional level. This will be presented using Ball's (1990) policy-text as the conceptual framework. Specifically, I consider two sources. The first is policy that relates to all members of the institution where the research is based and includes policy shaped by national legislation (for example, the *Equality Act 2010*). I am interested here in how these policies have an impact upon recruitment to ITT courses. In relation to Ball's use of policy-text, a question arises from institutional policies relating to the interpretation of those policies by trainees when they are on placement.

My second source is the education studies modules that trainees are taught as part of their ITT course. These draw upon national frameworks within education, as well as on individual tutors' experience and research. In the case of ITT, these frameworks are, at present, set by the National College for Teaching and Leadership (NCTL). For example, current initiatives from NCTL include focussing on behaviour management and raising standards of literacy and numeracy within schools. The national policies from government will have set out what is expected to be taught and therefore modules will have been written or modified to ensure that the trainees are able to discuss and debate issues such as the Prevent Strategy[16], behaviour management or raising achievement in literacy and numeracy.

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[16] The Conservative Government's policy on preventing young people from becoming radicalised into terrorism and the duty imposed upon teachers to report any suspicious activities shown by students at school: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/protecting-children-from-radicalisation-the-prevent-duty Last accessed 31st January 2017.

Here it is necessary to explain briefly that the trainees who participate in the research interviews are drawn from one ITT programme, which had four subject study routes. Each route has different subject specialism modules, but they share common education studies modules. It is these modules where the opportunities arise to discuss inclusion, diversity, special educational needs and theories of learning. Their content will be scrutinised in order to discover where opportunities for discussion of social class occur.

Institution-wide policies and guidance

The Equal Opportunities Policy (EOP) of the ITT provider where this study was conducted was drawn up to meet the requirements of the *Equality Act (2010)* and covers the protected characteristics under the act. Relevant to this thesis is that there is no specific reference within the EOP to any form of discrimination on the grounds of social class, although the university states that it is committed to ensuring equality of access to study for all.

Similarly, there are no specific policies within the institution that either instruct, or offer guidance on how the policy on diversity must be interpreted in the context of any lectures that are given. This means that a lecturer can decide to what extent they may, or may not, discuss various aspects of diversity. It needs to be recognised that these modules, whilst being a central document to each programme, only describe the minimum content that needs to be delivered in a course. That means that there is some freedom in how these modules are interpreted by the individual lecturer who teaches that module. My specific concern here is when two or more lecturers teach the same module, the content may be taught differently, presenting trainees with differing experiences of the same module. The content of these modules, and the consequent differences in teaching content, will be discussed in this section.

The advice given to trainees when they go into schools on their placements is contained in a placement handbook. The purpose of this is to provide trainees with guidance for

professional behaviour and conduct during a placement. It also explains to schools what the trainee may expect from the placement and mentor in terms of support, tuition and opportunities for professional development. Within the handbook, reference is made to "social and cultural diversity" (Fitzjohn-Scott, 2013) and is based on the Higher Education Authority's (HEA) guidance for meeting Part Two of the Teachers' Standards (HEA et al, 2012, p14; DfE, 2013). This is done in the context of helping trainees to achieve the highest possible grade at the end of a placement, with social and cultural diversity being one of the many criteria assessed in order to decide whether or not a trainee can pass their placement. What is absent from both the HEA criteria, and this handbook, is any clarification as to what the term "social and cultural diversity" actually means. It is therefore left to the trainee and their mentor to interpret this as best they can. In turn, this means that if they are not being taught specifically about social class during education studies lectures, then trainees may not be able to adjust their teaching to meet the potential social and cultural diversity of their classes. If this is not being achieved, the question arises as to whether or not they can pass their placements.

It is worth noting here the distinction between education and training. Garavan (1997) describes education as being a continuous process, with gaining new knowledge over a period of time as the significant outcome. The value that comes from education is that as a result of education, a "breakthrough" is achieved through development as a result of the education received. His definition of training therefore, is antithetical to education. Training is short-term, with fixed goals achieved in order to maintain constancy within an organisation (Garavan, 1997, p43). In terms of training teachers, I would argue that the use of the word training is apt. These are fixed term courses, with requirements to meet specific standards and therefore, developed to get trainee teachers through their courses in order to work effectively and efficiently within schools. Simultaneously though, as a lecturer in initial teacher training, I am seeking to broaden the horizons of my trainees by teaching them about wider aspects of the world of education (pedagogy, psychology and sociology) in order to help them achieve an academically recognised qualification (either their PGCE or first

degree). However, if, as one of my participants states, all that is important to him is to know what to do in the classroom, I would argue that we could teach our trainees to meet the standards in order to pass at that level and therefore, we do not need to worry about the additional burden of opening our trainees' eyes to the political and physical world they are entering. However, the role of the university is to ensure that trainees are offered the opportunity to learn about and discuss social class in an educational context and the education modules offer a forum where such discussions may take place. It is to the content of these modules that I turn next.

Social class and mobility in education modules

Education studies modules exist to broaden trainees' knowledge and understanding about the wider frameworks that trainees will meet when they undertake placements. They also provide opportunities for trainees to question aspects of education that they may be unfamiliar with. However, as I have already indicated, the content of the modules is described in a very limited manner, consisting of a list of themes to be covered by the lecturer(s) during the delivery of that module. This is problematic for two reasons. Firstly, there may be inconsistencies in the delivery of the module content if more than one lecturer is responsible for teaching that module. This sometimes occurs with education studies modules, as the cohort being taught is often split into two smaller groups, each having a different lecturer. Therefore, there may not be consistent teaching for all members of the cohort. Alternatively, there may be differences in interpretation of the module text by the different lecturers who teach these groups (Derrida and Spivak, 1997). This means that what may be a relevant point for one lecturer may not be interpreted in the same way by another lecturer. The difference in interpretation may lead to one group understanding a concept differently from the other group. With the authority of a lecturer behind that interpretation, trainees may take their understanding of that concept as having a permanence that belies the reality, but which may reinforce their practice throughout their career as a teacher. This

may give rise to potential situations where trainees do not question themselves when they encounter potential gaps in their conduct or knowledge once they start placements.

It can be argued that because the university is an autonomous organisation, it has the freedom to decide what it will and will not teach and, therefore, theoretically, the lecturers enjoy the same academic freedom. However, there is a paradox in that with the increasing requirement for standards across schools to be met, maintained and then raised, what we teach to our trainees needs to be consistent in its delivery. This contradicts the academic freedom that working at a university may bring. The problem is that with OfSTED now measuring the success of all ITT programmes, pressure has grown on all ITT providers to ensure that their ITT programmes include modules that teach trainees to understand the initiatives coming from organisations like the NCTL. Therefore, lecturers are now being presented with modules to teach that may not accord with their own values, but that need to be taught if an ITT provider wants to maintain a high rating from OfSTED (Thomson, 2013). I would argue that lecturers' academic freedom is being eroded in order to ensure that external inspection gradings are not being diminished. This reflects Giroux's (2014) need for oppositional pedagogies that I discussed earlier in this chapter. However, the opportunities for this are being reduced, due to increasing intervention in ITT from the government, in the form of Department for Education strategies.

My second concern refers to the trainees themselves. As Dunne and Gazeley (2008) indicate, there is a lack of awareness of students' social class values on the part of some trainees. Within ITT courses, education lectures are spaces where trainees' personal views can be challenged and explored as these lectures provide a forum where diversity is discussed. However, as I have said previously, trainees do not necessarily have a developed awareness of their *habitus* beyond their dispositional understandings. Therefore, I would question how likely it is that they will move beyond those values with which they are comfortable. Where there is an opportunity to develop an understanding is through education modules. Yet, I would query how explicitly social class is discussed within the various

education modules that are delivered by the institution. More specifically, I would question the language used to identify social class within the module details, unlike the language that is used about the protected characteristics under the *Equality Act (2010)*. Participants' recall of issues of social class in education lectures is analysed in Chapter Five where I ask them how much they remember of discussions relating specifically to social class.

Every education studies module describes the content that is taught within it. Broadly speaking, as a trainee progresses through their degree, the depth of knowledge and understanding should extend their thinking and learning. Accordingly, the content of each module should become progressively more specific in order to provoke the trainees into thinking more deeply about aspects of education. Thus, the language used to define the content of the modules should reflect this progression. This change in the complexity of language is demonstrated thus: "diversity of individual needs" (Coxon and Davies, 2010) in a National Qualifications Framework (NQF) Level 4 module, compared with "Consideration of theoretical principles and practices of inclusion, equality and cohesion," (Sturrock and Hayler, 2012) which is a NQF Level 6 module. Here, I am concerned that although the trainee should be exposed to, and participating in, deeper discussions the further they go into their training, unless they have explored the basic principles early in their studies, then they may not engage more fully with the ideas and theories surrounding social class, possibly leading to an underdeveloped understanding once they are placed in schools.

What is problematic, regarding the specific development of trainees' understanding of social class, is how an education module's content defines what we mean by social class. Reading through the module outlines shows that phrases such as inclusion (or inclusive education), diversity, equality and cohesion appear in eighteen of the twenty-seven modules taught to trainees. One module's content specifically includes the phrase, "social, cultural, linguistic, religious and ethnic backgrounds" (Smith, 2006) whilst another states that trainees should, "recognise how pupils learn and how learning and attainment can be affected by social, cultural, linguistic, religious and ethnic backgrounds" (Sturrock and Hayler, 2011). However,

these are the only references to social class; there is nothing more in the content that tells the lecturer what must be included or excluded, nor is there any further clarification as to what the words diversity, inclusion, equality or cohesion may, or may not, mean. The understanding and relevance to trainees of these modules will be examined when I discuss the findings from the interviews carried out with trainees who have attended these education studies lectures.

Trainee teachers' interaction with taught modules

It is at this point that Ball's (2010) policy-discourse becomes important because every policy and statute has a context in which they are set and, therefore, each has a political significance. Here, the context is that the lecturers write module outlines designed to offer trainees opportunities to develop their own knowledge and understanding of the content of each module. However, there is a parallel with Bourdieu's symbolic violence in that the lecturers who write the modules have the power to introduce the knowledge they think should be taught to the students who attend the lectures for that particular module (Swartz, 1997). This provides two differing problems for those who are taught the module.

Firstly, there is an historical aspect to the module. As soon as it is written, the module becomes an artefact that resides in the institutional memory of the university. Thus what is written into the module (suggested content for lectures, suggested readings and activities for students to undertake and, most importantly, the type of assessment and marking criteria) becomes fixed, so that trainees may see these aspects as inviolable. This may be problematic in that trainees may be unwilling to look beyond the scope of what is to be taught in that module outline, especially if these matters are subjects with which they are not personally comfortable. The effect of this may be that they are reluctant to discuss anything beyond what is written in a module outline – in other words, that module outline acts as a boundary for what they can discuss, as well as delineating what is beyond the realm of the module, so that such matters are not discussed within the lectures. It may also mean that

trainees focus only on the assignment title and the marking criteria, so that lectures may become directed towards the need to deliver only information that points students in the direction of what is required to pass the assignment at the end of a module.

A secondary concern with module outlines as text lies in the interpretation of that module outline by each individual lecturer responsible for its teaching. As I have already stated, where more than one lecturer delivers the same module to different groups of trainees, then there ought to be parity in the delivery between those groups. However, if one lecturer has greater expertise in one aspect of the module than their teaching colleague(s), then there may be an opportunity for deeper exploration of that aspect, compared with the other trainees being taught the same module. This may mean that there is greater scope for that one lecturer to influence trainees' thinking by discussing one aspect of whatever that lecturer's interest or expertise is at the expense of other, equally valuable, areas. That lecturer may have an unwitting power over the trainees due to his or her deeper knowledge that creates this undue influence. This may affect the consequent assignment produced by the trainees in that they feel they have to produce an assignment that reflects the thinking of the lecturer in order to achieve a higher grade. Alternatively, they may have had their own values and beliefs challenged, so that they have moved to a new level of understanding of the world in which they work. This is a limitation of the trainee's epistemic reflexivity in that they become bound by the knowledge they have gained from a module and they are not prepared to look beyond to see what else they may gain as a result of looking further.

Arising from this section is the question of whether or not Bourdieu's *habitus* and *field* offer trainees any degree of agency to develop their understanding of social class in the context of the students they will encounter in schools. The next section will focus on criticisms of Bourdieu and offer a defence for agency within the wider context of ITT.

Bourdieu, reflexivity and identity

According to Bottero (2010), there is the potential for change under Bourdieu. This is not limited by the agent (a trainee teacher in this case), but by the *field* in which they are working (Bottero, 2010). By this I mean that whilst the trainee may, through their studies, gain further social and cultural capitals, they may find that unless they understand the *doxa* or unwritten rules of the *field* of a school, they may not successfully complete their training.

When considering identity as a component of social class, Bottero explains that there is a move away from social class as a determinant of identity in favour of more reflexive practices that allow the individual to develop their personal view of how they are "socially classed". She uses Bourdieu and Wacquant's (2010) concept of dispositional understanding to explain how this can be achieved. As I have already explained in this chapter, this is the sense of how we should perform or behave when in particular social circumstances. More specifically, she describes dispositions as "the involuntary and entrenched elements of 'identity', situated in practical and pre-reflexive routines, in 'social instincts' and a feel for the game" (Bottero, 2010, p4). The trainees' understanding of the rules and boundaries of this game may be reinforced through their families, social groups, schools, national authorities and others who they may encounter on a regular basis as well as our dispositional understandings towards schooling that we already hold. However, for the trainee starting a placement, there is a new *field* to immerse themselves in as they engage with the school, its rules and expectations, as well as the students in that school.

There is a potential difficulty here with Bourdieusian interpretations of how we form identities. If we take the view that our identities develop by learning the *doxa* of a particular social group, then this may restrict our capacity to increase our cultural and social capitals to those of the field in which we work or study. Critics of Bourdieu argue that he does not allow for such changes between one state and another. However, we, as ITT providers, require trainees to be reflective throughout their studies and to act upon these reflections. This can

be explained in terms of moving from one Bourdieusian *field* to another, with the gap between the two *fields* being the point of evaluation or change in practice (I will explore gaps in greater detail in Chapter Three). This is where Bottero, looking at identity, specifically through the lens of social class, explains how reflexivity and Bourdieusian analysis can work in tandem. She explains that we can, instead of using class as a rallying point or collective call to arms, use our own knowledge of the rules of this field and, therefore, our own self-worth, to raise our awareness and attitudes towards other, differing social classes (Savage, 2000).

At issue here is whether or not trainees can manage concurrently two separate dilemmas. We are asking them to not only reflect upon their own practices but also to evaluate these reflections whilst in an environment that, initially, may be alien to them. This may be difficult enough if there is an accord between any social class values they hold and those of the school. However, if there is a gap between their values and the school's, then a question arises as to whether or not trainees are able to conceptualise this specific new learning. My first concern is that if this is a situation that trainees meet early in their placement or training, they may not be aware of the issue as they are more focussed on surviving within the school (Pollard, 2008) or they may follow the mentor's advice instead (Hascher et al, 2004). A second concern is how the trainee manages to balance the fact that they are acting, *in loco parentis,* for a student who may have no concept of what it means to be 'socially classed'. The trainee must ensure that they treat all their students equally. However, this becomes problematic if the trainee does not or will not have an affinity with social class of a particular student (Gazeley and Dunne, 2007). This is even more problematic in the case of the SDS trainee who may not have immediate access to sources beyond the school they might not recalibrate their ideas or regularly engage in discussions with a university mentor in the same way that PGCE and SDT trainees can.

This is further complicated by a criticism of Bourdieu that his framework for *habitus* and *field* only allows for reduction of any phenomenon to the level of social location, leaving no scope

for reflection. Trainees are continually required to reflect on various aspects of their training. However, if the trainee has little time to review and reflect upon the outcomes of their actions, they may not clearly evaluate what actions need to be taken in the future to move beyond a course of action that they have taken. If they have the freedom and time to reflect upon an action, then that may help them to seek alternative courses of action. The gap has been recognised, reflected on and new knowledge or understanding has been developed. As I discuss in Chapter Six, when trainees are placed in schools, such time for reflection and evaluation may not be so freely available. Therefore, trainees in schools may be forced to make decisions for their students. However, these may be based upon their dispositional understandings of a situation, rather than on rationalised thought or reflection on the situation they face. In doing so, they may be creating a precursory condition to *misrecognition* by placing barriers to learning in the way of some students who may, because of this action, be perceived as underachieving.

As a result, there needs to be a way that allows for the development of identity through an understanding grounded in the theory of Bourdieu, with the ability to reflect upon the gaps discovered in a given situation or practice. This may be partly due to our capacity to orientate ourselves "…to the collective nature of practices, not as a rule conformity, but in [our] ability to intersubjectively negotiate and account for practices" (Bottero, 2010, p17). In other words, we adapt ourselves to our surroundings and take meanings from what we learn about our surrounding world. There is also the possibility that we may make a new discovery fit with our existing scheme of things especially if the new discovery makes us uncomfortable.

This is increasingly important if we are to help trainees understand the ways in which they can understand and support students from different social class backgrounds. The level of agency that is available to students is limited. Therefore, the trainee, acting *in loco parentis* needs to make decisions that support these students, rather than to deny them opportunities to progress.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has contextualised the ways in which legislation and policy have shaped the education system within England and Wales. It has shown that through a variety of changes to both schools and changes to the requirements for ITT, successive governments have sought to control the education agenda. Similarly, the discussion around the PISA results demonstrates how, whilst the intentions of consecutive governments have been to improve education, the overall effect has been, at best, to maintain a *status quo* especially with regards to social class with education.

In the discussion of how national legislation has changed the ways in which ITT and social class have been affected, the removal of the PSED has been shown to undermine the importance of social class in comparison with the protected characteristics under the *Equality Act (2010)*. Similarly, the changes made to ITT and the required standards that must be met to qualify as a teacher have been shown to move away from educating the trainee teacher about social class and what the effect of this may be on a student to a broader understanding of factors that may affect a student's ability to learn. This slow removal of social class in the government discourse on inclusion over the last ten years has meant that a teacher's understanding of social class and social mobility is now less likely to develop, especially if the schools in which they train does not engage with wider educational discourses at higher levels of education. Whilst acknowledging that the introduction of the Pupil Premium has raised awareness of social disadvantage in schools, this will not automatically lead to changes in an individual trainee teacher's *habitus*.

For the concept of social class to be kept at the forefront of education, ITT providers need to ensure that it is discussed regularly during education modules. However, the policies and my review of these highlight the fact that social class does not appear to have a high priority when compared, for example, to the protected characteristics. Secondly, Ball's concept of policy-text shows that these modules do not offer any scope for revision and re-presentation

by the trainees unless this is carried out in the form of completing their assignment on the materials in the module. Therefore, there is little room for dissent or action by the trainees.

Finally, the degree of agency available to the trainees, both in their placements, as well as in their studies shows that firstly, Bourdieu's theories do allow trainees agency; i.e. that they are able to work, reflect and then potentially act upon their reflections. Secondly, and this is where there are limitations for the trainees, they are undertaking placements in *fields* where there is limited scope for reflection on their actions, due to the structures of the schools themselves. Furthermore, if the trainees are not able or willing to reflect critically upon their actions, instead relying on the binary approach of right/wrong, good/bad in the placement setting, they are falling back upon their dispositional understanding of a particular scenario. Here then, they are surrendering their agency for change and therefore, their professional identity development may not be as fulfilled as their potential might indicate. This specific aspect will be discussed further in the latter half of Chapter Three when I explore how professional identity development takes place.

Chapter Three: Social class, *habitus* and reflexivity in ITT

This chapter develops the contexts and frameworks discussed in Chapter Two by considering how social class, *habitus* and reflexivity combine to affect the professional identity development of trainee teachers. It will also explore how social class shapes the social values of the communities in which schools exist.

I begin with a recapitulation of the approach I will be taking regarding social class, followed by an explanation of the ways in which social class relates to education. I then examine how trainee teachers' professional identities are developed through the two concepts of *habitus* and gaps in their knowledge. This is supported by influences that have an impact on trainees' professional identity development. The concept of *field* is then used to explore the tensions faced by trainee teachers during their placements whilst the final section in this chapter outlines how professional identity development of trainee teachers is affected by the levels of reflexivity they exhibit during their training.

Social class and its relationship with education

In Chapter One, I introduced the definition of social class which is deemed particularly appropriate in a study exploring the inter-relationship between class and education. This is based on Bourdieu's concept of social class. Throughout this chapter, it is important to remember that there is a construct called social class and that it is the combination of capitals (and their use) which has an impact upon the way in which a system of classifying individuals is created and interpreted. A concern in discussing social class is that it is sometimes seen as "out of date" (Savage, 2000, p20). However, Evans and Mellon (2016) argue that this is problematic because in so doing we isolate the concept of social class from those who are affected by divisions caused by poverty and lower levels of education within society.

Furthermore, Evans and Mellon's divisions can be seen to increase the separation between differing levels of education available to working-class children on a daily basis. A factor in this separation is provided by Chaskin and Joseph (2013), who suggest that infiltration of a local area by outsiders seeking to get their children into schools perceived as being good or outstanding (in OfSTED terms) means that there will be fewer school places available for children already living within the local community. Articles in the national media encourage parents seeking to gain places in good or outstanding schools to consider moving to the catchment areas of such schools (Gurney-Read, 2014; Halliwell, 2015; Adams, 2015). The effect of this is that those local children who have been attending local schools may be displaced by children from relatively richer families. Consequently, this may lead to situations whereby these incoming parents become part of the governing body, therefore changing the values of the local school so that these now reflect the incoming, rather than the indigenous population:

> Even in schools with a predominantly working class pupil intake, the social composition of their governing bodies rarely reflects this…

> (Walford, 1994, p155)

There is, therefore, the potential for school governors, in their roles as overseers of school policy, to affect the cultural capitals, and therefore the *habituses,* of the students who attend these schools. Those students who come from middle-class backgrounds may adjust to such schools with comparative ease, whereas those from working-class backgrounds may need more encouragement and help to settle into the values of their school. This is reflected in the data discussed in Chapter Six where I examine how the participants' experiences of schooling affects their views on students from different social class backgrounds and the extent to which they are willing to consider the social class backgrounds of their students.

Furthermore, as Ball (1997) argues, this means that the social values of education are being altered to suit political aims. The move away from comprehensive education towards parental choice/market-lead education has meant that now, there is a choice for parents as to where they send their children. As I discussed in Chapter Two, the various forms of

schooling now available (free schools, academies, grammar schools) are designed to show how the social values of education allows for choice as to where a child may go to schools. However, Ball (1997) notes that the concept of an education market is flawed as it relies on imperfect competition. Parents who do not want a market in education have no choice as it is imposed on them. Similarly, a family living in a community with only one school to attend has very little choice – apart from paying for private schooling, if that is affordable or corresponds with that family's social values. If the only choice is the local school, then the children of that family will have to abide by that school's ethos and rules, irrespective of whether these rules match the values of that family. One current solution is to set up a free school. However, without local support and sufficient numbers of students to make the new school economically viable, there is little likelihood of being successful. "Intake differentials" (Ball, 1997, p72) mean that parents begin to shape school intakes through social class and race, so that choices in which school to attend become unavailable to those who do not meet the criteria for a place at that school. Ultimately, the outcomes of this can be seen in the cultural and social capitals gained by the attendees of differing types of schools. Germane to this thesis are the capitals acquired through their own education and brought to their ITT course by the participants. These are examined in Chapters Five and Six.

Additional evidence of social class effects in education can be found in a report published by the Sutton Trust (2011). This shows that despite successive government interventions to reduce social inequalities, the reverse has actually happened. Between the ages of 11 and 16, those students who were deemed to be the most socially disadvantaged were the most likely to see a widening gap in their education standards, compared with the most advantaged at the same age (Sutton Trust, 2011, p10). Furthermore, the PISA (OECD, 2013a) rankings discussed in Chapter Two illustrate how social mobility is directly affected by the availability of cultural, social and economic capitals to families and their children. In terms of this thesis, the effect is that it is more likely that entrants to the teaching profession will come from the social classes who have acquired sufficient cultural and social capitals to

enter teacher training and who can then afford to pay the university tuition fees[17] once they start.

Having examined how social class has an impact on the education students receive, it is important to acknowledge that in turn, their education will affect the development of their individual *habituses*. In the case of this thesis, those on an ITT course will continue to develop their *habitus* with a specific goal in mind and to that end, their *habitus* will start to orient itself towards becoming a qualified teacher. As I described in Chapter One, *habitus* can be described as a culturally internalised form of thinking, feeling and acting, so that these forms become second nature within an individual. Fleming (n.d.) suggests that until we consciously reflect upon the actions we take, we do not actively change our beliefs. She goes further and suggests that we acquire our *habituses* through our interactions with our peers, families and other social groups. In that way, we can become acculturated into other people's ways of thinking and working. When we encounter a new person or social situation, we interpret their behaviours in the context of our dispositional understanding of that situation, which in turn informs our individual *habituses*. However, we do not stop and automatically reflect on each new situation. Instead, we rely upon our dispositional understandings we have gained through lived experience. We operate "under 'typical' circumstances…that is, without recourse to conscious reflection" (Weininger, 2005, p131). If a trainee teacher has never previously encountered someone whose social class values differ from their own, then there is a possibility that the trainee may fall back upon their dispositional understanding of a situation and react according to their own *habitus*. In turn, this may affect the manner in which the trainee responds to any new situation during a placement, with the potential outcome that a gap may be created between students and the trainee teacher. This is a situation I explore in more detail later in this chapter when I look at

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[17] Under *The Higher Education (Higher Amount) (England) Regulations, (2010)*, universities can charge up to £9000.00 per annum for undergraduate or postgraduate courses such as the PGCE or School Direct Tuition programmes. This will change from 1st August 2017 to £9250 per annum. Repayment of fees begins when a trainee's gross annual salary exceeds £21,000 on a variable rate of interest, depending upon their annual salary. See http://www.studentloanrepayment.co.uk/portal/page?_pageid=93,6678715&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL last accessed 16th January 2017

gaps, placement schools and the role of reflexivity within ITT and how these factors affect a trainee's ability to respond to new situations.

Developing the trainee teacher's professional identity

Trainees prepare for their teacher training qualification in an education system that has, in Bourdieusian terms, seen other students self-eliminate from that system. By this I mean that the school peers of trainee teachers may not have gained their GCSE and/or A' Level qualifications and so have left school or college, whilst the trainee teachers have continued their studies into undergraduate or postgraduate levels. The trainees' reasons for continued study may be due to a variety of factors. During their education, they may have learned how to survive within the school's *doxa,* or rules. They may have gained this knowledge through the influence of their parents, learning appropriate behaviours for different social settings and learning what careers and expectations of work are available to them. Therefore, they may have grown up being clear about what they need to achieve their ambition of becoming a teacher. All of these factors might help to develop the *habitus* that the trainee brings to the start of their ITT course. It is these factors that form my first research aim of examining what social and cultural capitals trainees bring to their ITT course.

Furthermore, these trainee teachers will have become members of a group that has become increasingly detached, in educational and social terms, from their school peers who may not have matched the trainees' present level of study. As they begin their ITT course, they may meet and mix with other trainees who hold similar levels of cultural and social capitals and who, potentially, have similar *habituses*. Studying within a relatively small circle of trainee teachers may consequently reinforce each trainee's disposition towards education and its benefits. What this can lead to is an increasing detachment from their school peers and therefore, have an implication for their professional identity development. Instead, these trainees will spend more time training and working alongside other teachers. This is important because if there is a level of detachment at this stage in their lives from their

school peers, then the question arises of whether or not they recognise similar levels of detachment from the students whom they will be required to teach (this is discussed in Chapter Six when I analyse the reasons why the middle-class participants begin to detach themselves from their working-class students). In order to develop a teaching identity, Sutherland, Howard and Markauskaite state that the development of identity occurs when,

> …student teachers' individual beliefs, prior knowledge and the context in which this knowledge is generated all interact and may influence the development of student teacher professional identity.

(Sutherland, Howard and Markauskaite, 2010, p453)

Consequently, if an ITT course is to develop trainees' professional identity, then that course should offer opportunities for the trainee to reflect upon their practice and within that practice the concomitant values they bring to their studies, as well as developing the professional skills, knowledge and understanding required to be able to teach (Gazeley and Dunne, 2007). Beauchamp and Thomas (2009) argue that it is necessary to understand how identities are created so that ITT programmes can be better designed to allow for such changes to occur in a way that helps the development of a trainee. This seems to contradict the purpose of government-created teacher-training programmes whereby the emphasis is on subject knowledge, which I discussed in Chapter Two. Furthermore, Beauchamp and Thomas explore Wenger's (1998) links between the personal and professional identities that ITT courses help to develop. Wenger sees identity development as a five-part process,

> …the negotiated experience of self, involves community membership, has a learning trajectory, combines different forms of membership within an identity, and presumes involvement in local and global contexts.

(Wenger, 1998, in Beauchamp and Thomas, 2009, p180)

He links the personal and the professional together by explaining that the five parts of the identity development process are applicable to both of these spheres of a trainee's identity. Wenger explains that by being embedded in a community of teachers (in this case during their training and in their placements), each trainee begins to develop their identity as a teacher, but must also be aware of the extent to which their personal identity is also being

shaped. This has an additional dimension, according to Beauchamp and Thomas, in that

trainees must be aware of the degree to which they are willing to change,

> …new teachers, whose identities are only tentative, will particularly feel the impact of a community context and *will need to be aware of the shaping of their own identities that will take place in this context.*
>
> (Beauchamp and Thomas, 2009, p180 my emphasis).

A further factor in the development of the professional identity of the trainee is "…the school

environment, the nature of the learner population…" (Beauchamp and Thomas, 2009, p184).

This is relevant to trainees, as they may need to understand what influences there are on

their students outside of school hours. It also mirrors the discussion in Chapter Two relating

to what the teaching standards require trainees to know about their students. What is unclear

from Beauchamp and Thomas' work is whether or not trainee teachers do reflect on the lives

and circumstances of their students beyond the school gates. I suggest here that, in

accordance with Pollard (2008), by knowing about their students' personal backgrounds and

contexts, trainees may have more information to reflect upon than they realise. The

discussion in Chapter Six on when and how the trainees reflect on their professional practice

shows that their ability to reflect on their students' backgrounds and factors that affect their

students' lives is limited.

From the above section, it is clear that a trainee teacher faces a multitude of factors as they

begin their training, many of which will be wholly new to them. They will have to learn about

the teaching standards they need to conform to; placement school policies and practices;

learning how to teach their subject and what the professional expectations of being a teacher

are, to name but a few of these factors. It would, therefore, be unsurprising that in these first

few weeks and months of their course that trainee teachers fall back upon their previously

constructed *habituses* that they bring to their training or rely upon reassuring advice from

mentors as they progress through Pollard's "survival stage" at the start of their first

placement (Pollard, 2008, p33). The next section will look in more depth at how *habituses*

and Rajuan's theory of gaps (2007) might explain how trainee teachers begin to develop their professional identities.

Habitus, gaps and professional identity development

Throughout the last five hundred years, the focus of the identity of those living in Western Europe has changed from being occupied by physical labour towards becoming increasingly more involved in working with metaphysical concepts (Seidler, 2010). This has allowed some people in more Westernised contexts greater scope for considering how their professional identities continue to develop. More recently, ideas about professional identity development indicate that this involves going through a series of processes that involve planning, action, reflection and evaluation (Rajuan et al, 2007; Beijaard et al, 2004). On this basis, I contend that professional identities do not develop in a linear fashion. Rather, these are formed as we encounter unknown gaps in our knowledge and it is only by recognising and challenging our knowledge or understanding as to why these gaps exist that we can then continue to form our *habituses*. This forms the basis of my second research aim as I examine how professional identity development shapes the trainees at the start of their careers as teachers.

As individuals, we learn much about who we are through our contact with our immediate environment (friends, colleagues or family, for example). There are three processes that are constantly being maintained as we form our identities. The first is through where we locate ourselves in "socially recognizable categories" (Burke and Reitzes, 1981, p84); secondly how we interact with specific situations within our daily contact with others (e.g. at school, work or socially) and, finally, how we confirm and validate our self-conception (Burke and Reitzes, 1981, p84). These socially recognisable categories I equate with Bourdieu's social class, whilst his *doxa* has parallels to the interactions with Burke and Reitzes specific situations. The third of these concepts, self-validation and confirmation, I see as being contemporaneous with Bourdieu's *habitus*.

As stated by Rajuan et al, (2007), identity development is a dynamic process. They consider that identity differs from moment to moment and is, therefore, of a transitory rather than a linear nature. This means that identity development is not a simple progression from one stage to the next but that sometimes we may spend a period of time learning a skill and then practising it repetitively before we can build on our understanding of our prior learning. Beijaard et al's (2004) work reviews various studies of teacher identity development and concludes that there are gaps in the ways in which a trainee's professional identity is developed. An example of this is a trainee at the start of a course who may be concerned about behaviour management in the classroom. They may have seen newspaper articles that focus on bad behaviour in schools, providing them with an understanding that there is bad behaviour in schools. Yet until they enter the classroom and begin to put their ideas about behaviour management into practice, they will have no way of knowing what additional knowledge and understanding they require in order to fill any gaps in the knowledge with which they started the course. This is an example of how a dispositional understanding of what may be seen as acceptable behaviour may exist prior to the start of an ITT course. Furthermore, until the trainees have had the opportunity to try out behaviour management techniques, and reflect upon the success or otherwise of using such techniques, their professional identity will not develop any further. It is only when their dispositions and *habitus* are challenged that there is the opportunity for the trainee to develop professionally. Whether they choose to do so during training or later in their career becomes an important point in this thesis when I discuss when trainees have the opportunity to reflect on their professional practice in Chapter Six.

We may, therefore, consider these gaps as being areas where there is a current lack of experience, knowledge or understanding on the part of the trainee. In relation to social class and *habitus*, this is significant where, in Chapter Six, I explore the participants' understanding of gaps they may have in their knowledge about the social classes of the students they will be teaching. More importantly, I shall explore whether they are aware that if there is a gap in

their knowledge or understanding regarding the social class backgrounds of their students, then is this a gap that needs to be addressed?

Having looked at where Rajuan et al's (2007) concept of gaps plays a part in developing trainees' knowledge, I want to discuss how professional identity development is affected by other factors. Using another of Bourdieu's concepts, *misrecognition,* I explore how our identities are shaped from an early age through factors that may be beyond our personal control. I begin by looking at how our parents may be one of these factors in this particular process.

Misrecognition can be used to show how parents may affect their child's identity development. Grenfell and James (2008) explain that Bourdieu used *misrecognition* to demonstrate how these external influences can play a part in the development of children. An example of this is observable at parents' evenings[18] in schools. Some parents excuse their child's lack of achievement in a subject because the parent was not very good at the same subject when they were at school. In doing so, Bourdieu explains that the parent is influencing the child in three ways. In attributing the family's social background as the cause of the child's failure, the parent is reducing the possibility that, through education, the child may develop the skill or knowledge under discussion. Secondly, the influence that *misrecognition* has can be demonstrated through a personal example. When schools report on a child's progress, I found it rare for parents to challenge what schools actually tell them in a written progress report or at a parents' evening. By not challenging the authority of the school, Bourdieu explains that the parents limit their own understanding of the child's progress to that which is written on the school report, without reference to any other sources of information. These two influences combine to create the third form of *misrecognition*. By condoning the authority of the school and by affirming that the child is not good at a particular subject or skill, the parents reinforce their perception of that child. Grenfell and James (1998)

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[18] In secondary schools in England and Wales, these are (usually) evenings where parents of children come in to the school in order to discuss the academic progress of their child with the subject teachers. This normally occurs following the writing of a progress report for each child by individual subject teacher(s).

explain that this can lead to perpetuation of social inequalities. If the authority of the school is not challenged, this is more likely to reproduce the existing social structures around them (Evans, 2007) due to parents' lack of knowledge or understanding of how to challenge the school's authority. This may then lead to a student's identity being confirmed in one particular social class group and, potentially for them, assume that social class without the student having any say in the matter. In turn, this has led lower social class students leaving education if they cannot see the point of what they are being taught (Dumais, 2002). Therefore, I am interested in whether trainees, in developing their professional identities, understand that their disposition towards differing social class groups may influence the ways in which they interact with students and parents from other social class groups. Again, the fixing of social class values within individuals becomes important when considering the *habitus* of the individual trainee joining a teacher-training course. How each trainee values schools and education in general will have been affected by the socialisation processes they will have undergone during their education, which will predispose them towards schools and particular social class groups of students as they start their training. This presents a difficulty in identifying specifically how this specific *habitus* is formed, but is examined in detail in Chapter Six where I discuss the effects that schooling has had upon the participants.

I use the concept of *misrecognition* here because this has further resonance with Burke and Reitzes' (1981) third aspect of identity – self-confirmation i.e. what we feel comfortable with. By stating that we do not understand a particular subject, we may not try to acquire knowledge or understanding about that specific matter. This will become relevant in Chapter Six, when I discuss trainees' responses to unfamiliar situations such as working with students from other social class backgrounds.

The concept of gaps in our knowledge and understanding provides a point at which professional identities may be developed. Bourdieu's *misrecognition* is a counterpoint to this in that opportunities for exploring gaps may be suppressed by authority figures (e.g. mentors, parents or teachers) who tells the training teacher that they are no good at something, thus

denying them the opportunity to discover what they can and cannot achieve. Having considered some of the factors that a trainee may be able to engage with and have some control over, I will now explore some of the wider influences that may shape their development.

Influences affecting professional identity development

In looking at the influences on professional identity development, it is worth reflecting on Seidler's historical perspective of how our identities have changed. He explains that in modern, Western society, people, "…no longer appear to be so determined by the structural positions that they occupy within class, 'race' and gender relations of power and subordination" (Seidler, 2010, p12). The implication here is that today, we may see ourselves more as thinkers, rather than being tied to our corporeal bodies that identify who we are. Taking this a stage further, the de-structuralization of modern society means that we have undone the, "traditional rules, norms, expectations and forms of authority associated with...those organized along axes of...class and status" (Adkins, 2003, p22). This allows individuals the freedom to create their own identity. The ability to be able to think and develop one's own identity is sound, as long we are able to do so without interference from external agencies, for example national government.

However, as Appiah (1994) explains, democratic governments control their electorates through policies, strategies and legislation and it is at this point that governments become significant external influences that directly affect schools. National government's legislation and policies are some of the constraints that trainees must abide by whilst in schools. As I discussed in Chapter Two, the changes made to ITT to suit specific government agenda are an example of this. An example of this intervention is found in the current Teachers' Standards (2013). Part Two of these standards requires teachers to maintain "British values"[19]. This is an example of how trainees, who may not be British (by birth or otherwise),

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[19] These are defined as "democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect and tolerance of different faiths and beliefs'. (Teaching Standards, Department for Education, 2013, p5)

may not feel that they agree with British values but are unable to express contrary opinions about such matters if this jeopardises their chances of passing an ITT course. This can be viewed as Bourdieu's second form of *misrecognition* through authority. At a personal level, the trainee is not in a position to change government policy and so has no option but to comply with the requirement to promote British values during their placement. Failure to agree with British values may result in an unfavourable report from a school, which can lead to a trainee failing a placement. Without reflection or discussion during a placement on what is required of them to meet a standard, there seems to be little choice but to conform if they are to successfully complete their training. The problem arising here is the dynamic between the structures a trainee teacher has to comply with, compared with the level of agency they possess to develop their own ideas during their ITT course.

Trainees have to work with mentors who will be implementing such policies and for whom failure to comply may affect appraisal objectives and, in turn, salary or career progression. An instance of this is found in the degree of flexibility teachers have when making decisions in schools. Current frameworks such as the national curriculum, teaching standards or appraisal mean that teachers may only be seen as passive participants in the wider educational sphere (Giroux, in Harper, 2014). This seems to contradict' the idea of "matters of individual decisions" (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 1995, p29). These individual decisions may not be so easily made in schools where anything other than adherence to school policies is required. This removal of an individual teacher's ability to make decisions that affect their daily routines may become an occurrence that hinders their professional development. If one of these teachers is also a mentor for a trainee in a placement school, then the trainee might only see a mentor who is treading a careful path through initiatives and policies, but without reflecting on the effects of those policies on their professional lives. Consequently, the trainee may not see their mentor as a truly reflective practitioner, which may lead to the trainee developing reactive rather than reflective habits. That trainee may then develop into a teacher who relies on their dispositional understandings and *habitus* to manage behaviour, social class differences or learning, rather than reflecting more deeply on

classroom situations, their professional conduct and subsequent actions. Therefore, "with the disintegration of modes of life associated with modernity, external forms of authority are being replaced by the authority of the individual" (Adkins, 2003, p23), I would question how much autonomy there is for a trainee to be able to form their professional identity entirely as they would wish. The degree of agency for a trainee to be able to subsume their personal views, so that they will be employable, is another aspect of creating a professional identity that is gained through experience. I would liken this to understanding the *doxa* of becoming a teacher as, without understanding the *field* in which they are operating, unorthodoxy might become a barrier to a newly qualified teacher obtaining their first job in a school.

This last section demonstrates the paradox between becoming (in Western European terms) freer thinkers, liberated from our needs to focus solely on providing for our physical needs, and the imposition of policies to meet the ideological needs of the government of the day. Relevant to this study has been the discussion surrounding the ways that governments use teaching standards to ensure that if a trainee is to gain qualified teacher status, they need to understand that they must comply with those standards in order to achieve their career goals. The next section explores this further by examining the importance of placement schools as *fields* where trainees have to contend with balancing their individual *habituses* with the needs and working practices of their placement schools.

The effect of placement schools as *fields*

In Chapter One, I introduced a definition of *field* as "a structured social space, a field of forces…It contains people who dominate and people who are dominated" (Bourdieu, 1998, p40). In this instance, the *field* includes all the members of a school, but within that group there will be related structures: the hierarchy from the headteacher down to the teachers, teaching assistants and administrative staff and finally to the students. This can lead to the creation of semi-autonomous spheres of action, as more units of the school (i.e. departments or faculties) create niches in which their own skills (e.g. subject specialisms) are valued and

used. The greater the level of specialization there is within one particular *field*, the greater the power that is held by the more senior members of that *field*. This is important because once a teacher is qualified they are given a high level of autonomy when they step into the classroom alone, for the first time. The discussion of legislation in Chapter Two and the history of educational reform illustrates the degree to which schools have now become autonomous fields in their own right.

Because the trainees have chosen to train in a specialism (i.e. teaching), they may be perceived as better qualified and so be trusted by the school and parents to manage their classes. Therefore, they hold the balance of power in the classroom, especially in terms of making judgements about students. The point here is that if a trainee faces a situation in a classroom that represents a gap in their understanding (e.g. how to manage a misbehaving student), they might not choose to explore or reflect upon the cause of that gap. Depending on the values that the trainee brings to that situation, they might choose to carry on and not be willing to reflect upon their actions. The consequence of this may remain unknown until the same situation arises again – and, therefore, the same situation may be managed in the same way so that the gap continues to exist. Until that gap is recognised and then bridged, the trainee may not continue to develop their understanding or knowledge. Instead, they may choose to follow Burke and Reitzes' (1981) concept of reaffirming what they already know and not challenge their dispositional understandings of that situation; i.e. relying on their *habitus* to understand any given situation.

As I have stated previously, entering a placement school for the first time can be a daunting experience for trainees (Dillon and Maguire, 2011; Pollard, 2008). They will need to acquire the appropriate skills and demeanour of a teacher from the very start of a placement. When considering the professional identity development of trainees, there may be many gaps that they encounter at the early stages in their training (Pollard, 2008) and, as such, they need to be made to feel that they are becoming part of the profession (Hascher, Moser and Cocard, 2004). This create a reliance upon the mentor, so that the trainee replicates aspects of the

mentor's practice that the trainee believes is good, but without having the ability to discern what good practice is. A concern with the early stages of any placement is that,

> …student teachers consider their mentors as experts and they are eager to learn to act like them: if a certain didactic setting works in the expert's practice, it is adopted by the novice teacher. Aside from the fact that there is no guarantee for a novice that expert strategies are also useful for him/her, learning in practicum on this premise is reduced to social learning and imitation.

(Hascher, Cocard and Moser, 2004, p625)

The *field* and the *doxa* of the field as training placement serve to exercise power. A trainee who decides that they do not wish to follow the rules of the group is either made to conform by the powerful or controlling elements within that group (in the case of a school, the department or senior leadership team) or risk being removed from that group, possibly by failing their placement. In this way, schools maintain control of their environments and, as such, create exclusive boundaries between those within the *field* (e.g. the orthodox staff) and those on the outside (e.g. the unorthodox teacher). Harber (2004) defines schooling as a reproductive process that perpetuates existing social norms. He supports Gramsci's theory that, "the dominant ideas in society…support the ruling group and…are given far greater credence than other ideas in the media and in the education system" (Gramsci (1977) in Harber, 2004, p23). Again, this can be seen as a limitation of the agency that a trainee possesses whilst they are on placement. They can make changes to themselves, but only enough to be still complying with the status quo of the school in which they are placed. Susan provides a good example of this where she feels she must conform to the *doxa* of her placement school by covering her tattoos, removing her piercings and modifying her clothing, so that the students at her placement school see her as a teacher.

Having explained how trainees are often made to conform to the *doxa* of a placement (qua *field*), a further consideration is how teachers then regulate the operations of schools and, therefore, of the students (Carnoy and Levin, 1985). Harber shows this when he explains how teachers may perpetuate harsh regimes against students through abusive means e.g. physical, sexual and/or psychological (Harber, 2004). In the situation of a trainee joining a

school at the start of their first placement, this new environment may seem to be intimidating and this might be one of the early gaps they encounter in their training. However, if an issue that they encounter is seen as normal practice for that school, then by fighting against that practice, the trainee may find that they are ostracised by the mentor or school. As I shall demonstrate later in Chapter Six, an example arises which illustrates this particular phenomenon. In the context of this thesis, this is significant because if a school or mentor condones the actions of a specific, dominant group, then the trainee will see this as acceptable practice, thus perpetuating the same issues for the oppressed group. Furthermore, if this is happening to one particular group, the question needs to be asked whether this is also occurring for other groups in the school, with the tacit knowledge of some members of staff. As will be seen in Chapter Six, Sheila chooses to conform to the school's actions rather than intervene and therefore risk failing her placement. In effect, Sheila has created an instance of *misrecognition* through her acceptance of the existing situation. Her reaction to this specific behaviour confirms Cialdini and Goldstein's emphasis of the likelihood of conformity to accepted behaviours "…it appears likely that relationship-oriented objectives do play a part in our everyday experiences…" (Cialdini and Goldstein, 2004, p610). Therefore, it may be that the professional identity begins forming around practices that are unquestioned by the trainee.

In the preceding section it is clear that a trainee teacher's position is precarious. Within the field where they are working, their role is circumscribed by the *doxa* of the school as well as by the prevailing attitudes and *habituses* of the senior teachers and their mentors. This tension regarding placements is examined through the literature surrounding training placements as *fields* in the next section.

When trainees are placed in schools, they may not be comfortable working in a school that has students whose social class backgrounds differ from their own. In their study of trainees in Australia, Santoro and Allard observed,

> …we often find our students reluctant to teach in schools where the students
> have different … socioeconomic class identities from their own. This reluctance
> may be motivated by fear of the unfamiliar, or may be in part, due to the ways in
> which teaching for diversity is generally taken up in teacher education.

(Santoro and Allard, 2005, p864)

The question of trainees and a "fear of the unfamiliar" relates to placements[20] and how these are chosen for trainees. The participants in this thesis are reading for a professional qualification and as part of this process, they are placed into schools chosen by their subject tutors. However, trainees may indicate factors that may be relevant to where they may be placed and these are taken into consideration by the university subject tutor when arranging placements. There is, at present, no research at my institution on the observation made by Santoro and Allard. It is, therefore, difficult to know whether or not trainees raise this as a concern. This question is, however, one I explore later in Chapter Six when I discuss what information trainees may seek when discussing placement schools for placements.

Another question that arises from the literature on social class and placements concerns the ways in which trainees engage with students whose class background differs from their own. Delpit shows this when she reports:

> Teacher candidates are told that ''culturally different'' children are mismatched to
> the school setting and therefore cannot be expected to achieve as well as white,
> middle-class children.

(Delpit, 1995, p178)

This, Delpit argues, elevates white, middle-class children to the position of a social norm, against which all other groups are measured. If trainees are in a placement with a mentor who sees students in the same way, then how these perceptions are being challenged through an ITT course is a question that needs to be raised. I explored this earlier in Chapter Two when I discussed the content of education modules in my institution. What is unclear from Delpit is whether or not such perceptions are challenged and, if they are, what the outcomes of such challenges to trainees' thinking are. Allied to Delpit's concern regarding

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[20] The placement of trainee teachers into schools is predominantly based on availability of placement schools and geographical proximity to the trainee teacher's home. Other issues that may be taken into consideration include availability of public transport, the trainee's health and managing family welfare.

views about inequality, Gazeley and Dunne (2007) argue that the majority of students in lower ability teaching groups come from working-class families. If trainees are expected to teach lower ability classes, in which the majority of students may be perceived as working-class, trainees might construct an image of working-class students being only in lower ability classes within a mainstream education setting. If this is the case, then what needs to be explored is if they can separate for themselves the difference between low ability students and underachieving ones, as these are two very different groups of student.

Allied to this, Carnoy and Levin state that the role of teachers is to "…reinforce the differential class structure in preparing the young for future occupational roles" (Carnoy and Levin, 1985, p141). Crompton (2008) states that studies, which measure the decline in social mobility, indicate that family attitudes towards education have as much to do with academic success as with individual academic ability. An example of this concerns the parents of middle-class students who are willing to intervene to prevent their child from failing and who are more likely to enlist whatever help they can to ensure that their child will succeed. A second is their willingness to move nearer to a school that will enhance their chances of leaving with higher exam qualifications/better cultural capital. Parents of failing students from working-class backgrounds are less likely to do so and, therefore, those students may continue to fail (Crompton, 2008). This in turn reinforces my previous point that trainees' perceptions of schools may be reinforced through the types of schools deemed suitable to provide training. If trainees can only train in schools or alliances where the population is predominantly from middle-class backgrounds, the question of where the future teachers for schools in working-class areas come from needs to be asked.

This is important to this thesis for two reasons. Firstly, trainees might begin their training with gaps in their knowledge and understanding and experience of school environments. Therefore, if they are not aware of, or do not acknowledge, that differences between social classes exist in schools, they may fail to respond to a situation such as that described above by Crompton. The potential consequence is that, if they do intervene, then the student may

better understand what is required of them, thus potentially gaining a higher GCSE grade. By ignoring the failing student (irrespective of their social class values) the trainee could be considered as contributing to a student's *misrecognition*. This will be looked at when the data from the trainees is analysed later in Chapter Five.

The second reason is where a trainee's personal values contradict or contest existing school practices. Hascher et al (2004) explain that in situations where a trainee encounters a situation that is at variance with their personal values, there is a tension that needs to be resolved. However, the most frequent resolution of this situation is likely to result in the trainee aligning their views to those of the school or mentor (Hascher et al, 2004). They explain that trainees are more likely to do this to ensure that they do not fail the placement, rather than risk the possibility of disagreeing with their mentor and therefore not being seen as becoming a part of the profession. Therefore, the trainee may not have time to reflect upon their actions during, or immediately after, a situation. Consequently, they may not be able to construct a purposeful meaning from that situation that they have faced and thus resolve any gap in their knowledge that may have previously existed. This is a question that I examine in more detail in Chapter Six when I consider schools as places of social reproduction.

Moreover, the outcome of the trainees' response to a situation that challenges their values may be to impose their social class values onto the student. They may rely upon their individual *habituses* before considering those of the student(s) whom they may face when managing a challenging situation. The literature regarding the social class aspect of teachers teaching students from different class backgrounds is often reported under a broader heading of behaviour management linked to social deprivation. This makes it difficult to separate the aspects of the discussion that are offering solutions to the problems related to social class values encountered in the classroom, from those which explore the origins of these problems. When these origins are identified, they are only discussed in terms of the social class backgrounds of the students or their families, and not from the perspective of the

social class background of the teacher. This is a criticism I raise regarding the canon of educational research into students and their social class backgrounds. Willis (1977), Bowles and Gintis (1976) and Evans (2007) to name but a few, do not appear to question the *habituses* of the teachers, whereas those of the students and their families are listed and cited as reasons for students being disruptive, excluded or underachieving. Furthermore, I would question whether the same lack of research into teachers' backgrounds would be found if the issue being researched were race, ethnicity, gender, religious belief or sexuality, rather than social class.

As I have discussed in Chapter Two, the recent introduction of School Direct as a route into ITT is changing the dynamic of teacher training, especially where placing trainees is concerned. Whilst Teaching School Alliances (DfE, 2011) are required to involve Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) in the training process, the locus of decision-making about the training requirements for each individual trainee rests with the training alliance. Candidates for ITT may apply for a training place with an alliance. The difference here, and relevant to this thesis, is that trainees will only be placed within schools in that alliance: i.e. the trainee will only ever see schools that are good or outstanding. That is unlike university-based ITT who can, under some circumstances, place trainees into good or outstanding departments in schools that are either subject to Requires Improvement or even Inadequate[21]. This means that theoretically, trainees who are recruited through teaching alliances may potentially never be placed in schools that could fail an OfSTED inspection. This again can be seen as a form of *misrecognition.* Furthermore, the placement schools, as *fields*, will be of a specific type that the trainees must learn to work within. There is, therefore, the potential for conflict between the *habitus* of the trainee and the *field* in which they will train. I have already referred to the effect of selecting training placements for trainees; however, this forms a further part of the discussion in Chapter Six.

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[21] There are four categories awarded by OfSTED: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/common-inspection-framework-education-skills-and-early-years-from-september-2015 Last accessed 31st January 2017.

Reflexivity as part of professional identity development

So far, in discussing how Bourdieu's capitals, *habitus* and field can develop an understanding of identities and how we relate to one another, I have considered how we make changes to our identity when we discover gaps in our knowledge, understanding or level of skills. Through the concept of *elimination*, I have demonstrated that students who do not possess the requisite social and cultural capitals may be removed from the education system. Furthermore, I have also looked at how external factors may inhibit trainees' identity development through the idea of *misrecognition*. I will now explore how these ideas can be applied more specifically to the identity development of a trainee through the reflections the trainees undertake.

According to Atkinson (2004), we cannot become truly reflective, or even critical, until after an event has occurred. He proposes that reflexive thinking occurs when, for example, a trainee encounters a problem, reflects upon the way that they deal with that situation and then amends their actions accordingly to manage similar future episodes. However, if they fail to recognise that this new action is inadequate, or does not fully address their own understanding of the specific problem, the trainee may reach an internal compromise that does not fully allow them to explore the problem with which they have initially been confronted, and so develop as wholly as they might. There are parallels here with the third concept proposed by Burke and Reitzes (1981) in that we only confirm to ourselves those matters, which, when we confront them, prove to have outcomes that accord with our own self-concepts. This also corresponds with how our *habituses* may play a role in developing our understanding and, therefore, our interpretation of any given situation (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

This may be because, as Atkinson argues, we find it very difficult to transcend, or step outside, our everyday lives: in other words, we do not reflect as deeply as we ought. One of the reasons why this may be the case early in a trainee's career is that it is not so easy for those entering teaching to be willing to take risks so soon after starting their professional

careers. As has already been discussed in this chapter, they may not wish to upset their mentor or be seen as 'different' from other trainees, as they are aware that the mentor or professional tutor will be writing progress reports that will have a bearing on the final outcome of the placement. At the same time, trainees do not enter teaching with their professional identities completely formed; it is through their own practices and the interrogation of these practices that they create their professional identities. Where there is a gap between what a trainee imagines a school ought to be like and the reality of what schools actually are may present an opportunity for adapting or improving the professional identity of the trainee. This is the point at which new knowledge or understanding can be called into existence.

How trainees actually create new understandings, and where they gather information from to form new ideas, depends upon how they interpret the knowledge that is available to them. They may follow the *doxa* within their *field* (e.g. of the placement school staff or members of the department) and follow what are seen as accepted practices. Alternatively, they may contest the accepted practices in the school and possibly cause disharmony between themselves and their mentor with potential consequences for the outcome of that practice. Thirdly, they may choose a path that reaches an internal compromise that satisfies both themselves and their mentor. Whilst the trainee is at university, the content of the course and the scope of any discussion about content can be discussed with their tutors. I discussed this previously in Chapter Two where I examined the content of the modules taught to trainees. However, once the trainee has started a training placement, then discussions about what to accept, reject or assimilate are very much in the hands of the trainee, their mentor and the professional tutor. How the trainee develops an understanding and professional identity in such cases is something that will be discussed in Chapter Six, as will the ways in which trainees find time to reflect upon their professional development.

What is important here is to help the trainee to recognise gaps in their understanding and then assist them with their reflections on how to bridge these gaps. This may be aided, in

part, through modules taught at university that give the trainees opportunities to discuss aspects of education. Later in Chapter Six, I consider how we address the areas where gaps in knowledge may arise through some of the content in the modules that are taught to the trainees.

Chapter Summary

There are several complex strands that emerge from this chapter, including social class and class values; professional identity formation and *habitus*; training placements and finally, reflexivity. What links these together is the ways in which trainee teachers are shaped by these strands.

The first part of this chapter demonstrated the interaction between social class and social values and showed how some schools are shaped as they become more successful. In turn, this has led to some schools being positioned as being better than others, making them more desirable to parents. In part, this is due to middle-class parents being prepared to spend parts of their disposable income on moving to housing near the improving schools. Relative to this thesis, the net effect is that if a trainee teacher has attended one of the better performing schools, then their *habitus* will develop in a school where there is less likelihood of them mixing with students from other social class backgrounds.

This chapter then considered the development of the individual trainee teacher and used *elimination* to explain that trainees are now separated from some of their school peers, as each trainee has moved through the education system to complete their ITT course. As a result, they will have become more remote from students who were from other social classes, too.

The section on *habitus*, gaps and professional identity development showed that Rajuan et al's (2004) theory of gaps in our development is not linear, but suggests that we make a series of discoveries as we find gaps in our knowledge or understanding. As we bridge any newly discovered gaps, we continue to build our understanding of our world. However, once the connection is made that fills the gap in our knowledge, we do not necessarily return to the same position prior to the discovery of that gap. Where this caused concern was if a trainee or their mentor denies or simply does not accept that there is a gap in their

knowledge, as in the case of Alan when discussing social class and his students. This section also considered the effect that *misrecognition* plays in parents' thinking regarding their child's education and how this particular concept maintains social class positions in schools (as *fields*) through lack of parental knowledge about schools.

I then considered what influences there are on and within schools and therefore, on the professional identity development of trainee teachers. I showed how government policy affects schools, which in turn has an impact upon teachers, who may be mentors, and therefore, may be mentoring trainee teachers. I also demonstrated what may happen to a trainee who decides to go against the *doxa* of the school or training institution. As a consequence, the degree of agency available to a trainee teacher was discussed in this section. Following on from this, the position of the school, as *field* was examined. With its hierarchical structure and the need to conform in order to be seen as a teacher, I showed that there is relatively little agency for trainees to do anything other than conform to the requirements of the course and their mentors. With this position, it is difficult for the trainees to develop any form of agency, especially in relation to understanding the social class values of their students.

Finally, I used Beauchamp and Thomas' (2009) writing on identity to explain that if we, through our ITT courses, are to develop teachers who are more reflexive then we need to indicate to our trainees where their gaps in knowledge may be. This may help them seek the knowledge or understanding required for them to make sense of a particular gap. However, it is not always possible to develop a sufficiently reflexive understanding within the trainee who is faced with a specific gap in their experience or knowledge. This may be problematic, especially if there is a dissonance between their personal views on a particular issue and the way in which they assimilate new information that is at variance with that personal view. Part of this problem may be the ways in which they reflect on their practice and this is a theme that is discussed in Chapter Six.

Chapter Four: Methodology

Background to the chapter

At the start of this thesis, I stated that I am investigating the relationship between the understanding of social class and the professional identity development of a small group of trainee teachers. Therefore, the methodology I use is underpinned by an understanding of how meaning is constructed and how I interpret the data collected. My methodological approach is qualitative as this allows for knowledge to be shared, negotiated and modified, not created away from the world in which it will be used (Guba and Lincoln, 1998). Epistemologically, such an approach places this thesis within a framework of constructivism, understanding that what may emanate from this thesis will be debated, re-shaped and contended through the language found in the data and the subsequent discussion of that data. In immersing myself in this research paradigm, I am taking a constructivist approach because I believe that "…all knowledge is constructed and the knower is an intimate part of the known" (Belenky, 1986, p137). What this approach offers is a richness of description when considering the unique and personal recollections provided by the participants (Polkinghorne,1988). Most importantly for this study, insights will be gained into how the participants perceive the relationship between their developing identities as trainees, their social class backgrounds and the impact that this has on them during their training placements. This will be explored through the interviews with the participants.

As part of this process, I am examining the policies and legislation that have an impact upon those trainees as they enter the profession. Therefore, my three research aims are to:

1. Examine what social and cultural capitals trainees bring to an Initial Teacher Training course.

2. Understand how professional identity development shapes trainees at the start of their professional careers.

3. Analyse the extent to which policies relating to social inclusion (nationally or locally) may affect the training of trainees in terms of their professional identity.

The first two aims will be considered as I describe the stance adopted for this thesis. Part of this chapter will consider how my epistemological stance has an impact upon the design of the research process. The section on fieldwork will discuss the participant selection process and the justification for the data collection methods used. The discussion around my use of Richmond's Analysis framework (2002) as my method for analysing the data follows this. Finally, I consider my role as an insider researcher and how positionality and ethics play their part in this thesis.

Epistemology, theoretical perspective and design of the study

The epistemological viewpoint

In considering how knowledge is created, I drew upon the work of Gergen, who considers that social interactions are based upon historical perspectives, rather than being based upon quantifiable phenomena (Gergen, 1973). These interactions were analysed through the literature surrounding the first two research aims of trainees' professional identity development and the social class values they brought to their ITT course. Both of these aims drew upon historical knowledge in that I asked the participants to discuss their pasts in terms of how their social class values, capitals and their identities were being formed prior to starting their ITT course. This is contextualised by Burr who explains,

> Our ways of understanding the world do not come from objective reality but from other people, both past and present. We are born into a world where the conceptual frameworks and categories used by the people already exist.

(Burr, 2003, p7)

This is important because Burr's "conceptual categories" reflect what I have already discussed in Chapter Two where I examined Bourdieu's concepts of capital, *habitus* and *field.* Specific to this thesis, Burr's categories represent differing social class backgrounds from which the participants will have come. Understanding these backgrounds was important, as this was the foundation on which this thesis is based. It was from this information that new understandings of how the participants related to and reflected upon their backgrounds when working with students with different social class backgrounds arose. Examples of this are found in Chapter Three, where trainees do not engage with students with different social class backgrounds from their own (Santoro and Allard, 2005) or who only consider working in white, middle-class schools (Delpit, 1995). Other examples include where and when trainees reflect on their practice when in schools (Sutherland et al, 2010) and Rajuan et al's (2004) idea of gaps as places where new aspects of identity are formed through reflection upon practice.

What must be avoided here is the possibility of taking a very narrow research standpoint through focussing too early on a single aspect of the data that will be collected. Instead I needed to recognise that there could be a range of experiences that the participants brought to their ITT course (Edley, 2001). Failure to do so could result in missing important insights from the subsequent analysis and discussion. Talja et al explain how a qualitative epistemology should develop new knowledge,

> …knowledge is produced from limited viewpoints as parts of ongoing conversations and reorients research and knowledge organisation strategies for mapping and visualising conversations, literatures and debates.
>
> (Talja et al., 2005, p90)

In order to avoid these 'limited viewpoints', I carried out interviews and concept mapping simultaneously with the participants at two specific points in their training. This was important because it provided more than one way of entering the lives of the participants in order to construct an understanding of their identities prior to, and during, their training. These methods also provided ways of understanding how participants perceived their interactions with students during their placements. The data drawn from these insights were then analysed in the context of the literature discussed in Chapters Two and Three, including viewpoints related to this thesis; i.e. the legislative and policy frameworks related to the education studies modules in the participants' ITT course. As participants reflected upon what they may have learned during these modules, so discussions about students' social class in schools provided feedback for future development of the quality of teaching, both in schools and at university level.

In taking this approach, a picture emerged of the *habitus* of each participant. This picture was then compared with the other participants so that understandings developed around groups of participants through the similarities and differences that emerged from the data. In doing so, I am building new knowledge, not only about individual participants, but also about a group of them as part of a wider cohort. This is important because, "…traditional empirical research methods cannot sufficiently address issues such as complexity, multiplicity of

perspectives and human-centredness" (Webster and Mertova, 2007, p31). Therefore, I aimed to capture what Polkinghorne describes as, "the primary scheme by means of which human existence is rendered meaningful" (Polkinghorne, 1988, p11). Thus, my understanding of how knowledge developed lay in using an approach that sought information from participants through methods that allowed for personal description and explanation of their world.

Crotty explains that without knowing about the ways in which humans interact with their immediate environment then knowledge discovered through such processes is meaningless,

> …all knowledge…is contingent upon human practices being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world and transmitted within an essentially social world.

(Crotty, 1998, p42)

This is important because it corresponds with my discussion in Chapter Two of Bourdieu's social and cultural capitals as ways of knowing about how the world is constructed. In comparing the participants' views of their worlds in the Analysis and Discussion Chapters, I examined aspects of their interactions with students from differing social class backgrounds in the context of their professional identity development. They were asked to discuss how their professional identities were forming, what they perceived to be their social class values and how these related to their first two training placements. These understandings were gained as a result of their interactions with their friends, families, schools and wider social connections that formed the participants' *habituses*. The meanings that evolved from these interviews gave insights into the values and perceptions that each participant brought to their ITT course. The data were analysed in order to generate deeper insights into whether or not the participants understood the effects that their social class values had upon their role as a trainee teacher.

The theoretical perspective

The knowledge generated by this thesis needs to be understood in terms of my theoretical perspective. Relevant to this thesis is the hypothesis that middle-class values are seen to be better than working-class values in an educational context (Kohn, 1977; Reay, 2001; Grace, 1978). In Chapters Two and Three, I discussed how this is achieved through both social and cultural capitals and the existing education system in England.

Crotty explains that, whilst our culture may liberate us from the symbols and systems of our history, the same culture also sets boundaries because of the constraints that the same symbols and systems impose upon that culture (Crotty, 1998, p81). An interpretivist approach to this thesis provided insights into where that culture was influencing the participants' identities. How this helped in the research process was to require the researcher to set aside the meanings ascribed to the culture within which it resides (Crotty, 1998). The discussion in Chapter Three demonstrated that through parental influence, *elimination* and *misrecognition*, the English education system is weighted in favour of middle-class children in its symbols and systems. Therefore, interpretivism provided the opportunity to consider whether participants brought their social class values to their teaching without them questioning whether those values were always appropriate to employ in their professional practice.

The rationale for using interpretivism as a theoretical perspective lies in where I understand the most valuable data to come from. Husserl's entreaty to return to the "things themselves" (in Merleau-Ponty, 1996, viii) invites us to look at the world from our own perspective. This meant asking the participants to provide their own versions of events and what the significance of these events was upon their lives. These participants were situated in their learning at a university and training in schools that were local to them. Therefore, there was an opportunity for me to ask the participants about their identities, their self-identified social class values and their training and then from this develop an understanding of the cultures in

which they had been immersed. These are what I saw as being the "things themselves" and from the data collected through interviews with the participants I then constructed an understanding of the world that they occupied.

In order to obtain these data, I needed to use methods that provided opportunities for the participants to discuss their identities and how they perceived themselves as teachers whilst in placements. This forms the next section in this chapter.

Data collection methods

This next section focuses on how I know that the data that I gathered added to the body of knowledge in which this thesis is situated. The methodology follows on from the stance discussed in the theoretical perspective section. Therefore, the focus is on the specific ways in which there is plausibility in the data collection and analytical processes that I undertook.

The methods used to collect the data had to allow for the participants to bring their own experiences, feelings and thoughts to the interviews. The data obtained from these interviews would be the truths the participants told. Some evidence was verifiable through external sources (e.g. checking with placement reports about the participants' progress, any incident reports about any misconduct by the participants and their teaching files that they kept during their placements). However, I was also reliant upon my wider knowledge of the behaviour of participants during their placements, and had to trust what they told me. Crotty's (1998) description of the wider concept of constructivism describes the ways in which I interact with the world as I see it and therefore make sense of what I encounter. Kvale (1989) notes that validity in qualitative research should not be seen as a means for checking that the findings correspond to following a single correct method. Instead, qualitative research acts as a way of checking that new knowledge derived from the data is plausible and I had to be aware of doing so as I carried out the analysis of the data.

In order to gather data that was plausible, I used methods in a phenomenological framework that provided first person data. The use of semi-structured interviews provided participants with opportunities to discuss aspects of their identities and social class values from their perspective. Concept maps were used to support the interviews as ways of allowing the participants to make connections that may not be initially obvious through solely responding to interview questions. The concept maps also provided a permanent record of the interview process so that they could be read in conjunction with the data during the analysis process. In turn, this allowed for further reinterpretation of the data by the researcher during the journey through this thesis (Crotty, 1998).

The methods described in detail in the next section were selected in order to provide opportunities for each participant to discuss their identity development in the context of their social class values. I therefore used methods that were directed towards achieving my first two research aims of firstly understanding how participants saw their own identity as teachers developing and, secondly, examined the social and cultural capitals they brought to an ITT course. Therefore, the aim was to use methods that opened possibilities for new dialogue and exploration of social phenomena that arose during the interviews. As Goodson suggests, "The **more** we prescribe our questions, the **more** we structure our enquiries before the interview, the **less** we will learn" (Goodson's emphases, 2008, p37). This also fits with Bourdieu's entreaty that we should not impose ourselves upon the research process.

The processes undertaken for identifying potential participants, data collection and the analysis framework adopted for the data will be laid out in this section. The section on Ethics discusses questions of participant welfare, whilst the final section looks at how I negotiated the issue of being an insider researcher as well as explaining my perspectives and background as a teacher who has become a researcher.

Trainee recruitment questionnaires

The purpose of the trainee recruitment questionnaire was to identify potential participants for the second stage of the thesis. Table One (on page 95) shows the stages that the thesis underwent. A trial version of the trainee recruitment questionnaire was carried out with a cohort of Year Three trainees (who took no further part in this study). They provided feedback on how readable my questions were, as well as how useful the questions were in trying to draw out information from my selected group of trainees[22]. Using a different group of trainees ensured that my proposed sample of students did not become "sensitised to the questions" (Opie and Sikes, 2004, p105) that I used for the live research. A final check was made by a critical friend who provided additional comments upon the suitability of the methods of collecting data. The final version of the questionnaire can be found in Appendix A.

The forty trainees on the first year of the course are the sum of my potential participants. To assist with recruiting participants, I devised a questionnaire to ascertain their backgrounds and social class values. The context to the questions was based on the reading I had already undertaken around Bourdieu's social and cultural capitals. Examples of this included what type of school they attended, the qualifications they had obtained prior to starting the ITT course and what social class they saw themselves belonging to. The initial questionnaire specifically focussed on four areas: how the participants perceived their social class background; information about each participant's family; information about their reasons for training to become a teacher and finally, their gender and age. Finally, I sought their permission for their participation in the final stages of the research. A variety of question techniques were used, including Likert-scale questions (Bertram, 2007; Munshi, 2014), single choice questions and some that required the participants to give longer answers. Using a range of question types was a way of ensuring that the participants did not simply answer each question without thinking about the response they provided. The questionnaire was then administered and the results recorded. From the cohort of forty potential participants,

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[22] As a result, changes were made to the check box criteria in questions five and eight.

seven volunteered to take part in the main phase of the research process. This was carried out through semi-structured interviews and concept mapping.

Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews can be described as being on a spectrum between structured and unstructured in the ways that they allow the researcher to adapt questions to meet the needs of the interview as it takes place (Cohen et al, 2011; Coleman, 2012; Somekh and Lewin, 2005). In this thesis, the purpose of using semi-structured interviews was threefold. Firstly, I needed to ensure that there was a clear structure to the questions I asked (Cohen et al, 2011). This structure was guided by the literature and policy documentation discussed in Chapters Two and Three, as well as the participants' responses to the recruitment questionnaire discussed above. An example of this was the opening question for the first semi-structured interview. This probed the reasons the participants gave on the recruitment questionnaire for describing themselves in their specific social class position. By using a consistent set of questions throughout the interviews, Barriball and While (1994) argue that differences in the answers will only arise from the differences between the participants. This provided a set of data for each participant that was unique and offered new knowledge upon which to build. This placed my semi-structured interviews in a constructivist paradigm and coincided with Potter's (2002) description of enquiries which, whilst being unique to each participant, provide new knowledge that can be added to in regard to existing conceptual categories and, therefore, extending our understandings of participants' identity development.

My second purpose in using semi-structured interviews was to give flexibility during these interviews to develop ideas that arose during the course of the interviews (Coleman 2012). Semi-structured interviews provided opportunities to probe for deeper meaning and understanding, as well as to, "explore and clarify inconsistencies within respondents' accounts" (Barriball and While, 1994, p331). Without the ability to probe participants' answers in greater depth, there was the possibility that important data may be missed.

Thirdly, I wanted my participants to discuss the "meanings [they] place on the events, processes and structures of their lives" (Miles and Hubermann, 1994, p11). This corresponded with Burr's (2003) statement that the frameworks of society pre-exist the individual. Therefore, my questions allowed the participants to discuss and explore their own answers so that new discoveries and understanding of their world made sense to them in the context of the interview as well as to adding to my understanding of their statements.

The discussion above relates to my first two research aims, of examining what professional identity and social class values participants bring to their ITT course. It may help here to explain why there is a fifteen-month gap between the first and second interviews and the importance of time to this thesis.

Whilst it would have been feasible to carry out one interview with each participant, the data would potentially not have been as rich and reflective as I would have liked. Instead, I wanted to understand whether the participants' social class values had an impact upon their professional identity as they undertook two different placements and, therefore, included their reflections on their practice over that period of time. Bruner (1990), Ricoeur (1980) and Polkinghorne (1988) explain that without understanding the effects that time has, in this case, on participants' development and how this shapes who we are, we can only see the story in isolation, not in the full cultural, political and historical contexts that enrich their experiences. Plumridge and Thomson (2003) state that their trainees' lives changed over a period of time, not through a series of singular critical incidents but instead, through a series of small changes. These changes have their genesis in the capitals and *habituses* of the participants in this thesis. It is these small changes that gave insights into how individual participants may, or may not, alter their lives in order to have an impact upon their interactions with others. The data obtained through the interviews provided, "stories of experience, rather than events" (Squire, 2009, p41). In other words, they were not merely a series of time-sequenced histories but connected stories, lived by the participants who made connections between differing aspects of their personal history and the new experiences that they encountered

during their placements. An example of this was where Sheila described her upbringing in a working-class household and how she was able, during a placement in a secondary school, to understand how a very upset student felt when the teacher, who had no understanding of the social class background the student came from, rendered the teacher unable to know how to start helping the student. This reflects the importance that Gergen (1973) places upon individual histories contributing to constructivist knowledge relevant to this study of identity and social class values.

The potential variety of data gathered from the participants using semi-structured interviews justified my methodological approach to this thesis. I want now to discuss how using concept mapping simultaneously supported the interview process.

Concept mapping

From the previous section, it is clear that the way I gathered data regarding the identities of the participants and their understanding of social class values was part of a qualitatively based thesis. For this reason, the use of concept mapping became a way of generating additional data that the participants might have disclosed, but may not have done so had I solely used semi-structured interviews. An example of one of the concept maps created during the interview process can be found in Appendix E.

It needs to be made clear that concept mapping was used to encourage the participants to discuss their identities and social class values. My use of concept mapping as a way of eliciting freer flowing thought is supported by Miles and Huberman who explain that concept mapping can be seen as a multi-dimensional process. They describe concept mapping as, "…laying out those ideas [on a concept map], giving each a descriptive…name, and getting some clarity about their interrelationships is what a conceptual framework is all about" (Miles and Huberman, 1984, p28). This suggests that the use of concept mapping offered each participant the chance to make connections cognitively, as well as physically on the page.

This in turn may have provoked the memory of the participant into revealing other useful ideas, stories or similar relevant material.

The use of concept mapping demonstrated that, "this approach gave ...more accurate and more authentic insights into students' thinking than traditional methods" (Mavers, Somekh and Restorick, 2002, p189). Furthermore, the depth of information gained through the use of links between the different ideas on a concept map meant that there was an extra dimension gained to the information as a whole. This was created through the, "...distinctive characteristic of phenomenography [that] is not only the in-depth description of the categories themselves, but also their relationship to one another" (Mavers et al, 2001, p189). The idea of making cognitive links between concepts in a manner that goes beyond merely listing thoughts was appealing as a way of provoking participants into recalling memories or forging new connections between existing thoughts. The use of cognitive theory shows "...that human memory is organized semantically, that is, according to meaningful relationships between ideas in memory" (Jonassen et al, 1997, p291). This is then developed as a learning tool rather than merely a method of recalling knowledge. In other words,

> ...concept mapping represents a powerful learning and assessment tool that should be used by learners to represent their own understanding, not as a method for better modeling [sic] the teacher's knowledge for the students to memorize.
>
> (Jonassen et al, 1997, p293)

From discussions of epistemology, methodology and methods used, I now turn to the analysis framework and how this affects the way in which I read my data. Before that, I include a fieldwork timetable that summarises the stages of collecting the data (Table 1, page 95).

Fieldwork timetable

This was the timetable for the data collection and development of the data collection framework.

Date	Activity	Participants	Notes
December 2010	Trial of original trainee recruitment questionnaire	Third Year undergraduate students on the same course as the potential participants	Feedback received from the group is positive, some additional qualifications are added to the questionnaire
January 2011	Second version of the questionnaire reviewed	Doctoral college colleagues	Small changes to use of tick boxes for Q5 and Q8
February 2011	Participant recruitment takes place from initial group of forty trainee teachers	First year undergraduate trainee teachers on the same course	Analysis of responses yields seven participants
February 2011	Contact made with all seven respondents to questionnaire

Ethics form agreed with supervisors | The seven participant teachers who indicate willingness to participate

Doctoral supervisors | All seven contacted and initial interview dates set up to be carried out in March, prior to their first placements taking place |
| March 2011 | First round of interviews is carried out. Techniques used are semi-structured interviews and concept maps. All interviews are recorded | Alan Elizabeth Laura Marie Sheila Susan William | Transcription of data to be carried out upon completion of all seven interviews |
| May 2011 | Transcripts of first interview data received and sent back to participants | As above | No changes or clarifications sought |

Date	Activity	Participants	Notes
June 2012	Second round of interviews carried out. Same techniques used as before: semi-structured interviews and concept maps. All interviews are recorded and the concept maps and transcripts from the first interviews are available for referring to by the participants	Alan Elizabeth Laura Marie Sheila Susan William	Transcription of data to be carried out upon completion of all seven interviews
September 2012	Transcripts of second interview data received and sent back to participants	As above	No changes or clarifications sought
October 2012	Analysis framework finalised and analysis of data begins	Author	No notes

Table 1: Timescale for data collection and analysis

Verification of data collection and analysis methods

Miles and Huberman (1994) suggest that knowledge generated through qualitative means does not need to be justified in the same way that quantifiable data for a laboratory experiment is either right or wrong. We no longer need to prove that qualitative research methods must compete in the science wars (Flyvbjerg, 2001), and therefore conform to scientifically measurable phenomena. Instead, "…qualitative studies take place in a real social world, and can have real consequences on people's lives" (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p277). However, that did not release me from a duty to demonstrate that I had undertaken steps during the thesis process to provide clarity and care with regard to how that investigation was conducted.

In this section, I demonstrate how I have ensured, "…processes of verification during the study" (Morse et al, 2002, p14). These build upon Lincoln and Guba's (1985) use of trustworthiness to develop a more rigorous use of qualitative methods. I used Morse et al's (2002) verification schema as a way of establishing the trustworthiness of the data gathered in this thesis.

The focus here was to ensure that there was coherence between the research method(s) and the aims of the research itself (Morse et al, 2002). This was met by using initial trainee questionnaires, semi-structured interviews and concept maps. The initial questionnaire was designed following the literature review of Bourdieu's capitals as well as the works of Skeggs (2004) and Beijaard et al (2004). An example of this can be seen in the latter questions of the first interviews (Appendix B) and Question Six of the second interview (Appendix C). These focussed on understanding how each participant rationalised and resolved problems they encountered during their placements. Morse et al (2002) suggest that further veracity can be achieved by the willingness to acknowledge where changes have needed to be made to methods and instruments for data collection. In this thesis, I had to change the initial recruitment questionnaire in response to suggestions from the pilot group, who felt that this

did not allow for a broad enough range of responses to be recorded. Recognition was also made of the need to ensure that there was coherence between the types of data being sought and the participant group from whom it was collected. This was important in the constructivist approach as it relied on the use of the spoken word to portray what each participant was telling me. Using semi-structured interviews was therefore, justified as a means of collecting data, supported by the concept maps which acted as *aides-memoire* for recall of potentially relevant data from each participant.

The other relevant issue here was the wider question of what constituted a suitable sample size. Marshall proposes that "the number of required [participants] becomes obvious as the study progresses, as new categories, themes or explanations stop emerging from the data" (1996, p523). As will be seen in Chapter Six, the data from the participants showed that once the main themes were analysed, very little new information emerged. The sample size was discussed at different stages of the enquiry, with robust discussions between my supervisors and myself as to what constituted sufficiency of data. This was resolved when the initial data analysis was undertaken and I could show that there was enough data to enable the research aims to be met.

In order to link the appropriate sample to the analysis, I had to ensure that the third aspect of data collection and initial analysis linked together effectively. This process needed to construct bridges between what I knew (from the literature and my own experience) and what I learned from the new data. In this thesis, this meant that once the initial themes were identified from the first interviews, the themes that emerged using Richmond's Analysis Framework (2002) then formed the basis for the interviews that were carried out at the end of the second placements. The process undertaken for this is found in the next section where I discuss the analysis framework.

The analysis framework – selection, development and implementation

In the context of this thesis, analysis is the process through which data, collected through semi-structured interviews and concept maps, was categorised using a framework that would allow for the comparison of individual participants' data in order to detect consistent themes across the seven participants.

The analysis of my data followed Richmond's Analysis framework (2002). Her study of a group of adult education learners in a rural area of North America used a framework based upon the emergent themes that revealed themselves as she read and re-read her data.

	The world of...				
	Self	Family	Community	Schooling	Work
Past					
Present					
Future					

Table 2: Richmond's Analysis framework (2002)

In my analysis, I used the original framework to see whether my data fitted Richmond's categories (see Table 2 above). By making adjustments to the category headings, this seemed, *prima facie,* to be the case. However, subsequent re-readings of the categorised data indicated that there were some data that did not sit comfortably with the existing categories. There were three aspects that were only relevant to my data. Whilst these could be subsumed into Richmond's categories, I felt that this would challenge the plausibility of my data.

Therefore, I added a further two categories to the framework, giving a total of seven categories overall. This provided a more realistic representation of the data especially following a further reading of that data to see if there were any data that did not fit into my new categories. Table Three (below) shows the final version of the table used for each participant after both interviews:

	The world of...						
	Family	Schooling/ friends	Cultural and media influences	Wider school placement community	Placements	Social class values in lesson planning	Adaptability to other people's social class values.
Past							
Present							
Future							

Table 3: Adapted version of Richmond's Analysis framework

Using these categories, I discovered emerging themes from the data *per se* or that arose from interrogation of the data on a participant-by-participant basis.

When analysing these data, the approach taken to the analysis was carried out in two different ways. Firstly, I wanted to get to know what each individual participant's data was saying, arising from the two interviews. This meant having to read through each participant's interview transcripts to understand the identity described and the social class position each participant took, followed by a reading through of their concept maps to cross-reference that data against the interview data. This gave me the details for each participant's background and family details.

Having done this, I then took each of my adapted Richmond categories and put each one side by side, to look for the similarities and differences for the seven different categories. Table Four gives an example of how this was carried out:

	Alan Family	Elizabeth Family	Laura Family	Marie Family	Sheila Family	Susan Family	William Family
Past							
Present							
Future							

Table 4: Exemplar of individual categories using the Richmond framework

This then gave me an opportunity to compare each participant's data across the category under consideration. It is from this analysis that I was able to find similarities and differences within the data, discuss the outcomes of those similarities and differences and then relate those outcomes to the original research aims.

Ethical issues arising from the research

Having discussed the fact that I was using trainees from a course on which I would teach in the future, there are three issues that arose from my relationship with these students.

Firstly, there was a potential power relationship between any participant and myself. I am a member of the teaching staff who, in the participants' third year of study, would have responsibility for their coursework. I also sat on the examination board that discussed the final recommendation as to whether or not they passed their course and qualified as a teacher. Prior to starting the research process, this was discussed with my supervisors. We agreed that it would be more appropriate to carry out research interviews with the participants prior to any point where I might be teaching them. This created a time pressure for me, as there was a relatively short time span in which to complete the research interviews. However, when I did carry out the research, I felt that there was a more conducive atmosphere, as each participant was able to speak their own mind without being hindered by saying what they thought I wanted to hear. The importance of this is highlighted by Josselson, who explains that, "researchers try to build a research relationship in which personal memories and experiences may be recounted in full, rich, emotional detail" (Josselson, 2007, p539). In doing so, my aim was to ensure that the participants felt that they could trust me enough to openly discuss their lives, including details relating to their families and friends. Interviews were carried out at the university, in rooms that were familiar to each participant, but that were at the same time, neutral spaces for both the participant and myself.

Secondly, there was the question of each participant's persona such that the subject under discussion, and where their experiences came from, could render them open to question from anyone who might be able to identify any of the participants from the information gathered. To preserve participants' anonymity, names were changed twice and names of schools, members of staff and/or specific students were also removed to render them

unidentifiable. However, it must be acknowledged that this process can never wholly eradicate the risk of discovery even though every effort has been made to ensure that this is made as difficult as possible. This process was assisted by returning interview transcripts to each participant so that they could also proof read and amend any details they felt might compromise their anonymity. Yet there is always the risk that should this thesis go to publication, it is always possible someone may recognise themselves, or be recognised. However, I do believe that in as much as is possible, I have taken steps to ensure that Miles and Huberman's (1994, p293) question, "was violence done to truth?" can be answered in the negative.

Finally, there was the question of recalling any painful or overly personal memories of family life or schooling for any of the participants. This was looked at in the light of the British Educational Research Association's guidelines (2011) and it was agreed that adherence to these guidelines should provide sufficient direction. Should any participant, however, disclose anything that was beyond the scope of the researcher or supervisory team, then there was support available from the university's student support service. A copy of the participant permission form can be found in Appendix D on page 209.

Whilst this had occurred to me, and had been discussed with my supervisors, only once did I have cause to follow up some data that was disclosed during an interview session. One participant was reflecting upon the way that one teacher 'picked on' a student due to that student's social class background. This was discussed with the participant during the interview process and also once the interview had finished. The second discussion was to ensure that the participant, when they left the interview, was happy with what they had said and that they, like all the participants, would be able to see the transcripts of the interviews and be able to confirm the veracity of the transcripts, prior to analysis of the data. Thus, the participant had control over whatsoever they chose to discuss. In this instance, there was not an issue that might have required the offer of counselling. However, reflecting upon the concept mapping and interview as data collection techniques means that I would include the

details of a counselling service on any consent form that I might use in the future. It is suggested that, "A good interview lays open thoughts, feelings, knowledge, and experience not only to the interviewer, but also to the interviewee", (Patton, 1990, p353). What I would not want is for any participant to lay open thoughts or feelings that may make them feel uncomfortable.

The impact of my role as researcher

A starting point for understanding my role in this thesis is offered by Takacs. "Since positionality is the multiple, unique experiences that situate each of us, no one…perspective is privileged" (Takacs, 2003, p33). This required me to consider carefully my role as a researcher, university lecturer and teacher. These aspects of my working life offered advantages and disadvantages to this thesis.

Because I have been familiar with the workings of a variety of schools in my teaching career, I was able to understand situations which would be new to the participants, but which were familiar, or very similar, to me from my teaching career. This was an advantage in that I could understand what each participant was describing to me. At the same time, I had to be careful not to impose my recollections and feelings into what I was being told by the participants as this could lead to interpretations of the data that were no longer based on the participants' lived experiences (Stephens, 2012; Takacs, 2003).

In terms of being a senior lecturer, my role was less complex in that I did not teach any of the participants during the life of this thesis. This was a further advantage for me in that there was no likelihood of a conflict arising due to any participant feeling that any assignment results could be compromised by the data they provided.

However, a wider sense of reflexivity in relation to the whole of this study needs to be considered. Wacquant and Bourdieu (1992) explain that Bourdieu's epistemological

reflexivity not only requires us to examine our research, but also to challenge our underlying assumptions and positions with regards to the field we are researching. He explains that we must look beyond the personal biases that we may bring to a position and instead, examine the "field of power" that this thesis explores (Wacquant and Bourdieu, 1992, p39). In other words, this thesis should contest the *status quo* of social class perceptions of participant teachers. The final challenge explored by Wacquant is not only to examine our personal perspectives in order to deepen our understanding of a specific case, but also, to ensure that our theoretical perspectives and ruminations do not stand in the way of using our findings for a practical use. This last challenge will be carried out through the conclusions and recommendations made at the end of this thesis and followed up through the subsequent training of teachers in their career paths.

I trained to become a teacher, having been driven by a personal sense that education is essential if we are to help the next generation to achieve their personal ambitions. However, an innate curiosity, based on practical observations of what I perceive to be injustices in schools I have taught in has, through further studies, meant that I have come to a position whereby I am now writing this thesis. During this writing process, I have had to learn to put aside personal prejudices regarding social class (I come from a working-class background, which, in my teenage years, I would have defined by economic capitals) in order to focus on writing in a manner that is objective and that does not privilege one social class group over any other. I have had to be aware of remaining objective regarding participants' views during the interviews and the subsequent interpretation of their data. Because each participant has already been asked to declare how they perceive themselves in social class terms, I know that I must not allow my principles to cloud my analysis and subsequent discussion of the data (Sikes and Potts, 2008).

Whilst Wacquant and Bourdieu (1992) eschew the notion of recounting one's life history as part of the reflective process, I do acknowledge that my social class background could have become a barrier to writing the thesis as my views on social class are strong. However, in

order to allow the participants' data to form the analytical pathway through the remainder of this thesis, I acknowledge that I have had to put aside my personal prejudices and focus on their words and actions.

Having described my methodological approach and the ethical considerations of gathering the data for this thesis, the next chapter will show how I have approached the analysis phase.

Chapter Five: Analysis of the data

Introduction

Analysis is described by Stephens as the process by which the researcher seeks to make meaning from the data (2009). He goes on to explain that this meaning is found in three forms. Firstly, it must be related to clearly explained concepts. Here, I relate this to the various concepts discussed in Chapters Two and Three. Secondly, Stephens seeks to ensure that meaning is found through the data being analysed and therefore, I must not allow speculation to become part of the analytical process. Finally, he states that meaning must relate to the context from which the data derives. This ties in with Bourdieu's reflexive sociology in that what any researcher seeks from the data must also reflect the reality of both the researcher and that of the participants. It therefore has to be embedded as part of that reality, not abstracted from it and seen in isolation. In this instance the data from the seven participants will provide insights into their backgrounds and their values as well as forming the background to the wider questions of their reflexivity, their social class backgrounds and their individual *habituses*. Analysis of the wider context of their ITT course will also form part of this process.

In order to contextualise the participants and their placements, Table 5 below provides a brief overview of the seven participants and the schools in which they completed their first two training placements. Detailed pen portraits for each participant can be found in Appendix F:

Name	Age band	Social class[23]	Subject	Placement One (Primary-based)	Placement Two (Secondary-based)
Alan	18-20	Middle-class	Maths	Church-controlled mixed school	Single-sex maintained school
Elizabeth	18-20	Middle-class	English	Maintained mixed school	Private single-sex school
Laura	18-20	Middle-class	Science	Maintained mixed school	Academy – mixed gender
Marie	18-20	Middle-class	Science	Maintained mixed school	Single-sex maintained school
Sheila	18-20	Working-class	ICT	Maintained mixed school	Maintained mixed community college
Susan	18-20	Working-class	English	Maintained mixed school	Private single-sex school
William	18-20	Middle-class	Science	Maintained mixed school	Maintained mixed community school

Table 5: Details of the research participants' training placements

The analysis of the data focuses on themes derived using the adapted Richmond's Analysis framework discussed in Chapter Four. These themes are then grouped around three main foci: the social and cultural capitals that trainee teachers bring to an ITT course; how professional identities develop during placements and, finally, the place of education modules in developing participants' understanding of students' social class backgrounds. These themes are discussed and related to the research aims which are to:

1. Examine what social and cultural capitals participants bring to an Initial Teacher Training course
2. Understand how professional identity development shapes participants at the start of their professional careers
3. Analyse the extent to which policies relating to social inclusion (nationally or locally) may affect the training of participants in terms of their professional identity

As this chapter draws on the Bourdieusian concepts of dispositional understandings and *habitus*, it is worth reiterating the definitions I used in Chapter Two. Weininger defines dispositional understandings as actions that may occur on a pre-reflexive basis; "that is, without recourse to conscious reflection on rules or estimations of results" (Weininger, 2005, p141) whilst *habitus* is described as:

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[23] Identified by each participant when they completed the initial questionnaire. See Appendix A for the example of this.

> "…the way society becomes deposited in persons in the form of lasting dispositions, or trained capacities and structured propensities to think, feel and act in determinant ways, which then guide them"
>
> (Wacquant, 2005, p316)

These definitions will help the reader understand how each of the seven participants' *habituses* have developed through their childhood, schooling and into an ITT course. Therefore, I begin this chapter by examining the formation of individual participants' *habituses*, starting with their family backgrounds.

The role of family in forming the individual *habitus*

This section of the analysis focuses on how the participants in this thesis look at their childhood and how they feel their families influenced their development as children. It is grounded in Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus* and capitals, in that it draws upon both of these concepts to explain how and why the participants have developed their sense of why they define themselves as middle- or working-class. The themes discussed in this section include their family backgrounds and how this informs their understanding of what social class is. From this, a picture of the social and cultural capitals that participants bring to the course emerges, alongside the genesis of their dispositional understanding of their perspectives on social class.

Family backgrounds and the development of social class values

Taking the data from the Initial Trainee Recruitment Questionnaire (Appendix A), five of the seven participants described their families as being middle-class. Alan believed that this was because "…my parents have money to spend on holidays and presents at Christmas and birthdays". His parents are "well-spoken", and the area he grew up in "…is considered to be affluent, compared with other areas around where I live" (Alan, Interview One). Similarly, Elizabeth considered herself to be middle-class because "...we live in a nice area and can afford to go on holiday at least once or twice a year…we can do other bits and pieces that

other people, other classes might not be able to". She went on to define herself as middle-class because "[we] have lots of belongings; house, car, that kind of thing, and we can afford to have like holidays and do like other bits really that perhaps other people, other classes might not be able to" (Elizabeth, Interview One). Here, economic capital forms the basis for understanding class positions for both Alan and Elizabeth. Laura was the only participant who described her family as middle-class, by virtue of "having a degree and earning good money" (Laura, Interview One). This is the only instance in which any form of cultural capital is identified by any of the five middle-class participants. It appears, therefore, that the middle-class participants' understanding of social class is predominantly formed around economic capital, rather than understanding Bourdieu's concept of social class with its complex relationship between capitals and social mobility.

All seven (irrespective of their social class identification) discussed their families in similar terms. Elizabeth and Marie defined themselves through what they saw other groups of people as being. Elizabeth used a comparison between different roles to exemplify her understanding of social class "an accountant or a doctor is a very high profile job, whereas…although you need the skills to be a plumber and to be a bricklayer…it's a job for people who didn't really have a lot of options" (Elizabeth, Interview One). Marie took a slightly broader view,

> Working-class, I still see coal miners, but we don't really get that anymore. I sort of see terraced houses in London…living in not poverty stricken areas, but lower income, perhaps a bit more high crime areas, they work hard for their money, I think they value their money, conscious about what they spend, but I don't think they have very much income to spend on luxuries.

> (Marie, Interview One)

These two statements show a sense of a scale of social class in that there is a comparison between richer and poorer social groups, but both participants still fail to develop this beyond the economic argument, nor do they reflect upon how their personal *habitus* means that they use only this as a form of capital as the basis for their statements. These two examples also illustrate Burke and Reitzes' third process of confirmation of their self-conceptions.

Elizabeth's separation between professions and jobs appears to align with the Office for National Statistics (2010) classification process for occupations, whilst Marie appears to define working-class by housing, crime and disposable income. This will be revisited when I discuss how participants seek to influence which schools they attend for their training placements later in this chapter. During the participants' training placements, there is the possibility that a lack of contact with such social issues may mean that they will not encounter students from other social class backgrounds (see Delpit, 1995; Santoro, 2009 and Santoro and Allard 2005) when they start teaching. In turn, this may emerge as a gap in their understanding of why differing social classes exist. Of the seven participants, only two discussed anything to do with the effects of social class on their lives and this is explored in the next section.

Effects of social class upon participants' families

Only Susan discusses any relatives beyond her immediate family. She talks about her grandparents' employment as labourers in the rural east of England and the values they hold. "My family have always said that's what we were…my grandparents are quite proud to be like working-class. I think because everything that they had they had to work for and save up for years. [M]y Granddad worked in agriculture and stuff …he worked as a labourer…he was head of maintenance" (Susan, Interview One). As a result, this had an impact upon Susan and reinforced her belief that she comes from a working-class family.

Of the seven participants, only one comes from a single parent family. Sheila lived with her mother following the break-up of that marriage when Sheila was young. This, she believes, had an impact upon her family, "…although my mum has always worked part-time to keep us together we still didn't have enough money for holidays and nice things" (Sheila, Interview One). What Sheila feels that her mother did instil in her was the need to be educated, so that Sheila would not be trapped by the same poverty. Again, Sheila is relying on a model of economic capital to describe why she is working-class. To some extent, this is also true for

Susan, However, Susan also brings in ideas of what her family have had to do to survive and shows a nascent awareness of the social capitals that her family possess, thus reinforcing her belief that she is working-class. As with the middle-class participants, these examples provide evidence that shows how both Sheila and Susan's *habituses* have been shaped by their family backgrounds.

The experiences of both Susan and Sheila also resonate with Burke and Reitzes' (1981) third concept of identity, the development of identity through the symbolic nature of meanings. Those participants who see themselves as middle-class congregate around economic capital at their core but without discussing why this is so. They do not reflect upon how their family's status has come to be or whether or not this has changed in any way. This differs from Susan's experiences, where she reflects upon what it means to grow up in circumstances that are different from the middle-class participants. When Sutherland et al (2010) address the role of reflection upon interactions that have taken place (in this case the interaction between the participants, their family backgrounds and their early development) there is a difference in the level of reflection between the participants. In forming their *habituses*, there is an absence of curiosity about why the middle-class participants have reached the stage at which they have been able to start their ITT training and what has lead up to this point. This can be seen as early evidence of reliance on dispositional understandings of a situation, but without having to reflect on why this might be the case. I interpret this as being a form of detachment that I examined in Chapter Three, whereby these participants do not consider the *habituses* of their working-class students because they do not see this as an important factor in the development of those students. This coincides with Delpit's research which shows that some of her participants only wanted to work in schools that reflected their personal values (1995). In part, I believe that in the case of this research, this is because these participants are following the guidelines in the Teaching Standards (2013) with the sole goal of achieving Qualified Teacher Status. Having looked at how the earliest stages of each participant's *habitus* has been formed, I want to move

forward and examine how these *habituses* are further developed through the schools the participants attended and the friends they went to school with.

The role of schooling and friendship in developing the *habitus*

In analysing the interviews about schooling and friendships, three themes emerge. Firstly, that the participants' schooling mirrors the social class backgrounds they acquire through their families. Secondly, the middle-class participants show ways in which they avoid students who are socially classed differently from themselves. Finally, I examine the way in which schools *per se* use conformity as a way of maintaining a social order. This emerges through the first two themes.

The effect of social background on school friendship groups

All seven participants state that the friends who grew up near them were also the people they went to primary school[24] with. Most of these friends come from the immediate vicinity where the participants live and reflects the discussion about schools and social mobility in Chapter Two. All the participants give this as the reason why they believe they share the values and ideas of the area in which they grew up. William provides an example of this; "…my friends came from similar homes and backgrounds to my own" (William, Interview One). He extends this to include his school friends by adding "I suppose that my background was the same social class as my friends from school" (William, Interview One). Marie offers a similar example. She states, "…you had your friends who lived in the same area as you and you sort of blocked like that" (Marie, Interview One). She goes on to say "…then you had your children with the school dinner tickets and they all seemed to be together but we never would mix with them until we were in sixth form" (Marie, Interview One). She says that this was because "…I had no choice but to sit next to, and work with, some of the people I would otherwise never have chosen to talk to" (Marie, Interview One).

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[24] Primary schools in England typically teach students between the ages of five and eleven.

Given that there are more primary schools in England than secondary schools, it is unsurprising that smaller geographical areas are served by more local primary schools. This means that it is far more likely that the participants will attend a school close to their home. Therefore, the sharing of social and cultural capitals is more likely to occur within a school serving a small geographic location.

<u>*Separation from other social class groups in schools*</u>

Having looked at how children from similar backgrounds may come to share the same dispositions, Laura and Marie provide evidence for the second theme that arises from their schooling. Marie's understanding of the separation between differing social classes has already been mentioned in the previous section but extends to this section, too. It is only when Marie joins her sixth form that she has to study with other students who are not from her social class background. Without such an occurrence, it is possible that Marie may never have encountered anyone from a different social class until (and unless) she is placed in a school with different social class values from her own. By avoiding these other students, her *habitus* will not have been challenged in any way since a very young age. This mirrors Burke and Reitzes' (1981) attribution of self within a role, as Marie has developed within the milieu of a social class where she is comfortable. The effect of this will have been to reinforce the *habitus* which she has subsequently brought to her ITT course. The problem here is whether or not she has the propensity to adapt to situations in which she encounters students with differing social class values; an example of a gap that I described in Chapter Three. This will be discussed later in this chapter when I look at participants' willingness to adapt to students' social class values when teaching.

Similarly, Laura's interview data shows how she sees divisions operate between different social class groups in her secondary school. As with Marie, she explains that along with her friends, she would not associate with other particular groups of girls because "those girls came from another part of the village, which was not as well-off as my own" (Laura, Interview

One). When a teacher reprimands a friend of Laura's for a behavioural issue, Laura's group

of friends blame the incident on the other group of working-class girls, irrespective of whom

the actual culprit is. She recalls that the cause of the problem was never investigated.

> The girls who came from the better part of the village would always blame it on
> the less well-off girls as the better-off girls wouldn't ever do a thing wrong, and
> the teacher would always believe us.

<div align="right">(Laura, Interview One).</div>

Here, her group of friends understand that there are differences between the classes within

her school and, knowing that the teacher would not reprimand the "better-off" girls, Laura and

her friends perceive that they enjoy a degree of immunity from being punished for their

misbehaviour. Taking into account the exploration of the literature in Chapter Three

regarding teachers' views of difference related to social class, this can be seen as indicating

bias by the teacher towards Laura and her "better-off" friends that overrides the possibility

that the working-class girls might not have been at fault. This appears to be an example of a

teacher acting pre-reflexively towards working-class students, seeing them as being more

likely to cause problems, rather than investigating the root cause of the problem in an

impartial manner.

During my second interview with Laura, she reflects on the other side of this issue when she

is the teacher having to resolve a problem. She discusses phone calls from parents being

one example of teachers facing gaps in their knowledge regarding social class. She believes

that "the parents most likely to cause problems for me as a teacher were the middle-class

parents who complained that their daughters were being picked on by teachers or other

students" (Laura, Interview Two). She feels this is because most of these parents either have

the time to complain, or that they are more protective of their children, unlike working-class

parents who did not have the time or inclination to do so. When I ask Laura to clarify why this

might be, her response is that "…teachers only punish the girls who are less likely to make

their own lives more difficult" (Laura, Interview Two). She states that teachers are more likely

to punish working-class students, in the belief that working-class parents are less likely to

intervene than middle-class parents if a teacher contacted them regarding their child's conduct in school (Crompton, 2008; Thirumurthy et al, 2010). They are able to use their knowledge of the parents in order to make decisions about the degree of punishment to mete out, based upon their understanding of whether a parent knows how to complain to the school about such punishment. As I described in Chapter Three, this also mirrors Bourdieu's second form of *misrecognition* in that the working-class parents are less likely to challenge the authority of the school. Therefore, teachers (or in this case the participants) from middle-class backgrounds may draw upon their dispositions in order to exercise authority over the working-class parents, in turn, reinforcing the middle-class *habituses* of those teachers.

Schools as keepers of a middle-class status

The final theme that emerges in this section is the role that schools play in maintaining social order through the use of conformity. This arises from Harber's (2004) description of one of the roles of a school being to perpetuate the hegemony of the dominant social class. Here, I examine this aspect of conformity (through the concepts of school uniform and behaviour management) and how it is described by some of the participants. This also feeds into Bourdieu's concept of *field*; in this instance the power that is held by a school (*qua field*) in relation to the expectations of behaviour and conformity to the rules of that field by both students and staff.

Susan uses school uniform as an example of how schools maintain social control over their students. The secondary school Susan attended had a simple uniform "…just a school polo shirt, sweatshirt and black trousers or skirts for the girls" (Susan, Interview One). What is important to Susan is that due to the poverty in the area where she lived, parents were prepared to contest the school's uniform policy, as they could not afford to replace items of uniform on a regular basis. This is also an example where the existence of the Public Sector Equality Duty (as part of the *Equality Act, 2010*) might have prevented the school from having a uniform that was unaffordable to parents.

She cites an example from her secondary school: "I had one friend who very rarely wore the right uniform and the teachers used to punish her every time for it. She got put out of lessons until her mum bought the right stuff" (Susan, Interview One). In other words, Susan's friend's mother was forced to comply with the school's uniform policy if she wanted her daughter to be in those lessons. Susan questions the validity of the argument put forward by schools and the government for having school uniforms; that a school uniform can, "…instil pride; support positive behaviour and discipline; encourage identity with, and support for, school ethos" (DfE, 2012, p2). No mention is made here of the connection between school uniform and the ability to learn and Susan relates this story to highlight that, irrespective of having the right uniform, her friend "went on to get four A's [grade A at GCE A' Level] and went to Durham University" (Susan, Interview One). Her point is that her friend was intelligent enough to achieve good A' Level grades and so the argument the school had with the mother was nothing to do with whether or not the friend was going to be a better student, but merely a way of ensuring conformity with the school's ethos. This can be seen as a way in which Susan's "view of the world and [her] place in it" (Dumais, 2002, p45) will have been shaped. The impact of this type of incident on the development of trainee teachers will be explored in Chapter Six.

Elizabeth, who went to a school where she believed that everyone adhered to the school's uniform policy, offers the opposite point of view. She sees uniform in the same way as stated above by the DfE. As she explains "…the uniform just enforced that everyone was similar and that we are all to learn as a group." (Elizabeth, Interview One). In other words, all students were expected to conform to the rules of that school. I use these two differing views of school uniform to illustrate the point that schools use uniforms as a way of maintaining social order. In failing to comply with the *doxa* of a school uniform policy, the student is removed from the school population and is isolated until such a time as they conform to the *doxa* of the field, one which may not accord with their personal dispositions. The government approves such actions by schools (DfE, 2012). Therefore, there is reinforcement of what the expectations are for all students in a school. These examples highlight the extent to which

the school's rules play a significant part in the maintenance of the school as the dominant agent. The level of agency any single student, or their parent, has to affect change is limited. The outcome of this will be discussed in Chapter Six where I consider how tractable schools really are unless they are threatened with action by parents.

Another way that schools maintain social order is to either punish or reward behaviours. Whilst none of the participants recall specific examples of being rewarded for good work, some did raise the use of punishment as a means of controlling behaviour. In seeking to avoid being punished at school, Alan shows his need to be seen as conforming to the school's ethos. He was the only participant to attend a church school and feels that within this type of schooling he was surrounded by strong moral values, with strong punishments for transgressions of the school's rules. He believed that this acted as a deterrent against poor behaviour. When he was asked why this was important to understand, he said,

> I did not want my parents to be ashamed of me when I was at school, and knew that if my parents found out that I had misbehaved, I would also be punished when I got home as the school would phone home to tell my parents.

(Alan, Interview One).

Here, Alan has acquired the *doxa* of his school in that he understands how to be a responsible member of his school community as well as not wishing to let his parents down which he feels would be shameful. Combined with his *habitus*, when he went to sixth-form college in the town where he lived, he felt rather lost by not having the strict values and punishments of his school. He gives this example,

> …stealing at my secondary school would result in a whole-class punishment, in order to make the culprit own up, whereas at college it was just an accepted way of life, with punishments rarely, if ever, being handed out.

(Alan, Interview One)

As a result, he explains that during his training placements, when faced with a similar situation to his experience at school, he would impose the values he has acquired through

his own education onto his students in order to make them understand that what they are doing is wrong. In this particular point, he is not reflecting on the wishes of the students or their parents, but instead, drawing upon his dispositional understanding of a given situation. This finds resonance with Hascher, Moser and Cocard's view that participants do not truly reflect on their own practices whilst on placement (2004). The lack of reflection by the participants will be explored in more detail later in this chapter. This example also shows again the power that the school, as field, has over the development of the *habitus* of the trainee teacher.

In developing an understanding of the participants' *habituses* and capitals, there are several aspects to draw together. Firstly, the ways in which the *habituses* of all seven participants are formed show similarities. The participants' understandings of their family backgrounds shows that employment, property ownership and expendable income all play a role in forming each participant's ability to position themselves within a particular social class. Therefore, it is unsurprising that the *habituses* formed by the participants rely on economic capital as the basis for the classifications they give themselves.

However, differences do appear between social classes in terms of the ways in which their dispositions affect their thinking about social class. Both Sheila and Susan are more reflective as to why they feel they are working-class, drawing upon economic and social capitals to describe their positions or reasons for their statements – something that is not clearly seen in the middle-class participants. The other significant difference between the two groups of participants is the position taken by some of the middle-class participants towards working-class students. This is exemplified by Laura when talking to parents from differing class backgrounds. If this is the case, then it appears that there are more than just the dispositions of these participants taking a disparate view of working-class students. I would suggest that this is evidence of a form of detachment taking place, which is, at the very least, not helpful towards working-class students.

There is also a wider aspect to the role that schools play in forming the *habituses* of the participants. As an example of a Bourdieusian *field*, the school plays a significant role in developing the *habituses* of the participants. Wacquant describes schools as being places in which power is seen to be held by one social class over another, therefore defining the "life chances and trajectories of groups and individuals" (Wacquant, 1996, p. X). Whilst at school, the participants may have been too young to understand that they have been part of an ongoing power struggle between the differing social classes with the outcomes of one class being privileged over another being present within the school itself. Patterns of behaviour and conflicts regarding school uniform (to name but two) have been witnessed and discussed here, and the outcomes from these have clearly been recognised and understood by the individual participants. The extent to which these displays of power have helped to form the *habituses* of the participants is evident from the responses from the two participants: the power of the school to bolster the dominant social class' position is clear to see.

Having looked at the genesis of *habitus* formation in the participants and seen that there are differences developing between the two social class groups, I want now to examine the participants as they move through their ITT course. This next section will, therefore, focus on the role of school-based placements and the impact these have on developing the participants' *habitus* within the *field* of their placement schools.

The role of the participants' placement schools

This section will consider the schools the participants are placed in and how these schools play a further part in shaping the *habitus* of each participant. This section will also draw on the concept of *field* in describing the school in this discussion. Again, to help the reader, here is the definition of *field* I used in Chapter One: "a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p97). There are two main themes that arise in this section. Firstly, how are the participants' views of their placement

schools shaped and, secondly, whether or not schools, and the communities they serve, impress their values on their students.

Participants' perceptions of their placement schools

As part of their ITT course, trainee teachers are placed into a variety of schools, including private, state-maintained, academies, free schools and pupil referral units. The final decision regarding where a trainee is placed rests with the university subject tutor. At the start of their ITT course, each trainee is asked to complete a form asking whether or not they have any preference as to where they might like to be placed. Some subject tutors will discuss placements with their trainees, for example considering travelling time and distance from home as additional factors. At that point, the subject tutor then arranges the placement. From the perspective of the participants in this thesis, what arises from the data is that they consider several other factors when thinking about suitable placements:

> I was more nervous about Placement Two compared with Placement One, so I chose to go to an outstanding school to make life easier. I would not have wanted to go to a more challenging school for Placement Two.

> (Marie, Interview Two)

When Marie is asked to define a "challenging school", she sees this as being a school where she might find students who she feels could contradict or confront her personal views and values, or "…whose behaviour I might not be able to cope with" (Marie, Interview Two). Further unpicking of this concept of "challenging" reveals a perception held by Marie that "I do not expect working-class children to behave as well as middle-classed children" (Marie, Interview Two). Consequently, she believes that she is better suited to schools that will not test her competence in behaviour management because if she were to go to a more challenging school, "I think that would probably break me…" (Marie, Interview Two). Her understanding of difficult students is based upon her idea that working-class children may not behave as she would expect and ultimately cause her to fail to qualify as a teacher. This reflects Santoro and Allard's (2005) concern regarding their participants' unwillingness to be

placed into schools where they may also face difficulties which would impinge on their training and progress. It also demonstrates the effect that Marie's dispositions have in forming her understanding of differing social classes, and therefore, in separating her from other-classed students. This position is seen in more detail when the middle-class participants consider the wider context of their placements: the communities served by their placement schools.

Participants' understanding of the community served by their placement schools

In terms of the communities in which the participants are placed, Alan identifies differences between the communities served by his two placement schools:

> I liked the community for my primary placement which was much more comfortable, it was a nicer community, whereas the second placement was not a nice community. My primary placement was the closest you could get to a private school without paying private fees. I really enjoyed it there.

(Alan, Interview Two)

Further investigation of Alan's concept of "a nicer community" reveals that he sees this as a school where the students come from well-behaved, middle-class families. Here, his understanding is again based upon his disposition towards what constitutes a good student and the *habitus* developed throughout his education. When he is faced with more behaviourally challenging students in his second placement, he becomes uncomfortable and is not willing to confront a gap in his knowledge about students who may not conform to his ideals. This mirrors Hascher et al's (2004) observation regarding trainees who fail to address gaps in their knowledge by relying on their dispositions to resolve a situation, rather than reflecting on the actions they need to take to develop their knowledge of any given position.

An unforeseen aspect of school communities reveals the level of research carried out by some participants prior to a placement being arranged. Elizabeth says that "I knew I was going to a secondary school in [town] so to make sure I got to teach in the best school there I found the OfSTED reports for all the schools in the area" (Elizabeth, Interview Two). She then identifies the schools she feels would give her the best opportunity to complete her

placements successfully. "I needed to make sure that my placement school would help me to succeed, so I chose two schools in the best areas and suggested these to [her subject tutor]" (Elizabeth, Interview Two). When I asked her what criteria she used for making these selections for "best schools", she says that initially she looked at the OfSTED reports for those which had been graded as either outstanding or good and then asked friends on her degree course who know the town in question particularly well which were, "the rough areas to avoid" (Elizabeth, Interview Two). Further questioning elicits that these "rough areas" are perceived as, "…places with high levels of unemployment or crime" (Elizabeth, Interview Two). As with Marie and Alan, Elizabeth has made her decision by drawing on her personal views of a town where she knows she will have to teach. Her research, based only upon friends' knowledge of that town, will have further shaped her disposition towards the residents and some of the schools in that town.

Laura also raises the question of placing participants in particular schools. She feels that she should "…be put into a second placement that allows me to succeed" (Laura, Interview Two). When this is explored further, she explains, "I cannot cope with students whose behaviour challenges my authority as a teacher" (Laura, Interview Two). She then says that were she to be placed into a school where there is a risk of her failing the placement, she would consider leaving the course. This, in her opinion, "…would be a waste of my time and money" (Laura, Interview Two). The question of being placed in a 'difficult' school seems to confirm that the successful completion of the placements is one of the highest priorities amongst the middle-class participants I interviewed. This can be seen as part of the formation of the social class for these participants in the form of acquiring further social and cultural capitals. By gaining their degree and the role of teacher, they will, in the Bourdieusian context of social class, rise further towards the top of their social class by their increase in cultural capitals. Therefore, it is in their interests to make sure that they do everything to succeed, including trying to influence where they are placed. This also highlights a dilemma for subject tutors and mirrors Santoro and Allard's (2005) discussion of participants who show a reluctance to train in particular towns or areas. Similarly, there is an aspect of avoidance of specific social groups

by some participants who believe that these students may cause them problems with passing their placement. These beliefs also correspond with Delpit's (1995) concern that participants only see white, middle-class students as the norm and my reading of Alan, Marie, Laura and Elizabeth's data supports this. The issue that arises here is whether university subject tutors place trainees into schools irrespective of the social class values of the trainee and therefore risk reinforcing any potential concerns regarding failing a placement. The alternative is to place trainees into schools where there is an increased likelihood of their completing the placement at a pass grade[25]. With OfSTED now grading ITT institutions according to how many trainees pass at Grades One or Two, this has an impact upon whether or not ITT institutions can realistically place trainees in schools where there is a risk of that trainee failing. Further to the discussion of School Direct (as a teacher-training programme) in Chapter Three, this may be an issue that becomes polarized further as participants can only be placed in schools which meet OfSTED criteria. Therefore, the concerns over placements raised in this section may become irrelevant as training alliances will only use schools deemed good or better and which, potentially, will present fewer challenges in terms of behaviour for trainees such as Marie, Alan and William.

This last section has outlined the perceptions of the placement schools held by the participants. Some of the middle-class participants have shown themselves to be unwilling to consider going to some schools due to the participants' habituated views of those schools. Similar concerns have arisen from these participants, over their perceptions of the communities served by their placement schools. Elizabeth and Laura's desire to be placed in schools where there will be a reduced risk of failure seems to show that there are other factors being considered by trainee teachers beyond learning the skills and knowledge required to qualify. I argue that for some of my participants, it is a desire to detach themselves from situations whereby they do not have to come into contact with students who are, potentially, able to cause problems in the classroom, therefore, increasing the possibility of failing that placement.

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[25] In relation to the completion of training placements, they are graded at either Pass or Fail.

Having looked at the context of the community surrounding the school, I now want to turn to the placement schools themselves and consider the impact the placement itself has in developing each participant's professional identity.

The role of placements in developing participants' professional identity

In this section, I focus on the degree of development that participants undergo during their training placements. The themes that emerge from this section focus on three aspects: their degree of willingness to conform to what the schools expect of them, how they see their professional identity developing as they progress through their two placements and finally, how and when they reflect upon their professional practice during these placements. This is where the outcomes of the first two research aims unite, i.e. where the social and cultural capitals of the participants influence their professional identity development.

Meeting placement schools' expectations

This theme refers back to Hascher, Moser and Cocard's (2004) discussion of how much a participant is willing to challenge the *status quo* of a school and whether or not this puts at risk their chances of successfully passing a placement. Their description of participants' wishes to conform is mirrored in the responses of the participants in this thesis. It also demonstrates the extent to which participants want to be seen as part of the profession; in other words, are they adjusting their thinking and practices in order to develop or are they conforming to the *doxa* of the *field* in which they operate and the teaching standards they are required to meet in order to qualify as a teacher? Where a disjuncture may arise is if there is a gap between the participant's values and those held by the placement school. Here, the problem of how much agency is held by the participant during their placements becomes a factor. This can be seen in the context of the violence described by Harber (2004) when he discusses the internal struggle that each participant may have to face when confronted by a school's structures. However, as I will show in this section, there is some willingness on the part of some of the participants to deviate from the orthodoxy of the *field* in which they are training.

Marie is an example of how orthodoxy plays a role in professional identity development. She believes that she needs to be extremely accommodating whilst on placement. She justifies this by saying, "I am a bit of a push over when it comes to arguments, so I would not challenge anyone else's strongly held views or values, especially if it was my mentor's" (Marie, Interview Two). This exposes her willingness to compromise her values in order to conform with those of the school, even if the school's values conflict with her own. The role of the mentor here is important, as it is the mentor who makes a final recommendation to the professional tutor as to whether or not the participant passes or fails a placement. Marie acknowledges that it is "…vital not to disagree with the mentor because I would not want to be seen unfavourably. I don't want to fail the placement because I have disagreed with my mentor" (Marie, Interview Two). She explains that failure of any kind would diminish her in the eyes of her parents, as they would, "…compare me to my brother and sister who are very successful" (Marie, Interview Two). This comparison to siblings is unusual within these data as it is the only time that any of the participants discuss success or failure in relation to their own families. Again, there is an acceptance here of the position Marie is in, reinforcing her *habitus* without reflecting on what might happen if she does fail the course. This also provides another reason for Marie's willingness to conform to whatever the school required her to do in order to pass her placement.

When Elizabeth and I discuss how she would approach a problem that might arise between herself and the mentor, she is quite clear:

> I would not argue with the class teacher, or subject teachers or mentor, unless there was a really fundamental problem because I am a guest in their school and I would not want to risk failing the placement over something silly.

> (Elizabeth, Interview Two)

This resonates with Marie's wish to be seen as a conforming person who would not argue with her mentor, thus ensuring that she receives a good end of placement report and grade.

Here, the issue of conformity, in order to pass the placement seems to override all other considerations. If this is the case, then it would appear that this imperative supersedes the needs of the students in the placement schools. Moreover, the needs of the *field*/school appear to be shaping the *habitus* of the trainee in a manner that at best, can be seen as unreflective.

In contrast, the two working-class participants feel that their identities are challenged from the outset. Both Sheila and Susan describe feeling like outsiders. Sheila saying, "I didn't quite fit in with the two schools I went to" (Sheila, Interview Two) whilst Susan reveals,

> I didn't fit into the school at all. It was a private, all-girls' school and I was the youngest member of staff. The next youngest teachers had also attended the school, prior to training as teachers, then they came back to the same school, without going anywhere else.

(Susan, Interview Two)

Susan expands on this with an example from when she teaches poetry to a group of Year Nine girls. She needs to find ways to make the girls connect to a poem she is teaching[26]. The school told Susan,

> …all they wanted me to do was to teach my subject by focussing on content and knowledge or facts and processes in order to get the girls to pass their exams.

(Susan, Interview Two)

Initially, Susan is frustrated that the girls do not understood the context the poem is set in. She believes that this is due to the girls' inability to empathise with the particular themes the poem explores, whilst, "…others argued with me using right-wing ideas from their parents" (Susan, Interview Two). Therefore, Susan feels she needs to address the wider social issues relating to the poem. To do so, she finds newspaper reports that are more closely aligned to her students' own experiences. This becomes a gap for Susan to reflect on as she decides how to accommodate her social class values whilst teaching in a school with a very different view of education from her own experience. Whilst she acknowledges that most of the time she is happy to work within the school's principles, she finds it very hard to adjust to the ways

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[26] *Incendiary* by Vernon Scannell (1962) – the poem discusses why a boy commits an arson attack.

in which the school works as a business, not just purely for the education of its students. I use this as an example of Rajuan et al's (2007) gaps in action and specifically, this example demonstrates Susan's ways of resolving a very difficult gap. This willingness to change a lesson to accommodate the differing social class perspectives of the students, and her reflections on why the students are not understanding what she is teaching contrasts with other participants in this thesis. This will be examined in more detail later in this chapter.

Where Susan differs from the five middle-class participants is in her view that whilst she can resolve conflicts between her own views and those of the school, she would follow the school's line, "…unless there was an opportunity to take small risks" (Susan, Interview Two). By this she implies that when there are gaps between the school's desire for working towards exam success and Susan's focus on exploring and learning, then she will err on the side of exploration in order to enhance the learning as long as it does not compromise the school's aims. So even though Susan has made, in the context of this thesis, significant changes to her teaching and been reflective in terms of her students' needs, she still conforms to the school's overarching aims, providing another example of the power of the school as the *field*.

In her two placements, Sheila believes that there are no major contradictions between her values and those of the schools in which she was placed. She explains that, "Reading the school's policies and knowing these became a big help as I felt that it was easier to fit my ideals to those of the school" (Sheila, Interview Two). She has some freedom to vary the content of the lessons, in order to try out her own teaching ideas, but this has to be tempered according to the individual class teacher responsible for the students Sheila taught. The way she finds to be successful when in her secondary placement is, "whilst in school go by the school's policy, be guided by the school's policy" (Sheila, Interview Two). If there are any questions that arise regarding the implementation of these policies, she would go back to the university subject tutor - but only after the placement finishes as she does not want to be seen as a failure whilst on placement. This is in keeping with the ideas of the other

participants who expressed a fear of failing their placements and is another indicator of the power of schools, in maintaining a powerful hold over a trainee teacher.

With the exception of Susan, who takes a deliberate stance regarding the need to look beyond the curriculum and what the school requires the students to learn, there is little evidence of the other six participants either being willing to challenge the *fields* in which they are undertaking their placements or to reflect on the results of their inaction. The next theme will look at whether or not they feel that their professional identity as a teacher actually develops over the course of their two placements.

Placements and professional identity development

This section refers to research aims and considers in more detail how far individual participants perceive that their professional identity development has progressed. It covers a variety of aspects, each of which is relevant only to the particular participant. However, some common themes arise especially between William, Marie and Alan, whilst Susan and Sheila find ways in which they develop a level of agency so as to contest their placement schools' routines.

During his placements, Alan reveals that, "I did not need to challenge the values of the students who attended the primary school where I was placed because they came from well-off areas around the village school" (Alan, Interview Two). As a result, he feels that he did not change a great deal as a result of the primary placement, but that what he has gained is a level of competence that reinforces his view that he is not failing as a teacher. Like Alan, Elizabeth feels that her identity, formed through her dispositions does not change: "…the things you believe…your personality and identity are very much a part of you and therefore, of the things you do in the classroom" (Elizabeth, Interview One). When she is interviewed following her secondary placement, she reiterates that her values and identity have not changed as a result of the two placements, "I am me and I don't see why I should change my views for the sake of the children I taught" (Elizabeth, Interview Two). This indicates that Alan

and Elizabeth's developing teacher *habituses* are being reinforced through the absence of anyone or anything challenging their current dispositions. However, the lack of reflection on the reasons why this may be exposes some concerns which are explored in Chapter Six.

Another example of a participant facing gaps that they were unsure how to manage is Marie. Whenever she was teaching and she was faced with a behavioural issue, she would only use, "tried and tested methods given to me by my mentor" (Marie, Interview Two). This was despite being taught behavioural management techniques at university and discussing their use. She says, "I would always conform to the professional image of the school, rather than trying to impose my own ideas on my classes" (Marie, Interview Two). Here, Marie seems to exhibit the survival characteristics of Hascher, Moser and Cocard (2004), in that she only uses techniques that she has observed her mentor using. Even towards the end of her second placement, Marie still struggles with behaviour management, only using her mentor's methods, even if these techniques do not resolve the behavioural issue itself. She does not consider using techniques taught to her during her university lectures nor does she experiment with ideas of her own as it is important for Marie to avoid upsetting her mentor as well as making sure that she passes the placement. This negates Beijaard et al's (2004) idea of gaps that we encounter as Marie appears to be unwilling or unable to resolve gaps in her own knowledge and ability. Instead, she is willing to do anything to conform to her idea of what she must do in order to pass her placements and therefore, seems unable to exercise any form of agency. The examples from Alan, Elizabeth and Marie demonstrate that there is a willingness by these three to conform to the *doxa* of the *field*, but without reflecting on their practice in any great depth and mirrors Cialdini and Goldstein's point on conformity to the people who model our behaviour in a specific field (2004).

An acknowledgement of a change in identity comes from William who admits that being at secondary school may expose weaknesses in his subject knowledge. He feels insecure appearing to know very little in front of his classes. He realises that, "…it is OK to say to the students that you don't know everything as a teacher. In some lessons, I was in over my

head and felt that I was not clever enough to teach" (William, Interview Two). He overcomes this perceived weakness by undertaking more observations and maintaining constant contact with his university subject tutor, asking for help prior to whenever he has to teach an aspect of the science curriculum where his knowledge is not fully developed. As a result, he feels that preparation for lessons in his secondary placement has taught him to understand why the particular lesson was being taught. This was not apparent during his primary placement where he feels that he could, "get away with more at primary" (William, Interview Two). By this he means that he does not need to have the same level of subject knowledge, nor prepare as much for each lesson as his knowledge is good enough to teach in a primary school. In the context of William, the concept of gaps only becomes relevant during his second placement when he is faced with a situation that directly challenges his persona as a teacher.

A different example of change in professional identity comes from Susan. During her primary placement, Susan says that she was never herself due to being with the students continuously. Even when she went home to her parents, "I still felt as if I was 'Miss', the primary school teacher, even at weekends with friends or family" (Susan, Interview Two). She says that her primary placement was intense because of the difficult social nature of the school itself. This made it hard for her to mentally separate herself from the students. However, her experience at secondary school is different because she feels that she did not fit in from the start. As can be seen from the previous section on conformity, Susan does not find it easy being part of her second placement community. She comments on the physical changes that she undergoes prior to starting the placement. "I felt like I was having to hide myself, hide who I really am, so that I could fit in with the new school" (Susan, Interview Two). She has to dress more formally, cover her tattoos and remove her facial piercings before the placement even starts so that these would not be too obvious. In doing so, she is preparing to play a different role and therefore is taking on a new professional identity that subverts who Susan really is. This is similar to Goffman's (1956, p21) "idealized performances", as Susan has had to assume a different identity for each stage in her daily

life and shows that she needs to be creative in the way she presents herself in order to be accepted as a teacher during this placement.

A further example of how Susan's identity changes is akin to William's. She feels that, "I had to be seen as knowing more academically than the girls, because that this is how the public sees [school name]" (Susan, Interview Two). With the school's emphasis on achieving high results as a selling point for parents, Susan is not comfortable with what she perceives as unfair pressure being put onto the students by the parents to achieve high GCSE and A' Level results. However, as Susan says, she became used to the idea once she adapted to how the school worked and how it managed learning in the classroom. She expresses the view that having been at the school, it has confirmed her opinion that she would never work in a private school, nor would she ever consider sending any of her own children to such a school. In that sense, she has resolved a professional identity gap, albeit through compromising her views on private education: she sees private education as inherently unfair on those students whose parents will never be able to afford to send their children to fee-paying schools. In this case Susan has had to understand that a private girls' school is a business, with business motives behind it, which is not always a model for schools seen in mainstream education. As parents are paying fees to the school in order for their daughters to achieve good examination results, there is a relationship that Susan is initially unaware of. This ties into my first two research aims in that Susan's capitals have not opened her thinking towards such circumstances before the start of this particular placement. At the same time, this also can be seen in terms of Bourdieu's *misrecognition*, as Susan is not in a position to challenge the school's ethos and business model. The outcome is that Susan's professional identity development has been enhanced by this experience.

Unlike her first placement, Sheila's second placement exposes her to challenges to her professional identity through students from a specific cultural group. Within this group, the school accepts that a proportion of the males might not attend school regularly. This, allied with their disregard for female teachers as authority figures, causes Sheila to feel severely

challenged in her position as a trainee teacher. These students are disrespectful towards Sheila and until it is explained to her that these students are the same to every female member of staff (including the female headteacher), Sheila becomes quite despondent about this aspect of her placement. She says, "…until I came up against [this group], I had always thought that being respectful towards others went a long way in helping to build relationships. Now I know better!" (Sheila, Interview Two). What I find concerning is that Sheila is happy to accept the school's explanation of the way to deal with this group of students, which uses compliance with that culture's accepted norms, rather than challenging their viewpoint. When I ask her about this, she recognises that there are times when she feels she ought to have contested the policy of the school. However, on reflection, she believes that it was best to do what was required in order to pass the placement, rather than to cause problems at the school, which might result in her failing the placement. Again, there is an element of conformity within this decision that Sheila reaches. She balances this conformity subverting the policy through being nicer to the girls who came from the same cultural group and, in so doing, she is able to make small inroads into their world, thus challenging the wider cultural group's values to a small degree.

The next section therefore draws together these differing narratives from the previous section. Drawing on the participants' data, it is clear that the school as *field* holds a significant level of power over trainee teachers. If this is the case, then it is worth now considering the values that the participants believe that schools espouse and, therefore, convey to their students.

Values that schools uphold

Those participants who identify themselves as middle-class state that schools are places where social class values are reinforced because of the nature of a school's students and the community served by that school. Alan explains that this is partly due to the aspirations of the senior management in the school and states that, "…this is something that would not be easy

to change" (Alan, Interview Two). Further probing of his reply shows that he believes that headteachers should be the people who set the standards by which the school is seen in its community: "…the senior teachers, including the head, should be the ones who set the tone of the school" (Alan, Interview Two). As with other aspects of Alan, he is drawing on his dispositional understanding of a good school to define what he expects a good school to look like. It is worth remembering that this disposition will have been formed through attending schools with many of the students coming from backgrounds similar to his, and like Marie, with the distinct possibility that he may not have met students from other social class groups until much later in his education. It is worth noting here that if the headteacher (and senior management of that school) creates the boundaries of each school, then it is arguable that they are also setting the degree of agency available to everyone else who is working within that specific *field*. It is interesting here to look at the degree of freedom afforded by the stakeholders here. The parents, as taxpayers, are the ultimate stakeholders here but, it is possible, through *misrecognition* that they do not know that they hold this power to set the boundaries of the field. A further consequence now is that with the proposed academisation of all schools, in England and Wales, this power is now being removed from stakeholders (in the form of school governors and parents) by the government and instead, academy companies are being given this responsibility. This is analogous to the discussion in Chapter Three where I explained how much agency parents and students have regarding schools as *fields*. Here, the power, held by national government, is being used to impose their political agenda on a *field* which they now wish to control further. Academisation is one mechanism by which this process is being undertaken.

Similarly, Marie argues that schools are places where society's values are reinforced. She also says that sometimes they are places where these values might be taught for the first time to some students. She hopes that her values will "rub off on the kids quite a lot" (Marie, Interview One). In line with her values around social class, she believes that she will be strict about issues such as raising hands, being respectful and listening to others – "all the things that were taught to me as quite important when I was younger" (Marie, Interview One). What

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she does not do is to reflect on whether this is something she ought to do in school, or whether this is a course of action that the students may see as normal practice on a daily basis. Nor does she indicate whether she will stop and think about whether or not this is something that is acceptable to the parents of her students. Unless she has witnessed this as a behaviour management strategy that is regularly used by her mentor, then the student may not understand Marie's motives for applying such a technique. Again, this exemplifies where participants, without challenging gaps in their knowledge of a particular situation, fall back on their dispositional understandings to resolve a situation in school, rather than reflecting on the problem from the perspective of the student and their own disposition.

As discussed in Chapter Three, Delpit (1995) and Santoro and Allard (2005) show that some participants express preferences for training in schools where their personal values accord with those of the school and its students. This indicates that there is a need for a level of conformity on the part of the middle-class participants, in that they are seeking to find schools that they can be placed in but without feeling too challenged. By seeking values similar to their dispositional understandings of the community surrounding their placement schools, they are looking for continuity. This example of social reproduction mirrors the concerns of Whitty (2001) and Reay (2001) who argue that schools are sites of social reproduction. Equally importantly, they are trying to reduce the risk of failing a placement, even before that placement has begun (Reay, 2001). There is also the implication that Alan, Marie, Elizabeth and Laura are not willing to question their perceptions of schools as places that should, according to Harber (2004), actively champion democracy and human rights. Their choices would appear to do no more than maintain the *status quo* within the *field*.

This is a significant difference compared with Sheila and Susan, in that these two participants, especially Susan, go out of their way to integrate themselves more fully into the life of the school, whereas the middle-class participants demonstrate that they are looking for schools that are not going to challenge their dispositions and allow them to maintain their existing *habitus*.

Having considered the role schools play in developing the professional identity of the participants in this study, it is clear that there are differences emerging between the working- and middle-class participants. If there are differences between these two groups, the next section will consider whether or not these continue into the ways in which the participants plan lessons for teaching students who may come from social class backgrounds that differ from the participants own.

Social class values and lesson planning

The teaching standards discussed in Chapter Two do not reveal any requirement for participants to plan for the social class values of their students beyond being aware of the background of any student (DfE, Standard 5, 2013). This differs from those students who can be categorised under the protected characteristics of the *Equality Act, (2010)*. Therefore, the participants in this research were asked specifically whether or not they felt that there is a need to plan for students with varying social class values. This section explores their responses.

Differentiating lessons for social class values

In order to make lesson content accessible to all students in a classroom, it is seen as good practice to differentiate the presentation of information, or the set task, so that all students' ability levels can meet a lesson's objectives.[27] Both Alan and William say that they had problems knowing how to integrate differentiation into their lessons so consequently, they would not consider social class in the context of those lessons. They explain that their respective subjects, mathematics and science, do not lend themselves to being easily differentiated other than by outcome (what a student produces at the end of each lesson). Alan confirms this by saying, "As I found it hard to differentiate lessons, I certainly would not differentiate for social class values" (Alan, Interview Two). The implication here is that

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[27] Teachers' Standard Five requires all teachers (including trainee teachers) to "know when and how to differentiate appropriately, using approaches which enable pupils to be taught effectively" (DfE, 2013).

because he is finding one part of teaching difficult to master, he will not consider the social class values of his students until he had mastered the technique of differentiation, potentially to the detriment of some students within his classroom.

William is more direct about why he would not differentiate for social class in his lessons. In his first interview, he explains, "…there is no need to plan lessons specifically to allow for differing social class values within a group" (William, Interview One). When I follow this up in his second interview, he confirms his original view,

> I see social class values as requiring an 'issues-based' approach, rather than being a differentiated part of the lesson. It is something that should be confined to teaching in PSHE lessons, not in science lessons.

(William, Interview Two)

In other words, neither William nor Alan see that planning lessons to accommodate the social class values of their students is their concern. The only time that they might, in their professional careers, have anything to do with this aspect of a student's life will be if they have to teach Personal, Social, Health Education (PSHE) lessons in a school. It is worth noting that this "othering" of a particular group of students would, if a protected characteristic were involved, be punishable by law, yet this sanction does not apply to such cases where social class is involved.

Like Alan, Marie feels that there is no need to present a balance for students who might be disadvantaged through social class and, even if there is, it is best managed either through the school's pastoral system or in PSHE lessons. She explains that she should only be required to concentrate upon the subject specific aspects of her role as a teacher because, "I am not training to be a social worker, I am training to be a teacher" (Marie, Interview Two). In only seeing their role as teachers of their subjects rather than the wider issue of being teacher of students, all three participants here are reaffirming their dispositions towards other-classed students. The consequences of this are particularly harsh for those othered students in that they may, through no fault of their own, be affected by teachers who cannot

see beyond their particular view of those students, no matter how subconsciously this may happen.

In terms of specifically identifiable groups of students, schools are able to provide all participants with performance data about the students they are expected to teach (and do so for qualified teachers). William says that there was some training in his second placement school about specific groups of students (Traveller/Roma students and SEND students) but at no time was he ever given any data relating to any of the students' social class backgrounds, nor did he actively seek such data. Elizabeth is in a similar situation to William in that she is also provided with some data about her students' backgrounds. Again, this included ethnicity, SEND and whether or not the students were gifted or talented. However, it did not include anything to do with any student's social class background and, as with William, she makes no attempt to find out whether or not this data is held on file or available to her. Whilst trainee teachers are taught about using data within schools, schools have conflicting policies about giving data to trainees during their placements. However, that does not stop them from asking for data relating to free school meals or Pupil Premium entitlement from their mentors and then questioning its validity or completeness if some social groups' data are absent.

Laura offers another perspective on why it is not seen as important to make specific provision in lessons for social class values. Like William, Marie and Alan, she is not provided with any social class data relating to her students in either placement. She said that, "These are not a big deal in the classroom, unlike SEND and gifted and talented data. It is not important to know what the personal background of every child is" (Laura, Interview One). When I press her on this in her second interview, she replies that it is not possible to, "…carry the baggage of every student in a school as it is not part of my job" (Laura, Interview Two). This reflects Pollard's (2008) survival phase of training as Laura develops a hierarchy of whose needs she must meet within her classes, with SEND and gifted/talented at the top and social class backgrounds at the bottom. This also reflects Marie's perception of whom

she must differentiate for. She states, "I should only have to differentiate for those students who have inclusive needs such as race, ethnicity, SEND and gender" (Marie, Interview Two). This is despite the fact that in subject lectures, the government's Pupil Premium policy[28] is explained in detail to all trainee teachers, including the participants in this research. What is clear is that Marie does not see social class values as a 'need' that should be taken into consideration when teaching her students, unlike the protected characteristics under the *Equality Act (2010)*. Like Laura, Marie appears to have developed her own hierarchy of needs based upon her dispositional understanding of social class to consider when she is teaching her students.

During her second placement, Susan has access to the students' files and profiles, which includes their SEND data as well as performance data (MidYis and Yellis)[29]. When I ask Susan about data relating to the girls' social class background, she replies that there was nothing kept on any girl's file. However, there is data kept about the performance of those girls who received scholarships, compared with those whose parents paid full fees. However, Susan is unable to explain why this is the case. The expectation of all the girls at her school is that Susan will, "… teach facts rather than processes" (Susan, Interview Two), which makes it very hard for her to differentiate her lessons. She explains that the only expectation is that, "the girls would come out knowing more than when they went into the classroom" (Susan, Interview Two).

As with all the other students, Sheila is not given any data that relates to the social class backgrounds of her students. She is only given data about their previous performance in examinations, their ethnicity and religious data and their behavioural records. However, at her second placement school, she did observe that differentiation was put into place for

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[28] Pupil Premium is a policy introduced in 2014 by the Coalition Government. It focusses specific funding for eligible pupils that is paid directly to the school. Further information can be found at the following website: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/using-the-pupil-premium-or-service-premium-in-admissions Last accessed 31st January 2017.
[29] This is a set of performance indicators that predict potential educational outcomes, based upon individual students' test results (e.g. end of key stage tests). MidYis, Yellis and Alis are produced by the University of Durham. Their website is http://www.cem.org/secondary Last accessed 31st January 2017.

those students who came from differing social class backgrounds. (Differentiation is a way of planning classroom activities for students of different levels of ability. It can include the level of difficulty of the work students are expected to achieve). Sheila's observation is a unique occurrence within this thesis. It indicates that some members of the school tacitly acknowledge that working-class students are different from middle-class students. What is significant here is that while some staff members within the school recognise these differences, this does not happen at the institutional/policy level. Sheila described the way that socially classed groups in one class were differentiated for,

> I looked at students' work and did observe differences between the social classed groups, so that what appeared to have been achieved by one group was not always the case, whereas the 'better off' students were able to do the work without excessive monitoring.

> (Sheila, Interview Two)

Although Sheila was only in the school for eight weeks, she showed that there was a willingness by some students to see what she was trying to achieve,

> I adapted some of the classwork to reflect the values and ideas of the students following discussions with some of the students. It made a difference to one student's work and, therefore, the grades for that piece of work improved.

> (Sheila, Interview Two)

If Sheila had followed the same idea as William, Marie and Alan, that social class should only be considered either pastorally or through PSHE lessons, then she might not have looked for ways to help her student's grades improve. By discussing what the student enjoyed doing and, adjusting the lesson tasks to suit the needs of that student, she tries to ensure that the student's learning needs were being met.

The statements made by the majority of the participants seem to infer that they do not see any need to make specific provision for the differing social class needs of the students they are teaching. They also seem to believe that people who have roles beyond that of the subject teacher should manage any issues arising from differing social class values within a school. This, they feel, should be separated from subject specific teaching i.e. only taught through either PSHE lessons, or managed pastorally. Only Sheila differs from this because she chose to talk to her student and find out what motivates that one student, with the result

that she understood what is needed in order to raise that student's achievement. Consequently, if the participants will not differentiate their lessons to take into account the various social class backgrounds of their students, the question arises as to whether or not they will consider adapting their dispositions towards other-classed students. This is discussed in the next section.

Participants' willingness to adapt their social class values

This section relates to the participants' capitals in my second research aim. It examines the question of whether or not the participants feel that they would need, as teachers, to adapt or change their social class values or dispositional understandings if these are at variance with those of the students they teach.

When Alan is asked whether or not he feels he might need to alter his personal views about social class (in order to try and be understood by his students) he does not feel that this is necessary. He is of the opinion that this question is not about him but that, "the pupils should be coming up to my expectations instead" (Alan, Interview Two). When I ask whether he has faced any challenges in terms of differences between his own values and those of his students, he replies, "I noticed that there were far more students at [second placement] school who I found were a challenge to my own views" (Alan, Interview Two). However, when I raise the question that if, as a result of this challenge, Alan had altered his overall views, he stated, "I don't feel that my social class values have been changed in any way by the experience of the two placements. They are only pupils so I don't see why this should be the case" (Alan, Interview Two).

William's views are similar to Alan's. When he is asked about the possibility of changing his views following his first two placements, William explains, "…there is no need to change as I don't see why I should have to adapt to the children that I am teaching. Why should I need to change when it's them who have to be in school to learn?" (William, Interview Two). To some

extent, I would liken William's response to still being in Pollard's survival phase. His comment about providing evidence for meeting the teaching standards seems to sum this up, "…tell me what I need to know, nothing more and if it hits a standard, so much the better" (William, Interview Two). Both Alan and William's perceptions of the students in school being "only pupils" or not needing to change their perspectives raises a broader point as to why exactly did they go into teaching. A counterargument to these statements should be provided through the education modules that they will have taken at university, which I discuss later in this chapter.

A slightly different response comes from Elizabeth. She thinks more about whether or not her own values might need to be changed when faced with students whose social class values are not the same as her own. She reflects, "it may not be possible [to change] because my identity is partly why I want to become a teacher, like the things I believe are important when becoming a teacher" (Elizabeth, Interview One). Furthermore, she explains that if the students she teaches are from a different social class to hers, she will try and be more respectful towards them but not necessarily moderate her approach to teaching them. However, there is a contradiction in Elizabeth's views that shows over the period of two placements and two years of academic study. During her second interview, Elizabeth expresses the view, "I will have to leave my identity at the school gates once I start teaching as I think that I will have to be seen as the class teacher" (Elizabeth, Interview Two). Therefore, for Elizabeth, the question of differing social class values diminishes. I see this as evidence of how her professional identity changes towards the students she taught in her two placements, but at a cost to her views on social class in schools. Again, the role of the mentor and school in shaping Elizabeth's teacher identity (and *habitus*) can be seen here.

Another example of changing professional identity can be found in Marie's views about differing social class values. She says that if the students she teaches, "don't share my own values that is fine" (Marie, Interview One). Furthermore, she describes a teacher as, "…someone who listens to their students and is mindful of the different values that the

students might bring to the classroom" (Marie, Interview One). However, following the completion of her second placement, Marie is far more concerned that her students should listen to, respect and accept the views of the teacher, more than she should have to listen to their views. According to Marie, "…there's no harm in people learning other opinions and things like that but at the end of the day, I am the classroom teacher and what I say matters" (Marie, Interview Two). This change of position seems to mirror that of Elizabeth, with both participants confirming their teacher identities by becoming embedded in their *habitus* as teacher, rather than reflecting on why such changes may be necessary.

A different perception of whether or not to adapt her own social class values to those of the students is provided by Sheila. From the outset, she feels that it is important to see all students as equals because of the variety of social class backgrounds her students come from. She believes that students' home identity is taken away once they enter school, so that they are all seen the same. She bases this on her experience of those students who joined her school from the one that closed in the same town where she lived. By seeing all students as equals, she feels that this provided the same start for everyone. Relating this experience to her role as a trainee teacher, Sheila explains that by taking this approach she is acknowledging the beliefs and other aspects of inclusion of each student in her classes but that this will also eliminate any differences between students' social class values. She justified this by saying that social class should not affect how the student is taught,

> Just because a family or a student has status or otherwise, this should not affect how you teach them because if these factors do play a part, then this will just reinforce the segmentation of the classes.

(Sheila, Interview Two)

In this particular aspect, Sheila is the only dissenting voice. However, as I discussed in Chapter Two, there is nothing within the teaching standards to compel the participants to acknowledge the social class status of their students, unlike the protected characteristics under the *Equality Act (2010)*. Therefore, unless the participants believe that they ought to engage with questions of social class for moral or ethical reasons then I concede that there

will be little or no change to their teaching. The implications of this will be discussed further in Chapter Six in the recommendations section.

Susan is the sole participant who feels she has had to compromise her personal values during her placements. As someone who identifies herself as working-class, she feels that she does not fit into her second placement in a private, all-girls' school. She is the youngest member of staff during that time. The two teachers closest in age to Susan were also students at the school prior to training as teachers. Once qualified, they both returned to work at the same school and they both told Susan that they would be there for the rest of their working lives. This compares to Susan's own journey in which she believes that in order to be seen as a teacher at that school, "I would have to be seen as an academic as this is the perception of what the school is like" (Susan, Interview Two). However, there is a gap, or internal struggle, that Susan has had to face because, as she reasons, she should not just be teaching according to the beliefs of the school, "I should be prepared to challenge these, but it was hard trying to be seen as a teacher at [school]" (Susan, Interview Two). She has found it hard to live up to her perceived expectations of a private school and, therefore, she says that she has had to become more knowledgeable about her subject in order to be accepted as a teacher by the students and other staff at the school. She admits that when there were differences between her personal social class values and those of the school she subjugated her own views and values so that those of the school always came first. This may be somewhat detrimental to a participant as, in Susan's case, having to supress her personality and emotions can be something that may cause resentment in the longer term (Scheff, 1990).

When examining the question of whether or not to adapt their social class values in order to accommodate those of their students, there is a feeling amongst the majority of the participants that this is something that they should not need to do. Even those who expressed a view that they should start off by listening and respecting their students (Marie) or that they would be guided by the beliefs that brought them into teaching (Elizabeth) do

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change from their original viewpoints. Sheila's idea of treating everyone as an equal from the start is a slight deviation from Marie and Elizabeth's positions, but there is a similar frame of mind displayed by all the participants by the end of their second placement. They have all had to compromise somewhat in order to pass their placements. However, this concept of treating all students as being equal does remove the individuality of each student, so that they are not seen as people in their own right with their own social class values. This reflects Bottero's (2010) concern about the move away from the individual in favour of the wider society. In so doing, the needs of the individual are lost and their voice is less likely to be heard. Only Susan felt that she should change her views so that she could be seen as more professional and therefore, more academically acceptable to her placement school.

There is a paradox here with government policy relating to Pupil Premium students. Each Pupil Premium student is individually identified, so that when OfSTED make a judgement about a school, they are able to look at how each student is performing, whereas the participants in this research are seeking to homogenise the students. My concern is that if the participants are told that each Pupil Premium student must be seen as an individual then they will follow the school's directive and disregard their own thoughts on this matter. This attempt to separate the individual student from the wider society to which they return once school ends is not acknowledged by any of the participants. They have already indicated that they might only talk to the students about immediate concerns and pass these to more senior teachers if these include incidents which may result in a student being harmed in any way. However, as Giroux (2014) points out, the hidden curriculum and the context in which every school exists cannot be ignored if the participants are to help every student to achieve their full potential. In order to understand how well informed the participants are about social class values prior to entering their placements, it is helpful to examine what they perceive as, and what they recall about, social class from their education modules at university.

Participants' understanding of social class

As I stated earlier in this chapter, there is a common theme that connects all the participants regarding their understanding of social class. When I asked them what social class they feel they were[30], none of the participants could answer without differentiating their own social class from any others that they knew about. This indicates that they relate to their world in terms of hard labels (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000). Three examples from the participants demonstrate this point. William and Elizabeth use income as the basis for indicating which social class they perceive they belong to: "I think it is a lot to do with money… my dad he's in like the civil service but I think he's done quite well for himself so he earns what I'd call a good wage" (William, Interview One). This is echoed by Elizabeth "we haven't really had problems with money…[we] can afford to have like holidays and do like other bits really that perhaps other people, other classes might not be able to" (Elizabeth, Interview One). A different perspective is offered by Sheila who again uses hard factors, but in a more direct manner "the upper-class would be really rich on their farm estates with their shooting and the lower-class would be on their council estate with their shooting and the middle-class is the people who are left in between" (Sheila, Interview One). This highlights a problem in that if the participants are seeing economic capital as the significant indicator of social class, then the gap between their knowledge of how social class is constituted and what they see in schools may come to be resolved only through their dispositional understandings they developed during their childhoods. It also illustrates the difficulty with Bourdieu's explanation of the concept in that the participants show very little critical awareness that there may be other factors (i.e. social and cultural capitals and mobility) that may account for where or how an individual may be situated in relation to their current or potential social class positions.

Taking this chapter into consideration so far, much emphasis has been placed on the dispositions the participants bring to their ITT course. These shape their individual *habituses* which, in turn, develop their professional identity as a teacher. However, as I have mentioned

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[30] See Appendix B for the original questionnaire.

in previous sections, there seems to be a lack of reflection by some participants about choices they make for their students (Laura, Alan and William), or professional choices they make during their training (Marie and Elizabeth). Therefore, the next section will consider the degree to which the participants reflect on their teaching and their professional identity development.

Participants' use of reflection while on placement

As part of the development of trainees during their ITT courses, they are required to reflect on their teaching, as well as on other aspects of their training, e.g. lectures they may attend or Professional Studies[31] which run in their placement schools. This section focuses on the reflections that the participants undertake and the value they place upon this process.

When Alan is asked about how and when he reflects upon the lessons he has taught he replies that this only ever happens on the journey home each night. He feels that he rarely has time to reflect upon his teaching during the day, as his timetable is too full to allow him time to think about his practice:

> I only ever get the chance to reflect when I am travelling home after school. There isn't enough time to reflect during the day as school is too busy for anything else and because I work at weekends, I don't have time then either.

> (Alan, Interview Two).

This becomes an issue for Alan during his secondary placement, as he has to write several lesson reflections retrospectively, just prior to a visit from his subject tutor. Furthermore, as an undergraduate student, he works at weekends, so he has limited time to carry out any deep reflection on the successes and failures of his lessons. His first placement school left Alan feeling that he did not need to reflect on whether or not the lessons he taught were going to need to be more tailored to the social needs of that school's students. He only had to ensure that, "the most able were being looked after and pushed" (Alan, Interview Two).

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[31] Professional Studies sessions take place at the placement school and are run/organised by the school's Professional Tutor. The content of these sessions is entirely at the discretion of each school and typically includes aspects of the school's work such as safeguarding, behaviour management and using data to prepare teaching.

When considering his progress during the course, William, like Alan, does not reflect much upon his lessons. Again, William feels that time pressures plays a part in this. He says that the only time he reflects on his lessons is when travelling home at the end of the teaching day. Looking back at these evaluations when he is interviewed, William states, "I don't think these produce much in the way of critical reflection on the quality of my lessons" (William, Interview Two). He qualifies this by saying, "I started off being quite reflective but that died off after a while as I realised that there was not enough time to reflect on the previous lesson and then plan the next one" (William, Interview Two).

The experiences of both Elizabeth and Laura mirror those of William and Alan. They explain that due to a lack of time during their working day, little meaningful reflection takes place beyond that required to meet the needs of their course. Laura feels that during her secondary placement, "I barely had time to finish one lesson before I was running to the next one, so my reflections were only written when the university tutor was coming in to see me" (Laura, Interview Two). Sheila expresses the same concern, "there was not a lot of time to think through evaluations and reflections whilst on placement as there was always a rush from class to class, especially if any follow-up paperwork was required" (Sheila, Interview Two). Like the others, she believes that she could only reflect upon her work as she was driving home each evening. This again mirrors the findings of Hascher et al (2004), who found that early in their training, the amount of time that participants spend in carrying out meaningful reflections on their teaching is not as high as when they begin their final placements. My participants are clearly focussing on the practicalities of placements, which is why their reflections do not exhibit deep understandings of some of the gaps they encounter. Consequently, there seems to be little opportunity to explore deeper issues surrounding the wider needs of the students they are teaching. What is problematic here is that if the participants' reflections are superficial in nature, then as I have shown elsewhere in this chapter, they will prioritise what they see as being essential for passing their placements, i.e. meeting the standards required for achieving qualified teacher status. If that is so, then the absence from those standards of any requirement to meet the social class needs of students

(identified in Chapter Two), will result, at best, in the prospects of the majority of working-class students in schools being perpetuated. Again, the question arises regarding whether or not the lack of reflection has an impact upon the development of the participants' *habituses* as a teacher. If there is little or no change in the *habituses* of these seven trainees, then we need to ask whether there is any point in asking trainee teachers to reflect upon their daily practices at all.

If the level of reflection by the participants is seen to be a function of meeting the required standards for gaining qualified teacher status, then there still remains the university lectures on diversity and inclusion as places where the participants have a forum to discuss and debate issues such as social class. The final section in this chapter will therefore look at the role of the university in teaching about different social classes to trainee teachers. The discussion around the policy documents that form the background to this section is found in Chapter Two.

The role of university in developing participants' understanding of social class

This final section considers how much the participants have learned about students' social class backgrounds during their education modules at university. It refers to the analysis in Chapter Two of the module content, as well as how policies within the institution and legislation affect ITT courses. This section of the analysis addresses my third research aim of analysing the extent to which policies, including education modules, affect the participants' professional identity development.

These modules are the same for each of the seven participants in this thesis and each module allows space for discussion of the wider aspects of social class in the context of educating students in schools. However, as will be seen, this does not seem to feature highly in the recall of what is taught in education modules for these participants.

All the participants, like Elizabeth, recalled that there was, "…a lot about inclusion in the modules, but the main content was behavioural and racism, gender and sexism, nothing that touched on class itself" (Elizabeth, Interview One). Marie confirms that: "...we haven't covered the sort of segregation between classes at all" (Marie, Interview One). When I ask them whether or not the lectures had any content relating to students' social backgrounds, they were surprised that they did not recall anything being discussed. One of the lecturers expressed concern at this and subsequently found his notes to show me that, in fact, social class is discussed with the participants[32].

Of the seven participants, only Susan feels that she has gained any understanding of social class during her studies. However, this came through her subject studies (English) when her subject tutor initiated the discussion. She was studying "The Wind In The Willows"[33] and the lecture was used to describe how different characters in the story portrayed differently social classed characteristics. Susan says that without that lecture, she would not have been able to understand how her own social class background related to her role as a teacher.

Alan feels that discussing social class values in education lectures contradicts his personal views of what inclusion should be about. "You shouldn't, you know, plan your teaching on the class of the students. You do that and you're being discriminative" (Alan, Interview One). When I asked Alan to expand upon this comment, he felt that all students should be treated the same. Similarly, William explained that the outcome of the education lectures on inclusion showed him that schools should be places where differences were played down. He saw his role as someone who makes students understand, "the consensus point of view, rather than repeating what they hear at home" (William, Interview One). It appears here that both William and Alan see inclusion as making sure that students were treated equally, but without acknowledging any individual differences. From this it seems that the dispositional understandings of both William and Alan have been confirmed, making their beliefs about

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[32] Private correspondence between an education studies lecturer and the author dated March 2013.
[33] *The Wind In The Willows* by Grahame Greene, originally published by Methuen in 1908.

social class harder to challenge. Their earlier comments about the place of social class in lesson planning reinforces this perception. It seems therefore, that education lectures may need to focus even more on social inequality, especially as these relate to teaching what the effects of social deprivation and the lack of social mobility are and how this manifests itself in educational outcomes.

The fact that none of the participants can recall discussing students' social class backgrounds in their lectures is disquieting to say the very least. When I asked them about legislation relating to inclusion, they are able to recall either (now redundant) specific legislation (e.g. the *Race Relations Act, 1976*) or the *Equality Act (2010)* and legislation relating to special needs education. However, when they discovered that there is no socio-economic duty or provision for children who may live in poverty, they do not consider this to be unusual. Instead, they do not appear to be worried by having to plan for Pupil Premium students, only that they need to be aware of them in the class, "if there are such students in my school" (Laura, Interview Two). This absence of any critical thinking on this specific issue by the participants shows that they have either created a hierarchy of what they need to understand in order to qualify as a teacher, like Elizabeth, or they may be actively choosing to ignore selected themes that are discussed in their education lectures. What is clear is that without a pedagogy that develops resistance to some of the current ideas relating to education, the *status quo* for the dominant classes in this *field* will go unchallenged.

Chapter Summary

This chapter highlights similarities between all seven participants, but also reveals several noticeable differences between the two social class groups of participants, as well as within the social class groups themselves. Each of these will be summarised here.

The primary similarity is the way in which all seven participants denote social class. The use of a single form of capital (economic) shows how they place themselves into specific social class groups. Accordingly, they see their families predominantly in economic terms. This fits with older social class schemas (e.g. the ONS classification and its variants, used since 1913) and which they may be more familiar with. As I am using Bourdieu's broader definition in this thesis, it is a little disappointing to observe the use of a single definition version being used by the participants. In only two cases do the participants consider other forms of capital to broaden their definitions of their social class positions. Both Laura and Susan look beyond the purely economic basis for social classification, with Laura using one form of cultural capital (qualifications) to support her explanation for seeing her family as middle-class: Susan uses the lack of qualifications to define her family as working-class.

The second similarity observed in this chapter is the need for all seven participants to be successful in passing their placement. Of itself, this is not much of a revelation as the successful completion of placements is mandatory if they are to achieve qualified teacher status. However, the degree to which they are willing to comply in order to achieve this outcome is somewhat surprising, especially amongst the middle-class participants. Their unwillingness to deviate from their mentors' advice can be seen as an unconditional acceptance that everything the mentor says is unassailable. If this is the case, then the dispositions of these participants needs to be questioned as the *habituses* they continue to develop during their placements means that these are more likely to replicate the status quo within schools, thus reinforcing the school's hegemonic position. The lack of challenge to the mentors' advice is revealing and confirms Hascher et al's (2004) finding that trainee teachers

are unlikely to contest mentors' views and decisions during their placements and only Sheila considers doing this after the placement ends. The middle-class participants' insularity regarding social class demonstrates that they are neither willing nor able to explain what the impact of their dispositions will have on the students they may teach. This fits into a wider pattern identified by Griffiths (1998), where we no longer have a dialogue through which we can discuss social class because terms relating to class and structure in society have been appropriated by both the left and the right for their political purposes. Clearly the participants' dispositions continue to play a part in forming their *habituses* through the values they have learned from their families, homes and school friends. It is also clear that they are using these *habituses* to draw upon the selective elements that they wish to use in order to preserve their social class position. What makes this harder to understand is that all trainee teachers are required to reflect and evaluate their professional practice almost on a daily basis, yet when they were asked about their reflections, there was unanimous agreement that there was little or no time for this to happen, and certainly amongst the middle-class participants, that reflecting on the social class needs of their students would not figure at all in any of their contemplations.

The final similarity rests in the lack of recollection by any of the participants of the taught modules at university including discussions around social class positions and the impact on education itself. As I stated earlier in this chapter, I found this to be a shock in that it reflects to some extent, the dispositions the participants hold as they develop new *habituses* as teachers. Susan's discussion of social class through her subject studies is the only recognition that social class has been taught anywhere in the course.

The first noticeable difference arises through the values the different participants bring to their ITT course. Marie, William and Elizabeth show that they are, at the very least, indifferent towards students from other social class backgrounds during their own education. The first acknowledgement by Marie is when, during her sixth-form studies, she is forced to mix with other-classed students, whilst William notices that the friends he went to school with are

similar to him: he does not notice or comment on students who may be from different social class backgrounds from his. Elizabeth's example of blaming her friends' behaviour on another social group is more concerning and shows that she is mindful of the differences between the two social class groups. More importantly, she is aware of the teacher's likely response to the working-class group, which she and her friends play on. This use of dispositional understanding by Elizabeth, of both her friends and the teacher shows that there is the propensity for calculated action, based upon such dispositions.

Another difference between the social class groups is demonstrated by the views of Laura and Susan in regard to uniform: Laura's view on this shows the extent to which she perceives conforming to the school's rules is important (namely, wearing the correct school uniform). Conversely, Susan's challenge to her school's uniform policy (and subsequent outcome for her friend) shows the lack of agency for the student or their family who holds out against what she sees as being the imposition of middle-class values onto her friend. Here there is the genesis of her disposition towards other social class groups being changed (this example again shows the power that schools hold as the *fields* that students and their parents have to use if these students are to be educated). This is one of the differences that emerges between the social class groups.

When it comes to how the participants develop their professional identities, the concept of conformity shows how few risks they are willing to take, especially where the prospect of failing a placement arises. That some of the participants are willing to research potential placement schools to try and secure a favourable outcome demonstrates the lengths they will go to in order to avoid failure. Somewhat disconcertingly, only Sheila and Susan show that they are willing to experiment with ways of working with students from differing social class backgrounds. In terms of gaps in the participants' knowledge and experiences during placements, these are rare examples of non-conformity. Equally disquieting is the view expressed by two of the participants that they would expect to pass on their values to the students they teach, rather than reflecting on whether or not they should do so, or even

whether they have the right to do this. This mirrors the concern I have as the underlying basis for my second research aim. Whilst the capitals and dispositions the participants bring to their ITT courses shape their thinking and values, if there is only a willingness to conform to what the mentor requires a participant to do, then the problem of whether professional identity development is taking place arises. This difference is meaningful in that it demonstrates that the working-class participants are able to empathise with students from different class backgrounds and that they have the ability to adapt their teaching to the needs of the students.

The participants' professional identity development depends on their understanding of gaps that they encounter. More importantly, the actions they do or do not take, as a result of such gaps may have significant but unseen consequences for themselves and unknown consequences for their students. A further problem that arises from the analysis is the extent to which university subject tutors are complicit in maintaining an existing hegemony when placing participants in schools in order to ensure a stream of good or outstanding participants. If, as Griffiths (1998) suggests, there is no such dialogue taking place around the participants' understandings of social class, the issue of where the opportunities exist for such dialogue becomes even more problematic.

Equally disconcerting is the middle-class participants' approach to students from other social class backgrounds. Four of the five middle-class participants say that they would expect not to have to attenuate their values in order to teach working-class students. Conversely, Susan and Sheila have had to make noticeable changes to themselves in order to be seen as teachers during their placements. Why they have had to do this forms part of the discussion in the next chapter.

The final differences that occur are those within social classes. The main example of this is the conformity shown by Susan compared with Sheila. Here, the two working-class participants show differing degrees of conformity in that Susan refuses to follow

wholeheartedly her second placements school's edict on teaching only what the students need to know, whereas Sheila rigidly follows the school's requirements, even when she knows this to be wrong. This, I argue is due to Susan displaying a willingness to push at boundaries that she perceives as wrong or unproductive, whereas Sheila is more like the middle-class participants in wanting to please her mentors and pass her placements. However, Susan does conform in other ways, for example by adapting her mode of dress in order to be seen as a teacher. As has been made clear in this chapter, the high levels of conformity amongst the five middle-class participants means that there are no real differences between them and therefore, it would be perilous to seek such differences without falling foul of Stephens' (2009) entreaty not to distort the reality of the data.

Having analysed the data and seen where differences and similarities lie within and between the differing social class groups in this thesis, the next chapter will discuss the implications of the data in the context of the trainee teacher, the school in which they are placed and, more broadly, initial teacher training at a national level.

Chapter Six: Discussion of the findings

The purpose of this thesis has been to consider how trainee teachers develop their understanding of social class through the *habitus* they create as they progress through their training. To facilitate this, the thesis has had three research aims:

1. Examine what social and cultural capitals participants bring to an Initial Teacher Training course
2. Understand how professional identity development shapes participants at the start of their professional careers
3. Analyse the extent to which policies relating to social inclusion (nationally or locally) may affect the training of participants in terms of their professional identity

Later in this chapter, I will discuss how these have been met.

To begin with, I want to go back to Chapter Three. Here, I discussed how Bourdieu's concept of reflexive sociology is concerned with the systematic exploration of unquestioned positions. In the context of this thesis, I have explored ways of seeing working-class students in the wider context of initial teacher training within placement schools. In relation to the concept of reflexive sociology, this chapter discusses the data from Chapter Five in terms of the differences and similarities between the participants in terms of social dispositions and, therefore, the development of their *habituses* as trainee teachers.

These aspects will be examined in the context of what effect this has on the participants in this research as they continue their initial teacher training, what this means to the schools in which they are placed and how these aspects are affected by the policies and legislation that the trainees are subject to.

Differences in participants' development of social class dispositions

From the interview data, it is apparent that the participants display very little, if any, awareness of what is meant by social class, nor the impact social class has on their work as teachers. However, once we discussed and they understood how I defined social class within this study, they were then able to discuss their families in what can be seen as hard terms (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000). As I stated in Chapter Five, all seven participants use terms relating to economic status and parental earnings to define which social class they feel they belong to. Therefore, the genesis of their dispositional understanding of social class shows that they have placed themselves according to what they reflexively believe to be right. This follows Burke and Reitzes' (1981) ideas of how we conform to categories within which we feel our identities reside.

Thus the participants draw on these dispositions in order to make sense of any new situations (I used the term "gaps" in Chapters Three and Five) they encounter and if these gaps do not fit with their understandings of the *field* in which they are working, they fall back on their dispositions. In turn, this reinforces existing social class positions, which, as each participant progresses through school and into further education, become more embedded in the individual as their *habitus*. By the time that these individuals join their ITT course, these *habituses* are well-formed and, therefore, become more difficult to challenge once they are placed into schools. In developing their *habituses* as trainee teachers, they are drawing on their dispositional understandings when encountering gaps in their knowledge leading to some of the situations described in Chapter Five.

Where Sheila and Susan differ from the others is through their families and their family history. They both explain how their family circumstances have forced their parents to make choices because money has not been available, or that they have been forced to move to places where work is available to them. In comparison to the middle-class trainees, who have not experienced parental divorce or having to move to find work, Susan and Sheila see

their working-class backgrounds as having been defined by the cultural and social capitals that they have grown up with. This process of growing up therefore appears to affirm their beliefs about who they are which again accords with Burke and Reitzes (1981). Therefore, there are clear differences between the working- and middle-class participants, based on their understanding of what social class is.

Differences occurring due to schooling and education

From the analysis in Chapter Five, it is clear that the middle-class participants feel that they went to schools which reflected the values of their parents and that they grew up amongst school-friends who shared their values. Again, this mirrors the discussion in Chapter Three about the aggregation of middle-class parents around specific schools, so that these become seen as more desirable places to send their children, with the effect that other local schools become less sought-after (Evans, 2007; Reay, 2012; Whitty, 2001). Therefore, the capitals the middle-class participants have acquired through birth and parental circumstances are reinforced through the schools they attend and the friends that they go to school with. These capitals form the basis of their identities, which they carry with them as they move into their chosen career as teachers.

At the same time, the schools themselves become empowered through the ways in which they are perceived. The various legislation enacted by various governments since 1944 shows the importance placed upon education, along with the subsequent power that this brings to a school. The current legislation allowing schools to become academies if they are successful (or being forced to do so if they are deemed to be failing) feeds into the narrative of parents sending children to the "best" schools. If a successful academy is in an area where the majority of the population is middle-class, then there is a greater likelihood that the dispositions acquired by the students at that academy will reflect the values of that school. Marie, Alan and Elizabeth are all products of this process. Laura further demonstrates this in her example of behaviour towards working-class students, as well as in her discussion of

contacting both working- and middle-class parents of students during her placements. A final example of this arises from Susan and Elizabeth, where they differ over the value of having a school uniform. Susan's belief is that it serves no purpose in terms of raising academic achievement, whereas Elizabeth feels that it has a unifying influence, so that everyone feels part of the same organisation, whether they wish to be or not.

What is important here is to recognise the influence of the school as *field*, in which differing layers of a hierarchy are at play. Those at the lowest level, the students, do not have high levels of agency to affect policies, such as uniforms, homework, or behaviour. These are decided at school level, but under directives from national government and epitomise Appiah's (1994) description of governments exerting control through directives and policy. Parallels can also be drawn with Ball's policy-text, in that the students, whilst they may be allowed to discuss the content of the policy itself, have no say as to whether or not there should be a policy in the first instance (Ball, 1990). Therefore, the capitals students in some schools are exposed to are selective and may not be of their choosing, or represent the values their family may hold.

At the top of the hierarchy in schools, Alan's point about having a headteacher who sets the tone for the school is also important. Without strong leadership, a school may be seen as failing (OfSTED report on management and leadership when inspecting schools) which can result in parents choosing to remove their children from that school. However, there is a point in looking at the school as a *field* because the headteacher represents the apogee in the school's hierarchy, and from them emanates most of the power in that school. Without the headteacher's final agreement, any policy changes or future plans may come to nought. Therefore, in looking at Harber's (2004) argument that the dominant social class in schools maintains a hegemonic position, the role of the headteacher in setting the tone of the school is clear. Looking at the students in that school, if there is a headteacher who is very controlling, then there may be minimal scope for change, especially as this relates to those students. Therefore, as the participants in this thesis have gone through their schooling, if

they have been exposed to schools which did not permit much agency for their students, then they may well have developed a degree of conformity that manifests itself later when they undertake their placements as trainee teachers.

Emerging similarities between the participants

Following the discussion in the previous section on schools as *fields* and the degree of agency therein, when trainee teachers enter their placement schools, they are also subject to the rules (or *doxa*) of that school. The level of agency available to the participants in this thesis highlights how some of them have conformed to the *doxa* of the *field*, eg; not questioning the decisions of mentors (Marie and Elizabeth), only following mentor-approved methods of teaching (Marie); not deviating from the taught syllabus even when this is clearly inappropriate (Sheila). Hascher, Moser and Cocard (2004) have previously explored how trainees are more likely to be compliant in order to complete a placement successfully. The seven participants in this thesis all display similar levels of conformity, some to a degree of compliance that, after the first two years of their training, pushes at the boundaries of Pollard's (2008) survival phase, well beyond the time they should have progressed further in their training. What is new in this thesis is that it shows the limited extent to which they are willing to be flexible in placements in order to help some of their students. It is only Sheila and Susan, the working-class participants, who do not wholly conform to the rules of the school.

Susan's is the more complex example in that she circumvents the school's tenet of only teaching what is required to pass GCSEs or A' Levels. Her additional search for materials to develop the girls' understanding of a poem she is teaching works because the girls eventually come to see beyond their emergent dispositions towards children from other social classes: that there may be more than one reason why the boy commits arson. This may be seen as Susan trying to subvert the school's values. However, she contrasts this with how she feels as a result of having to change her physical appearance in order to be seen as

a teacher at her second placement school. In covering her tattoos, removing her facial piercings and dressing so that she looks like a teacher, she has achieved what she perceives to be the image of a teacher at a private girls' school. This is part of a process of mental conformity Susan undergoes in order to feel that she is now being authenticated as a classroom teacher. It is the price she feels she must pay for being placed in a private school and has to be done if she is to successfully complete her placement at that school.

Similarly, Sheila compromises her principles by the approach her second placement school takes to one particular social group. This group's attitude to females, and specifically female teachers, forces Sheila to reconcile her personal principles with those of the school in order to achieve a good final report. Like Susan, Sheila quietly subverts the school's approach by supporting the learning of individual students from the particular social group on an *ad hoc* basis. In that way, she feels that she is able to push back the boundaries of the school's system but without compromising the likelihood of passing her placement.

The two working-class students are the only ones who offer any examples of trying to extend or subvert the boundaries of what they can do to make sure that they are not wholly compliant. However, the absence of similar examples from the five middle-class trainees suggests that theirs is an attitude of compliance in that what they are told by lecturers, mentors and professional tutors is paramount. Marie's declaration that she would do whatever her mentor requires her to do to pass the placement is concerning because there is almost no capacity shown for understanding that she is reflecting on whether or not her professional identity is being developed. Similarly, William's view that as long as he is meeting the standards, then that is good enough, leads me to consider whether he has encountered any gaps that might challenge his notion of what a teacher is. If the middle-class participants do have such gaps, then I would question why the trainees appear not to notice these and act on them. Seemingly, it would appear that they make important decisions based upon their dispositions, rather than reflecting on the effects their decisions may have upon their students. Falling back on their dispositions and reliance on their existing stock of

cultural and social capitals becomes a default position for some of these participants, who do not reflect upon the effects this has on the students they teach. Therefore, the development of the teacher *habitus* becomes restricted. This lack of reflection, as part of professional identity development, and its effect on the participants will be discussed later in this chapter.

Fear of failure as part of professional identity development

In Chapter Three, I described theories of identity development (Sutherland et al, 2010; Burke and Reitzes, 1981) that looked at how gaps in knowledge, skills or understanding might arise. The picture of how the trainees respond to these gaps is not very positive. In the previous section, I gave examples of how the trainees appear to be very compliant and one of the reasons why this may be so, is derived from their fear of being perceived as a failure. Both Reay (2001) and Whitty (2001) argue that fear of failure is a middle-class concern for achieving safety (socially, financially or educationally) for themselves that lies at the heart of this issue. This is borne out by the ways in which some of the trainees explain how failing a placement would be letting down their family (Marie and Alan). However, there is no indication from the two working-class trainees of any similar concern. Neither of them provides any examples of where or when they feel that they have failed to achieve any financial or social goals they may have, or when they might have failed to meet their family's expectations. It would appear that there is a difference in the *habituses* of the working-class participants, compared with those from middle-class backgrounds. This may be due to the capitals available to Sheila and Susan during their childhoods, or that they are more aware of why they are from working-class backgrounds, compared with their middle-class counterparts. What is not clear from the data is how this can be explained and would, therefore, need to be researched further.

The interviews offer very little evidence of any of the trainees facing any significant gaps during their placements. To some extent, those faced by Sheila and Susan best illustrate the issues that come to light when they are in schools. The only other instance of a gap acknowledged by any of the trainees is when William feels that his subject knowledge is not

good enough for a particular lesson that he is required to teach. However, this is quickly

remedied by further work with his subject tutor and the moment passes.

What becomes apparent from the data is the trainees' lack of reflection during their

placements regarding any challenges to their constructs of social class. This occurs both in

regard to their continuing professional development during their placements and during their

education studies modules when the trainees are studying at university. The effects of this

appear to be that the student's needs are not considered by the trainee teacher, so that any

gap that may occur and be seen as a professional development opportunity is lost. In turn,

this means that an opportunity to develop an understanding of an issue specific to a working-

class student is lost. In the next section, I will look at how reflective the trainees actually are

whilst on placement and the effect that these reflections have on their professional

development.

Reflections and their use by the participants

The trainees are expected to reflect upon their teaching and personal development during

placements and their studies as part of their professional identity development as teachers.

This is important because if they are not reflecting on what happens during their training,

they may miss opportunities to acquire new knowledge or pedagogic practices (Beijaard et al,

2004; Pollard, 2008; Hascher et al, 2004; Beauchamp and Thomas, 2009). However, the

trainees all say that they have limited time to reflect on their practice during their placements.

Sheila, Alan and Laura all agree that the only time they reflect upon their teaching is when

they are travelling home at the end of each day.

The impact of either briefly or not reflecting at all on their teaching, their students' learning

and the wider aspects of their practice contradicts studies of other groups of trainees

(Beijaard et al, 2004; Trotman and Kerr, 2001). It means that the trainees are not looking

deeply at what they are teaching and what has been successful, unsuccessful or meaningful

for their students or themselves. They do not consider whether the lessons they teach result

in the students learning what is intended at the start of each lesson. Instead, they rely on others in the school telling them where they are making mistakes in order to understand how to make progress and meet the required teaching standards whilst they are in schools. This is in spite of the fact that they have regular meetings with their mentors to review the progress they have made each week and are set new targets for the following week. In other words, they appear to be driven by outcomes, rather than by the process itself and William's comment that he only needs to meet the standards in order to qualify as a teacher demonstrates this point very succinctly.

More specifically, the lack of reflection by the trainees on social class is common to both the middle and working-class participants. As teacher trainers, we require our trainees to reflect on all aspects of their placements and lectures; however, there is an underlying tone that comes through with some of the trainees relating to their reflections on their working practices whilst on placement. During the interviews, I asked whether or not the participants believe that they should consider students whose social class backgrounds differ from their own as a form of inclusion. There is agreement between the middle-class students that they should not do anything that would differentiate their lessons for working-class students as they feel that they should not do anything that would then disadvantage middle-class students in their placement schools. All five middle-class trainees said that they see working-class students as having to aspire to the same standards as those that they have been brought up with, so these students should become like their middle-class peers. This is problematic as my discussions around social class itself have shown: not all students enter education with the same levels of capitals as everyone else. That is why Marie sees it as part of her role to make sure that working-class students begin to acquire middle-class characteristics. As in Chapter Three, I use Harber's (2004) work to suggest that there is a form of violence being imposed upon the working-class students who, through no fault of their own, do not necessarily have the capitals or understanding of the *doxa* of schools in order to contest Marie's intentions for them. This is one of the major sources of discomfort that arises from this whole thesis for me in that a hierarchy is being perpetuated by the

middle-class participants, rather than them seeing each student for whom they are and allowing them to develop in their own right.

In other ways, this is also reassuring in that there is justification for the exploration of my original disquiet. In terms of reflexive sociology, Bourdieu urges us to look at the language of any dialogue in order to see where the power lies in such interactions (e.g. between teacher and student). The inference drawn from this is that the participant *qua* teacher, through their dispositional understanding of a given situation, has greater power (both linguistically and statutorily) over the student and therefore, this may affect how that student thinks and develops as a result of any dialogue. Therefore, if Marie, or any of the other middle-class participants, do not see how or why their comments regarding working-class students may, at best, be misinformed, then this is something that needs to be addressed during their training by their mentor or teacher training institution. However, as I stated in Chapter Three, if the mentor is similarly predisposed towards working-class students, then trainee teachers may not have opportunities to challenge their mentor's perceptions of working-class students. If that is the case, then there is the possibility that changing a generation of teachers' perceptions of working-class students could be lost. Furthermore, and more relevant to the participants in this thesis, their individual *habituses* as teachers may not develop as roundly as they potentially could.

The reverse is true of Susan and Sheila. Both of them had to make changes during their placements in order to accommodate differing perspectives on social class. Susan's teaching of working-class issues to middle-class girls (discussed earlier in this chapter) shows that she had to reflect very carefully on this very issue. However, she demonstrates that she is willing to find ways to make her students understand the behaviour of the working-class character. Sheila's experience also shows that she is willing to try out new ideas. My point here is that it seems, on the basis of the limited evidence of this thesis, that the middle-class trainees are unwilling to consider how to help working-class students beyond what anyone else would be entitled to in the classroom, whereas the working-class trainees will make an

effort to produce extra resources to help middle-class students understand a specific point being taught.

This makes for uncomfortable reading. When, during the interviews, the participants and I spoke about different types of inclusion, all seven trainees could list most types of inclusion they would expect to see in schools. These all fall under the protected characteristics listed in the *Equality Act (2010).* The participants viewed these as being the aspects of inclusion that they would have to plan for during their lessons if any student is present who is known to need additional support through an identified linguistic, spiritual/religious, mental or physical need. The majority of these were identified as a result of their education studies modules at university, which shows that the participants could selectively recall those parts of the lectures that they feel were important to them and their professional development. This raises a further concern in that they are choosing to select those aspects of the lectures that they see as applicable to their professional practice whilst other needs may appear to be less important. It therefore appears that some trainees are already beginning to create personal hierarchies of learning needs, with the protected characteristics at the top, but with social class being listed below these.

In doing so, the participants are making decisions reflexively about their students and I contend that these decisions may deny the existence of the working-class nature of their students (Giddens, 1973). In doing this, I argue that there is a denial of the right for these students to exist as working-class people, within their own culture. The question that comes to mind here is whether the middle-class participants would be able to say or do such things if we were discussing an ethnic- or faith-based group, protected under the *Equality Act (2010)*.

If some of the participants are making statements like those above, then I need to look at what the consequences of doing so may be. The ways in which each participant has come to acquire their particular dispositions and, therefore, the genesis of their professional *habitus*

was discussed in Chapter Three. The role that conformity plays in shaping, and sometimes limiting, participants' development has been examined thus far. It is the consequences of these reflections and subsequent actions that leads me into the next section. I have already used differences between the dispositions of the social classes to show how the middle-class participants in this thesis meet the expectations of the society in which they have grown up and are now training. However, in order to continue conforming, these participants do not seem willing to reflect on these positions and as a consequence, alter their dispositions towards students from differing social class backgrounds. This leads some of the participants to detach themselves from the working-class students whom they might teach during their placements. If, as a result of their training, they are to enter a profession with the attitudes and opinions examined in this thesis, then there may be further effects of these that extend beyond the immediate sphere of my small group of participants in one university. The next section will therefore address this issue of detachment and difference. It will also look at how the future development of trainee teachers may be affected by recent changes to initial teacher training in England and Wales. These changes will finally be looked at in the context of the wider impact on students and society as a whole.

Participants' detachment from other social class groups

This section shows that some of the participants try to ensure that they come into as little contact as possible with students from other social classes by detaching themselves from these students. Again, there is a difference here between the approaches of the middle-class and working-class students. Examples from the data include middle-class participants seeking to be sent to schools where they feel that they are not going to teach students from different social class backgrounds (Santoro and Allard, 2005) or where they will only meet children who they know will behave themselves (Delpit, 1995). The statements from Marie and Alan describing why they would not want to go to schools where they might fail, mirrors the anxieties expressed in the literature. This links to the earlier section in this chapter where I discussed failure as a potential reason why some participants feel the need to avoid certain schools or groups of students. Elizabeth's careful planning, as to which schools may provide

her with the greatest chance of successfully complete the placement, shows the same level of planning as parents selecting the right school for their child. Whitty (2001) uses this as an example of how middle-class parents control educational activities in order to reduce the possibility of failure and I think that the principle is equally applicable here. More pertinent to universities, Elizabeth sees this as a perfectly rational action in a market situation. She is paying for her ITT course and feels that if she is to succeed in her degree, she should be able to make such choices and not leave such decisions to the university subject tutor. Whilst this does not explicitly happen, Marie's two placements demonstrate that subject tutors may consider placing participants into schools where there is less likelihood of a participant failing if they cannot manage to engage with the students in that school. This, I believe, is an approach that will be seen more by subject tutors as participants try to ensure that they only go to schools that can provide the best chance of passing a placement. As I shall discuss later in this chapter, the introduction of school-based ITT (School Direct) makes this level of choice, and therefore, detachment from specific social class groups, an increasingly possible scenario.

Even before they have started an ITT course, Marie's experience of not mixing with children from other parts of her village, and Elizabeth's story of blaming the working-class girls for her friends' misdeeds, begins to build a picture of participants detaching themselves from social groups with whom they do not want to mix. It is only when Marie enters her sixth-form studies that she encounters some of these 'other' students for the first time in her life. At this stage, a process of *elimination* has occurred; only those who have passed their GCSE exams are allowed to progress to A' Level courses. These are the students who will be in the same lessons as Marie. Therefore, it is unlikely that Marie will meet students like Willis' (1977) "lads" by choice, unless she is placed in a school where such students exist. Her preference to avoid such schools (and with her subject tutor's acquiescence) could mean that the likelihood of Marie being placed in a 'difficult' school is small. The significance of this is increased when the risk of failing a placement is balanced against the need to prove to

external agencies[34] that the standard of training on each course is at least good or outstanding. Drop-out rates are monitored and all leavers have to be accounted for by subject tutors and course leaders whenever an OfSTED inspection of an ITT provider happens.

Another aspect of this detachment during professional identity development comes about as a result of the unwillingness of some of the participants to consider changing their dispositions regarding students with different social class backgrounds. As has been shown in both Chapter Five and this chapter, the middle-class participants have very little inclination to change their dispositions towards, nor differentiate their lessons for, working-class students. I believe that this is a way in which the middle-class participants subconsciously remove themselves from contact with working-class students. This may also explain why there is little or no reflection by the middle-class participants on whether those working-class students are learning anything from the lessons being taught by the participants. If that is the case, then there is a potential gap that is not being recognised by the participants that will potentially remain unexplored. Thus, without reflection, action and evaluation, it can be surmised that development of the professional identity is not happening as deeply as it ought to be in the instance of understanding social class and social mobility.

In the wider context of ITT, there appears to be little incentive for the middle-class participants to want to change their point of view. This has been increased following the removal of the Public Sector Equality Duty from the *Equality Act (2010)* (Reay, 2012). Unlike the two working-class participants, who have shown that they are willing to accommodate the needs of their students, (with their different social backgrounds), there is a level of inflexibility on the part of Alan, Elizabeth, Laura, Marie and William. At an individual level, this means that there may be some students taught by the participants when they qualify, who are disregarded and left to continue through an education system with different, and possibly less valued, social and cultural capitals at their disposal. As a result of their teacher's

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[34] OfSTED, the National College for Teaching and Leadership and the Department for Education

disposition towards such working-class students, the prospects for these individuals may be reduced.

At a university level, there is a greater distance that has yet to be overcome by some of the participants in this study. With limited agency available to trainee teachers in their placements, schools are unlikely to be seen as places where significant change may happen in professional practice, whereas universities can still be the place where challenges to the participants' perspectives may still occur. The question arises though as to whether or not education studies lectures on an ITT course challenges trainees' perceptions of social class in the same way that race, gender, sexuality and religious beliefs may be challenged. If this is so, then HEIs may be equally as guilty of reinforcing the *status quo.* This may become more relevant as teacher training itself is removed from a place where challenges to orthodox thinking ought to be taking place and into the schools themselves with their lack of agency in such matters. However, when unqualified graduates, with their own dispositional understandings of social class, can come into teaching, the question arises about how working-class students will succeed in such a system. This means that greater differences between middle-class teachers and working-class students may develop as a result of those who do not want to teach in 'difficult' schools and those who have been taught to reflect on, and devise interventions for, students with different social class backgrounds from their own. It is here that Bourdieu's reflexivity should be happening, challenging the orthodoxy of the current situation in ITT. However, it would appear that this is not necessarily so. The outcomes for the students in these schools is the subject of the next section.

Effects of social class on changes to initial teacher training

When the Coalition Government was elected in May 2010, several changes were implemented that had an effect on ITT. In the context of this thesis, a significant announcement was that teachers in academies, free schools and private schools would not be required to hold QTS[35].

The intention of this change is to allow for more creativity when appointing teachers to academies, free schools and private schools. However, one of the unintended consequences of this approach is that those who are appointed as unqualified teachers are unlikely to have had any training that includes the content from an education studies module like those attended by the participants in this thesis. It is possible that they may have worked as a teaching assistant in a school prior to becoming an unqualified teacher. However, that is not a requirement and as such does not imply that they will have studied aspects of pedagogy, theories of learning or the sociology and/or psychology of education. Also, their knowledge of inclusion may also be very limited, as will their understanding of how to plan lessons that can be accessed by all students. All this training will need to be undertaken by the school itself, with limited support from a teacher-training institution.

Unqualified teachers are required to be educated to a minimum of first-degree level and will have gone through the same Bourdieusian process of *elimination* in order to achieve that success. In Chapter Three, I discussed this process which, by its very nature, removes them from students who may not benefit from education in the same way. Consequently, they may perceive other-classed students in their school as failures or even dislike a student's social class values. As I also explained earlier in this chapter, through the reflections and desire to conform by some of the participants, the result is that they do not always view students from other social class backgrounds in a supportive manner. Where, in university, there is the opportunity to discuss and guide trainee teachers who display unwillingness to work with

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[35] Secretary of State for Education, Michael Gove on 27th July 2012 http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-19017544 Last accessed 31st January 2017.

students from other social backgrounds, there may be little or no opportunity to intervene with unqualified teachers, unless the school has a particular policy for challenging teachers' attitudes towards students. From my own experience as a senior teacher in secondary schools, this is not the case and this lack of policy relies upon students complaining if they feel that there is something wrong in the way that they are treated. Having referred earlier in this chapter to the level of agency available to students, this may be a rare occurrence. The difference between the qualified and unqualified teacher is that there is greater potential for checks and balances in the context of a formal teacher-training course. In this situation, remoteness from any additional training by an external institution might further limit unqualified teachers developing this reflective aspect of their professional identity.

Training placements are now offered in a market situation, where applications are made for places based upon what schools perceive will be their personnel requirements during the forthcoming academic year. Groups of schools, working as teaching school alliances, work together to share costs and government funding when recruiting trainees, all under the guidance of the NCTL. A trainee can therefore apply to both schools and universities for a training place. Previously, the trainee would apply for a PGCE place and be interviewed by an experienced teacher-trainer in a university. Now an applicant can select a school which they feel will offer them the best opportunity of successfully achieving QTS (if necessary) and possibly work in that school if they are appointed to a post there as well, somewhat akin to Elizabeth's decision to seek out the schools which offer the best hope of passing a placement. With the exception of a short placement in another school (usually within the same teaching school alliance) they may never have to experience any other educational establishment. This is something that was mirrored in Susan's description of some of the careers of the teachers at her secondary placement. Therefore, the opportunity for the trainee to experience schools other than the chosen training school is clearly limited, which in turn, will have an impact on the trainees' *habitus.*

This reinforcement of teachers' *habituses* is further affected by the fact that lead schools in every alliance must be rated as good or outstanding under OfSTED criteria. This eliminates the failing schools, with their greater population of working-class students (Evans, 2007; Reay, 2001). Therefore, teachers, who have learned to conform to what alliance schools expect of them will mentor trainees in alliance schools. In order to be successful as trainees, they will have to conform to the school's ethos and so they will replicate the behaviours and ideas of their mentors and training schools. Here again, we see the effect of the school as *field* taking place. Whilst it is good that trainees are in the "best" schools and potentially seeing the "best" practices in the classroom, I would question where we are training the teachers who are able to teach and enjoy working in schools OfSTED categorises as requiring improvement or failing.

Furthermore, Bourdieu's concept of *elimination* has also played a significant part in these first two sections. Firstly, there is the *elimination* that happens before the trainees begin their initial teacher training. The trainees have become separated from their peers through the studies they have undertaken in order to acquire further cultural capital. This process also occurs during the period of their training, as learning to conform to training school alliances' requirements, requires trainees to comply with the *doxa* of that school, or risk failure. Bottero's idea that we have agency to affect change through the capitals that we possess is somewhat tempered by the twin constraints of the need to conform and the fear of the consequences of failing to successfully complete a placement (Bottero, 2010).

Secondly, there is *elimination* that occurs due to the changes taking place as a result of the move towards school-based training. Whereas universities are more likely to have a wider knowledge of which schools can provide better training for specific aspects of the role of a teacher, that knowledge may be lost when this is localised to a small geographically-centred group of schools within a training alliance. This form of *elimination* therefore removes the wider skills and knowledge base presently existing in the system; knowledge and skills that prove useful when it comes to meeting the professional identity development needs of some

trainees. Having discussed how both professional identity development and initial teacher training courses can be affected by the idea of distance and *elimination*, I now want to move to the broader view that includes national legislation and policies that affects trainees' future careers.

The wider effects of my findings upon ITT

In Chapter Three, I discussed Burke and Reitzes' (1981) theory that how we interact with other people and situations is a formative part of the process of identity development. I have shown that there are some trainees who deliberately choose not to engage with specific groups of students, for reasons that I have discussed above. The result of this is that the participants in this thesis are creating professional *habitus*es that confirm their perceptions of what a teacher ought to be, based upon their dispositional understandings of teaching they have brought to their training.

I also discussed the idea that professional identity development is not a linear process but that we face gaps in our knowledge that we address in order to help build a stronger professional identity. However, as the differences between participants' social class shows, I would argue that these gaps are not recognised, let alone addressed, especially in respect of the middle-class participants. This final section therefore addresses what effect the dispositions and *habituses* of trainee teachers may have in the widest sense for education.

Throughout the course of this thesis, I have shown that some participants deliberately distance themselves from students from other social class backgrounds. If this process is extrapolated into the wider teaching workplace, the effect causes greater concern after trainee teachers qualify and begin their careers. In the case of a middle-class trainee who has trained in schools in which they feel they have the best chance of passing their placements, this process can be applied to employment after they qualify. They may only look for jobs in schools that are successful, with students who are not 'difficult' to teach. With

the introduction of appraisal and performance-related pay (DfE, 2015), this may be a further factor in the decision-making process for some teachers. In order to reduce the risk of not being awarded pay rises based upon examination results, teachers may distance themselves from those schools whose students, perceived as being less likely to achieve high GCSE grades. If that perception is based on the teacher's perceptions of different social class groups, this may result in a reduced pool of teachers willing to seek employment in schools deemed not to be good or outstanding. In turn, each student in these schools may have a smaller pool of social and cultural capital to draw on, compared with their counterparts in a more successful school (Evans, 2007), therefore perpetuating the issue of particular schools being perceived as less desirable by some parents.

Consequently, at the school level, there is the possibility that the effects of limited professional identity development, through reduced access to wider social and cultural capitals, may only serve to maintain students within their social class groups. As I showed in Chapter Five, if trainees are unwilling to look at providing specific help for working-class students, or if their mentors are reinforcing trainees' views regarding working-class students, then there is no guarantee that qualified teachers in schools are behaving any differently. If this is so, then the effect of this will be that the gap between working-class students achieving five or more A*-C grade GCSEs, and their middle-class peers, will remain (Sutton Trust, 2011). Successive governments' aims of increasing the percentage of students achieving higher qualifications and/or attending university is consequently unlikely to be reduced either. In turn, this will perpetuate this issue further because recruitment to teacher training courses is drawn from a graduate pool, which means that only those who have not been eliminated through the education system will be eligible.

Whilst the government creates education policies that encourage some social class groups more than others, there is always the risk that this issue will continue to happen. Even the attempt to broaden the profession through the introduction of unqualified graduate teachers does not reduce the risk of students from working-class backgrounds failing to achieve as

highly as their middle-class counterparts. Conversely, it reinforces the understanding that there is one group of people who are better than another and therefore, privileges those with degrees over those who have not gone to university in the first instance.

This chapter has discussed my understanding of the data analysed in Chapter Five and how I see the impact upon the trainee teachers and the students they meet in the wider school communities served by my university. I have also examined the impact that the participants' reliance on their dispositions towards working-class students has in moving them forward as reflective practitioners and, therefore, in changing their views regarding students from working-class backgrounds. The next sections draw conclusions about how this thesis can add to the debate on social class within education and how we can move forward in educating trainee teachers about social class.

Conclusions

Throughout this thesis the use of a range of Bourdieusian concepts has provided me with a greater understanding as to why the participants were more likely to attend sixth-form college and then university, compared with their peers. These concepts include social class, capitals, dispositional understandings, *habitus*, *field* and *elimination*. Through these, I have explored what capitals a group of trainee teachers bring to an ITT course and consequently what their perceptions of students from other social class backgrounds might be. When I initially took on my present role as a teacher-training tutor, my trainees and I discussed issues they faced when teaching students who were differently socially classed from themselves. Their reluctance, or inability, to discuss how they related to students from different social class backgrounds began to emerge. This was the genesis of this thesis and has led to me examining how the professional identities of trainee teachers develop in respect of teaching students from different social class backgrounds. As a consequence of this, my personal understanding of the Bourdieusian concepts discussed in this thesis has been significantly enhanced.

To see whether or not I have achieved my three original research aims, the next section will discuss these aims, along with a response to each as a result of this thesis.

Response to the three research aims

Research Aim One

At the start of this thesis, I wanted to examine what social and cultural capitals trainee teachers bring to the start of an Initial Teacher Training course.

This was achieved by firstly developing my understanding of Bourdieu's concepts of capitals and social class. This enabled me to see that there are differences in the capitals individual trainees bring to an ITT course. However, whilst each trainee is unique, there is a common theme for the trainees I interviewed in that they have all arrived on the same ITT course through a process of *elimination*.

Bourdieusian *elimination* provides a rationale for why some students do not continue their education beyond compulsory education (i.e. into further and/or higher education). Through my reading for the thesis, I developed an understanding of how and why my participants acquire the necessary social, economic and cultural capitals to become a qualified teacher. In terms of my first research aim, it becomes clear that there is a need for these capitals to avoid leaving the education system early. Consequently, understanding *elimination* also helps me to appreciate why there are potentially fewer trainee teachers from working-class backgrounds in education; i.e. those with lower levels of economic, cultural and social capitals. Thus, it is likely that there are relatively fewer working-class trained teachers with their dispositional understandings of education and social class to teach in schools with higher numbers of working-class students.

Another Bourdieusian concept, *misrecognition,* shows how teachers are able to maintain a position of dominance over parents, especially those parents from working-class backgrounds. Through tacit recognition of each other's place in the teacher-parent nexus, there is an understanding of the position that each holds. As Evans (2007), Reay (2001) and Whitty (2001) explain, this relationship is less likely to be challenged when the parents are

from working-class backgrounds. If these parents do not possess sufficient capitals to challenge the *habituses* of the teachers, nor the *field* of the school, then the hegemony of the middle-class in schools will be maintained. Laura demonstrates this in her discussion regarding which parents she understood would be most likely to challenge her authority as a teacher. In the absence of anyone in a placement school questioning the basis for the formation of such relationships, I am led to conclude that trainees will maintain these relationships because they see this as normal behaviour in schools. Therefore, the capitals that an individual brings to any ITT course will be important as these may also reflect the likelihood of them passing the course. The *habitus* they continue to develop, as they make the transition into newly qualified teacher, becomes more autonomous therefore rendering the teacher less likely to change their disposition in the light of being challenged, especially where social class is concerned. This leads me into my second research aim of how the trainees' professional identities develop.

Research Aim Two

My second research aim was to understand how professional identity development shapes trainees at the start of their professional careers. In the literature, I referred to exploring gaps in trainees' knowledge and it is this concept which I placed at the heart of their professional identity development. If the trainees encounter situations in schools which they are unfamiliar with, they need to know what resources of knowledge they have to draw on in order to manage that situation. The knowledge they could draw upon might come from one of three sources. Firstly, the dispositions and *habituses* they already possess can act as sources of knowledge to draw on in order to provide a solution to a gap that they meet. Secondly, they can choose to draw upon what they have learned during lectures at university. Finally, if they are on placement in a school, then they can refer to their mentor and seek their professional advice. Therefore, encountering a previously unknown situation can be seen as an opportunity to advance the professional identity development of the trainee through the reflection on the solution they implement.

However, as became clear in the analysis of the data, the participants' reflections on their practice means that these are not as meaningful as they might be. This supports Hascher, Moser and Cocard's (2004) findings in that there is very little time for deeper levels of reflection that lead to questioning of how a gap may be filled by a trainee. Both the analysis and subsequent discussion, in Chapters Five and Six, shows that the middle-class participants in this research are not willing to consider the social class backgrounds of their students when analysing the reasons why a gap occurs that they are being asked to reflect upon. Hascher et al (2004) confirm this when we look at trainees' reliance on the mentor as expert, and in this thesis, Marie is a good example of this. The conclusion I draw here is that if the participants replicate what they see their mentors doing in the classroom, then there is an identifiable need to support for mentors as well. This could take the form of training in understanding gaps in knowledge and recognising the needs of differing socially-classed students, so that mentors can see how their personal practices are shaping their trainees.

Furthermore, this supports the literature on professional identity development and capitals. Beauchamp and Thomas explain that trainees need to show awareness of their students' backgrounds – the "community-context" (2009, p180). Sutherland, Howard and Markauskaite (2010) reinforce this by explaining that trainees should examine the information available regarding students and their backgrounds. The outcome of this is seen in the reactions of the trainees when they were asked whether they should take into account a student's background when planning for lessons. Their decisions not to plan for students' differing social class backgrounds indicates that they do not value these backgrounds as much as the protected characteristics under the *Equality Act (2010)*. This echoes Gazeley and Dunne's (2007) finding in that there are trainees who are prepared to distance themselves from students with different social class backgrounds in schools. The importance of how we develop trainee teachers' understandings of the social mobility issues faced by working-class students cannot be overestimated. However, this development must be undertaken

sensitively so as not to deepen any preconceptions that these trainees may hold. Later in this section, I will describe ways in which this can be carried out.

This leads me to conclude that there is a level of illiteracy surrounding social class on the part of some trainee teachers. The effect of this is clearly demonstrated by Marie's choice during her schooldays to not integrate with fellow students from different social class backgrounds until she had no alternative. Similarly, Laura's willingness to manipulate her teachers into punishing girls from other social class groups demonstrates that she sees clear differences between herself and her working-class peers. This is unlike Sheila and, especially, Susan who have to transform themselves in order to be seen as teachers in their schools. This is a factor that is absent from the discussions of the middle-class trainees' experiences of schools. Again, the difference between the middle-class students and their working-class peers demonstrates that there is a gap for teacher-training institutions to fill. Later in this chapter, I will propose some exploratory ways in which this can be approached.

Research Aim Three

The third research aim considers how policies and legislation have an impact on trainees. As Reay stated, the impact of the abolition of the PSED by the Coalition Government will never be fully understood (Reay, 2012). However, one unanswered question is whether that duty would have raised the status of social-class, *per se*, to the same level as the protected characteristics defined under *The Equality Act, 2010*. What is clear from the discussion with the trainees is that they are aware of the protected characteristics when planning lessons, whereas they do not recall discussing social class in their education studies lectures and, therefore, any need to consider its importance in their planning. In Chapter Six, I said that I found this to be alarming. If, as a combination of capitals, *elimination* or a reliance upon their *habituses*, trainee teachers do not understand these backgrounds then the consequences of this gap may result in students being labelled as underachieving and, therefore, fail to fulfil their potential.

The education studies lectures that trainees attend are specific spaces where these discussions ought to be taking place. When I checked the content of these modules, I discovered that social class forms part of the discussion on diversity and inclusion. This increases my unease regarding the discussion with the trainees about their studies regarding social class. If, as the content of the modules suggest, it is part of the wider diversity dialogue that includes race, gender, ethnicity, sexuality and the other protected characteristics, I am left to conclude that as legislation does not protect social class, it is reduced to being seen as secondary in importance to the protected characteristics. William, Marie and Alan's responses to my questions regarding the need to include social class in lesson planning indicate that they do not see this as a priority. Similarly, during their placements, if the trainees are not seeing mentors take positive steps to promote social class equality, then, based on the evidence of this thesis, it is unlikely that a trainee will explore this of their own volition. If a teacher-training institution sees such behaviour by trainees as a form of discrimination, then a thorough re-evaluation of the modules taught to trainees needs to be carried out. However, the university adheres to the protected characteristics under *The Equality Act, (2010)* and so it may not implement changes to these modules in the immediate future. I am, therefore, left to conclude that this may have to be part of a process where I use the findings from this thesis to persuade colleagues, through dialogue and teaching, of the need to understand what the impact on students' achievements are when social class is not regarded in the same way that social disadvantage (*per* the Pupil Premium or FSM) is. As I discussed on pages 16 and 144, the introduction of the Pupil Premium has raised awareness of social disadvantage for a specific group of students, i.e. those eligible for and receiving Pupil Premium funding. What has not changed is the wider understanding of the inequalities for those students who are working-class.

Regarding placements for trainees, the issue raised by Elizabeth shows how, in the light of the introduction of School Direct, teacher training has changed and may potentially lead to a two-tier system within state schools. Elizabeth's analysis of the schools she may be placed into by her subject tutor shows that she planned carefully in order to avoid failing a

placement. At the present time, the university subject tutor will act as the final arbiter as to where Elizabeth will be placed. However, under School Direct routes into teaching, the trainee chooses the alliance where they wish to train. Therefore, if we follow Elizabeth's example, applicants for ITT may look at the schools within that alliance and decide whether or not they want to train with that alliance. If they decide otherwise, then they may look at other local alliances with a view to which will best serve their interest of qualifying as a teacher. Under the directions for training alliances from the NCTL, only schools judged by OfSTED as good or outstanding may become alliance schools. By making such overt decisions, the opportunities for trainees to be placed into schools, who do not meet OfSTED's criteria, are very limited. Following Evans' (2007) explanation of why students from working-class backgrounds predominantly occupy most of these schools, there is a gap being created between trainee teachers and schools which are judged as less than good. If trainees follow Elizabeth's example of planning where they want to train in order ensure that there is a likelihood of greater success in completing their training, this leads me to conclude that with the continued drive to move all ITT into schools, a two-tier system of education will emerge. One of the aims of School Direct Salaried scheme is to ensure that vacancies in the alliance schools are filled. This means that if a vacancy arises within an alliance school, then trainees within that alliance should be in a position to apply for that vacancy. If they are then employed within that alliance, they will, therefore, be working in similar schools during the early stages in their teaching careers. This in turn could lead to a lack of trained teachers with experience of working in schools which are judged to be less than good. Consequently, a *status quo* may develop in which there is little staff movement. In turn, this can lead to a stifling and eventually a stagnation of ideas and thinking amongst the teaching staff. Looked at in the longer term, this may result in failing schools being unable to recruit experienced teachers, thus reinforcing the issues faced by failing schools. When an issue like teachers' pay is decided partly on appraisal of the GCSE exam results achieved by their students, then there is the likelihood for teachers to remain in their good or outstanding schools, rather than work in a failing school. Without the ability to recruit such teachers, it is clear that the potential for a two-tier system of education will arise.

The final aspect of the literature I discussed in Chapters Two and Three is the wider concept of agency in ITT. Whilst I agree that there is agency within Bourdieu's *doxa* and *field*, the literature and discussion surrounding professional identity development demonstrate that, whilst trainees are placed in schools, there is limited scope for them to be able to do anything other than comply with the *doxa* of the profession and be seen as conforming to the requirements of the schools. Susan's description in Chapter Six shows the extent to which she felt she had to change her appearance and her personal views on private education in order to be seen as a teacher. This exemplifies the need for conformity that trainees undergo in order to be seen as part of the profession. Thus, I believe that this thesis adds to the literature regarding the degree to which trainee teachers will adapt in order to be accepted into the profession. It reveals the limitations of agency and the power of structure in maintaining the position of the school over its staff, students and parents.

That is not to say that trainees have no agency at all during their placements. Susan's decision to research additional material in order to develop her female students' understanding of one poem she was teaching is a small example, made in the context of one class of students. This is a risk that some trainees are willing to take. Others, however, do not and the reasons why are understandable. Taking risks and so potentially upsetting mentors and schools can, although not inevitably, lead to a poorer placement grading for the trainees. In turn, this can affect their final report from the placement. Whilst university subject tutors can query these final reports, my participants' data shows that they would rather finish the placements with good reports and are willing to do what is required in order to achieve these (Sheila and Marie are examples of this). With this as an additional pressure on the trainee, I am left to conclude that they are relatively powerless to affect change, even if they should choose to do so, because of this fear factor.

What this thesis contributes to the field

The significant contribution that this thesis makes is that it is one of the very first studies of trainee teachers and their perceptions of students from differing social class backgrounds. As I stated in Chapter Three, many studies of social class in relation to education, view this phenomenon from the perspective the student and/or their family (Evans, 2007; Willis; 1977; MacRobbie, 1978). Therefore, looking at the influences on trainee teachers, and their willingness to either understand or accommodate students from other social class backgrounds seems to offer an alternative perspective as to why there are still social inequalities in education.

This opens a whole field of research that is hitherto, unexplored. However, it must be borne in mind that this was a small-scale enquiry, with seven participants who are now entering the classroom as qualified teachers in schools. Post-thesis is now being planned to widen the participant base in order to build upon my findings. To further reinforce the research base of this thesis, it would be beneficial to find willing volunteers who are employed as teachers in a variety of schools, who come from a variety of training backgrounds (GTP, PGCE, undergraduate, School Direct Tuition, Troops to Teachers and School Direct Salaried). This would allow for greater comparison of trainees' understandings of social class across a range of training types to see how and where social class is discussed within differing educational contexts. Such a study would also provide an opportunity to triangulate the results from this thesis in the wider context of Initial Teacher Training as it continues to diversify in response to government changes to the teaching profession. At the same time, it needs to be recognised that the introduction of the Pupil Premium has focussed attention onto students from disadvantaged backgrounds. Whilst this is to be applauded, it is only a small step in uncovering the wider social class inequalities that still exist in the United Kingdom today. However, by narrowing the focus through the lens of Pupil Premium, it means that wider concerns to do with raising educational standards for everyone, removing inequalities to do with health and employment are moved to the background. Therefore, I believe that the focus

on social class remains important and that all trainee teachers should be taught about this rather than just having the mechanics of Pupil Premium explained to them in a single lecture just prior to going into a placement school.

Application of the research findings

In the short term, the findings from this thesis are directly relevant to initial teacher training. The education lectures described in Chapter Three do not currently include whole cohort teaching on the uses of data and the role of the government's Pupil Premium policy. As the government continues to implement such policies as a way of raising standards, then trainee teachers need to be made aware of what these policies are and how they have an impact upon their teaching. Similarly, the opportunity arises for a discussion with trainees as to why such policies exists and what impact these have on students in schools. These ideas can then be shared amongst other ITT programmes, both locally and nationally, so that there is wider consensus regarding how issues of social class can be discussed within education. What I draw from the discussions in this thesis is that social class is not given the same priority as the protected characteristics. However, if schools are to raise achievement, then they need to know that the trainees coming to them on placement have a theoretical understanding of social class and its effects on students. Mentors can then work with trainees to improve the outcomes for students from differing social class backgrounds. However, this would require mentors being trained to understand their perceptions of social class and their *habituses* before going on to develop an understanding of how their social class values may conflict with the social class backgrounds of their students. This could become a programme developed with the co-operation of a local school and then shared with other schools interested in raising the attainment of working-class students.

A further development that can be undertaken within ITT is to ensure that all trainees be placed in schools with higher numbers of students from working-class backgrounds. Contrary to Elizabeth's detaching herself from working-class schools, it needs to be recognised by

trainees that not all schools with working-class students are failing schools. OfSTED have been working on this by requiring all trainees to undertake placements that are allow for the trainees to experience a range of schools. However, there needs to be placements in schools which are not rated as good or outstanding so that trainee teachers can truly experience social diversity and the effects of social mobility. Once a trainee knows they are going to such a school, the subject tutor needs to work with the trainee and the placement mentor to ensure that the trainee understands how being placed in such a school can be seen as a way of gaining valuable experience. That way, universities and schools can work to reduce the anxieties and misconceptions underlying the comments from the students in Santoro and Allard (2005) and Delpit's (2006) studies. This could include providing additional support for literacy or numeracy, if these are important to the placement, or training trainee teachers in how to talk to students about their own experiences of studying at college and university so as to encourage the students to understand what they can achieve if they obtain higher levels of qualification.

There is also the issue of detachment from students from other social class backgrounds that has been created by some of the participants. This can be managed within teacher-training institutions by the measures listed above. What cannot be so easily influenced is the effect that such detachment may have when it is the mentor who is seen to be showing detachment from a particular student or group of students on the basis of their social class.

What this does is to create opportunities for teacher-training institutions to create programmes on social class awareness and offer mentor training for placement schools. Within this, there is the potential for including training on raising achievement in ways that are specific to individual social class groups. This thesis has shown evidence of how some of the participants deliberately seek to detach themselves from other social class groups. This can form the basis for delivering training which shows mentors how they can include in their training ways of spotting when this is happening and when to intervene. Strategies for observing the marking of work, interactions between trainees and different students from

varying social class backgrounds can provide evidence for interventions by mentors to prevent underachieving students from being overlooked. By including mentors in the design of this strategy, we may also alert those mentors to their own practices and how these can be transformed in order to close the gap between middle- and working-class students. In turn, this may help to reduce the possibility for *elimination* and *misrecognition* within schools.

Further research potential

Having looked at the data from the seven participants, I am still curious to know how they manage gaps in their professional knowledge and how they reflect upon these as they progress into their final placement and then on to the early stages of their careers as qualified teachers. Research into this would continue investigating their development as newly-qualified teachers. This could result in follow-up interviews of the participants at regular intervals, but would require a long-term commitment to this from the participants, their employers and from myself.

A second line of enquiry could be to carry out a comparative study between a cohort of university-trained teachers and a group of school-based (e.g. School Direct Salaried) trainees. Using a series of interviews staged at the beginning, middle and end of their training, it would be beneficial to know whether or not their perceptions of students from different social backgrounds change during the period of their training. A comparison of the results of the two types of training routes could then be made to look for similarities and differences between the ways in which the professional identity development of trainees is affected by their social class values. A complication here is the types of schools in which training takes place but it would be useful to know whether or not these perceptions differed according to the schools in which the trainees are placed.

Further avenues for research also include interviewing new entrants to existing university-based ITT routes. The importance of these routes into teaching are diminishing as other

forms of training develop. However, as the entrants to undergraduate ITT routes will have experienced the same forms of *elimination* as the participants in this thesis, it would be beneficial to know whether new entrants to the profession will have differing views on social class, depending on how the perceive their own social class positions. In turn, this could be used as a longitudinal study that maps trainee teachers' social class positions as they enter the profession, with a follow-up to see whether or not their views change as they engage with education studies modules.

Reflections on different ways of approaching this thesis

When I look back upon the whole research process, there are two areas that I would, in hindsight, reconsider. The first relates to the conflict caused through the use of terminology, whilst the second pertains to the reality of recruiting trainees to participate in research.

The first aspect is the use of the term 'social class'. As I have demonstrated in Chapter Five, the participants' understanding of what social class is appears to be fixed around terms used to describe economic capitals, e.g. wealth, status and whether the participants' families could afford holidays. Further questioning of the participants revealed in Chapter Six that they did not feel they had discussed social class during their training, even though this was contradicted by one of their lecturers. Initially, therefore, thus made starting the interview process difficult, to the point where I had to explain what social class was. What transpired was that some of the participants came away from the interviews with a view that as I knew something about social class and was researching it as part of this thesis, I was perceived as being a socialist. Due to their own views on social class, this made future contact (after the two research interviews) more difficult as they did not want to engage with someone with socialist leanings.

The second aspect of this thesis that I would reconsider derives from the use of qualitative methods. In the methodology chapter, I describe the issues I had in identifying trainees who had not been taught by me at the time of the interviews, and this placed a restriction on the

pool from which I recruited the eventual seven trainees. Having read again the discussion chapter, I am aware that there appears to be more data reported that highlights the two working-class trainees, in that their narratives express less conformity and more willingness to see their teaching world in terms that are open to new ideas and minor subversion of the schools in which they were placed. Conversely, the five middle-class trainees seem to be less flexible and this comes across clearly in the discussions. My concern is, therefore, tied in with the ratio between the two groups. Had I been able to recruit more working-class trainees, I feel certain that the difference between the two groups would still exist, but in a more dilute form. It is here that the opportunity arises to explore the issues raised in this thesis in more detail and across a wider spectrum of trainee teachers. The opinions and working practices of the working-class trainees would be less polarised than it appears in these pages. That said, I do still believe that the working-class trainees are slightly more reflective, less accepting of the situations as they see them in schools and more willing to take risks where decisions about how to teach and how to help students are concerned. It is this that I take as a lesson from all that I have learned and understood during the process of writing this thesis. I can therefore summarise this section in the following way. If I can, I will pursue the careers of as many of the seven participants as I can as they begin to develop their professional careers. This form of longitudinal study will, I believe, help develop my understanding of the transition between training and practice, especially in the form of knowing how perceptions change once the trainees have gained confidence and become settled into their schools. I believe that I will still have some concerns about the use of social class but that having started with it, I am now becoming more comfortable discussing it with my peers and students. However, if this thesis is to have any impact within initial teacher training, or beyond, then I must consider carefully the audience to whom I am communicating these ideas.

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Appendix A: Initial trainee research questionnaire

The purpose of my research is to discover what, if any, social class values pre-service teachers bring to an initial teacher education program. Therefore, this questionnaire is designed to help me ascertain what has shaped those values. There are a total of eleven questions. Please answer each question as fully as you can. Your answers will only be used to help me decide who I will ask to participate further in the second stage of my study.

All the data you provide will be anonymous. The only way in which I can attribute any data to any participant is if you give your permission to me, allowing me to ask you to take part in the second phase, some slightly longer interviews.

In case of any questions or if you want further clarification of my research, please contact me directly via email or my supervisor, Professor David Stephens and we will seek to clarify any areas of uncertainty. Thanking you in advance of your participation.

---

1. Would you describe yourself as being (please select one answer only):

Working class   ☐

Middle class   ☐

Upper class   ☐

None of the above   ☐

Other   ☐

2. Explain your reasons for the answer you have just given in the first question

_____

_____

_____

Some information about your family background:

3. Were you or any of your siblings eligible for free school meals whilst you were at school?

Yes   ☐

No   ☐

About your parental background (if your parents were separated/divorced, give the details of those people who you consider to be the people who you lived with during the time you were at school):

4. Which of your parents/step-parents worked?

Only my father/stepfather   ☐

Only my mother/stepmother   ☐

Both my father/stepfather and mother/stepmother   ☐

Neither parent worked   ☐

5. What do you consider to be the reasons for this?

_____

_____

_____

_____

6. Which your parents/step-parents went to university?

```
Only my father/stepfather                            ☐

Only my mother/stepmother                            ☐

Both my father/stepfather and mother/stepmother      ☐

Neither parent have attended university              ☐
```

```
About your own school background (here I am interested in your
schooling from the age of 11 onwards)
```

7. Was your secondary education:

```
Private/paid for          ☐

Grammar                   ☐

Comprehensive             ☐

Other (please give details)
```

_____

_____

_____

8. Describe the nature of the subjects you studied at post-16 (eg A' Level Biology, BTEC National in ICT). **Please do not give me the grades you achieved.**

_____

_____

_____

A general question about you as a student:

9. Why do you want to be a teacher?

_____

_____

Finally, some questions about you:

10. Are you?

Female   ☐

Male   ☐

11. What age band are you in?

18 — 20   ☐

21 — 25   ☐

26 — 30   ☐

31 — 35   ☐

36 — 40   ☐

41 — 45   ☐

46 — 50   ☐

Once again, thank you for agreeing to participate in this initial phase of my research. If you feel that you are willing to participate further, please can I ask you to write your university email address in the box below.

If you are willing for me to contact you again, I will arrange to interview you before you go into school for your first placement and then once more after the placement has taken place. Each interview will last for no more than an hour and will be arranged at your convenience.

Chris Sweeney

Appendix B: First interview questions

About you:

1. Can you explain why you categorised yourself as *X* class in the initial interview?

    a. If not categorised, why not? Or, how would you categorise yourself?

2. So can you explain what you understand the term, social class to mean?

3. Where would you say your *X* values come from?

4. Do these values shape who you are as a person?

5. Do these values shape your teaching?

6. Do you see your choice to be a teacher as indicating a change in social class for yourself?

About the course itself:

7. What memorable aspects can you recall about being taught this year that relates to social inclusion? Is there anything that relates specifically to social values?

    a. Why was this so?

8. Has the inclusion or absence of social values/class surprised you? Why/why not?

    a. Should it be included?

About school experience:

9. Do you see schools as places where social values are reinforced or countered? Or do they perpetuate class divides?

10.   When you come to prepare lessons/planning, what aspects of inclusion do you feel you should have in the lesson?

    a. If it does include social values, why, if not, why not?

11.   From your personal school experience, were you ever aware of any student(s) being treated differently on the basis of their own social background?

12. Do you perceive that you might be treated differently by students if their own social values are not the same as your own?

Appendix C: Second interview questions

About yourself as a pre-service teacher:

1.   How aware are you, as a pre-service teacher that your own identity may have changed during the course of the placement that you recently undertook? If no, why not, example if yes

2.   How aware are you as a pre-service teacher that your own identity may have changed during the first two years of your training course? If no, why not, example if yes

3.   Has any change in your own identity affected the way in which you think about your own social class values?

4.   Time to reflect upon your own working day – when did you find the time to reflect upon your working day? End of a lesson, end of a session (AM or PM), not at all or only when I was travelling home?

5.   Did reflecting on the events of the day help you with your planning? In what ways?

6.   Did you think of the variety of social class values that were present in the class when thinking about planning for the next day?

7.   How did you internalise any issues that were at variance with your own values? How did you rationalise these so that you could work out how you might manage if a similar situation arose again?

8.   How did you resolve conflicts between what you were taught at university and what you saw whilst on placement?

9.   To what extent did you feel that you had the capacity to make any changes whilst you were on placement? If yes, why so? If not, to what extent did they feel that they were unable to make any changes? Why not?

10. Do you feel that you were in a position to challenge any stereotypes for social class values and therefore broaden the

expectations of the students in order to move them from one social class values to another?

11. If you had a difference of opinion between yourself and your mentor/PT, how did you resolve this?

About your students:

12. Did you look at individual student files on placement? If no, why not, if yes, what were you looking for and if not social class values, why not that?

13. What do you know of the lives of your students, once they left school at the end of each teaching day?

14. What would you describe as the difference between 'underachievement' and laziness? How would you manage an issue of a student who you saw as underachieving?

15. What does a low-ability student look like?

Appendix D: Interview consent and ethics form

The following outlines how data from this interview will be collected, stored and used:

1. Following any interview, all instances of any names of schools, members of staff or any students will be anonymised within any transcripts by the researcher.

2. As the participant in the research, you own the rights to your data. The researcher can only use that data with your express permission.

3. As the participant in the research, you have the right to withdraw from the research process at any time, without having to give the researcher any reasons for doing so.

4. All interviews will be electronically recorded, for ease of recall later by the researcher.

5. If the interview is electronically recorded, it will then be transcribed and printed out. The printout will be offered to you for checking to ensure that what you have said is accurate. If any amendments need to be made, please let the researcher know within five working days of receipt. The researcher will then make these amendments within a further seven working days. The amendments will then be returned to you for final proof reading. If you are satisfied with the final copy, it will then be used as part of the research data set.

6. A final copy of the research can be made available to you following any examination of the work by the university's library at Falmer.

7. All data recorded will be kept locked in a secure filing cabinet, along with any paper transcripts or papers that arise from your data.

8. All interviews will be arranged to suit your working times and arrangements (i.e. you tell the researcher when it is most convenient for the researcher to come to your place of work in order to carry out the interview).

Should you have any concerns about the research process, you can contact the supervisor of this research, Professor David Stephens, at the University of Brighton. His email address is: dstephens@brighton.ac.uk. If you have any further questions regarding the research itself, please do not hesitate to contact me at the university, my email address is: cs261@brighton.ac.uk

Thank you for taking part in this interview. Your signature confirms that you have read this statement and that you give your permission for the researcher to use the interview data as part of the research.
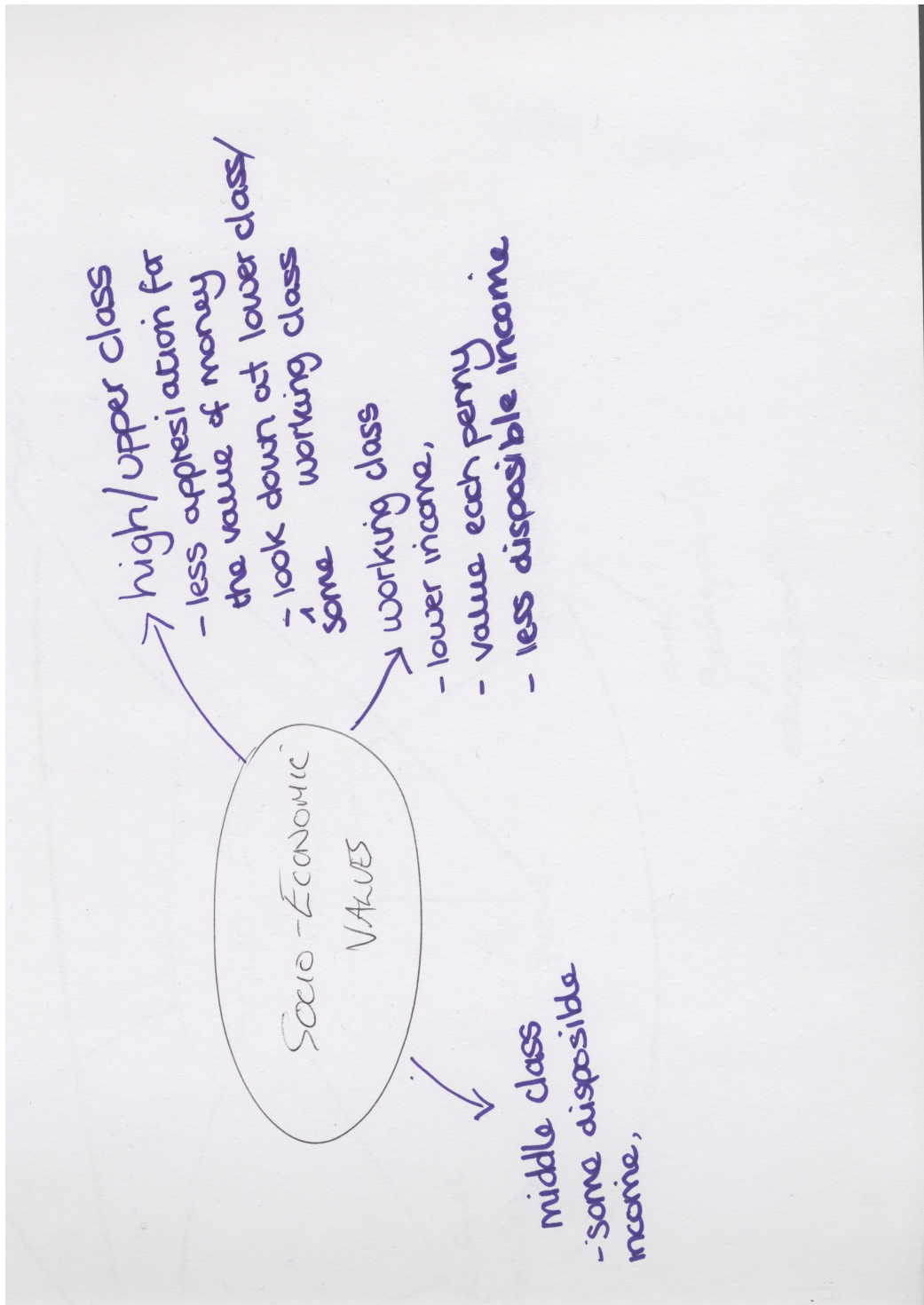
Signature of participant _____

Date: _____

Appendix E: Example concept map

A hand-drawn concept map. Central oval labelled "SOCIO-ECONOMIC VALUES" with arrows branching out to:

- high/upper class
  - less appresiation for the value of money
  - look down at lower class/ working class
  - some
- working class
  - lower income,
  - value each penny
  - less disposible income
- middle class
  - some disposible income,

Appendix F: Pen portraits of the seven participants[36]

Alan

According to his initial interview, Alan considers himself to be middle-class. He gives his parents' level of education and occupations as the reasons for this. He also cites his parents' home village as being affluent and therefore this he feels adds to his concept of middle-class. His mother's occupation is a head of school at a local university whilst his father is the manager of an engineering company. Alan feels that the size of their joint income also means that they are middle-class. Neither he nor his siblings were in receipt of free school meals. He attended a comprehensive school until he took his A' Levels, when he went to a grammar school. He achieved three A' Levels and one AS Level. All of Alan's friends at school attended universities following the completion of their sixth-form studies. He was encouraged to go to university by both parents in order to improve his chances of getting a better job once his studies had finished. His choice of becoming a teacher was influenced by his wish to "make a difference to the next generation" (Alan, Initial trainee research questionnaire).

Elizabeth

She considers herself and her family to be middle-class, due to the family having a nice house and a good income. Her mother works as a private nurse, whilst her father is a safety consultant. She says that her parents both came from stable backgrounds with good jobs. Both her parents have attended university, but not straight from school/college. Elizabeth attended a comprehensive school and gained three A' Levels., she nor her siblings received free school meals when they were at school. She says that approximately half her school friends went on to study at university. Elizabeth says that she knew what she wanted to do as a career, which is why she applied to university in order to undertake her ITT course.

Louise

Louise is another participant who identifies herself as middle-class, based upon her parents' occupations. Her mother is the owner of a playschool group, whilst her father is a chartered surveyor. No-one in Louise's family was eligible for free school meals. Both her parents attended university, and although she attended a comprehensive school, she achieved four A' Levels. Most of Louise's friends have gone on to study at university. She chose to become a teacher because "it would be good to give the pupils the experience of a great professional teacher" (Louise, Initial trainee research questionnaire).

Marie

Like Alan, Elizabeth and Louise, Marie identifies herself as being middle-class. This is based upon her parents' earnings and the fact that she lives in a small village where houses are expensive. Neither she nor her siblings were in receipt of free school meals. Marie's mother runs her own catering business whilst her father is the director of a finance institution. Her mother also had the time to look after Marie and her siblings. Neither parent attended university but they had inherited incomes from previous generations. She attended a comprehensive school throughout the whole of her school career and she left having achieved four A' Levels. She wanted to go to university "to be placed higher up in society" (Marie, Initial trainee research questionnaire).

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[36] Information was correct as of the date of the first interviews, carried out in March, 2011.

Sheila

Although she describes herself as neither one class or another, Sheila feels she is more working-class due to her parent's income being low. Her mother works as a librarian but has never attended university. She and her siblings were initially eligible for free school meals, although later, when her mother remarries, this ceases. She attends a local comprehensive school where she achieves three A' Levels, as well as a National Diploma in vocational subjects. She was in receipt of the government's EMA allowance. Only one other friend of Sheila's attended university She chose to go to university because she knew that this was the only way to be able to achieve the qualification required to enter teaching.

Susan

Susan describes herself as being working-class as no-one in her family went to university until she did. She considers herself to be working-class as her family have always lived in council housing. Susan and her siblings were in receipt of free school meals when they were at school. Her mother's occupation was a playgroup worker and her father was a chef, whilst her grandparents cared for her during her schooldays. She attended what she considers to be a comprehensive school at the end of which she achieved three A' Levels. At the time she was studying for her A' Levels, she was eligible for the government's EMA allowance. Only one of her school friends attended university. Susan finally decided to become a teacher having worked as a teaching assistant, which necessitated her attending university.

William

William's believes that he is from a middle-class background as his parents have jobs that do not involve manual labour. They also earn good incomes from their work, as well as having middle-class values. His mother is an occupational therapist who went to university whilst his father is a civil servant. William was not eligible for free school meals. He attended a comprehensive school from which he left with three A' Levels. The majority of his friends left school in order to go on to university. He chose to go into teaching because he "wanted a career that was respected with good opportunities" (William, Initial trainee research questionnaire).

At the time the initial interviews were carried out, all seven participants were between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-five.