Where do teachers teach?

Choice strategies developed by Newly Qualified Teachers (NQTs) in Greater Manchester

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Abstract

The tools of Pierre Bourdieu are garnered in the present study to examine the mechanisms behind choice strategies employed by secondary NQTs when choosing where to teach. 10 Semi-structured interviews, supported by 50 survey responses, form a qualitative foundation, delivering detailed personal narratives which offer a unique insight into the career trajectories envisioned by the most recent cohort of trainee teachers. Administrative data on secondary schools, with a geographical focus on the area of Greater Manchester, forms a backdrop of the job market, and highlights a concurrent and historical North/South divide which continues to segregate communities, schools and teachers.

Narratives of a teacher shortage prevail and increasingly, where holding a relevant degree is used as a marker of teacher quality, evidence illuminates a significant socio-economic gradient, intensifying the pertinence of the question; who chooses to teach where, and why? The interviews testify to the importance of social background, motivating teachers to pursue a best fit approach which allows them to recreate their own experiences of education and ‘return home’, a divide characterised by a preference for the academic versus the pastoral. Equally, NQTs’ individual levels of capital manipulate the ‘choice’, manoeuvring actors into positions, sometimes outside their comfort zone.

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1. Introduction

School choice, in an atmosphere of marketisation, continually serves as a research topic of interest. Changing economic and political climates demand constant renegotiation of the ways in which we observe educational systems and those who perform within them. Most often, attention is focused on the consumers, the parents and their children entering the system, or the producers, namely the government or presiding authority in conjunction with organisations such as the World Bank, OECD and nongovernmental organisations (NGOs)\(^1\). Comparatively little attention is given to the effects of marketisation on those central to the internal structures of educational systems; the teachers and, more specifically, the impact on their career trajectories.

Teachers of secondary education in England have often been in the spotlight in recent years as discussions of quality and rankings have given way to fiery debates over workload and pay. Most recently, the gaze has been set on recruitment and retention; teacher shortages and issues with longevity continue to dominate the landscape. In his most recent publication on the teacher labour market in England, for the Education Policy Institute, Luke Sibieta highlights the continued importance of our Newly Qualified Teachers:

“The teacher shortage problem appears worse in subject(s) where graduates can earn most outside of teaching, with persistent problems recruiting and retaining sufficient numbers of physics, maths, chemistry and languages teachers. This appears to translate into differences in teacher quality in such subjects, with fewer teachers possessing a relevant degree in the subject they teach...We add to this evidence by showing that there is a significant socio-economic gradient in the proportion of teachers with a relevant degree, particularly for high-priority subjects like physics and maths.”\(^2\)

Thus, by focusing specifically on subject areas facing the largest gaps in specifically qualified teachers, Sibieta points to the pertinence of the question of who chooses to teach and, more explicitly, who chooses to teach in those subjects facing the largest shortages. Not only this, but by referring directly to problems faced by hard-to-staff areas, a more significant question has arisen for those who have already taken the decision to teach; who chooses to teach where and, consequently, why? Educational attainment in England continues to be segregated socioeconomically and a shortage of well-qualified teachers, in a discourse of qualification equalling quality, in places where they are needed most, suggests a continuation of that trend. It is thus of interest to plunge beneath the surface to discover the mechanisms behind the choice of where to teach.

This question is not new, a growing number of investigations focus on questions of teacher recruitment and teacher retention, however, the vast majority focuses on large data sets, statistically managed from a largely economic

\(^2\) L. Sibieta, The teacher labour market in England: Shortages, subject expertise and incentives, Education Policy Institute, 2018, p. 35
standpoint. Although the analysis of such data is complex, it provides a view where aggregation is relied upon heavily and in doing so only seeks to deliver information on a few key variables which focus strategically on the labour market, most keenly teacher quality and student population.

The aim of this research is to dig deeper rather than wider by capturing both the objective structural elements and inner subjective elements, and in doing so “prove that small-scale qualitative contextualised research can detect what really ‘works’, i.e. the causal mechanisms beneath the immediately observable surface.” That is, through in depth interviews we may observe that which has an influence on attitudes and orientations, below the exterior where explanations linger at the level of mere correlations between variables. In doing so, we seek to expose the impact society has on the education system and vice versa.

Thus, with a geographical focus on the area of Greater Manchester in North West England, this research aims to uncover the localised structure of secondary education and subsequently the available job market for teachers, whose job it is to navigate the space, while simultaneously exploring the distinct dispositions of individuals and consequent mechanisms behind the decision-making process.

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2. Previous research

The subject of education has long served as a focus of investigative research across disciplines; from economics and politics to psychology, sociology and anthropology, education is a central institution in our everyday lives and as such is worthy of exploration. Questions of social justice and socioeconomic segregation permeate the sphere of educational research and so, in recent years, a key area of research has been that of teacher sorting and teacher career trajectories. However, research conducted in these areas most often relies on the use of quantitative measures, large data sets, in order to observe both the structure of education generally and the driving forces behind teachers’ entries, transfers, and exits from the system. Furthermore, in research where qualitative measures, such as interviews, are employed, it is seldom in conjunction with quantitative support.

2.1 Teacher sorting and Social segregation

A huge body of research into school choice exists and works to understand the underlying structures of the education system. Focus on teachers and the unequal distribution of teachers across the field of education has taken centre stage in recent years.

Previously, much was suggested of the importance of salary in determining which schools employ the best teachers. However, this has largely been debunked as, although still a mitigating factor, a less than central element in the decision-making strategies of teachers. Instead, student mix, that is the characteristics of the students, now permeates discussions of whom teaches where and the resulting social segregation that seemingly causes. Hanushek et al (2004)\(^5\) investigated influences on teachers’ decisions to change schools or quit the public-school system in Texas, USA, and found that “although salary exerts a modest impact once compensating differentials are taken into account”\(^6\), results indicated a far stronger correlation between student characteristics, particularly race and achievement, and teacher mobility. Indeed, race, achievement and deprivation are recurring themes discovered in the drivers of teacher mobility across a variety of research projects.\(^7\)

However, this research on teacher distribution and social segregation also holds another factor in common; a focus on teacher quality. Teacher quality is

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\(^6\) Ibid, p. 336

measured in different ways by the varying authors and is used as a tool to map out the characteristics of different teachers. Goldhaber et al\(^8\) for example, conducted a descriptive analysis of the inequitable distribution of teachers and found that “Across nearly every combination of school level, student disadvantage indicator, and indicator of low teacher quality, the teacher quality gap is significant and positive.”\(^9\). But quality is determined in varying ways, from academic success to value added scores, and the focus is continually on publicly measurable indicators. Huriya Jabar, in interviewing school leaders on the preferences and practices in teacher recruitment, goes some way to identifying the missing elements; “school leaders sought a range of qualities, not just “teacher quality” in terms of raising student achievement. They also sought teachers who were caring and willing to “go the extra mile” ...principals believe personal characteristics are very important, sometimes more so than teacher quality measures.”\(^10\). This, as is clarified further in the results section, is also true of teachers, the opposing side of this two-sided matching process, they do not only value those qualities that are publicly measurable or quantifiable. Engel at al. further validate this notion by not only firstly identifying the basis of prospective teachers’ preferences in student demographics but by further illuminating that school characteristic preferences vary by applicant characteristics, thereby introducing the importance of homophily.\(^11\)

### 2.2 Geography: spatial proximity and segregation

In their paper, *School Assignment, school choice and social mobility*, Simon Burgess and Adam Briggs point to the poignance of spatial proximity in social segregation. Conducted in England, their research reveals the effect of distance as a criterion of admissions; “Children from poor families face a reduced chance of being assigned to a good school in large part because of where they live.”\(^12\) They find that the spatially concentrated demand creates desirable geographical locations which in turn pushes up house prices and that that, accompanied by the ability of more affluent parents to “work the system”, generates a correlation between poverty and distance from school. Although teachers are far more able than their pupils to overcome geographical limitations, social, cultural and economic influences on the decision of where to live (and whether to move) suggest the same segregation may be seen in the distribution of teachers, particularly when a vast array of research points towards prominence of proximity when choosing where to teach, in effect their own pre-determined admission criterion. But, just why proximity is so important has been the subject of much debate.

Boyd, Lankford, Loeb and Wyckoff (2005) found a striking correlation between teachers in the first 5 years of their career and preferences for proximity

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\(^9\) Ibid, p. 303


to home; 61% first chose to teach within 15 miles of their hometown, and over 90% of individuals, between 1999-2002, who classed their hometown as New York City took their first position there.\textsuperscript{13} The same authors further their research with a publication in 2013, again in New York state, that backs up their theory and again finds that a large number of teachers favour taking their first teaching jobs close to where they grew up.\textsuperscript{14} Additionally, descriptions of teacher’s ‘revealed’ preferences, as opposed to ‘reported’, detail a decline in application probability as distance from home increases.\textsuperscript{15} But what is lacking in these papers is the why. Why do teachers prefer to teach close to where they live and why do teachers, particularly in the early years of their careers, demonstrate a significant preference for their hometown?

Boyd et al hint at possible reasons with their suggestions of potential urban vs. rural preferences\textsuperscript{16}, but it is only through interview that the complexity of such a preference can be revealed. Jette Steensen, one of the few to employ the tools of Pierre Bourdieu in analysing the multitude of influences on teachers’ career trajectories, finds that this sense of ‘going home’ to teach must not only be understood geographically but also habitually; “students are oriented to work within environments which correspond to their ‘lifestyle’ and values in the sense grasped by Bourdieu’s concept of habitus.”\textsuperscript{17} It is this desire to return home, Steensen suggests, that contributes towards the reproduction of the social stratification of the school system as often teachers and students are attracted to the same schools. However, in interviewing student teachers yet to enter the education system, what Steensen fails to depict in her illustration of preferences is the reality of a two-sided matching process that involves not only the predilection for a certain location but the availability of such.

Martin Forsey, in his exploration of teachers in Perth, the capital of Western Australia, equally develops in depth interviews in a bid to give teachers a voice. After finding a distinct lack of attention, in school choice literature, on the providers of education, Forsey highlights the importance of teachers’ workplace preferences in illuminating influences on educational practice, and the social implications of the choices effected. In a similar vein to Boyd et al, Forsey too points to a disparity between urban and rural, but in doing so equally highlights the importance of considering not only the subjective narratives of the individual histories in which he has engaged but also external structuring factors, for there is a “generally held requirement for teachers to complete some form of rural service before they are granted permanent employment in the various state-run government education systems of Australia.”\textsuperscript{18}, and as such this reflects the

\textsuperscript{17} J. Steele, M. Pepper, M. Springer, J.R. Lockwood, ‘The distribution and mobility of effective teachers: Evidence from a large, urban school district’ \textit{Economics of Education Review}, Vol. 48, 2015, p. 85
\textsuperscript{18} M.G. Forsey, ‘Publicly minded, privately focused: Western Australian teachers and school choice’ \textit{Teaching and Teacher Education}, Vol. 26, 2009, p. 58
understanding that research is conducted in a specific time and place and so while it may hint at larger trends, caution is called for.

But, the very heart of Forsey’s research takes us back to the beginning; the vast majority of quantitative based literature on school choice ignores the voice of the individuals, electing to predict based on a hypothesis of rational action theory; “If free to choose among all alternatives, rational choice implies that an individual will choose that which yields the highest satisfaction.”19 But the underlying issue surrounding this view is the suggestion that we are free to choose, and that individuals act with complete knowledge of the situation. Forsey, like Steensen, turns to Bourdieu in describing the need for dialogical interaction between social structure and individual agency, as well as cultural practices. Bourdieu argues that to view the actions of individuals from a position of rational choice, specifically rational action theory, is to present “a normative model of what the agent should be if he wants to be rational...as a description of the explanatory principal of what he really does. This is inevitable when one chooses to recognize no other principle of reasonable actions than rational intention, purpose, project, no other explanatory principle of the agent’s actional than explanation by reasons...”20. And what Forsey finds instead is internal, deeply personal struggles borne from the complexities of socio-cultural influences on individuals’ navigational paths between commitments to family and friends as well as to themselves; publicly minded, privately focused.21

2.3 Marketisation and measures of success
Concurring with Forsey’s findings, Sharon Gewirtz, in researching the impact of marketization on the occupation of teaching provides further insight in to why teachers choose to teach in particular types of schools. Failing schools are much harder for teachers to work in due to the pressure to perform to a set of standards prescribed by national but also international policy, but Gewirtz adds another level; “...schools constituted as failing suffer poor morale as a consequence...”22. Not only is teaching in such schools tougher due to a higher level of pressure, there is also a greater challenge to remain motivated and passionate. In underachieving schools, teachers are swamped with behavioural and social issues which challenge them emotionally, physically and intellectually. This leaves them exhausted with little time to create imaginative schemes of work and pedagogical resources. In contrast, the market mechanisms, as seen in the UK, are directed towards allocation of resources to those at the top rather than at the bottom, thus high achieving schools in typically more advantaged areas are well resourced with relatively less-demanding students. Morale is high and this is attractive to talented teachers.

Therefore, no matter the intention behind the decision to become a teacher, even for the most passionate and ideological, it is difficult to want to remain in a position of perceived failure when a position of success is on offer. As Gewirtz

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comments; “In the state sector the introduction of markets, quasi-markets and the dominance of contract might well deprive us of ethical principles such as service and vocation.”23 The marketization of education is serving to deprive teachers the recognition of any success that isn’t oriented towards contribution to the global knowledge economy. Success that is evaluated on such terms will serve to decrease other values; “the discourses of performativity and markets construct schools...as failures even though they may be offering very positive experiences, intellectually and socially, for many of their students.” 24

In her article ‘A good match: appraising worth and estimating quality in school choice’25 Agnes Van Zanten explores the qualities considered by parents when comparing and classifying singular schools as a method of choice. Van Zanten hints at the suggestion made by Forsey as she refers to various dilemmas faced by parents when considering the options of school choice, namely “Should I give priority to being a good parent or to being a good citizen?” As is detailed within the results section, this is equally a dilemma faced by a proportion of modern teachers; should I give priority to being a ‘successful’ teacher or to battling the reproduction and perpetuation of the stratification of the education system? In a society where those in positions of power place the former above the latter, and dominate discourses on what it means to be successful in the field of education, it is interesting to observe the anomalies who work against the status quo.

2.4 Summary

The vast majority of research in to school choice has, at its core, the intention to explore the inner workings of a system and, as a result, expose the innate injustices of a system that works to perpetuate and reproduce the social stratification of society. Therefore, the position of the consumer, those most affected by this segregation, the children, holds the spotlight. Teacher choice is explored as a means to an end; how does the distribution of teachers affect the social segregation of students? The dominance of quantitative data over qualitative fails to grasp the complexity of dispositions influenced by social histories and thus the mechanisms behind the choice of where to teach. Through a qualitative foundation based on personal narratives, supported with quantitative administrative data, grounded through the sociological tools of Pierre Bourdieu, it is possible to understand both sides of the story; what affects teachers’ decisions to teach in certain locations, and what effect that has on the structure of the social space of secondary education in Greater Manchester, and that is the purpose of this text.

24 Ibid, p. 113
3. Aim and research questions

This study sets out to analyse the role of choice in the teaching profession, specifically the mechanisms behind choice strategies employed by NQTs when choosing where to teach. Consideration is given to social background, individual levels and types of capital, and positioning within the space, in relation to how these elements may affect the decision-making process. Furthermore, the influence of these elements on opportunities and limitations, perceptions of teaching in different ‘kinds’ of schools, as well as the contextual effects of marketisation on the experience of teaching in secondary education in Greater Manchester, is taken into consideration.

1. **How is the social space of secondary education in Greater Manchester structured?** What is the relation between geographical area and social space?

2. **What are the mechanisms behind the choices made by NQTs in deciding where to teach?** What effect does individual habitus and levels of inherited and symbolic capital have on the mechanisms employed by newly qualified teachers when choosing where to teach? What effect does marketisation have on the experience teaching, and thus the perception of teaching, in different environments?

3. **What opportunities and limitations are enforced based on individual levels of capital and thus positioning within the space of secondary education in Greater Manchester?**
4. Theoretical framework

The difference between the objectivist standpoint and the subjectivist can be seen as the dividing concept of early sociological theory. The French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, along with others, has since sought to transcend this opposition with a mixture of objective observation of the structure and subjective consideration of the individual, for, to Bourdieu, the subjective perception of an individual is formed by the objective structures of the world of which they are a part. To take an objectivist view would be, for Bourdieu, to ignore the agent and the part the agent plays in the construction of structures, while a subjectivist view focuses only on the agent while ignoring the structures. Bourdieu instead implies a relationship between the objectivist structures and the subjectivist phenomena: “The subjective structures of the unconscious that carries out the acts of construction...are the product of a long, slow, unconscious process of the incorporation of objective structures.”

4.2 The tools of Pierre Bourdieu

4.2.1 Social space vs Field

The key aim of sociological thought is to illuminate the underlying structures of different social worlds while simultaneously exploring the mechanisms behind the reproduction or transformation of those structures.

‘Social space’, as a tool, is introduced in *Pascalian Meditations* and identified as the juxtaposition of social positions which are defined by their position within the structure of distribution of different forms of capital. That is, social agents’ positions within the space are defined by their possession of the various forms of capital, and therefore occupy a distinct place which is identifiable as the position it occupies in relation to other places and the distance between them. In *Pascalian Meditations*, Bourdieu explores the relationship between the objective and subjective through the notion of ‘bodily space’. The objectivist tradition views the individual as only graspable in relation to others, but for Bourdieu, the individual has been shaped and conditioned by the world and holds not only an individual habitus with feelings, thoughts and emotions, but an individual position in physical space; an exact replica of yourself within the same room still occupies a different physical space and therefore a different view of the room; “all distortions and distinctions of social space...are really and symbolically expressed in physical space.” This space, for Bourdieu, is defined by where you choose (or are allowed) to live, the relative position that holds and the extent of space taken up. Thus, the social space is defined by the positioning of individuals and their positionings in relation to others.

A similar yet differing tool is that of ‘field’, the subject of many previous discussions and detailed descriptions in sociological educational research (see for
example Bathmaker, 2015). But Bourdieu himself describes it as “a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions.” That is, a field is a specific social space defined by the possession of certain resources; agents or actors are positioned within a field based on the types and levels of capital possessed. Furthermore, a field exists where individuals struggle over something which they share; something specific is at stake, there are specific rules and specific rewards, and newcomers are expected to make specific investments. This specificity highlights the nature of a field as relatively autonomous; its characteristics are specific to the field and it possesses its own consecration instances. It is therefore clear that secondary education in Greater Manchester should be consider not as a field but rather as a social space within the larger field of education.

The system of education works to reproduce the distribution of cultural capital. By examining the structure of the social space of secondary education, in the localised area of Greater Manchester, it is possible to observe the wider processes in which that reproduction is enacted within the field of education. However, by localising the research area to a specific geographical position, patterns within the specific social space are observed which may not be indicative of the field in general, but rather the specific location within which they are observed. Furthermore, the emphasis on those new to the profession of teaching necessitates conclusions be drawn based on the specific social space of which they are a part, both as a newly qualified teacher and within Greater Manchester. Thus, while certain characteristics of the field of education may be observed within the social space, they must be considered in relation to that space.

Furthermore, the distinction of social space, by Bourdieu, as being translated into physical space promotes the tool of social space in this instance. In Greater Manchester, we find a correlation between the segregation of socioeconomic groups and the geographical area in which they reside, the tool of social space aids in the navigation of this divide by placing individuals relationally within the space both physically and symbolically.

With this in mind, the tool of social space enables the discussion of the relative positions of the interviewees within the space, with consideration of how place informs conscious and unconscious acts of reproduction. Additionally, the impact of the desire to maintain a position within the space on the reproduction of social inequalities within the social and physical space of secondary education in Greater Manchester, may be observed.

4.2.2 Capital

An understanding of capital is key to the relational characteristic of the social space and in enabling the positioning of individuals within that space.

Capital may present itself as 3 predominant species; economic, cultural and social. Economic capital is largely considered in terms of monetary value,
whether actual cash in the bank, investments or through property; cultural capital may in turn be transformed into economic capital although it differs in that it cannot be quickly or mechanically obtained; social capital reflects the networks and connections that come with social obligations and may also be turned into economic capital.

Within the space of teachers of secondary education in Greater Manchester, social capital is valued particularly as providing access to information capital, whereby social networks are relied upon to enable effective navigation of the education system. Furthermore, social connections aid in the reproduction of agents’ positions, as is explored in more detail in the chapter entitled ‘Results’.

Particularly important in observing the structure of the social space of education is the difference between inherited and acquired cultural capital. For Bourdieu, culture that has been ‘learnt’ is not enough, it is the culture that has been cultivated, effectively, through ‘osmosis’, through long term exposure, that is the most legitimate, and as such it is this difference that separates the classes.

Both the inherited capital, or ‘embodied state’ and the acquired, or ‘institutionalised state’, largely represented in the accrual of academic qualifications, are of marked importance in evaluating relations within the space of secondary education in Greater Manchester (and in the field of education), where the value of cultural capital is inculcated and necessary to its own reproduction.

4.2.3 Habitus

The habitus is specific to each individual; it is the history of everything an individual has been exposed to in the social world; embodiment of social history. Your habitus expresses itself in many ways from whether or not you feel comfortable in a situation to the accent and dialect you use in your choice of language. An individual’s habitus is formed on the basis of the acquirement of different forms of symbolic capital. Thus while researching newly qualified teachers it was important to form a picture of the types and levels of capital held in order to not only contemplate the position held within the structure, but to understand how the habitus informed the dispositions narrated, contributed to the decision of where to teach and in turn influenced the structure of the field of education.

In describing the habitus, Bourdieu makes it plain that while it is necessary to reject theories that constitute action as a mechanical reaction to precursory conditions, that is not to say that we must bestow upon individuals the ability to have complete knowledge of the situation, granting conscious and deliberate intentions garnered by complete free will.

“One of the major functions of the notion of habitus is to dispel two complementary fallacies each of which originates from the scholastic vision: on the one hand, mechanism...and, on

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the other, finalism...Against both of these theories, it has to be posited that social agents are endowed with habitus, inscribed in their bodies by past experiences.”

In other words, the habitus serves as a tool for understanding the unique positioning of individuals in the social world, a positioning which enables and constructs an individual response. The habitus is inscribed within agents through their life history, gathered by past experiences, and as such endows predisposed reactions constrained by the structures of which they are a product and by which they are defined. Thus, as referenced in the section on ‘Previous research’, the question of school choice cannot rely on rational action theory to denote the decisions made by teachers, as it is rather the habitus that informs the mechanisms behind the choice, something which is far more complex.

However, by disassociating individuals from a theory of rational action does not mean that the responses of the habitus may never be accompanied by strategic calculation, on the contrary the habitus not only expresses a relational position within the social space but also a practical attitude towards the space; “Habitus is thus at the basis of strategies of reproduction that tend to maintain separations, distances, and relations of order(ing), hence concurring in practice (although not consciously or deliberately) in reproducing the entire system of differences constitutive of the social order.”, in this case the reproduction of the social stratification of the education system.

The habitus, therefore, is a system of dispositions, a way of being, and as such, not upon the immediately observable surface but must be ascertained empirically.

4.3 Secondary education as a market

An alternative tool that can be used to view the sphere of secondary education in England is the concept of a market, specifically the prospective job market for Newly Qualified Teachers.

During the 1990s, in England, there were dramatic alterations to the direction of education. Many criticized the welfare system for normative equality which did not give rise to differences, disabling individuals of the ability to take control of their own lives and make their own choices. A market logic was introduced, in keeping with economic theory, amid claims that competition would give rise to a greater standard of quality between schools; “One of the key rationales underpinning the reforms then, was that market forces and more efficient management techniques would help raise standards in schools.” It was asserted that quality would rise as would the pressure to develop students’ results, therefore results would rise. What we have seen is the complete reverse; this pressure to produce results engenders such techniques as grade inflation and ‘teaching to the test’. As grades rise, results fall.

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In his aptly named book *Markets*, Patrick Aspers identifies a market as being essentially structured by the roles of two opposing sides; the buyer and the seller. However, unlike trade where there need only be one actor on each side, the competitive nature of the market requires there to be at least two people on either the side of the buyer or the seller so as to create the element of competition.\(^\text{42}\) In the question of teacher choice, the market is divided between the teacher and the recruitment team where both operate as buyer and seller. Thus, a ‘two-sided matching process’\(^\text{43}\) has evolved to ensure the satisfaction of both sides, but in turn creates the necessity for compromise, where teachers and schools must determine what they value the most.

According to Aspers, there are different forms of markets. Most importantly, when considering secondary education as a prospective job market, we can divide markets into standard markets and status markets. Markets are based on order and in this case the two forms, standard and status, are two different ways of ordering the market. In a status market, order is maintained by the ranking of the actors on both sides of the market whereas a standard market is based on the value of the offer, the perceived quality of the product. Most existing markets can be seen to combine elements of both, status and standard.\(^\text{44}\) Teachers, then, when gaging the prospective job market of secondary education in Greater Manchester, enter this ‘two-sided matching process’ by judging institutions on publicly available measures such as school composition\(^\text{45}\) and results, and teachers in turn are assessed by their own marketability, dependent on preference\(^\text{46}\).

Those in favour of markets as a means of organising production, consumption and distribution argue that it is the most effectual system while those opposed suggest this system leads to inequality and destroys other principles.

**Intentions**

Within this study, administrative data on the secondary schools in Greater Manchester is used to unveil the structure of the space while simultaneously the concept of a market guides our understanding of that structure; the tool of social space helps us to understand the relative positionings of schools and the relationship between schools and teachers, but it is the logic of a market that contributes to the overriding structure. The conduction of a survey and in-depth interviews then serve to elaborate on the mechanisms guiding teachers’ navigation of the space as a prospective job market, informed by their habitus; “It is in the relationship between habitus and the field, between the feel for the game and the game itself, that the stakes of the game are generated...”\(^\text{47}\)

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5. Methods
Continuing in the Bourdieusian tradition, this study has taken a dual approach in order to observe both the objective structures and the subjective dispositions, and how the one affects the other. Administrative data was collected via government official statistics on all secondary level education institutions within the boundaries of Greater Manchester, and used to structure the space, and thus job market, of secondary education in the area. Subjective perspectives are pursued through in-depth interviews providing a detailed narrative of the attitudes, attributes and actions of a group of newly qualified teachers. This is further secured by an anonymous survey completed by a wider group prior to the conducted interviews which provides a snapshot of the most recent cohort of trainee teachers and thus positions the interviewees relationally within that group.

5.1 Surveying the social space
Statistical data is necessary in this case to form a basis of knowledge around the geographical location of secondary schools in the Greater Manchester area, as well as the social mix and performance of each individual school. Geographical mapping was performed using the most recent data in order to structure the space of secondary education whereby the institutions may be viewed in relation to one another. Following on from the methodological approach of Pierre Bourdieu, structural determinism is the belief that it is no individual variable that determines but rather the relations between the variables. As such, it is only by comparing the schools within a certain area that we can determine the hierarchy of secondary education institutions within that given area, ultimately providing a snapshot into the hierarchy of the social space of secondary education in Greater Manchester.

This data was largely procured via the publicly available service gov.uk which allows all members of the public to find and compare information on educational institutions. The website is not easy to navigate and not always entirely up to date. Thus, it was equally necessary to access the personal websites of each individual school in order to corroborate the data being issued. All maintained schools must publish certain information on their websites, in order to comply with ‘The School Information (England) (Amendment) Regulations 2012 and 2016’, such as; admissions, inspections reports, results, key policies, as well as some financial information, including pupil premium which indicates levels of deprivation as funding is eligible for each pupil registered for free school meals (FSM). Through this website it was possible to collect information on admissions, pupil population, inspection reports, exam and assessment results, financial details, employee statistics including, in the majority of cases, the

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49 Gov.uk is a website built by the Government Digital Service
percentage of teachers employed who are fully qualified and their average pay. This information is directly comparable for each school against the local authority (LA) average and the national average. This information was obtained for all maintained secondary institutions (providing mainstream education to 11-18-year olds) in the Greater Manchester area; 194 schools in total. There are 57 independent schools in Greater Manchester, these schools, unlike state-maintained schools, are not required to provide the same amount of information and therefore only do so at their own behest. However, if you search for long enough then much of the same information can be found either by the schools’ websites or through alternative figures such as the inspectoral bodies: Office for Standards in Education, Children’s services and Skills (OFSTED), Independent School Inspectorate (ISI) or Independent Schools Council (ISC). I was able to gather a significant amount of information on the independent schools via the gov.uk website and the sources above. Although exact numbers, for example of students with English as a second language (ESL) or students eligible from free school meals (FSM), were often not available, it was possible through the different inspectorates to gather a significant insight in to the background of each school, including the aims and objectives of the school and, importantly, the selective or non-selective nature of entry, tuition fees and any religious affiliation. Interestingly, a number of independent schools did not have a website, which, although this prohibited the collection of some crucial information, provides an insight in itself through its absence.

Through a Freedom of Information Act request issued to each of the ten metropolitan boroughs of Greater Manchester, data was retrieved from 6, on the schools who had employed NQTs for the start of the 2018/19 academic year and the number that had been employed. Numbers lower than 5 were often recorded as <5 to protect identities. 3 of the metropolitan boroughs stated difficulties in providing the information due to outsourcing of services and 1 failed to give any response at all. Due to the new General Data Protection Regulations (GDPR) set out by the EU, no descriptive data on NQTs in Greater Manchester was obtainable via this source.

Data on the character of each of the 10 metropolitan boroughs of Greater Manchester, including statistics on ethnicity, qualifications, mother tongue and average income, were gathered from the Office for National Statistics (ONS). Every 10 years a census is conducted across the UK, the most recent one took place in 2011, the next is due to take place in 2021, some data was taken from this source while more recent data from 2016 was available for population and income statistics.

5.2 Positions and dispositions

5.2.1 Survey

Through the use of a survey, it is possible to collect descriptive data about the social background of NQTs by asking questions that focus on attributes or assets such as age, education, gender, occupation and so on.

Using the method in this way consequently provides a broad knowledge base of the social backgrounds of the participant NQTs as well as a snapshot into the social space of NQTs in Greater Manchester. Furthermore, the survey highlighted patterns within the dispositions of NQTs and formed the foundation on which the
interviews were then grounded. To Bourdieu all things are relational “...the social space is defined by the mutual exclusion, or distinction, of the positions which constitute it, that is as a structure of juxtaposition of social positions (themselves defined as we shall see, as positions in the structure of distribution of the various kinds of capital).”.51 We are defined by our capital, the types of capital we have accrued and how much more or less we have than other people. As such it was important that the survey was designed to focus on the volume and levels of individuals’ social, cultural and economic capital. A useful example of such a survey, which helped guide a number of the questions, and ultimately was used in categorising the interviewees, is the ‘BBC Great British Class Survey 2011-2013’ devised by Fiona Devine and Mike Savage.52

Another way of designing a survey, according to Alan Buckingham and Peter Saunders, would be to consider a more analytical or explanatory approach aiming to explain why people act or think as they do53; in this instance why NQTs choose one school over another. Thus, by asking questions that allow for alternative answers it is possible to compare not only who teaches in which school but also to theorise why teachers choose to teach in different schools. In doing so, initial patterns could be observed and identified, to be explored further in the interviews.

The survey then, was designed to collect descriptive data on the social background of individuals, including volume and levels of capital, as well data purposed for analysis and explanation which was then used to structure the interviews and support the narratives gathered therein. Furthermore, the information gathered on social background and levels of social, cultural and economic capital offered essential details which, when supported by the interviews, were used to categorise the interviewees according to the 7 categories of social class defined by the Great British Class Survey54. In doing so, it was possible to connect patterns of dispositions to levels of capital and social class in terms of the relational capital held by the group of interviewees.

A link to the survey was initially sent out via email to all schools in the Manchester city region. One issue with this method of contact was a two-step reliance; not only was there a reliance on NQTs completing the survey but upon the appropriate personnel at the schools to agree to participate and pass on the link to the NQTs in the first place. Upon further contact with the schools, a mere 5 of the 26 secondary education institutions housing NQTs agreed to pass on the survey link. Thus, the next stage involved contacting NQTs via their teacher training institutions. All teacher training institutions in Greater Manchester were contacted, but, again due to insecurities surrounding GDPR, only the University of Manchester agreed to pass the link on to their most recent graduates. The University of Manchester trained 276 teachers, either through the PGCE (Post Graduate Certificate of Education), Teach First or Schools Direct programmes

53 A. Buckingham, P. Saunders, 2004, p. 13
during the academic year 2017-18. Therefore, the University of Manchester contacted the 276 individuals they had trained the previous year while approximately 400 were attempted to contact directly through schools using the aforementioned method. However, these numbers will overlap somewhat due to a tendency to remain in the area of training, it is therefore impossible to calculate the exact number of individuals contacted.

In total, 50 individuals responded to the survey, which, while not sufficient to provide enough data to analyse the space of NQTs, provided key background information which was then used to support and guide the interviews.

**Sampling**

The initial target group was that of NQTs teaching in secondary schools in Greater Manchester and thus contact was originally initiated by contacting the schools directly. However, as issues of participation became clear, other avenues of contact were explored through teacher training institutions, specifically the University of Manchester. Around 80% of teacher trainees from UoM remain within 20 miles of the institution after graduation, therefore while the target group remained NQTs in Greater Manchester, responses from outside the designated location were also accepted. Thus, it can be said, there were eventually two target groups; NQTs in Greater Manchester and NQTs who had completed training with UoM, the two overlapped heavily.

As the sample size for the survey (50) was rather small, which can equally be said of the interviewees, the likelihood of sampling error is high. In this case it is likely that the representation of individuals having completed their teacher training at UoM is exaggerated, particularly when realising that Manchester Metropolitan University (also situated in Manchester City) train around twice as many teachers per year. However, given the majority of teacher trainees choose to undertake their training at an academic institution, the over-representation of individuals in the survey of having completed their training at a university is likely accurate. A more pertinent issue with the small sample size is that of non-sampling errors, in this case nonresponse bias. Due to the participation of a relatively small percentage of the contacted population, it is likely that a 'certain kind' of individual would choose to respond, which is further perpetuated by the institutions themselves; for example, one school was extremely keen to ensure the participation of their NQTs in the survey and, consequently, a third of the interviewees were located in that school. These issues were kept in focus during the analysis and, as a result, it is impossible to state that the respondents are indicative of the space. Further sampling is necessary. However, while the sample does not correspond to formal criteria for claiming external validity (otherwise...
known as generalisation\(^{60}\)), previous research, paralleling themes discovered here, suggests the *transferability*\(^{61}\) of the findings to other contexts. With this in mind, there is good reason to believe that the mechanisms unveiled would not be invalidated if the study comprised a wider population.

In relation to the administrative data, all available data was collected. However, in a similar fashion to the nonresponse bias of the surveys and interviews, the lack of directly comparable information on independent schools as well as the reluctance of 4 boroughs to provide certain information, creates an unfinished picture, making it necessary to form conclusions based on the data available. While this is not ideal, the sources of available information, particularly the inspection services, proved a rich resource, enabling a detailed understanding of the character of each school.

### 5.2.2 Interview

One of the main reasons for choosing to conduct interviews is flexibility; interviews allow for spontaneity, they are easily adapted to allow for different responses. Different types of questions, for example follow-up, probing and specifying questions, can be used to different degrees depending on the information required from the respondent and what they have chosen to give in answer to the original question.\(^{62}\) It is also possible to use a larger amount of open-ended questions without the risk entailed in the self-completed surveys (too many open ended questions in a survey risks participants abandoning their responses due to time restrictions). While interviews can involve a survey, it is not always necessary to use a prespecified list of questions, a more general, semi-structured schedule of themes and topics to explore is also possible.\(^{63}\)

As such, semi-structured interviews offered the support net of assigned questions based on the survey while simultaneously allowing the interviewer the freedom to disperse with formal questions and follow a more conversational style of relevant themes, putting the interviewee at ease. In this way, the interviews could be used to develop answers given in the survey to create an overall picture of an individual’s perception through a spoken narrative.

The interviews were conducted during November 2018 and February 2019. Ten interviews were completed and all, but two, were conducted at the school of the interviewee either during or after the school day. Of the remaining interviews, one took place in a conference room at the University of Manchester and one via Skype. Interviewees were given free rein to choose where and when the interview would take place in order to provide the most amount of freedom when time is already extremely restricted. Of the 50 respondents to the survey, 28 initially agreed to an interview but after further contact only 10 responded to repeated requests. The interviews lasted between 35 minutes and 1 hour 17 minutes, with most lasting around 1 hour. All interviews were conducted in English which, for all but one of the interviewees, is the first language of both the interviewer and the interviewees. As part of the analysis, all interviews were transcribed in full by the researcher.


\(^{61}\) Ibid, p. 49

\(^{62}\) A. Buckingham and P. Saunders, 2004, p.71

\(^{63}\) Ibid, p.131
There are several important elements to reflect on when considering interviews as a primary method of research. Not least is the concept of ‘Negotiating reality’; on both sides, interpretation is necessary; the interviewee must interpret the question, the interviewer will interpret the answer. Thus, as has been suggested by Pierre Bourdieu, one must approach the interview with a ‘reflex reflexivity’, that is an understanding of the social structure within which the interview is occurring. One must approach an interview not simply as an interviewer or as a reader or critic, but as a sociologist, capable of reducing distortions brought about by social processes. Not, as you may gather, an easy task for an amateur interviewer, made more difficult by the researcher’s own habitus and position within the area of study.

In the first chapter of Homo Academicus, Bourdieu identifies some of the dangers faced when conducting a scientific study to which one belongs and as such implies the essentialness of considering both the subjective and objective; “There is no object that does not imply a viewpoint, even if it is an object produced with the intention of abolishing one’s viewpoint (that is, one’s bias) ...”. He explains that in conducting a study of your own field it is difficult to avoid criticism of subjectivity, and in order to do so and to understand the knowledge, the researcher must position himself outside the field of study (that is, break with preconceptions), which can be extremely difficult. While researching the social space of secondary education in England, it has been particularly pertinent that this researcher be aware of their own habitus and, in particular, the risk of repeating normative attitudes and statements, and taking a position on the choice of where to teach. It has equally been necessary to acknowledge the generation of a viewpoint through habitus and be diligent in achieving objective analysis.

Undoubtedly, as far as possible during the process, from the structuring of the survey questions and conduction of the interviews to the analysis thereafter, a stance of conscious objectivity has been aimed for, but it would be naïve to disregard the subjective nature related to a familiarity with the study of a social group to which one belongs. However, there also lies a positivity with this acquaintance whereby an understanding not only of field specific language (linguistic capital) but of the social values inherent in the field provided an advantage for the researcher in this case. Thus, while a subjective position within the group challenges the researcher, blurring some elements, due diligence has permitted an objective stance while allowing the familiarity of the context to benefit the researcher in developing an atmosphere that promotes communication during the interviews.

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64 Ibid, p. 131
6. Introduction to the English education system

6.1 Secondary education in England: A brief history

The education system in England is made up of primary, secondary and tertiary education. Primary education begins during the September of the academic year you will turn 5 until the age of 11. Secondary education runs from 11-18, education is compulsory until 18 but schooling is only compulsory until 16. This means that post-16 education can take many forms, including through continued schooling at a sixth form or college, work-based apprenticeships, traineeships, or volunteering while in part time education or training. Tertiary education runs from 18+.

When exploring the role of choice in the teaching profession in modern day Greater Manchester, it is necessary to contemplate the structure of the English education system in its current state, including social stratification implications. However, as Margaret Archer has so rightly pertained, the present cannot be allowed to stand alone with no consideration of the past or meditation on the future; “Adequate explanations of large-scale phenomena cannot be based on assumptions about the autonomy of the present tense.” All that is now has been built on what was before, as all that will be shall be built on our lives today. The changes and developments that take place in our society are not infinite or beyond our wildest dreams, they are what can be perceived by what is already known; “Once a given form of education exists it exerts an influence on future educational change.”

The rise of mass education in the mid to late nineteenth century marks the period whereby the structure of the English national education system was first forged. The post-Industrial Revolution context, coupled with social-political conflicts, and the liberal values of voluntarism and individualism, commanded the timing and structure of the developing educational system, and the consequences that reaped well into the twentieth century.

6.1.1 Nineteenth century state education; what it means to be late

England had, prior to the nineteenth century, been largely monolithic in character, that is education was largely related to and dominated by one social institution; the Anglican church. Change developed then when competing social institutions sought to gain power. This conflict can be seen as one of the factors involved in the stagnation of the development of compulsory mass education in England at this time. As the different factions, including Nonconformists and Secularists, competed for domination, none were seen to win and thus separate differing institutions were formed. It is within this position of conflictual stagnation that the necessary integration of the state in education occurred. Thus, education was dragged in to the political field. However, concessions must

69 Ibid, p.3
70 Ibid, p.162-3
always be made when pursuing support from political parties who themselves hold their own agenda.

A massive Conservative majority in 1900, led to the passing of the controversial Education Act of 1902, the Balfour Act. This act made clear that secondary education would continue to serve the social stratification. Relentless discord and continuous fluctuations in power between the two dominant parties throughout the nineteenth century restricted the degree of unification and enabled the retention of the voluntary system for far longer than any other state in Northern Europe.

In the mid nineteenth century the influence of market forces allowed (and continues to allow) for a wider differentiation in education. Competition in the educational market, according to Brian Simon and others, led to an academic hierarchy at the secondary level where differing schools represented the different classes; “What we are talking about is a process of conversion of social hierarchies into academic hierarchies”.71 The conflict surrounding the nature of education in the mid to late nineteenth century between opposing social groups allowed for the dominant social forces to determine the shape of this restructuring and thus allowed for the inculcation and reinforcement of different types and levels of educational institutions which better served the different classes and therefore reinforced the social stratification.72 This fragmentation, although more discreet, continues to permeate the education system of England today.

6.1.2 Post-war Welfare State: The Tripartite System
The tripartite system of grammar, secondary modern and technical schools was established in the 1944 Education Act, also known as the Butler Act after the Conservative politician, on the basis of providing secondary schooling which catered for all abilities; “the tiered system reflected the prevailing view that children should receive the type of education which best suited their needs and abilities.”73

The grammar school was developed to suit the academically oriented children, while the technical schools were to provide training for those with vocational qualities. But in reality, very few technical schools were opened and, as such, those who did not enter the grammar schools were herded in to the secondary moderns regardless; as such these schools targeted the less academic in a selective system where only the grammar schools were indeed selective. Thus, this vertical segmentation further appeared to widen the gap, not only of the status of different skills but of the social classes. The view held at that time was that the system allowed for the social mobility of the academically able74 but, as the lower classes did not hold the necessary cultural or economic capital to consider or afford the steps taken by middle class families to ensure success in the entrance exam, they were disadvantaged from the beginning.

The tiered system of secondary schooling dominated post-war education until popularity began to wane in the late 1960s among concerns of social injustice, segregation and reliability.\textsuperscript{75} Today there are only around 163 state grammar schools in England, 7 of which are situated within the borough of Trafford in Greater Manchester, a relatively high concentration within the research area. Equally, independent, fee paying, entrance exam admission, ‘public’\textsuperscript{76} schools have persevered and continue housing the elites and future generations of Members of Parliament (MPs). As was indicative of the English education system during the nineteenth century, differentiation in schooling prevailed throughout the twentieth century and continues to do so today.

6.2 The shape of secondary education in England today

The structures of today are built on those of the past, and a recent review of school types in England by Steven J. Courtney provides evidence that historical educational changes continue to exert their influence on current developments; “The number and range of school types in England is increasing rapidly in response to a neoliberal policy agenda aiming to expand choice of provision as a mechanism for raising educational standards.”\textsuperscript{77}

Furthermore, in analysing the marketization of education, Stephen Ball explores how competition leads to different forms of privatization, including privatization of the state itself. He determines how the rise of accountability and assessment in the post-welfare system indulges an abundance of private companies seeking profit making opportunities; “‘Improvement’, ‘re-modelling’ and ‘recalibration’ are also linked to and part of the promotion of economic growth and competitiveness in and through education.”\textsuperscript{78}. This is enhanced by the privatization of the state itself as consultant companies are employed in the creation of policy texts and ideas for the state, the results of which further enhance possibilities for profit.\textsuperscript{79} The marketization and privatization of the education system, therefore, has a significant impact on the day to day schedule of the average teacher who are compelled to dedicate time to Continuing Professional Development (CPD) sessions and quantifiable data entry. The necessity of adherence to measurable policies which encourage accountability and “...announce ‘zero tolerance of underperformance’...”\textsuperscript{80} compel head teachers to draft in consultant companies to educate their teachers on how to teach in a way that is successful according to the rules of the game, for it is they who will be made accountable should the results fall short of expectations. The impact of a ‘survival of the fittest’ mentality in education systems is felt most severely in those schools that fall short of expectations, so called ‘failing schools’, where focus is diverted from the primary task of educating children as those schools are obliged to work tirelessly in “...accommodating themselves to the demands of state

\textsuperscript{75} C. Chitty, \textit{Eugenics, Race and Intelligence in Education}, London, Bloomsbury Publishing, 2007, p.81
\textsuperscript{76} Public schools are those most prestigious independent schools. The term ‘public’ comes historically in opposition to a private tutor.
\textsuperscript{78} S. Ball, ‘Privatising education, privatising education policy, privatising educational research: network governance and the competition state’, \textit{Journal of Education Policy}, vol. 24, no. 1, 2009, p.97
\textsuperscript{79} Ibid, p.92
\textsuperscript{80} Ibid, p.84
performativity and the production of new organizational identities.”

In short, characteristics in the history of the secondary education system in England, segregation, fragmentation and differentiation, prevail today, while the continued marketisation of education dictates the role of education and teachers.

6.2.1 School Types: A Bucketful of Confusion

When analysing the space of secondary education in England it is firstly important to grasp the complexity of school options available. For the vast majority, the main differences lie between the two major forms; state maintained and independent. When deciding upon which school your child should attend, or indeed where to teach, this is the first major decision, whether to work for the local government or for an independent body. In Martin Forsey’s research in Western Australia, we see that this is an important decision across the globe as to work in either brings its own set of advantages and disadvantages which must be weighed up by the pupils, parents and teachers. In legislation, academies (including free schools), who get their funding from the state, are often termed ‘independent’ but, as more commonly ‘independent’ refers to schools financed by fees paid by pupils, that is the definition I shall be referring to here. Figure 1 provides an overview of the key elements of each type of schooling, based on funding, while the following descriptions illuminate on significant details.

**Figure 1. School types in England by funding**

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6.2.2 State-maintained schools

**Local authority-maintained schools**
Maintained schools are schools funded by a local authority (LA). They have to follow the national curriculum and are regularly inspected by Ofsted (Office for Standards in Education, Children’s Services and Skills). They generally follow the local authority’s rules on admissions, special educational needs and exclusions. Maintained schools are overseen by governors and are held to account by their local authority. Maintained schools must pay their teachers according to the nationally agreed pay scale. Voluntary aided and voluntary controlled schools are most often faith schools.

**Academies and Free Schools**
As of January 2018, almost three-quarters of secondary school age pupils in England, 72.3%, attended academies and free schools. In Greater Manchester, 104 of the 191 mainstream, state-funded secondary and post 16 schools were academies, as of December 2018. More have converted since then and as of April 2019, 3 more free schools are in the pipeline.

Academies may be sub-divided into converter academies and sponsor-led academies; an academy converter is usually a school which has chosen to convert to academy status, it inherits the performance history of its predecessor school, whereas although any academy can have a sponsor, those which are 'sponsor led' were typically underperforming and in need of help from a sponsor to improve performance. Technical academies, university technical colleges (UTCs) and studio schools operate as academies but focus on technical and vocational training for 11-18 year olds.

Academies and free schools are not local authority-maintained, they receive their funding directly from the government, and as such are rewarded with a certain level of autonomy although often academies run as they did prior to conversion and these freedoms are more discursive than empirical. However, legal freedoms surrounding the curriculum, pupil admissions, staff pay and conditions and qualifications, among others, are available by right. Academies

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84 The local authority is the local government authority that presides over the defined area, for example the local authority of Manchester city is Manchester City Council.
are run by an academy trust\textsuperscript{91} which sets the admissions policy and employs the staff. Unlike local authority-maintained schools, academies and free schools are not required to hire teachers with qualified teacher status (QTS).

The freedoms afforded each school are governed by a contract drawn up between an academy trust and the Department for Education (DfE). Contractual arrangements that differ from school to school have increased fragmentation and, as a result, multiple school types have arisen, causing real problems in effecting national change.

6.2.3 Independent

Independent schools are just that, independent of the local authority. Also known as private schools, they generally charge fees to attend rather than being funded by the government. Independent schools must still register with the state and are required to follow certain regulations as well being subject to inspections. Around 50% of independent schools are inspected by OFSTED while the remaining 50% are largely covered by ISI (Independent Schools Inspectorate) and a small minority are inspected by the Schools Inspection Service (SIS), however OFSTED still monitors the work of the independent inspectorates on behalf of the DfE (Department for Education).

Independent schools are granted greater autonomy in hiring teachers and in their admission policies. Equally, pupils don’t have to follow the national curriculum, but there are certain regulations that must be followed as they are required to “have a comprehensive curriculum in place for full-time teaching, appropriate to the ages of the children being taught.”\textsuperscript{92}

Around half of independent schools are registered as a charity. Having charitable status affords benefits such as relief from business rates, and is therefore a currently contentious issue. In May 2018 a consultation response was published issuing “no proposals to place restrictions on the charitable ability of independent schools to take charitable status” but that independent schools would be encouraged to promote social mobility.\textsuperscript{93}

6.2.4 Further Education

While some schools offer education from ages 11-18, a number of secondary institutions stop at 16. As such there are further education institutions which provide education only for ages 16-18 and in some cases offering adult education as well. In 2017, 22% of 16-18-year olds were studying in state funded schools while 37% had opted for a further education (FE) or sixth form college.\textsuperscript{94} The remaining 35% were in higher education institutions, independent schools, special schools, apprenticeships or other education and training, while 6% were

\textsuperscript{91} An academy trust is made up of a board of trustees who oversee the governance of the school or, in the case of Multi-Academy Trusts (MATs), a number of schools.

\textsuperscript{92} Long, R, ‘Independent schools (England)’. 2019


\textsuperscript{93} Ibid, p. 12-13

\textsuperscript{94} FE and sixth form colleges are dedicated to offering 16-19 education.
not in education or employment\textsuperscript{95}. For teachers, being awarded qualified teacher status (QTS) at the secondary level means you are qualified to teach students from 11-18 and, therefore, further education institutions are equally a viable, and for some a preferable, option when choosing where to teach.

6.2.5 Faith schools and Grammar schools

Faith schools and grammar schools are not school types in their own right, they may be an academy, voluntary aided, voluntary controlled etc, however they do possess some distinctions that are worth noting here.

\textit{Faith Schools}

Faith schools are schools designated as having a religious character. Around one third of state-maintained or state funded schools are religious in character with the majority designated Christian and a further minority Jewish, Muslim, Sikh and Hindu. In 2017, the North West area had the highest proportion of pupils attending faith schools in the country, 42\%, with one metropolitan borough in Greater Manchester, Wigan, boasting more than 55\% of its pupils attending a faith school.\textsuperscript{96} Faith schools are largely run in the same manner as other state schools although they have freedoms surrounding the teaching of religious education, where they are permitted to only teach about their own religion. Equally admissions and staffing criteria may be faith-based and be used to give higher priority to members of, or who practise, the same faith. However, in the case of admissions, this is only applicable if the school is oversubscribed.\textsuperscript{97}

\textit{Grammar Schools}

Grammar schools are state-maintained schools that select all or most of their pupils based on academic ability. There is a general prohibition surrounding ability selection in state-maintained schools but grammar schools with selective admissions in place since 1997-8 are an exception to this rule. This prohibition prevents new grammar schools from being formed but does not extend to the expansion of existing schools. After Theresa May’s speech in September 2016, the 2017 General Election Conservative manifesto proposed lifting the ban along with the suggestion that some previously non-selective schools be allowed to become selective. These suggestions were justified under the rationale of improving standards and increasing parental choice.\textsuperscript{98} Due to the loss of the Conservative


\textsuperscript{97} Ibid, p. 5

majority these plans were put on hold but not completely abandoned; in May 2018 £50 million of funding were allocated to the expansion of selective schools.99

Converter academies that were previously grammar schools, or selected at least a proportion of its intake when maintained by the local authority, are permitted to continue to be selective. Some independent schools also term themselves ‘grammar’ schools due to their selection-based criteria but, more importantly, also charge fees.

6.2.6 Summary

Steven Courtney, among others, in his mapping of school types in England, contests that there is no longer a singular system of schooling in England but rather a fragmentation of local landscapes with different patterns of schooling arising in different parts of the country.100 It is necessary then to realise that, as this paper focuses on the specific area of Greater Manchester, it is the education system of that area that is under investigation and, while providing a snapshot of the patterns in place, it is not suggestive of the education system of England as a whole. However, the fragmentary nature of English secondary education validates the narrowing of the investigative area.

As can be seen from the descriptions above, the varying types of schools in England provide a bucketful of confusion when considering the shape of the education system. However, the fact remains that the main divide comes between the schools you pay for and the ones you don’t with the added division between those who select academically as opposed to economically.

6.3 Greater Manchester: A tale of two halves

Greater Manchester is a metropolitan county situated in the north west of England, comprising 10 metropolitan boroughs; Bolton, Bury, Oldham, Rochdale, Stockport, Tameside, Trafford, Wigan and the cities of Manchester and Salford.

“The urban structure of metropolitan Manchester is determined largely by its industrial zones.”101 There is a distinct and often visually obvious divide between the 10 metropolitan boroughs of Greater Manchester, specifically, and most clearly, between north and south, echoing an industrial versus wealthy rural/commuter past. In the late 18th Century, the area of Greater Manchester (not then known as such) was dominant in the cotton textile industry and towns in the north such as Bolton, Bury, Oldham and Rochdale, as well as Ashton-under-Lyne and Stockport in the east, expanded rapidly. This image of an industrialised north was further cemented by extensive coal mining in the 18th and 19th centuries which resulted in mining settlement in the north and east of Manchester and around the Wigan area in the west.

During the latter half of the 20th century, the city of Manchester became an important financial and administrative hub and this resulted in flourishing commuter settlements in the southern, previously attractive rural, areas.

**Figure 2. A Map of the 10 metropolitan boroughs of Greater Manchester.**

6.3.1 The North: Bolton, Bury, Oldham, Rochdale, (Salford), Tameside, Wigan

Details from the 2011 census provide insight into the differing communities in the northern areas of Greater Manchester.

Oldham, according to statistics on gross disposable income (GDHI) per head is the poorest of the northern boroughs with £15,023 per person, coming out bottom. The other northern boroughs rank in order from Rochdale, Bolton, Wigan, Bury to Tameside. Salford, surprisingly, ranks second out of all 10 boroughs with £18,564 GDHI per head, which could indicate the maturation of large immigrant communities of the 70s now in their second and third generation. That, coupled with a widening commuter belt in to neighbouring Trafford and Manchester could be contributing to the rise of the area.

Occupational information provides further evidence of a divide between communities. Split between 9 categories, table 1 details the percentage found in

---


each category for each borough. Oldham, Rochdale, Salford and Wigan in particular stand out with relatively high percentages of individuals in category 9, elementary occupations. The percentages of individuals in category 5 and category 2 occupations are almost level for the majority of areas in the north with professional occupations particularly low in Oldham and Tameside and levels of admin and secretarial and skilled trade occupations particularly high. Bury alone keeps its percentage of professionals above the Greater Manchester average. Oldham in particular is significant, with (excepting Manchester) the lowest amounts of disposable income owing to the high percentage of individuals in low paying occupations.

Table 1. Occupations percentage according to the 2011 census (ONS).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>25,162,721</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North West</td>
<td>3,228,744</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greater Manchester</td>
<td>1,218,907</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolton</td>
<td>123,367</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bury</td>
<td>88,036</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manchester</td>
<td>213,705</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oldham</td>
<td>96,300</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rochdale</td>
<td>90,753</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salford</td>
<td>106,904</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stockport</td>
<td>137,130</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tameside</td>
<td>101,882</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trafford</td>
<td>110,912</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wigan</td>
<td>149,908</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In terms of industry, the northern areas participate on a higher than average level in a number of areas, with the percentage of the population employed in manufacturing, construction, and wholesale and retail trade (including motor vehicle repair) significantly higher than the national and the North West percentages. Tameside’s population, for example, houses 13.2% of workers in manufacturing compared to the national of 8.8%, North West of 10.3 and 9.2% of Greater Manchester. 18% of Wigan, as another example, conducts services in wholesale and retail trade compared to 15.9, 16.7 and 17.3 respectively across England, the North West and Greater Manchester. The percentages of the population in the northern areas participating in information and communication, and professional, scientific and technical activities is
significantly lower than that of Greater Manchester and England as a whole. Interestingly, the same can be said for the percentage in Education, except for Bury which sees a 1% increase on the 9.8% of Greater Manchester.

By and large, the picture of the northern areas of Greater Manchester is that of low paid jobs in manufacturing, retail, elementary occupations, leading to low levels of GDHI.

6.3.2 The South: Manchester, (Salford), Stockport, Trafford
The most recent information from the Office for National Statistics (ONS), on population and income, details that two of the three southern areas claim gross disposable household income (GDHI) per head in the top 3 of all 10 boroughs. Trafford takes the no 1 spot with £19,021 GDHI per head while Stockport comes in at no 3 with £17,833. It is at first surprising that Manchester is to be found at no. 10 with £13,184 GDHI per head until of course we consider the presence of two great universities and a large proportion of the population in Manchester City belonging to the category of full-time student, this is reflected by the almost three times the national average level of economically inactive individuals as reported in the 2011 census104.

Particularly noticeable in Table 1 is the high level of category 2 workers found in Manchester, Stockport, and Trafford, with all three exhibiting percentages well above the Greater Manchester average, and, in the latter two, the comparatively low percentage of individuals in category 9, elementary occupations. This serves to further highlight the relative prosperity of these areas.

In these observations, the area of Trafford highlights its significance as an area of wealth and prosperity where professionals gather and disposable incomes are highest. In industry a significantly higher percentage of the population of Trafford than the rest of Greater Manchester, the North West and indeed England can be found in education, financial and security activities, information and communication and, most notably, professional, scientific and technical activities where 9.2% of the workforce are to be found. Compared with 6.7% of England, 5.6% of the North West and 6.1% of Greater Manchester, this is a significant difference. This is also reflected by 7.7% in Stockport and 7.5% in Manchester city.

Manchester City, unsurprisingly, finds higher levels of the population in education as well as accommodation and food services, reflecting the presence of two successful universities as well as a prevalent tourism industry boosted by a large international airport.

6.3.3 Blackburn with Darwen (Lancashire) and Macclesfield, Cheshire East (Cheshire).
To the north of Greater Manchester lies the county of Lancashire, with Cheshire to the south. These areas are significant because, while the vast majority of NQTs trained at institutions in Manchester remain in Greater Manchester, it is required for some to move slightly beyond the borders, and this is the case for 2 of the 10

interviewees. It is therefore necessary to consider two areas within these counties directly connected to Greater Manchester; Blackburn with Darwen in Lancashire and Macclesfield, Cheshire East in Cheshire. These two counties can be seen to continue the north/south divide formed in Greater Manchester.

Blackburn with Darwen borders the metropolitan boroughs of Bury and Bolton to the north of Greater Manchester. The population of Blackburn with Darwen is predominantly white with just under 70%, however the proportion of the black and minority ethnic (BME) group, at 31% of the population, is by far the highest in the Lancashire area and three times that of the national average.\(^{105}\) Equally the rate of Muslims in the area is the third highest in the country at \(^{27}\%\).\(^{106}\) In industry, more than double the national equivalent can be found in manufacturing with 16.1%, while 17.8% can be found in wholesale and retail trade. Equally significant is the lower than national and regional participation in industries of information and communication, financial and insurance activities and professional, scientific and technical activities, echoing the northern areas of Greater Manchester.

**Table 2. Occupations percentage according to the 2011 census (ONS).**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>All Occupations</th>
<th>Managers, directors and senior officials</th>
<th>Professional occupations</th>
<th>Associate professional and technical occupations</th>
<th>Administrative and secretarial occupations</th>
<th>Sales and customer service occupations</th>
<th>Process, plant and machine operatives</th>
<th>Elementary occupations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>25,162,721</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North West</td>
<td>3,228,744</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greater Manchester</td>
<td>1,218,807</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blackburn with Darwen</td>
<td>60,523</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheshire East</td>
<td>181,136</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Just as Blackburn with Darwen can be found to echo the northern boroughs of Greater Manchester, so too can Macclesfield, East Cheshire be seen as an extension of the southern boroughs; higher than national and regional levels of participation in industries of information and communication, financial and insurance activities and professional, scientific and technical activities. 1.4% of the population are employed in agriculture which is almost double that of the rest of the North West and England. East Cheshire borders with Stockport and


Trafford and can be seen as an extension of these prosperous suburbs of Greater Manchester.

Summary
This divide of the north and the south is historic and can still be seen to permeate and segregate society today. Geography plays a huge role in the segregation of industries and the reproduction of spatial segregation; large cities house tourism and education while wealthy rural suburbs breed science and technical businesses, and those who would have sought positions in the mines and cotton mills of the industrial revolution find themselves in the modern equivalents of construction and retail.

6.3.4 School types in Greater Manchester
Table 3 provides an outline of the school types in the 10 metropolitan boroughs of Greater Manchester and thus an overview of the school type landscape.

Table 3. School types in Greater Manchester.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local authority maintained</th>
<th>Bolton</th>
<th>Bury</th>
<th>Manchester</th>
<th>Oldham</th>
<th>Rochdale</th>
<th>Salford</th>
<th>Stockport</th>
<th>Tameside</th>
<th>Trafford</th>
<th>Wigan</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>14.0%</td>
<td>10.1%</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
<td>9.9%</td>
<td>9.9%</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>69.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Academy/Free School        | 46.4%  | 21.1%| 30.4%      | 30.2%  | 38.7%   | 15.4%   | 27.9%     | 17.9%    | 19.1%    | 4.8%   | 48.0%  |

| Grammar School (SF)        | 0%     | 0%   | 0%         | 0%     | 0%      | 0%      | 0%        | 0%       | 0%       | 0%     | 0%     |

| Independent                | 25.0%  | 16.6%| 52.9%      | 32.0%  | 24.6%   | 6.2%    | 10.2%     | 9.2%     | 7.2%     | 6.2%   | 20.4%  |

| Further Education          | 11.1%  | 7.2% | 7.2%       | 4.0%   | 2.0%    | 2.0%    | 2.0%      | 7.2%     | 7.2%     | 7.2%   | 7.2%   |

| TOTAL                      | 28.0%  | 18.5%| 50.0%      | 20.0%  | 40.0%   | 10.0%   | 20.0%     | 10.0%    | 10.0%    | 10.0%  | 100.0% |

This table was created for descriptive purposes using the databases described in the chapter entitled ‘Methods’.

Although at a basic level this table is descriptive in terms of the school types found in Greater Manchester, it certainly highlights some interesting patterns. Grammar schools, for example are segregated exclusively to the area of Trafford where, consequently it appears there is a distinct lack of independent schools, suggesting the appearance of independent schools in other areas is in place of the absence of grammars. Furthermore, Salford City almost balances equally between the number of state-maintained schools and independents. However, further development is needed to truly understand the nature of the schools contained within each section and thus the composition of each metropolitan borough and

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107 One school was set to convert to an academy at the end of March 2019.
108 One school was set to convert to an academy at the end of February 2019.
109 These are designated grammar schools that are state funded and therefore do not charge fees. Many have converted to academies but are separated from academies here due to the selection-based admission.
indeed the structure of secondary education in Greater Manchester. This will be pursued further, via geographical mapping, in chapter 7, Results.
7. Results

This section details the analysis and findings of the administrative data, surveys and interviews. Chapter 7.1 firstly observes the structure of the space of secondary education in Greater Manchester, relating the social space to the physical geographical area, before exploring how NQTs are distributed within the socio-geographical space. 7.2 then turns to the qualitative analysis, survey data illuminates areas of interest which are investigated through the interviews, delving into the dispositions exhibited therewith.

7.1 Analysing the structure

In order to inspect the space of secondary education in Greater Manchester it has been useful to develop the technique of geographical mapping, which allows the space to be illustrated and thus visually understood. This also makes clear the intention to examine the structure of the social space of secondary education around the specific geographical area of Greater Manchester.

Figure 3. School location and type.
The map of Greater Manchester depicts the 10 metropolitan boroughs and pinpoints the three defined school types; state-maintained, independent and further education.
As previously asserted, geography plays a huge role in the choice mechanisms of teachers\(^\text{110}\) and, now armed with a background understanding of the different geographical locations, it is possible to analyse how the physical positioning of schools in a geographical place contributes to the structure of the education system.\(^\text{111}\)

Figure 3 details the distribution and location of the three distinct school types; state maintained, independent and further education. State maintained schools are fairly evenly dispersed across the subject area, as are further education institutions. Independent schools however are generally widely dispersed but also show a centrality; there are many independent schools within the Manchester City area as well as a highly concentrated clump in Salford City towards the city centre and the border to Manchester City. This immediately draws attention as most often independent schools are presumed to segregate those rich in economic capital. However, in this instance, a certain type of symbolic capital is rather being segregated; religious capital.

7.1.1 Faith Schools

Figure 4 details the schools by religion, in the case of Christianity, the two main denominations of Roman Catholic and Church of England are separated. In doing so it is clear that there is a physical segregation in Salford City.

From looking at this map it is clear that there is a physical segregation of the Jewish community with an extreme concentration of Jewish faith schools in the area of Salford City. Referring back to figure 2 we can also see that the majority of the schools in this cluster are also independent. However, unlike the traditional depiction of independent schools as segregating by economic capital (fees at these schools are often minimal or via donation), these schools segregate via a specific cultural capital, that of religious capital. While none of the schools expressly state that only those children practicing Judaism are admitted, selection is performed in other ways. The majority of these schools do not have a website, thus the most crucial source of information for most parents does not exist, this means information on the school is passed through other means, namely word of mouth. Equally, the independent schools need not follow the national curriculum and as such a large proportion of the school day (often half) is devoted to Kodesh (non-secular) training.

Furthermore, Muslim schools can be seen to be largely concentrated towards the northern areas, as well as Manchester City, particularly Bolton and Oldham, areas with low income and high levels of deprivation.


Figure 4. School location religion and denomination.
The map of Greater Manchester depicts the 10 metropolitan boroughs and uses colours to depict schools of different character according to faith.

![Map of Greater Manchester depicting school locations and denominations.]

The following key applies:

- **Non-faith**
- **Roman Catholic**
- **Non-specified Christian**
- **Jewish**
- **Muslim**
- **Church of England**
- **State-maintained**
- **Independent**
- **Further Education**

7.1.2 Pupils on Free School Meals (FSM)
The level of pupils on free school meals is a commonly used indicator of deprivation. To be eligible for free school meals you must be in receipt of government support, for example through child tax credit or universal credit\(^\text{112}\), usually provided as assistance for low income. The national average is 29.1%, thus the parameters of the key were set around that basis. FSM data is only available for state-maintained schools and thus independent and further education institutions are excluded from the map.

As expected, some of the northern areas show high levels of pupils on FSM with many schools either above average or well above average. Salford, Bolton, Rochdale and Wigan show particularly high numbers of schools well above average. Manchester City too shows high levels of deprivation, highlighting the divide between prosperous young professionals and families struggling along the

poverty line. Interestingly, areas such as Salford and Oldham suggest a steep divide in communities with the majority of schools representing above or well above average FSM but one or two schools with a well below average percentage of FSM. A first glance suggests the segregation of the top and bottom social factions.

**Figure 5. The percentage of pupils receiving FSM**

Furthermore, the southern areas of Stockport and Trafford house a majority of below and well below average representations of FSM, reinforcing the picture of a north/south divide. An extremely visible pattern is that of the Trafford area; only one school represents a well above average proportion of pupils on free school meals. A significant proportion of the schools in the area are below the national average with 7 schools representing a well below average percentage of pupils on free school meals. Interestingly Manchester City, particularly the area directly next to the Trafford schools housing the lowest percentages, shows a great many schools with well above average pupils on FSM. The location of these schools suggests that those pupils on FSM, have chosen to attend schools not in Trafford but schools very close to the border in the city of Manchester. When we apply an admissions key, it becomes clearer:
The inclusion of the admissions criteria clarifies the picture by highlighting the social segregation between those admitted to selective establishments and those attending schools with comprehensive admission. Furthermore, the geographical location of the group of selective schools in the south east of Trafford appears to have pushed those who don’t fit the criteria to the nearest schools, across the border in to Manchester City, thus perpetuating the social and geographical segregation.

7.1.3 Pupils with English as an additional language (EAL)
Schools with the highest proportion of students with English as an additional language are centralised in the city of Manchester and towards the north in Bolton and Oldham, areas with high levels of deprivation. Interestingly, Wigan hosts schools who all have below or well below average levels of EAL despite neighbouring Bolton where levels of EAL are high in many schools, suggesting a concentration of EAL students away from Wigan, in to Bolton. In the 2011 census, almost 78% of Wigan’s residents identified as Christian and 95% identified as white British113, whereas in Bolton, only 62% identified as Christian and 79% as

white British, realising the link between ethnicity and religion and further highlighting the segregation of communities based on specific characteristics.

**Figure 7. Percentage of pupils with English as an additional language**

7.1.4 School results

Results are the biggest, most easily accessible, source of comparison for parents, pupils, teachers, government officials and the general public. Their accessibility is enabled by state regulations that insist upon the publication of such on school websites (state-maintained) while encouraging competition through local and national league tables. There is a steep concurrence between results and OFSTED inspection grading, although not always the case. Emphasis on results further serves to perpetuate the social stratification by legitimising cultural capital with qualifications used as a marker of success and the only regulated selective entry schools based on academic ability. This focus on results illustrates the view held by the government of education as an industry instilling market values of competition for economic enhancement. The reality is the continued hierarchical segmentation of socioeconomic groups. In the academic year 2016-17, 42.7% of boys and 49.1% of girls not eligible for FSM achieved a grade 5 or above in English and Maths (5EM), compared with 19.5% and 24% respectively for those
Geographical location further ties together selectivity, socioeconomic background and results with findings highlighting that 90.5% of pupils in selective schools achieve 5EM, but more importantly the proximity of a non-selective school to a selective one has a profound effect with only 31.4% of pupils in non-selective schools in highly selective areas achieving 5EM compared to 41.2% in other areas.¹¹⁵

**Figure 8. School type + Results 5EM**

Figure 8 details the results for each school based around parameters set by the national average for the percentage of pupils achieving grade 5 or above in English and Maths (40.2%), commonly used as a figure in league tables and depicted as a key comparable figure by the government school comparison website Gov.uk. This figure replaced the old measurement of 5 GCSEs A*-C

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¹¹⁵ Ibid.
including English and Maths due to the change in grading from letters to numbers, grade 5 is similar to a high C or low B in the old grading system.\textsuperscript{116}

When comparing figure 5 and figure 8, it is clear to see a correlation between FSM and results. Once again, the selective schools of Trafford stand out, this time for well above average results, reiterating the connection between selectivity, social segregation and the accrual of cultural capital.

**Summary**

Overall, the structure of the geographical area depicts a divide between boroughs which is reflected in the social structure. The starkest divide is found between the southern borough of Trafford and, to some extent, Stockport, and the rest of Greater Manchester. Trafford represents a concentration of those highest in socioeconomic and cultural capital. Equally it is the least diverse area, depicting low levels of EAL and faith schools as the majority are centralised in the city of Manchester or the northern suburbs. This divide is perpetuated by a high proportion of selective state schools where only those with sufficient capital are admitted.

Using levels of pupils on FSM as indicators of deprivation, patterns of poverty in the northern areas away from the south, primarily Trafford, appear but also highlight a clear connection between deprivation and results. Generally, those in the poorer areas do less well in national testing.

Through geographical mapping supported with descriptive census data, the segregation not only of socioeconomic groups but of communities is visible. Immigrant communities gather together in specific areas, highlighted by the concentration of pupils with EAL in the poorer areas of Bolton and Oldham, as well as the northern area of Manchester City. This view is enhanced by the low concentrations of pupils with EAL in neighbouring areas, for example Wigan, where census data further reveals the segregation of communities based on ethnicity which is linked to religion. Segregation of religious communities is most stark in Salford where the Jewish community, based on schools of that faith, is visibly concentrated with an intense cluster towards the border to Manchester City.

Thus, the socio-geographical space of Greater Manchester not only depicts segregated communities but interlinks low socioeconomic groups with high levels of immigration, where English is a second language, and relatively low performance in national testing. Furthermore, the segregation of communities highlights the tendency for a drawing together of families either seeking out the familiar, based sometimes on religion and ethnicity, or entombed in their socioeconomic class. An exploration of the secondary schools in the physical geographical area has so enabled a visual illustration of the social space.

7.1.5 The distribution of NQTs in the space of secondary education in Greater Manchester

In choosing to focus on individuals newest to the profession, the influence of habitus is more palpable in the decision-making process. A lack of information

surrounding the experience of working in different types of schools necessitates a reliance on ingrained perceptions, while, for more experienced teachers, the distinction is not so acute; as the habitus is made up of all experiences it is far more complex to understand the influence of social background on perceptions of teaching when further experiences in the teaching profession have contributed to the habitus of the individual. Upon surveying the structure of secondary education institutions in the social space, the positioning of NQTs and thus their contribution to the structure of the social space provides further insight.

Figure 9 details the distribution of NQTs across the Greater Manchester area based on data procured through Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests to the local council of each metropolitan borough. 3 councils were unable to provide the information due to outsourcing of services or issues surrounding GDPR, which meant a complete list of NQTs was unavailable, 1 council declined to respond. As such, only data for 6 of the 10 areas was available but still provide a clear snapshot of the distribution of NQTs across those areas which can be presumed similar across the remaining areas.

Although data is missing, it is clear to see from figure 9 that, for the most part, NQTs are employed in state-maintained schools. There are very few independent and further education institutions employing NQTs and where they are the number is less than 5, the only exception being one further education institution in Oldham.
Figure 9. School location, type and number of NQTs.
The map of Greater Manchester depicts the 10 metropolitan boroughs and pinpoints school type as well as the schools where NQTs have been employed.

The same symbols as figure 3 apply for school type.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Red</td>
<td>&gt;5 NQTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>0 NQTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>&lt;5 NQTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hollow</td>
<td>No information</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Furthermore, if we transfer the school type variable for the admissions variable, we also see that very few selective institutions (academically selective in their admissions procedures for pupils) employ NQTs (see figure 10).

Unfortunately, the key area for schools with selective entry, Trafford, was unable to provide data on NQTs. Further research into the preferences of administrators in this area would develop a deeper understanding of the available job market for NQTs, however the available data certainly suggests the vast majority of NQTs are employed in non-selective state-maintained schools.

This distribution may be symbolic in that independent and selective schools are less likely to employ NQTs, but equally it could represent a lower turnover of staff in these schools. As we will see from the interviews, a mixture of the two is the cause.
Figure 10. School location, admissions and number of NQTs.
The map of Greater Manchester depicts the 10 metropolitan boroughs and pinpoints the schools where NQTs have been employed as well as their admissions procedures; selective or non-selective.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&gt;5 NQTs</th>
<th>0 NQTs</th>
<th>&lt;5 NQTs</th>
<th>Hollow</th>
<th>Non-selective admissions</th>
<th>Selective admissions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

NQTs are evenly spread across schools with well below average to well above average FSM (Free School Meals) intake (see figure 11), suggesting the area and type of school according to deprivation is not a dividing factor among state-maintained schools. However, again, the lack of information regarding independent and grammar schools bars a complete understanding of the available job market for NQTs.

Of the schools where 5 or more NQTs were employed, just under 59% had populations of over 1000 pupils, making them large schools, suggesting that while school size may have some impact on the recruitment of a higher number of NQTs it is not a significant factor in this case.
Figure 11. NQTs + FSM
The map depicts school locations with the percentage of pupils eligible for FSM and the presence of NQTs.

Summary
Through geographical mapping we are able to visualise the structure of the social space of newly qualified teachers in secondary education in Greater Manchester and the correlation between the structure of the social space and the geographical area. In doing so the position of selective institutions within the space of the elite is further enhanced and puts forward the question of what strategies do NQTs employ to gain or retain a position within the elite? NQTs are distributed across a range of school types, thus surface level analysis of the social structure may be further enhanced by inspection of the subjective dispositions which contribute to the intertwining structures of the social space and geographical area and how those dispositions further fragment school types, providing a more complex understanding of the social space.

7.2 Subjective dispositions
After an examination of the objective structure of the social space of secondary education in Greater Manchester it is important to observe the subjective dispositions of individuals which coordinate, maintain and often reproduce the structures of which they are a part. In this section an analysis of the narratives described in individual interviews will take place. The surveys form a foundation
through which particular issues were illuminated and consequently pursued during the interviews, while others were gleaned directly from the interviews themselves. From the choice of how to train we gain an understanding of how institutions are selected before delving into the key themes that arose in the discussions. Using the tools of Bourdieu and the market concept, we approach the research questions. Further discussion of the correlation between geographical area and social space occurs while developing an understanding of the mechanisms cultivated by the NQTs in navigating the space. Subsequently, consideration is paid to the opportunities and limitations faced through a two-sided matching process before concluding with a reflection on the contextual effects of marketisation and accountability on the decision-making process.

**Figure 12. Geographical location of respondents to the survey.**

The two key areas for survey respondents; Greater Manchester and the surrounding boroughs, and Greater London

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No of Respondents</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>&gt;3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No of respondents</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>&gt;3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The interviews took place over the course of a few months from November 2018-February 2019, largely within the first term of employment. The interviews were pre-empted by the survey distributed across Greater Manchester and beyond via direct contact with schools, local authorities and teacher training institutions. Figure 12 details the geographical location (in terms of employment) of the 50 respondents to the survey which forms a support net for the in-depth analyses of the personal narratives detailed in the interviews.

The maps highlight the concentration of respondents to the North West of England and, in most cases, Greater Manchester, with only 1 respondent recorded from elsewhere in the country. In doing so, the preference of NQTs to remain within the area where they trained is suggested; all respondents conducted their training in the North of England, over 95% in the North West, and more than 83% in Greater Manchester.

**Figure 13. Geographical location of interviewees.**
Map depicting the geographical location of interviewees as well as the number.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No of interviewees</th>
<th>State-maintained</th>
<th>Independent</th>
<th>Further Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>□</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>▲</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The interviewees chosen were positioned in differing types of schools in contrasting locations in order to afford insight into a range of dispositions and positions within the social space. However, 3 interviews were with individuals within the same school in order to reflect differing dispositions within the same environment and the mechanisms behind both decision-making and future
career trajectories. Figure 13 details the geographic distribution of the 10 interviewees, in order to visually highlight their dispersal.

7.2.1 Introducing the interviewees
The interviewees are a selection of individuals who are positioned within the space of secondary education in Greater Manchester. The interviews that took place form the basis of our analysis of dispositions and, as such, it is important to form a clear picture of the background of the individuals before commencing the report on their individual narratives. It is therefore necessary to firstly introduce the profile of each interviewee to establish a background understanding of some of the elements of their social history which may have contributed to their relative levels of capital and their positioning within the space.

Table 4. Interviewees Background Information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Job Title</th>
<th>School employed in</th>
<th>High school attended</th>
<th>Highest qualification and university</th>
<th>Route and subject</th>
<th>Class*</th>
<th>Mother occupation</th>
<th>Father occupation</th>
<th>Parents attended university?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lindsey**</td>
<td>Teacher of English</td>
<td>North Manchester City 11-16</td>
<td>Royton and Crompton Oldham</td>
<td>BA Film and English Literature, Lancaster University</td>
<td>SCITT English</td>
<td>Upper working</td>
<td>Teaching assistant</td>
<td>Police</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew</td>
<td>Teacher of Science (Chemistry)</td>
<td>Trafford Academy 11-16</td>
<td>Devonport High School for Boys, Plymouth</td>
<td>MChem (integrated masters), University of Bath</td>
<td>PGCE Sciences</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>Primary Teacher</td>
<td>Secondary Teacher</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hazel</td>
<td>Teacher of Geography</td>
<td>North Manchester City 11-16</td>
<td>Roman Catholic High, Warrington</td>
<td>BA Psychology with child language development, Bangor University</td>
<td>SCITT Geography</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>Police</td>
<td>Health and Safety Manager</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James</td>
<td>Teacher of Biology</td>
<td>Manchester City Sixth Form</td>
<td>Altrincham Grammar School for Boys</td>
<td>MSC Medical Science, Newcastle University</td>
<td>PGCE Sciences</td>
<td>Upper</td>
<td>Middle Teacher</td>
<td>Secondary Teacher</td>
<td>Secondary Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth</td>
<td>Teacher of Science</td>
<td>Trafford former independent (11-16)</td>
<td>Altrincham Grammar School for Girls</td>
<td>MChem (integrated masters), University of York</td>
<td>PGCE Sciences</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>Midwife</td>
<td>IT at Lloyds Bank</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frederick</td>
<td>Teacher of Teacher of Physics</td>
<td>Tameside Sixth Form (16-18)</td>
<td>St Bede's College, Manchester City</td>
<td>Masters in Physics and Philosophy, University of Oxford</td>
<td>PGCE</td>
<td>Upper</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nathan</td>
<td>Teacher of Science</td>
<td>Darwen Academy (11-16)</td>
<td>St Bede's RC High School, Blackburn</td>
<td>BSc Sport and Exercise Science, Teach First Science</td>
<td>PGCE</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>Working</td>
<td>Car Sales, Estimator (cars)</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jess</td>
<td>Teacher of Science</td>
<td>Chester East Academy 11-18</td>
<td>Altrincham Grammar School for Girls</td>
<td>MSC Medical Humanities, University of Manchester</td>
<td>PGCE Biology</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>Primary Teacher</td>
<td>Engineer (business owner)</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euphemia</td>
<td>Teacher of Mathematics</td>
<td>North Manchester City 11-16</td>
<td>State school, Cyprus</td>
<td>BSc Mathematics, University of Salford</td>
<td>PGCE Mathematics</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Accountancy</td>
<td>Trading</td>
<td>Father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sophie</td>
<td>Teacher of Humanities</td>
<td>Stockport Community 11-16</td>
<td>Northern Ireland, Grammar in Trafford, Private 6th Form</td>
<td>BSc Geology, University of Manchester</td>
<td>PGCE Geography</td>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>Housewife, Road resurfacer</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Class is stated by the interviewee during the response to the survey and is therefore their perception of their class.

** Names and schools are fictional to protect the identity of the interviewees. The school names have been derived by key characteristics.

7.2.1.1 The Great British Class Survey
In 2013 Mike Savage et al published the results of the Great British Class Survey which analysed the levels of social, cultural and economic capital of the 161,400 web respondents across England. In doing so they demonstrated the existence of 7 categories of class; Elite, established middle class, technical middle class, new
affluent workers, traditional working class, emergent service workers and precariat.117

Table 5. Interviewees and GBCS

Details gathered from the survey and interview on levels of capital have been described and point towards a certain position within the class groupings described in The Great British Class Survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Description of capital</th>
<th>Class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lindsey</td>
<td>Moderately low economic capital with no savings, living at home but with parents in moderate income occupations. Little inherited cultural capital, exhibits higher emerging cultural capital than highbrow but highbrow remains moderate. Moderate educational capital. Relatively low social capital.</td>
<td>Emergent service workers/ New affluent workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew</td>
<td>Moderate economic capital with property, some savings and parents in professional occupations. Moderate inherited cultural capital, moderate highbrow and high emerging cultural capital. High educational capital. Moderate social capital.</td>
<td>New affluent workers/ Technical middle class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hazel</td>
<td>Moderately low economic capital although a small amount of savings and parents in moderate income occupations. Little inherited cultural capital, exhibits low emerging and highbrow but moderate educational capital. Relatively low social capital.</td>
<td>Traditional working class/ Emergent service workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James</td>
<td>Moderate to high economic capital with moderate savings and parents in professional occupations. Moderate inherited cultural capital, moderate highbrow and high emerging cultural capital. High educational capital. Moderate social capital with low range of contacts</td>
<td>Technical middle class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth</td>
<td>Moderate to high economic capital with moderate savings and parents in professional occupations. Moderate inherited cultural capital, low highbrow and high emerging cultural capital. High educational capital. Moderate social capital with low range of contacts</td>
<td>Technical middle class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frederick</td>
<td>Very high economic capital with property and high savings and parents in professional occupations. High inherited cultural capital, high highbrow and emerging cultural capital. Very high educational capital. High social capital.</td>
<td>Established middle class/ Elite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nathan</td>
<td>Moderately low economic capital with no savings, living at home but with parents in moderate income occupations. Very little inherited cultural capital, exhibits very high emerging cultural capital but low highbrow. Moderate social capital with many social contacts.</td>
<td>Emergent service workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jess</td>
<td>Moderate to high economic capital with moderate savings and parents in moderate to high income occupations. Moderate inherited cultural capital, high educational capital. Moderate social capital with low range of contacts.</td>
<td>Technical middle class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euphemia</td>
<td>Moderate economic capital with some savings and parents in professional occupations. Moderate inherited cultural capital, moderate highbrow and high emerging cultural capital. Moderate educational capital. Moderate social capital.</td>
<td>New affluent workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sophie</td>
<td>Moderate economic capital with property and moderate savings. Low inherited and highbrow cultural capital but high emerging. High educational capital. Moderate social capital with high range of social contacts.</td>
<td>New affluent workers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Given that 54% of the respondents to the teachers’ survey (and 70% of the interviewees) positioned themselves within the middle class, it is particularly relevant to observe the necessity of Savage’s analysis in providing an insight in to the class fragmentation of the middle layers. Based on the information given in

the survey and during interviews it has been possible to assemble an insight into the levels of social, cultural and economic capital held by the interviewees. In table 5, the levels of capital are described and used to indicate a certain position within the social classes as described by Savage et al in their findings, as well as for the general public on the BBC website. A number of the interviewees demonstrated features from a couple of class descriptions and seemed to border between the two. This is reflected in the table. It is important to note that class groupings are based on social background, including inherited cultural and economic capital, rather than their current position as a teacher.

7.2.2 Why and where: Training to teach

7.2.2.1 Route into teaching

According to the Association of School and College Leaders (ASCL) there are 9 different routes in to teaching, split into three different categories; University led, school and higher education institution led, and school only led. Undergraduate degrees in teaching and Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) are the only routes offered exclusively by universities. School Centred Initial Teacher Training (SCITT) is the only route led solely by schools with no link to a higher education institution. All routes award Qualified Teacher Status (QTS) after the completion of the probationary year as a Newly Qualified Teacher (NQT).

Figure 14. Routes in to teaching.

Results from the survey detailing the chosen route in gaining QTS for the 50 respondents.

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120 See Appendix 1 for a more detailed explanation of the different routes from the ASCL.
During the academic year 2018-19, the Initial Teacher Training Census reports that 47% of trainees in the North West area opted for the PGCE route while just under 10% chose SCITT, 24% school direct (salaried and unsalaried), 19% undergraduate teaching degree and only 1.8% Teach First. Therefore, Teach First trainees were over represented in the sample while School Direct and Undergraduate trainees were underrepresented. Of the 50 respondents to the survey, 60% had chosen to undertake a PGCE, highlighting the extreme popularity of this route within the North West.

The PGCE route is by far the most well-known, perhaps due to its positioning in traditional settings of learning and qualification accrual; universities. Euphemia was initially unaware of the need for separate teacher training due to the absence of an equivalent in her home country:

Euphemia: I didn’t know that you need the PGCE to teach because in Cyprus you don’t need a qualification, if you have a degree you can just go teach, you don’t need any qualification.

Furthermore, the suggestion here is that you need a PGCE, specifically, to teach, which is not the case, the PGCE is an academic qualification traditionally offered by the university led route and by a handful of other routes, usually as an incentive. To qualify to teach, all that is required is QTS which is obviously granted by all 9 routes. It was only through applying for teaching positions that the interviewee was informed she would need a PGCE in order to teach. Therefore, this was the only route considered and ultimately suggests a bias of many that the PGCE is the main route.

The next most popular routes to follow were the School Centred Initial Teacher Training and Teach First. Figure 14 gives a clear breakdown of the chosen routes by the 50 respondents to the survey. Out of the 10 interviewees, 7 undertook PGCEs while 2 decided on the SCITT route and 1 gained their QTS via Teach First. In this regard, the interviewee selection represents the survey responses. But one of the reasons why the PGCE remains so popular in the face of so many other alternatives is due to a key theme running through the interviews; status, prestige and reputation.

Of the 7 interviewees who had chosen the PGCE, only 1 didn’t have a parent who had attended university, and when asked about the decision to choose the PGCE route rather than another alternative, the most often cited reason was the more academic nature of the university led route.

Frederick: Plus, it’s more academic isn’t it? Like, I get to write more academic, like obviously...

Elizabeth: I think just because I am quite academic, I thought I would enjoy the PGCE and again I’m glad I’ve done that because I would like to go back and do the masters at some point.

Andrew: ...the attraction of the PGCE was that it was academic focused, I wanted to get in to some of the um the academia behind teaching, the theory behind teaching as well as getting to practice it.

121 ‘Initial Teacher Training’.
Furthermore, often this suggestion of a more academic route also highlighted a trust in the university as an academic institution to support them where the schools might fail to do so:

James: ...if you’re doing a PGCE route and your mentor isn’t very nice to you, you’ve got the university as back up... I did also have the university’s support...if I’d been a trainee with them there’s literally nothing I could have done.

Elizabeth: ...so I think yeah it was just having that support from university...

It is possible that their experiences of university previously, as well an inherited respect for academic institutions has led to the sense of security in training through a recognised institution. However, there is also a level of status and prestige in choosing the more academic route, including the qualifications that are awarded:

Sophie: I did the PGCE because it’s recognised across the world. And I preferred the university-based route because it’s more studious.

Lindsey was quick to point out in her survey that although she completed her training via SCITT she was also awarded a PGCE from the University of Manchester. Interestingly Hazel who also completed a SCITT did not feel the need to do so. All 3 interviewees who chose an alternative route did not have any parents who had attended university.

Furthermore, the choice of university attended for the PGCE is seen as a source of status and prestige, with University of Manchester being the preferred choice for 6 of the 7 interviewees even though often they had been offered a place at both the University of Manchester and Manchester Metropolitan University:

Euphemia: I got a place in both but then I chose to go to the university [of Manchester] ...I don’t know really, I just found it, I always found university as like a higher university than metropolitan.

Sophie attended Manchester Metropolitan University and expresses her decision again based on prestige and reputation, specifically of the geography PGCE course:

Sophie: ...MMU have been doing it for years and years, and Uni of Manchester I didn’t feel like they had the reputation or the knowledge yet, because they don’t...so I decided I’d rather go with an institute that are well established, they have good connections, and they’re known to be one of the best teaching schools.

She justifies her decision of MMU, due to the historic reputation of the University of Manchester generally, by focusing specifically on the teaching course and her subject course. As an individual who attended both a grammar school and then a private school, reputation is something that has been emphasised throughout her educational experience.

Not only was the PGCE emphasised, but 4 out of the 7 openly disregarded other routes, the Teach First programme specifically, for their inability to provide access to the right type of schools which gave a clear insight in to the type of schools these individuals were looking to work in:
Elizabeth: I knew a little bit about Teach First, I think for me Teach First wasn’t for me because it’s sort of challenging schools and I knew that wasn’t really the way I that I wanted to go with teaching.

Jess: Teach First...I just didn’t think was right for me because generally Teach First schools are not very good behaviour wise, erm poor attainment generally, you know, and that’s not the kind of school I want to work in...I don’t think that I would work well in that kind of environment.

As well as identifying Teach First as not giving access to the right type of schools, interviewees also identified themselves as being the reason for that, commenting that they wouldn’t be right for the environment or that it’s not right for them as a person, highlighting the importance of homophily, as found by Engel et al^{122}. This emphasizes the very personal nature of school choice based on individual dispositions and outlook, as well as the importance of the PGCE route in allowing access and thus granting a type of social capital with specific schools.

Of the 4 interviewees above, all were located in high attaining schools, 1 in a sixth form college serving only 16-18-year olds in Manchester City, 2 in the area of Trafford with 1 in a former independent grammar school and 1 in Macclesfield, East Cheshire, predominantly affluent areas.

While PGCE individuals justify their choice in terms of the accrual of cultural capital and the prestige garnered from the widespread reputation of a qualification and the institution, those following the SCITT route valued the opportunity to gain information and social capital through a hands on experience, in an environment with which they were already familiar; both interviewees who had followed the SCITT route had been working in their current school beforehand as teaching assistants, one for 3 years and one for 1 year, and also completed their training in the same school.

Hazel: I thought because I’d been here for three years, I wanted to just get cracking and I think with the SCITT was, you’re in schools from day one and I think having known the kids and stuff I just wanted to continue.

Lindsey: all the feedback that I’d have from family members who’d trained was erm the PGCE can sometimes be...you spend so much time sort of at uni and doing your assignments that, that you might not get a true reflection of what it’s actually like to teach.

It is therefore reasonable to suggest that they were more inclined to the SCITT route due to the ease of remaining in a familiar environment, knowledge of the alternative route through that environment, accessibility, and also the knowledge that they would receive the support they required and were thus not dependent on the back-up of the university.

The only interviewee to train via Teach First openly confirms the enticement of a bursary:

Nathan: When I applied they weren’t doing the 30 grand bursary things [for PGCE], but then 3 months later when I’d already applied to Teach First it came out, and I kinda kicked myself and thought shall I just bin it off now and then I logistically put it in my head… you’re not getting paid that much money anyway, and I think it was 16 grand for Teach First, and they pay for your PGDE...

In doing so he also points to the £30,000 bursary offered for Science PGCE students. Many PGCE courses offer bursaries, especially high amounts are offered for shortage subjects such as the sciences, maths, languages and geography. However, only Frederick refers directly to the enticement of a bursary when deciding which route into teaching to take.

Thus, where the PGCE is the chosen route into teaching suggests a desire for education capital based on an academic qualification legitimised by the state and the selective prestige offered by university led routes offering a more academic focus. This is particularly true for individuals who hold an innate trust in academic institutions perpetuated by a social background where attending university is standard. Further valorisation of academic qualifications is found in responses to the survey and once again divides the social classes; when asked about the importance of certain characteristics in having a successful teaching career, there was a clear divide between ‘level of education’ and ‘natural ability’. Lindsey serves to emphasise the importance of social class in this divide, being of relatively low social class but with high accrued educational capital, her views fall in line with that of her background and, specifically, a lack of inherited educational cultural capital; natural ability over level of education:

Lindsey: I mean natural ability, there’s no way of overstepping that ...to have natural ability for something, in order to teach. I’ve seen it so many times across my training year where there was someone who has outstanding subject knowledge and has no natural ability at all, and that’s, they have no natural ability to teach...I’ve seen so many adults who tick the boxes in terms of the criteria but don’t actually have that natural ability, and as a result struggle.

This is in stark contrast to interviewees higher up the social class ladder who depict the importance of subject knowledge for being able to teach effectively and qualifications for gaining access to the most coveted positions.

For the SCITT route the option allows for the individual to remain in an environment of familiarity, something which, it will be shown, often governs the choice of where to teach. In choosing to remain where they are comfortable, they reduce the risk of entering the unknown where they must rebuild highly coveted relationships. Thus, they remain in a position which awards them with higher levels of social capital than if they chose to leave.

### 7.2.2 Subject vs pastoral: the importance of behaviour

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Frederick: I think increasingly there are two different reasons why people go into teaching. I think some people go in because they like their subject and they want to communicate their subject, and some people go in because they want to help people.

What Frederick is expressing here is a major finding of this research; the divide between the importance of the subject vs the pastoral. It is astonishingly clear from the testimonies of the 10 interviewees that the higher up the socioeconomic ladder you climb, the higher the priority of the subject, seemingly influenced by moderate to high inherited cultural capital as well as the accrual of moderate to high educational capital, often via selective schooling and competitive universities.

Of the 10 interviewees, only Hazel and Nathan expressed a preference for the pastoral nature of teaching; the relationships built with pupils with a view to helping them negotiate the circumstances of their background in order to achieve. Neither Hazel or Nathan are subject specialists and Hazel in particular refers to a desire to work with children, regardless of the subject.

A preference for the subject has led the other interviewees to pursue careers in successful, high attaining schools, with two working exclusively in sixth form colleges catering only for 16-18-year olds. However, the divide between the subject and pastoral is not that simple, just like classes there is a fracturing of the groups around the middle, and it is through the description of behaviour that this divide is best visualised.

The divide in the description of behaviour lies between those who see pastoral and behavioural issues as the route through which learning can be achieved and those who see them as a barrier, preventing learning from happening. Those individuals placed near the top of the socioeconomic ladder describe behavioural and pastoral issues as a burden to bear (even in their schools where behaviour incidents are low), and a barrier to what is really important; learning:

Elizabeth: I had a year 10 and I just felt like they were just pushing against me and it just felt, yeah, they weren’t really listening and I think that does, it does get to me sometimes to be honest, because you feel like you’re not doing your job properly...I’m here to teach them and you feel like you’re not teaching, you’re just trying to get them to sit down and managing their behaviour.

On the other hand, those further down the socioeconomic ladder see behavioural and pastoral issues as the way in which the pupils can be reached and lead to learn, even when, like Lindsey, they value their subject and the academic side of teaching:

Lindsey: I love my subject and that is important but I think without the pastoral back up and the kind of holistic personal relationships, I think that’s what this school runs on, and without that we wouldn’t be able to teach them.

Hazel: ...for me it’s more about that nurturing relationships, I think if, if you can get students to learn I think you could teach them anything...I think that once you’ve got the relationship there and there’s that environment where they trust you, and it’s a safe place, I think that student will learn.
Sophie further fragments the divide between subject and pastoral with a clear preference for the subject but with a view that the students should not be ‘robots’ and a recounting of behavioural incidents that almost glamorises them as she takes great pride in explaining how she has dealt with some more troublesome moments. Sophie is situated in a high attaining but comprehensive school within a location that she states as ‘in the middle’. This expression of pupils being like ‘robots’ is further reiterated by Frederick and Euphemia, which either explains or validates their positions in schools in disadvantaged areas despite their preference for the academic and, for Euphemia and Sophie, their position in the middle of the class divide.

Lindsey lies as an anomaly; from a relatively low socioeconomic background, positioned in a school with extremely high FSM in a very disadvantaged area, she too expresses her preference for the subject. However, in her case, this is spurred on by her own academic success and accrual of educational cultural capital in secondary school and at a highly ranked university. Furthermore, she expresses a desire to change her environment in the future. Her background, including the experience of a school system failing disadvantaged students, means she expresses her decision to become a teacher in terms of ‘changing lives’, and at various stages of the interview mentions how attached she is to the pupils and the school where her colleagues are ‘like a family’, utterances which appear to reflect a reluctance to admit the desire to change. Furthermore, she justifies the decision to change environments in terms of professional development rather than to be able to focus more on the subject side of teaching:

Lindsey: I love the way it works here, but I think, probably in a few years I would probably move away from that, just because, like I say, for my own professional development as well, I mean this school’s fantastic and I hope I don’t leave for a while...

Thus, in this need to defend the decision to move on in order to further her career, Lindsey highlights the moral dilemma faced by a number of the interviewees; the desire to satisfy personal needs vs the moral imperative to be a good citizen and contribute to society.

Frederick is very clear that his position as a teacher is to communicate his subject and drive students to succeed, and that the pastoral side is not something he is interested in. However, he also recognises in himself that his first major motivator in life is a desire to do good; past experiences include working within the charitable sector and setting up a rape crisis charity. He also expresses positive views regarding social justice and mobility, sharing admiration of China (where he lived for 3 years) as evidence of such views:

Frederick: ...it’s the only place in the world that’s pulled people out of poverty since the 70s, 300 million people out of abject poverty in to like vaguely middle-class existence.

Thus, unlike the majority of the interviewees, who can be seen to contribute to the reproduction of local area and school cultures and perpetuate the social stratification of the education system, Frederick has broken free from the familiar and, in a bid to find a compromise between his personal needs for the academic and a moral desire to do good, finds himself as the head of physics in a state-maintained sixth form college catering to students from the local disadvantaged area. Further study with an increased proportion of interviewees is needed to
decipher if this ability to break free is driven by an ‘habitual idealism’, as Jette Steensen purports, a disposition nurtured by high sociocultural capital and, indeed, whether it is sustainable.124

Another interviewee who speaks openly of this moral dilemma is Andrew who exhibits moderate to high levels of socioeconomic and cultural capital and fits somewhere between the new affluent workers and the technical middle class. When discussing what his dream school would be like, he expresses the desire and the belief that he is best suited to work in a private school, but it is the moral injustice of socioeconomic segregation which prevents him from doing so:

Andrew: But in terms of the ethics and the devastating truth that still educational attainment is still intrinsically linked with parental income is, is just a travesty and I think we’re seeing the effects of that divide in society...you know, true evil comes when good men do nothing.

It would need to be a school that can cater for and give recognition and achievement for those who most deserve it because their chances to find that are harder to come by in their lives.

In the end, the trade-off is that he finds himself in a state-maintained school that caters for the surrounding community, regardless of background, but that the community is in a ‘nice’ area, largely one of affluence (Trafford). This dilemma is widespread in the education system, and indeed society, where market logic enforces a priority of private needs and concerns over communitarian ideals.125

7.2.3 What’s important: where to teach

7.2.3.1 Geography: proximity

The importance of geography has been highlighted as contributing towards the structure of the space of secondary education in Greater Manchester. Historic socioeconomic segregation between the north and the south continues today and the desire to return to the comfort of the familiar, as we will discover in more detail in the subsequent section, only serves to reinforce and perpetuate that divide.

The highest rated variable by survey respondents, in terms of importance when looking for a position, was location (proximity). Scoring an average of 3.4 (4 being the highest importance), 88% ranked proximity as being important or very important (with 50% choosing level 4). When asked about the importance of proximity, every single interviewee responded with the same answer; ‘commuting sucks’, when you are already snowed in by the workload, you don’t want to be wasting time travelling to and from school.

In England, the education market operates a mixture of choice-based schooling and catchment areas (that is, location-based schooling). As Burgess and Briggs (2010) discovered, 86% of state-maintained secondary schools (excluding grammar schools) have distance from home to school as part of their admissions criteria, meaning the closer you live to an establishment the more likely you are to be admitted. Thus, “this has a direct influence on the relationship between poverty and school assignment. The spatially concentrated demand

125 Forsey, M.G. ‘Publicly minded, privately focused: Western Australian teachers and school choice’ Teaching and Teacher Education, Vol. 26, 2009, pp. 53-60
pushes up house prices and generates a correlation between poverty and distance from a good school." In short, the desirability of a school has an effect on the local area, increasing the desirability of housing and therefore the price to live there. Therefore, if you desire to live close to where you work you must also take in to consideration the cost of living there. Thus, while NQTs as adults are freer to move and re-locate, they are still, to some degree, restricted by their relational levels of economic capital.

Furthermore, as Goldhaber et al (2010) found, if teachers are going to move location then it is for a significant change; “Teachers willing to bear the costs of moving to a new district are likely to be seeking significant changes in salary or working conditions.” Thus, given the lack of significant difference in basic salary, particularly for NQTs starting out on the lowest rung of the ladder, teachers that move to a new area will need to be compensated in terms of working conditions to balance out the economic costs. This further highlights the significance of economic capital in the decision-making strategies, and indeed ability, of some teachers to change areas, something that was seen with Frederick. Hazel was able to move closer to her current position in an area with a ‘bad reputation’, highlighting what could be seen as an attraction to working in such a location, however she also relates how a change in personal circumstances would make re-location more difficult:

Hazel: I think it’s important that the commute is manageable because it’s just not feasible to be doing a massive commute to get to work and then having a day like when you don’t stop and sit down for a minute, but…if there was children involved I don’t think I would move.

Thus, school location in terms of proximity does, to some degree, affect the decision-making strategies of NQTs, but, economic capital, as well as other personal variables such as children, may restrict decision making capabilities and further strengthen socioeconomic geographical segregation.

### 7.2.3.2 Going Home

In choosing a route in to teaching it was found that familiarity, either the security of academic institutions or the safety of remaining in the same place, was a mitigating factor. This strategy is paralleled in the decision of where to teach; It is a major finding of this research that the majority of teachers will seek out familiarity and, to quote the findings of Jette Steensen, 'go home'.

Going home does not simply refer to returning to a specific geographical area, although this is true in some cases, but rather the seeking out of an environment within which one feels comfortable due to its having been experienced before. This accounts for the semi-segregation seen between the different teaching routes where routes such as Teach First offer access to a certain type of school which is largely unfamiliar to those who have chosen the PGCE route.

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This quest for the familiar is, in part, due to the social capital, and therefore obtainable knowledge capital, available by remaining within the confines of the familiar, particularly when this equates to geographical location. Elizabeth and Jess in particular exhibit a strict necessity to remain in a familiar area:

Elizabeth: I went to school in Trafford so when I was applying for jobs, it was perhaps the wrong way to be but, I was very fixated on getting a job in Trafford, just because I, you know, I know the reputations of the schools in this area... I didn’t want to go in not knowing anything...partly the familiarity, partly because there are a lot of good schools around here.

Jess: I’ve been the majority of my life in Altrincham [Trafford area]erm, I would ideally like to move back there eventually because I’m a creature of habit and I love the area, but I am also loving Macclesfield...it does feel very rural and I love that, and I love that about Altrincham as well...I will exclusively look in Altrincham and the surrounding area...and Macclesfield because I dunno, just stick with what you know... I now know the reputation of all the schools around there and I now know the reputation of the schools in Macclesfield so actually that gives you a better standing point doesn’t it? It gives you a bit of an advantage?

Elizabeth attended a grammar school in the Trafford area and subsequently focused on finding a job within Trafford, specifically in the schools with a good reputation, and found a position within a former academically selective independent school with a solid history and reputation. Jess is very clear that she absolutely wants to work in a grammar or independent school in Trafford, preferably Altrincham where she attended a grammar school. However, due to the lack of available positions in the narrow selection of schools, she has been forced outside her home area. However, as a result she has chosen to work in an area which is similarly prosperous, located south of Manchester in a similarly rural location, and within an extremely high attaining school that is very similar to a grammar school in many ways:

Jess: If I had been offered a position, you know, in a grammar school or an independent school that had equally as good or if not better behaviour and attainment then I would have gone for that because that’s my preference erm but this seems to be, for not being a grammar of independent school, it seems to be amazing on those fronts, almost as if it is a grammar school sometimes.

She also discovered the status of the school and specifically the strict behaviour policy via a colleague on the PGCE school. So determined was she to work in such a school that she undertook a temporary position covering maternity leave rather than risk a different type for a more permanent position. Thus, the desire to return to the familiar is highlighted in these two extreme cases, which also highlight one of the reasons for doing so; knowledge capital, Jess suggests that having knowledge of the different schools provides you with an advantage. This is often accompanied by the desire for accumulation of space specific capital in the form of status and prestige in working at a ‘good’ school.

Both of these individuals report having moved to the area as children, specifically due to the reputation of the schools. Thus, it is hardly surprising that they have inherited the view that reputation is important and that to work in a ‘good’ school is a measure of success.

What is further highlighted by the discussion of grammar schools is that different experiences lead to different perceptions of types of schooling. Jess has
a clear affinity to both grammar and independent schools, with a desire to teach in either as she categorises the two together. Her determination to teach in this specific type of school is expressed by the culture prevalent within them:

Jess: I just love the culture of it, I love that high standard...it’s that marrying of hard work but also high achieving as well and not just sitting on your laurels because you are naturally high achieving...I almost categorise independent schools and grammar schools in one basket...What I’m thinking about when I look at grammar schools and erm independent schools is behaviour and attainment to be honest...you just tend to get a certain type of student at a grammar school and independent school...the culture is just respect for the teacher, much better levels of behaviour, erm and also I think that bleeds in to attainment.

Jess’s view of this specific type of school is borne from her experience and the inculcation of certain values throughout her schooling. Equally her social background where academic success, and the discipline necessitated, is highly prized, is significant.129

Frederick equally holds a favourable view of grammar schools, almost mirroring the conservative agenda that, by disposing of fees, this type of school allows for high ability pupils of all backgrounds to succeed. He considers the idea of teaching only the high ability preferable due to a lack of interest in any behaviour management or similarly pastoral elements of teaching, something mirrored by many of the academically focused individuals. However, unlike Jess, he sees a clear division between academically selective grammar and independent schools and private130 schools that select economically; perhaps initiated through his own experiences of both attending private institutions for his own education and completing a placement in a fee-paying private school during his PGCE training year:

Frederick: why are they spending 2 years of their life with a predicted E? Mummy and daddy want them to do the course, mummy and daddy pay £14,000, therefore if Barnaby is supposed to be doing physics A-level, Barnaby will be doing physics A-level...I hated it so much like the idea that someone’s there for those reasons. I’d never teach at a place like that [private fee paying]. Now [academically selective independent]...I could see myself teaching there, one because everyone’s brighter...they’re going to stop charging fees...currently only 40% of the students there pay fees, the remaining 60% are poor smart people, but they’re fed up with the very small number of rich dummies that are holding everyone else back... all the very intelligent people will be funnelled in to one place, regardless of economic background.

Although a highly simplified view of the education market, which does not account for the several academically selective, non-fee paying, grammar schools in Greater Manchester, it is clear that the idea of academically selective, as opposed to economically, is far more appealing. The intellect of the individual,

[129] Similar evidence was discovered by Steensen who found that while an individual’s experience of private school was not altogether positive, she still retained the ‘middle-class perspective’ of public schools as places to avoid due to their ‘inferior quality’; J. Steensen, ‘On the Unacknowledged Significance of Teachers’ Habitus and Dispositions’, in M. Bayer et al. (eds.) Teachers’ Career Trajectories and Work Lives, Dordrecht, Springer, 2009, p. 86
[130] The terms private and independent are used synonymously in English education. The most prestigious private schools, such as Eton and Harrow, are often referred to as ‘public’ schools, this is due to their history as schools open to the public as opposed to private tutoring.
the high amount of cultural capital possessed, inherited and symbolic as demonstrated in both the survey and the interview, has no small bearing on this perception. These positive perceptions of grammar schools are in stark contrast to Sophie. Although this interviewee did attend a grammar school it was only for the final GCSE year, before that she attended school in Northern Ireland. After the GCSE year there was the option to continue until 18 but she chose to change to a private school as she ‘did not like the environment’ of the grammar school. This is clear in her perceptions of grammar schools as a place of work:

Sophie: so I think it’s very hard for a parent to accept or hear that their child is not academically capable of receiving a grade 9…and working in that environment where they they’re entitled to that erm I would struggle massively…I feel like the parents would have more influence than the schools that I have worked at, they would have more influence and I couldn’t deal with the parents in saying that it’s my job to get their child a good GCSE, it’s not, it’s my job to educate your child, it’s their job to get a good GCSE with that education…rather stick to schools where the parents are more on my wave length.

Sophie also stresses the importance of familiarity in terms of being able to relate, in this case to the parents. Although she has experienced selective education, previous experiences influenced the perception of that environment and thus future situations concerned with that environment. Although reasonably high in economic capital, with a ‘fancy car, with a private education, from an affluent background’, cultural capital, as revealed in the survey, is relatively low and the individual positions herself in the lower middle class, thus the balance between economic and cultural capital finds her positioned in a setting ‘that’s in the middle’. This is further supported by the desire to position herself in the southern, more prosperous, areas, but not necessarily in the highest attaining or selective schools:

Sophie: I’d work in Trafford because again the reputation of Trafford, not just necessarily the grammar schools but the similar kind of background to [current school]…probably wouldn’t work city centre, inner city centre Manchester because that way of life is not what I’m used to…no point in my teaching in a school where I don’t have any connection to that way of life at all…So I’d rather stick to a school erm in the kind of catchment areas of where I grew up, where I can relate to the children and what they go through.

This is echoed further by Nathan who prides his position in a disadvantaged school on being able to relate to the students and thus the relationships he has with them:

Nathan: I absolutely love the relationship with the kids in this school, I feel like it’s rare, I really do, I feel like there’s not that many people that could relate to them, because I’m from 5 minutes up the road but yet I’ve done alright for myself, and they need that, but not everybody here is like that.

Nathan expresses his perception of the value of being able to relate to the students because he is from the area and therefore the relationships that reaps. This perspective is echoed on the opposite side of the recruitment process, in Jabbar’s study of teacher recruitment in New Orleans for example, where teachers from
the local area and from a similar background were preferred. However, Nathan himself explains that in Teach First he is a bit of an anomaly, it is only through a medical need to be close to the local hospital that he was placed in a school in his local area, without this he could have been placed in any deprived area in the North West.

It is clear, therefore, that the habitus, the embodied history, as well as differing levels of capital inform the perceptions and dispositions of individuals in these cases. Further evidence can be seen in Lindsey who illustrates how the habitus can affect the decision to stay in a school or move on. She discusses the similarities between her own attendance at a school in a disadvantaged area with that of her current school in an equally disadvantaged area with extremely high levels of pupil premium:

Lindsey: Since I came here, perchance, and learning about the children and the difficulties they face, I’ve kind of, what I’ve, knowing that the school wants more for them and want them to succeed, I wanted to stay here and see that because I’ve compared my own experiences. Knowing that from the area that I’m in in Oldham, where I grew up and where I still love, there were probably many disadvantaged children there as well, but, in my opinion, my school didn’t do enough for them, so I’m like much happier being in a school where I know what they’re doing and what they want to achieve.

So, through her own experiences of attending a similar setting and the injustices she experienced, she sees the opportunity in this school to do things differently, better. However, with an academic focus and high level of cultural, specifically educational, capital, she is also aware of the desire to move on and experience other settings, as such this familiarity will only stave her ambition for so long before she feels she will need to get ‘back out of my comfort zone’. Equally, her high educational capital and experiences of school have led her to feel comfortable in different settings; although attending a comprehensive school in a deprived area, she notes herself as being part of a select group:

Lindsey: considering it was a school that had quite a bad reputation, erm I’m not sure about their general results and what they get now, but there was a group of us who were expected to attain high and did attain high.

It is therefore unsurprising that she sees herself moving on in the future, with a desire to pursue sixth form teaching, middle management with a focus on high attainers, and a possible Master’s degree. In the pursuit of an environment that corresponds more with her academic values and ambitions, where she holds symbolic capital and has experienced success, Lindsey endorses findings that suggest highly qualified teachers are less likely to be employed in, and are found to move away from, low-achieving schools. Indeed, she acknowledges that it was only by chance that she ended up in her current school and realises the effect and stigma that a reputation can cause, albeit undeserved:

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33 Pupil premium is a funding scheme offered by the government. The scheme works by allocating money to schools based on the number of students on free school meals, a key indicator of deprivation.

Lindsey: Every member of staff you speak to here is sensitive to what students are going through, we’re kind of familiar with the community... [Area where North Manchester City 11-16 is located] has quite a negative name and reputation as a community, but since working in it and meeting people from that community, whenever I hear anyone saying that now I’m like no!... Yeah, I do get quite defensive about it. Only knowing because I was guilty of it once.

It is only through the experience of working at the school that she has come to realise that reputations are subjective and, in a market where information is scarce and the unfamiliar is risky, reputation holds a high value.

7.2.3.3 Salary
Salary was one of the highest-ranking responses, after location (proximity) and opportunities for progression, when survey participants were questioned on the importance of specific details when choosing where to teach. Within the interviewees, only Lindsey, James and Elizabeth did not think salary was either important or very important. Given the traditional structure of teacher pay scales (although academies can technically pay what they want), this was an interesting result. However, on multiple occasions the economic rewards were disregarded as less important in favour of other aspects such as behaviour, support from colleagues, and location (a sentiment echoed in Hanushek et al, 2004):  

Andrew: I’ve had a relatively low starting salary but I’m in a supportive environment.

Furthermore, when actually questioned about the reason for the importance of salary it was referred to in the general sense of teaching or the need for a good personal economy, not the salary of a specific school. The vast majority who felt salary was important had no real sense of what that meant, answers were vague and general and often resorted to hearsay and rumour:

Jess: I’ve heard of quite a few science teachers, NQTs, having gone for roles and requesting higher salaries and getting it... because there’s a, you know, obviously, a higher demand for science teachers.

This view is restricted to the PGCE cohort, suggesting it is a rumour that has been fed through the teacher training route. It is not expressed by the NQTs from other routes and is not the case for any of the trainees, nor do any of the interviewees express concrete examples where the starting salary was simply higher without any reference to added responsibility in the position. Andrew actually reports having requested a higher starting salary due to his years in industry, and that request being denied.

The only interviewee to speak of salary in specific terms is the only one who has managed to negotiate a higher starting salary (through a position with increased responsibility) and for whom, technically, the economic gains of a salary are relatively unimportant; Frederick. Frederick has gone straight in with

a position of Head of Physics in a sixth form college and thus has a salary of almost £10,000 per year higher than the average NQT starting wage:

Frederick: I want to be paid for what I do, and interestingly for me that’s a respect thing, like you can tell from my background that, ultimately, I’m going to be fine... I could stop working now and be fine, whatever, there’s enough money in the family, I’m never gonna starve, I’ll be fine, but I still don’t want to be paid £21,000 because that just implies at a certain level that you don’t care about me...that just shows a country that doesn’t respect it’s teachers and I need, you know, I want to be respected...So actually salary weirdly, it’s awful, like I don’t need, in capital letters, the money, but I’m not going to do it for less, you know?

Thus, Frederick highlights what for him, and for many teachers, is a growing tension in the teaching profession; status and respect. For him it is imperative that he feel respected and a low starting salary represents low status and a lack of respect. Given that the remaining interviewees who mention the importance of salary, but not in terms of a direct economic need, are from the higher socioeconomic groups, it would not be too much of a stretch to suggest the possibility that they too equivocate salary with status and respect.

7.2.3.4 Two sided-matching process

The decision of where to teach is not free and open, but rather a two sided-matching process; teachers and schools compromise to find the best solution. Teachers can, as in the case of Jess, pursue fervently their goal of familiarity and comfort, but often this can lead to a compromise in other elements, such as area, contract length, salary or even school type.

Jess was determined to work in a grammar or independent school, preferably in the Trafford area, however when applying for these schools she found that they had their own selective criteria for teachers as well:

Jess: When I was applying for grammar and independent schools it seemed that, and it wasn’t said because obviously you’re not allowed to say this, but it seemed that they absolutely wanted you to have a Masters, or even better a PhD.

In revealing the selective nature of the grammar and independent school recruitment process she reveals where the link between academic qualifications and success stems from; she sees grammar and independent schools as being the epitome of success, due in part to the inculcation of certain values during her education, and as such sees academic selectivity as a marker of success. Thus, grammar and independent schools can be seen to inflict a level of symbolic violence through their position within the field of power; the dominant always contribute to their own domination.335

James and Elizabeth also point to the selectivity of the grammar school hiring process, in this case due to the lack of available positions and thus competition in acquiring a position that becomes available:

James: I’d probably look at erm you know grammar school type thing, grammar school before comprehensive, possibly private school, really if I was going to move on. Erm and

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there aren’t many of them so you know, because they’re quite nice places to teach. I guess jobs don’t come up that frequently either so you know.

Elizabeth: ...they’re such good schools... And I can imagine it’s probably quite competitive and also, I feel like jobs don’t come up that often because at schools like that, teachers tend to stay, so I would be, yeah, I would definitely, cos you know you would just be teaching, I think.

These dialogues, from two individuals who both attended grammar schools for their own education, highlight the ability of grammar schools to maintain their elite position through remaining the select few, further enhanced by the low staff turn-over leading to a glorification of becoming accepted in to positions reserved for the elite. Furthermore, the symbolic violence of grammar schools is inflicted by the dispositions of the individuals who hold normative views of grammar schools being ‘such good schools’ and therefore ‘nice places to teach’ despite very little or no experience as such. They reproduce the elite status of selective institutions and therefore they desire to reproduce their own position within the elites having once been a member of an elite institution. Thus, it is also through recruitment that grammar and independent schools seemingly maintain their selectivity and therefore push individuals to compromise when not admitted in to the realm of the elite.

James further highlights the selectivity of the hiring process in some institutions through his own experiences in his current position:

James: I think you know, and having seen, they’ve been quite picky since erm when one of my colleagues left at the end of last year they had a few applicants apply and the first time they put the application up and a few people applied and they were like no, then they put it up again and more people applied. I think they were going to give it to one person and then the head decided no so they didn’t give it to them, said their references weren’t very good or something, yeah erm so like I’m assuming based on that like that I’ must have done something good.

James explains how the school, where he is currently employed, were able to advertise no less than 3 times for one position, where 1 advert in the Times Educational Supplement (TES) can cost hundreds of pounds, and as such were picky on who they would employ, suggesting a position of power where what they have to offer in the market is more valuable than what is being offered. However, this pickiness is also assumed and highlighted as a means of suggesting the individual’s own achievement in having secured a position at the school. This reflects the individual’s need to validate his position through selectivity as selectivity is something on which he bases success:

James: I think any sort of high achieving, nice place to work is always going to be quite competitive. I don’t know how difficult it actually was because I don’t know how many people actually applied in the end, they ended up interviewing 4 people and 3 out of 4 of us got a job.

336 Bold text added by the researcher to highlight the presumption behind normative views of grammar schools.
His view of the school being selective is not substantiated by the statement that 3 out of 4 were offered a position, it is again through this normative assumption that high achieving equals nice and must therefore be competitive to gain access to.

Continuing the discussion around the recruitment process, James identifies and provides insight into the two-sided matching process involved:

James: schools like different things...you could teach a lesson that you thought was, you know would be fine at the college you’re at but then I went to one place where I did a lesson that would be good at [Manchester City Sixth Form], so it had group work and stuff and they were like we don’t like group work, we like wrote learning...if it’s a school where they’ve got massive behaviour problems they might not want a fresh faced rookie, you know, they might want, even though it’s more expensive, they might want somebody who is more experienced they think they’ll be able to cope better so it probably just depends.

James’s discussion highlights the struggle teachers face when applying for positions; upon navigating and discovering a satisfactory position that is seemingly available to them, they must then go about the task of ensuring they are a suitable candidate. This view of schools looking for a specific person who is going to fit in with their ethos when recruiting is reiterated by Sophie:

Sophie: I’d already accepted the fact that when you go for an interview for teaching, they want a specific person that knows that’s going to fit in their department.

Thus, Sophie acknowledges that while teachers look to access an environment that is comfortable and familiar, schools too want someone who is going to ‘fit’, whether that be the specific characteristics of the person, level of education or, as Euphemia faced, level of experience:

Euphemia: I got really upset there because one of my NQTs was in that school as well and that NQT wanted to apply to that school as well and he asked the head of department if he could apply for it and they told him they don’t want an NQT, so I was like why did they invite me for the interview if they...don’t want a NQT...when I called as well to say like erm what- why did you not take me, it was just because they wanted someone more experienced, so it’s basically the same thing.

Here Euphemia recalls her experience of applying to a high attaining former grammar school where a colleague from the PGCE programme was completing a placement. The school specifically stated that they were looking for someone with more experience, not an NQT. Thus, even the individual who was in the advantageous position of training within the school could not override the school’s desire for a teacher with specific traits, in this case a higher level of experience. Therefore, a two-sided matching process takes place whereby both teachers and schools must find a sufficient level of satisfaction and compromise along the way.

In defending their decision to teach in their current schools, the perceptions of all interviewees seemingly converge. Without exception, when asked what their
'dream school' looked like, they all responded with some reference to their current position:

Nathan: I’m biased, aren’t I? Alright so my dream school would be this school but with parents who really care, I think that would be my dream school.

Elizabeth: Dream school? I think it would be similar to this one, I think. I enjoy teaching at this schools, I think it would be somewhere like this...yeah, a good school like this but with a sixth form I think, yeah.

This question highlights the intense positivity articulated throughout the interviews towards the current situation, quickly referred to whenever a sense of negativity was uttered. Additionally, positivity is communicated specifically and relationally, as being in a better position than other NQTs in other schools, while contrastingly, any negativity expressed is in a general sense around the teaching profession as a whole rather than the school explicitly. This could be interpreted as newness to the environment and to the profession and so a reluctance towards negativity, but, on the other hand, given that they also express the difficulty of change, the interviewees can be seen to be validating and justifying their position to themselves given the strategies they have employed and the compromises that have been necessary when navigating the space.

7.2.4 Making a decision: teacher career paths and marketisation

7.2.4.1 Reputation and social networks

In the case above, where Euphemia expressed frustration in her search for a position, both she and her colleague found being placed in the school for a number of weeks was no advantage, despite the social and knowledge capital that goes with getting to know the people and systems of an institution. However, the interviewees on the PGCE course often cited the benefits of being in a placement school when a position becomes available. Equally, the suggestion that schools take part in the PGCE programme as a means of recruitment was clear:

Jess: Yeah, I feel like at least a quarter if not a third of the people that I had come in to contact with on the science PGCE at the University of Manchester were offered a place at their placement school, one of them...you know, you’re well in with the school and you know the rules and you know the system already and you know if you like the department or not.

This finding backs up research conducted by Goldhaber et al (2014) which found that teacher training internships in Washington State served a dual role; training novice teachers and screening potential new hires. Thus, as is suggested by Jess, PGCE placements also serve a dual purpose and thus these placements provide social and knowledge capital for teacher trainees whilst in that placement. The

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138 Goldhaber et al (2010) equally find that moves are generally made when teachers are seeking a significant change, suggesting that only severe discontentment or ambition justifies the struggle of establishing relationships; D. Goldhaber, J. Krieg, R. Theobald, 'Knocking on the door to the teaching profession? Modeling the entry of prospective teachers into the workforce' Economics of Education Review, Vol. 43, 2014, pp. 106-124

importance of social/knowledge capital is again highlighted in the decision-making mechanisms of early career teachers; the social connections gathered, as well as knowledge of systems, from time spent in an institution, benefits individuals in terms of making the decision of whether they want to teach in that school and subsequently in pursuing a position. Of the 50 respondents to the survey, 41% reported having completed part of their training in the school where they were subsequently employed.

When asked to rate how important certain factors were when deciding where to teach, 70% of respondents rated the reputation of the school and the reputation of the headteacher as important or very important (ranked 3 or 4 out of 4). According to Steven Courtney in his mapping of schools in England there are currently between 70 and 90 different school types in the secondary education market following a 30-year drive for school type diversification by governments following a neo-liberal agenda.\textsuperscript{140} It is the job of the newly qualified teacher to navigate the market in order to find the most satisfactory position, a daunting task no less. The decision of where to teach, however, is most often conducted with very little knowledge, a finding reflected by Engel et al who state; “...teachers report making decisions about where to apply and where to teach using limited information...new and prospective teachers often have little information about the school characteristics that they report are most important such as school leadership”\textsuperscript{141}. Thus, although citing reputation as a key figure in making this decision, when questioned, the interviewees had very little understanding of how exactly they would find out about this reputation if presented with an area they were unfamiliar with.

This questioning highlighted the importance of visually comparable material such as the school website, results and OFSTED report. The lack of information available to teachers lends itself to the marketisation of education; schools must make themselves attractive through marketable assets, competing against each other for arbitrary inspection grades and positions in league tables. However, this lack of information also creates a struggle for information capital as varying social groups hold different levels of capital. Within the group of interviewees those who undertook the PGCE highlighted the benefits of the route in providing a social network within Greater Manchester but with little consciousness of the benefits that social network would provide in information gathering. Many suggest the need to speak to someone inside the school to gain real knowledge but say very little about how that would happen.

Lindsey differs from the majority of the PGCE group in terms of social class and chose to follow the SCITT route, however she also emphasises a preference for the academic side of teaching and is ambitious with a clear desire to progress. She therefore actively engages in activities that will promote her social network and thus, social capital within the secondary education job market:

Lindsey: I feel like it’d have to be a school where I at least knew one person who already worked there. That’s why I’m trying to do things like networking across, with NQTs across


Manchester and stuff because knowing people at different schools I feel like they’ll give you an honest opinion.

Thus, it is clear that those with little social capital in the space must work to develop their social networks. As differing groups have different means (or lack of) accruing comparable information, the legitimacy of the educational system as a market is questioned; a market works by means of transparency with an availability of information whereas educational institutions can be seen to actively push in the opposite direction, with differing levels of information obtainability and a preference for opacity.

Equally, those unfamiliar with the system and with a lack of social capital struggle to navigate, such as Euphemia who has come from Cyprus and seemingly has little knowledge of the differing school types and the areas. Even though she has completed a PGCE she lacks the social network of having been brought up in an area, a network provided by family and friends. She must therefore base her decision on the information made explicitly available by the schools and the government:

Euphemia: I was just applying to schools anyway but then I had a look at the website and I just found it very like everything on the website was just very nice and I just liked it. So, I read their OFSTED report as well and I just thought it looked like a nice school so I will apply for it and we’ll see, because you don’t really know if you don’t get here...

Euphemia also here highlights the importance of ‘feel’, many of the interviewees speak of how it feels on the day and going with your gut instinct, but this instinct doesn’t come from nowhere, it is influenced by your habitus, how and where you feel most comfortable.

7.2.4.2 Marketisation: Accountability, results and OFSTED

Personal preferences and moral struggles evoke significant decision-making strategies, but they are overseen by the larger general consensus that results are important, whether in terms of attainment or progress and thus the marketisation of education plays a role in the way teachers choose where to teach.

Nathan makes the point that, ultimately, the focus of every school is attainment. Of course, it is, the role of education is to help pupils achieve. But that is not the only reason attainment is so high on the agenda; the market-based logic of school choice through broader catchment areas and the diversification of schools increases competition and therefore accountability and a focus on easily measurable statistics; results. The biggest impacts felt by the teachers and expressed in the interviews are; pressure for results, increased administration and pressure to perform for inspections.

Pressure for results was felt most keenly, perhaps unsurprisingly, for those in high attaining schools:

Jess: we have so many meetings about how the year 11 and year 13 did last year, looking at the data, how did certain teachers compare to other teachers...it feels like you have to be really accountable and you have to explain your actions...so I do feel a bit stressed about, quite a lot of stress actually about my year 11 class.

Equally, those teaching in sixth form colleges were even more pressured to achieve good results; their jobs rested on the results of their students. The market
of sixth form colleges is even more competitive as funding is less stable and depends on the reputation to draw students in. James particularly experiences the effects of marketisation on his day to day experience. He explains how teachers are only employed on temporary contracts for the first two years and so, if numbers drop, they’re at risk of losing their jobs, pay progression is also linked to good results and an inability to achieve risks punishment:

James: you get observed more frequently, you only teach AS rather than AS and A2...there is definitely that sort of sense of like pressure that you've got to get good ALPS grades, and because you’re constantly reminded throughout the year what your ALPS are currently looking like it does add that sense of pressure as well...you definitely can’t forget that it's results driven...they shouldn’t be as results driven as they are now because it’s not the only important thing but that’s what they’ve become...you’re always sort of aware that if you drop numbers you might well lose your job...and that’s also a bit sort of stressful.

Thus, to work in an environment with very little behaviour problems brings with it its own issues and pressures, but both of these individuals expressed their understanding of this and that they would much rather face the pressure of results than the stress of behaviour management.

Across all school types and socioeconomic backgrounds, the added workload of accountability measures is expressed negatively, particularly where it is clear that something must be done just to prove it has been done. This is particularly the case for Lindsey, Hazel, Euphemia and Elizabeth whose schools were expecting the imminent arrival of OFSTED. These two schools are worlds apart, one in northern Manchester City in one of the most deprived areas of the country, the other a former private academically selective in Trafford; both feel an increase in workload as they strive to perform at their best:

Hazel: we are due OFSTED sort of any minute and I think that’s maybe the reason why there’s a bit more pressure on making sure we’ve got a perfect, like as perfect as we can like the books are good there, students are responding...there’s quite a presence of SLT that will walk round our lessons and make sure our expectations are very high.

Euphemia: many things that we’re doing is because we want to show evidence for Ofsted to see, like for example our start marking, the way we’re marking so we have to make sure everyone in the maths department is marking that way so that Ofsted can see the evidence of that, then for targets all of our students need to have a sticker in the front of their books that their target is written there, that’s for Ofsted again because we already kind of know the targets of our students, we just need to show evidence everywhere, of everything we do know.

Elizabeth: especially for us, we’re due an OFSTED this year so I think I do, we are you know talking about OFSTED a lot...so we’ve had observations this week for OFSTED so I think I definitely am feeling the impact of that at the moment... I think the leadership team at the moment are a little bit worried about OFSTED so I think that can be slightly negative at times, I’ve had the deputy head observe me last Thursday and you know, and that wasn’t in such a positive way.

Both schools experience an increased pressure and workload based on imminent OFSTED inspections, and, for a profession where the support of colleagues is deemed paramount, the changed dispositions of leadership are felt. Furthermore, the inspections are not so imminent but expected at some point in the school year,
at the time of writing (May 2019) neither school has been inspected, thus the pressure and increased workload can be felt over a significant level of time. But it is a change felt by all, regardless of position or disposition.

The effect of an upcoming OFSTED inspection demonstrates not only the effects of a market-based logic, but the symbolic violence the institution exerts in order to retain its position of dominance in the field of power. Through the result of an inspection, OFSTED can make or break the reputation of a school, reputation which is coveted by all, we all want to be seen to be successful in our discipline. Despite widespread disdain, particularly among the lower socioeconomic groups, all contribute to the continued dominance of OFSTED, following instructions passed down through the hierarchy and administered by management, one way or another they all eventually conform to the rules of the game, for it is only by acknowledging the rules that you can join the struggle for a position within the elite. When it comes down to it, they all want to be ‘outstanding’.

Nathan: when I was observed by OFSTED I treated it like I would a normal observation, I thought if I just like put on this fantastic show like and pretend and do things that aren’t, I’m not...and I got an OK, you know it wasn’t anything special...there coming in, I want them to say oh isn’t he, isn’t that lad in science good? Do you know like, I want them to say that and aren’t the kids in his class brilliant, you know, I think that’s what I wanted with OFSTED.

7.2.4.3 QTS as a gateway

One final thought concerns the transferability of the teacher training qualification and subsequent Qualified Teacher Status (QTS). One thing that is completely missing from the literature surrounding teacher careers that has occurred throughout this research has been the suggestion of using the teacher qualification as a ticket, a gateway to explore the world. 4 of the 10 NQTs interviewed mentioned the possibility of teaching abroad while another has already done so. Andrew, James and Nathan speak of using the qualification they have as a teacher to branch out and teach in other countries where the pay is better and the conditions are good:

James: but obviously international schools..., er I’ve got a colleague, an ex-colleague who just flew out to Dubai for this year and obviously, you know, pay and conditions wise, generally I think it is much better...I’d love to go to somewhere like France, there aren’t really any international schools there but, erm you know I’d look, so yeah, even further afield possibly, I think it just depends on the school.

The recognisable qualification of teacher training in England is thus seen as transferable symbolic capital allowing for travel and lifestyle enhancement. Predominantly, this view is held by those with moderate to high levels of cultural capital, therefore it is likely that they have some experience of travelling, and thus a habitual orientation that allows for far reaching perspectives. However, the discourse surrounding the conversation of teaching abroad is that of common place, and not only restricted to those with high levels of capital, suggesting that having completed teacher training in England indeed acts as a type of transferable symbolic capital in itself. Sophie describes the choice to start teacher training as one based on the ability to travel anywhere in the world with the qualification:
Sophie: so I’ve got a lot of friends who teach abroad and er it was a way that I- I’ve always loved to travel as well with the degree that I chose, I always wanted to travel with it but the only way I could travel was by working abroad and with a little girl I can’t work on oil rigs or geology sites with a 3 year old so I decided if I do teaching then I can enrol her in the same school as I teach. Erm and that’s what a lot of my friends have done, so I thought I might as well get to travel and do teaching at the same time. Erm and that’s why I did the PGCE because it’s recognised across the world.

Therefore, the decision to teach in the first place was not based purely on a love of the subject or for the desire to do good, but rather because it allows for a certain lifestyle; in this case one of young children and a love of travel.

In the current era of uncertainty in England, the ability of a qualification to open doors to other opportunities across the world is no doubt a tempting one, but what does this mean for the state of the profession in England, will an exit from the EU push professionals out the door? And crucially, given not all mobility is negative, who is it that decides to up sticks and leave? These are, alas, questions for another time.

Andrew: depending on how the exit from the EU goes, in the next few months as well, we might not even want to stay in the UK, but, you know, there are lots of places I’d like to live in the UK, I’d like to use teaching to maybe go outside pf the UK as well, teach in other countries, learn a language. That would be nice.
8. Discussion

8.1 Spatial segregation

In examining the structure of the space of secondary education in Greater Manchester we have uncovered an entrenched, historic, geographical divide between the north and the south. More significantly we find a severe socioeconomic segregation of the prosperous few in the area of Trafford which in turn has pushed out socioeconomically disadvantaged groups into neighbouring areas in Manchester City and Salford. Further to the socioeconomic divide of the area, we find additional strategies of segregation in faith schools, specifically a highly concentrated clump of Jewish independent schools, who cash in on the benefits of withholding key sources of accessible information in order to retain a geographical concentration and restrict admissions to the select few with the relevant social and cultural capital.

Thus, spatial geography plays a key role in the structure of secondary education in Greater Manchester and is further reflected in the decision-making strategies of NQTs; with a trend towards seeking out the familiar, they reproduce local area and school cultures and contribute towards the social stratification. However, there are key anomalies in this process, Lindsey contributes towards the normative view of attainment as key, and results as a measure of success, but seeks to transcend the familiarity of her social background and in so doing highlights the impact of ambition created by experiences of success. Frederick presents an interesting case, the only interviewee to be found in a completely different setting to that of his social background, propelled by high levels of social, cultural and economic capital and a habitual confidence in his ability to do good, the moral dilemma is presented and compromise is found with an emphasis on the intellect of sixth form teaching and the status of an elevated position of responsibility as an NQT; but the question remains, as is mirrored in the interviewees own doubts, how sustainable is this?

The pursuit of the familiar further impacts geographical segregation in that the NQTs were largely found to pursue positions within the area they had grown up in or, either through compromise or lack of positions, an area similar in prosperity and demographic. This is deepened by a strong desire by all NQTs interviewed to live close to where they worked. The sheer workload of a teacher, particularly one in their starting years means they consider it a necessity, thus the price of relocation or of living within commutable distance in a desirable area can restrict upward mobility of those individuals with relatively low economic capital.

8.2 The space of the elite

Within the social space of secondary education in Greater Manchester, larger patterns of the field of education and the field of power within it are observed.

The function of elite schools is to close off the dominant positions to only the select few, those who hold the sufficient economic and cultural capital, against all others. Within the social space of teachers of secondary education in Greater Manchester, the position of the elite seemingly mirrors the field of power in the field of education. That is, positions of power are identified by the elite institutions, where entry is closed off to the majority and agents compete for a
place. The elite are discovered in selective institutions in Greater Manchester; Independent schools which accommodate those families with the sufficient economic capital and Grammar schools that select via ability, follow discourses of selectivity in recruitment strategies where jobs are scarce and desirable.

These schools are critical to the reproduction of the field of power within the field of education, and in the social space of Greater Manchester continue to deeply divide the social classes and communities, building on a historical geographic divide. Through continuing discourses that legitimise specific cultural capital, elite schools replicate positions of power; academic attainment perseveres as a measure of success over other forms of personal development experienced through education. The field of power is a field of struggles not simply for power but to determine the value of a given power\(^\text{142}\), and in this case the struggle is characterised between the legitimised cultural capital as determined by the state (positioned at the top of the field of power) and those competing to legitimise alternative forms of capital. Furthermore, the state can be seen to reproduce the legitimacy of specific cultural capital through bodies such as OFSTED, the inspection service.

In the positioning of teachers, who largely seek to preserve their position, what is interesting is the anomalies who seemingly discard their position within the elite in favour of an environment where their inherited cultural capital renders them alien.

### 8.3 The academic vs the social worker

A key finding of this research has been the distinction of two desires in the teaching profession; disseminate knowledge, enable access to knowledge for all. The former values the academic and, in the select group of interviewees, can be seen to base career decisions on that from the beginning; the academics show a clear preference for the PGCE route while school-based programmes nurture those whose focus is primarily on the students. Only 2 of the interviewees (Hazel and Nathan) expressed a preference for the pastoral side of teaching, with an emphasis on building relationships with students and the community, rather than disseminating knowledge. Both Hazel and Nathan expressly discussed the importance of the students having a good role model, somebody who can they can look up to, and the need to focus on basic needs in order to enable access to knowledge. Neither is a subject specialist, something which, as seen in ‘previous research’ and in the latest report from Luke Sibieta\(^\text{143}\), is often used as a marker of quality.

The penchant of the majority towards the academic highlights the market preference for the publicly comparable. Furthermore, the state agenda of the importance of academic qualifications in order to retain their position within the field of power, while simultaneously reinforcing the commonly held view that non-specialists hold less value than highly qualified specialists, is revealed. But, given the position of the two non-specialists in disadvantaged schools, whose dispositions highlight an understanding of the importance of pastoral care in the areas where they work, are qualifications the best marker of teacher quality in


Greater Manchester? And are these markers of success something which prevents individuals from remaining in such positions; does the pressure to be ‘recognizably successful’ have an effect over time? It is certainly beyond the scope of this research to make any suggestions but worth further interrogation, for, narratives of outsourcing pastoral duties to dedicated behaviour teams, and the subsequent narrowing of teacher roles towards the academic, permeate the interviews, and to relinquish that side of teaching would surely change the face of the profession and those within it.

8.4 Seemingly similar

While the subjective dispositions of NQTs, informed by their habitus, were seen in many ways to inform the mechanisms behind their choice strategies, some issues were seen to be felt across all representatives of the teaching profession. Thus, further research would be necessary to dig wider and deeper in to those specific areas to truly evaluate whether the habitus of an individual bears any relation to the dispositions held.

The marketisation of education was expressed in terms of pressure and workload; the pressure for results and to perform in inspections and the increased accountability and subsequent workload that ensures. In two very different environments the effect of imminent inspection on increases in pressure and workload were extremely similar. Thus, it can be assumed, that an environment where the regularity of inspections is increased would amplify levels of pressure and workload. One such environment is in the case on schools given a grade 4 ‘inadequate’ (or, rather more harshly, ‘failing’) rating. Traditionally, NQTs are not permitted to be employed in these schools and therefore any future research would need to discard that limitation.

Workload in teaching in general is, across the board, seen as temporary. Comments that it should get better and that it’s only this year are common and reoccur across the space of interviewees. This is interesting given that the highest rate of exit from teaching is in the early years; most recently 33% of the 2012 newly qualified entrants were found to have left teaching144. Thus, it would be of interest to follow the group to see how and if their perceptions change over time.

A further area where follow up research would be of interest, and where interviewees seemingly converge, is that of the difficulty of establishing relationships, with students, colleagues and parents, and a subsequent reluctance to move between schools without a strong desire; they must be either very unhappy or highly ambitious. This is reflected by the consistent appraisal of their schools; any negative aspect is expressed as general to all schools whereas positivity surrounding individual aspects of the specific school is consistently referred to and often quickly returned to whenever expressing something slightly negative. Furthermore, their position is often referred to as relational; better where they are, worse for other NQTs. This predominance of positivity can be interpreted as newness to the environment and to the profession and so a reluctance towards negativity, but, on the other hand, given that the difficulty of

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change is also voiced, the interviewees can be seen to be validating and justifying their position to themselves given the strategies they have employed and the barriers they have faced in making the decision of where to teach. What would be interesting to follow up is whether the means by which they validate their position are enough to keep them there in the following years.

8. 5 Limitations

As expressed above, by restricting the research area to that of NQTs, the potential for a bias towards the positive in interviews is high. Where negative statements were made it was only ever really in a general sense, at a macro level rather that at the school level, and there was a high level of self-doubt and blame, across all interviewees. However, how much of that is a true reflection of the rose-tinted view of the newbie who hasn’t yet found their footing, or how much of it is what they think they should say, remains to be seen.

A further limitation of the research area is the scope of dispositions, not only the limited number of interviewees but the restriction to the side of the teacher when considering a two-sided matching process. Many accounts are based on hearsay and perception which while it does, to some extent, influence decision making capabilities, does not fairly reflect the market of secondary education. Therefore, future research should consider the opposite side of the process, the employer. In particular, it would be of interest to gather information on the recruitment processes of the elite schools and their opinion towards NQTs as well as other biases, such as level of education, as expressed through experiences.
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Websites


Appendix 1

Figure 15: Routes into teaching map, according to the Association of School and College Leaders.

Philippa Heywood: Where do teachers teach?

Assessment and Qualification Awarded
- Assessed through classroom observations, e-portfolios and written assignments (generally two but may offer)
- Result in QTS. Many also award a PGCE and some give credits towards a Masters.
- Evidence of good developmental classroom teaching.
- A school-based study.
- Critical reflective journal kept throughout the year.
- All courses result in QTS, many will also award a PGCE and some include credits towards a Masters.
- QTS and PGCE is awarded after the first year, there is the option to complete a two-year Masters beginning in the second year.
- For PGCE and QTS – File of evidence of progress comprising four written assignments, a weekly journal of written reflections, teaching observations and a final external assessment.
- For Masters – 30 credit university taught module and 60 credit dissertation report.
- Graduates will follow the curriculum of their route (SD or university led) and be awarded the qualifications designated by their route.
- Non-Graduates – assessment in the classroom and through written university work. Will gain a degree and QTS.
- Programme of observations, classroom teaching, in-school training and opportunities to conduct and disseminate research.
- Trainers will achieve QTS.
- PGCE with QTS awarded after first of the two years. Specific requirements may vary but most schools are working with University of Buckingham.
- Courses will differ between universities but assessment will be through a mix of essays, reports, presentations, projects and teaching.
- Awarded degree and QTS.
- Assessed through classroom observations, coursework and critical journals. Awarded PGCE and some universities will offer credits towards a Masters.
Appendix 2

Table 6. Interview Guide

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Questions</th>
<th>Analytical Purpose</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Where did you go to school? What type of secondary school/post 16 education institution did you attend? What grades did you achieve at secondary school/post 16? Did you complete a bachelor’s degree before teacher training? If so, which degree did you obtain? At which institution? Which teacher training institution did you attend? What subjects are you qualified to teach? What made you choose the route/training provider that you did?</td>
<td>All of these questions are closed, with a specific answer required. This is with a view to putting the interviewee at ease with simple questions they can easily answer. The purpose of the questions is to gage the interviewees own experiences of education and previous choices they have made as per institution and route, perhaps already with a career route in mind. Some questions have been asked on the survey but are reiterated here as simple questions are easy to answer and put the interviewee at ease. Creation of habitus and educational capital.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social background</td>
<td>What level of education do your mother and father have? (Could also be phrased as: did either of your parents/guardians attend university?) Can also be extended: which university? What did they study? Etc.</td>
<td>This theme works to create an understanding of the interviewee’s social position. Inherited educational capital. Habitus formation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What is the profession (use the word profession or job role?) of your mother and father? (this is more specific building on a similar question asked on the survey)</td>
<td>Inherited educational and economic capital. Social standing. Habitus formation. Influence on career trajectory?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current position</td>
<td>What is your current position? (Which subject- is it the subject specifically qualified for? Temporary or permanent).</td>
<td>Set the basis for questions on likelihood of interviewee remaining in the position. Although this has already been asked on the survey it is a simple easy question that puts the interviewee at ease before asking more uncomfortable questions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Did you apply for any other schools before being offered your current position (check)</td>
<td>School choice preferences.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Philippa Heywood: *Where do teachers teach?*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey for this answer first? If so, which schools?</th>
<th>Perception of important aspects in school choice decisions.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What encouraged you to apply to this school(s)?</td>
<td>Interviewee’s perception of the school environment, issues other than teaching. This question is designed to lead on to further questioning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>School environment</strong></td>
<td>Describe your typical day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marketisation effects</strong></td>
<td>What has the biggest positive/negative impact on your day to day work?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Are there many behaviour issues? How are behaviour issues dealt with? What do you think is the most important aspect of your job? Which is more important, classroom teaching or pastoral care? How supportive are your colleagues? How supportive are the senior leadership team (SLT)?</td>
<td>The questions are gradually becoming more and more open. The purpose of this theme is to determine the interviewee’s perception of the working environment, what is important and thus the likelihood of the school being suitable for their career goals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marketisation effects</strong></td>
<td>How much time does your head of department (HoD)/ SLT expect you to spend on administrative tasks (including marking and data entry)? What is your opinion of the administrative side of teaching? (again, it is important here to consider responses on the survey). How often are you expected to participate in continuing professional development (CPD)? How often are you observed? What is your opinion of OFSTED (the inspectoral body in England)? How do results and accountability affect your day to day job? Do you think this would be different in another school?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How likely is it that you will remain at this school? Why?</td>
<td>Upon understanding the perceived working environment, this question is aimed at understanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table Title</td>
<td>Questionnaire</td>
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<tr>
<td>Previous employment</td>
<td>Have you been employed full time in any other role before becoming a teacher?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Career trajectory</td>
<td>When did you decide to become a teacher? Why did you become a teacher?</td>
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<td></td>
<td>What would your dream school be like?</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Where do you see yourself in 5 years? This is a typical interview question that is left to the end, by looking to the future it suggests hope and leaves the interviewee with a nice feeling.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Master’s thesis in Sociology of Education