

What are the perceptions of the practice of the deployment of teaching assistants by trainee teachers during classroom teaching experiences on a university-based Initial Teacher Training programme in southeast London?

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Doctorate in Education

2018

What are the perceptions of the practice of the deployment of teaching assistants by trainee teachers during classroom teaching experiences on a university-based Initial Teacher Training programme in southeast London?

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the University of Greenwich for the Doctorate in Education

March 2018

DECLARATION

I certify that the work contained in this thesis, or any part of it, has not been accepted in substance for any previous degree awarded to me, and is not concurrently being submitted for any degree other than that of Doctorate in Education being studied at the University of Greenwich. I also declare that this work is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise identified by references, and that the contents are not the outcome of any form of research misconduct.

Student (signature)

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Andrew Lambirth, Dr Jackie Farr and Professor Pam Maras for their academic guidance and support during the writing of my research study. My thanks also go to: the University staff and students; teaching assistants and teachers/mentors who made this research study possible by the giving of their precious time.

Finally much love goes to Pamela and Owain for their patience through the process.

ABSTRACT

The deployment of teaching assistants is a key part of the trainee primary teacher's responsibility and is an under-researched area. This study explores how teaching assistants, mentors and trainee teachers perceive the practice of the deployment of teaching assistants during a school experience on an Initial Teacher Training programme in southeast London. It arose from an assumption that some trainee teachers found the deployment of teaching assistants a difficult process.

A qualitative research approach based on an interpretivist paradigm was used through the lens of Bourdieu's theory of habitus, capital and field. This was utilized to determine whether trainee teachers found the nature of deployment of teaching assistants difficult owing to a struggle for power within the classroom. Data were collected through questionnaires and semi-structured interviews.

Analysis revealed that trainee teachers have the perception that the habitus of their school environment is one in which they recognize aspects of having little control. They are expected to conform to the expectations of the schools' habitus and teach in accordance with the existing pedagogy. There exists a perception of some practice replicating existing pedagogy and a resignation that autonomy is sacrificed at the expense of fitting in to the system required within a school. This situation is the result of accountability and performativity agendas that signify current English education policy.

Trainee teachers recognize the right to deploy their teaching assistants but appear not to wish to engage in an overt struggle for power – but rather do it subtly, by preferring to adopt a process of '*localized familiarization*'. This, in their perception, enables them to work towards 'equality' in the classroom through negotiation and discussion. What is revealed, however, is a surprising amount of power wielded by the teaching assistant who may be viewed as a monitor of the habitus.

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NOTE ON GENDER USAGE

I have decided to use mostly the female form throughout my study

NOTES ON TERMS USED

Deploy - Collins English dictionary (1998) defines 'deploy' as a verb meaning to 'adopt a battle formation' or 'to redistribute forces to a given area'. Penguin English dictionary (2002) also uses a military definition but adds that it can mean 'to bring into action' and 'put to use'. The guidance accompanying the Teacher's Standards (qv) offers no definition for 'deploy'.

Gatekeeper - An individual or group from whom permission is sought to grant a researcher access to research participants especially anyone wishing to work with young or vulnerable people (Hamilton and Corbett-Whittier (2013)).

Initial Teacher Training (ITT) – OfSTED (qv) defines this as a partnership between an institution that offers Initial Teacher Training and a school. There are several routes that offer students entry into ITT: namely a PGCE or an undergraduate degree at a university, School Direct and Teach First. Many institutions use ITE and ITT interchangeably. The term Initial Teacher Education (ITE) is also used and Chitty (2014) argued that the two terms are not mutually exclusive and can co-exist.

Link Tutor – A link tutor is an employee from an ITT institution who observes and sets targets for a trainee teacher (qv) during her school experience. A link tutor will liaise with a mentor (qv) and agree a final decision regarding the eventual outcome of a school experience (qv) against the criteria set for QTS (qv).

Mentor – A mentor is an employee of a school who works in partnership with an ITT institution in liaison with the link tutor. A mentor is usually trained in mentoring a trainee teacher. The relationship between a link tutor and a mentor is one characteristic of an ITT partnership. Some mentors are also the host class teachers for trainee teachers in primary schools.

OfSTED - Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills. This is a UK government organization that inspects and regulates services that care for children and young people, and services providing education and skills for learners of all ages.

Pedagogy – Pollard *et al.* (2014, p. 302) referred to this aspect of ITT as the ‘science, craft and art’ of education. I agree and take it to represent the basics of teacher training such as, among others, educational theory, child development, learning styles, lesson planning and assessment.

QTS – Qualified Teacher Status is awarded by the National College for Teaching and Leadership in England and the Education Workforce Council in Wales following a successful Initial Teacher Training route. On receipt of this award a trainee teacher becomes a Newly Qualified Teacher (NQT) and begins an induction period within a school.

School Experience – A school experience is a defined block of time (sometimes referred to as a block practice) where a trainee teacher spends between 6 to 9 weeks teaching in a school. The trainee teacher will teach lessons from the National Curriculum and usually be expected to deploy a teaching assistant.

Teachers’ Standards – The Teachers’ Standards (TS) adopted from 1st September 2012 (see appendix A) are the minimum level of practice expected of trainees and teachers from the point of being awarded qualified teacher status (DfE, 2011). The Teaching Standard that this research study focuses on is TS 8:

‘Fulfil wider professional responsibilities: deploy support staff effectively’.

The Teachers’ Standards set a clear baseline of expectations for the professional practice and conduct of teachers and define the minimum level of practice expected of teachers in England (DfE, 2011)

Teaching Assistant – A teaching assistant (TA) is employed to work alongside and support a teacher in a classroom. Teaching assistants can work part time or full time hours.

(Primary) Trainee Teacher – A trainee teacher is a student within ITT who wants to undertake a training route in ITT and become a teacher. Trainees will receive QTS on completion of a training route. The training routes on offer are varied: university-led undergraduate; university-led post-graduate; School-Centred ITT (SCITT); schools-led School Direct (salaried, non-salaried and self-funded), charity run Teach First, Troops to Teaching, Researchers in Schools and self-funded Assessment Only.

ABBREVIATIONS

- BA – Bachelor of Arts (Degree)
- CACE - Central Advisory Council for Education
- CBI – Confederation of British Industry
- CPD – Continuing Professional Development
- DES – Department of Education and Science (1964-1992)
- DISS – Deployment and Impact of Support Staff
- DfE – Department for Education (2010 to current)
- DfEE – Department for Education and Employment (1992-2001)
- DfES – Department for Education and Skills (2001-2007)
- EAL – English as an Additional Language
- HLTA –Higher Level Teaching Assistant
- HMI – Her Majesty’s Inspector
- ITE – Initial Teacher Education
- ITT – Initial Teacher Training
- LEA – Local Education Authority
- MITA – Maximising the Impact of Teaching Assistants
- NCTL – National College for Teaching and Leadership
- NNEB –Nursery Nursing Examination Board
- NOS – National Occupational Standards
- NQT – Newly Qualified Teacher
- NVivo –In Vivo coding
- NVQ – National Vocational Qualification

- OfSTED – Office for Standards in Education, Children’s Services and Skills
- PAR – Pupil Adult Ratio
- PGCE – Post Graduate Certificate in Education
- PTR – Pupil Teacher Ratio
- QTS – Qualified Teacher Status
- SATs - Statutory Assessment Tests
(more correctly National Curriculum Assessments)
- SEN – Special Educational Needs (Sometimes SEND, SEN and Disability)
- TA – Teaching Assistant
- TDA – Training and Development Agency for Schools
(became Teaching Agency then renamed NCTL, now TRA)
- TTA – Teacher Training Agency (became TDA)
- TS – Teachers’ Standards (from 1st September 2012)

CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview of chapter

In this chapter, I will propose the academic focus of my research study before outlining my personal and professional context as a researcher. I examine how my research is contextualised by my current role, and by recent policies and announcements within education. The chapter continues by revealing how I shaped my research study by referring to one of the demands of the Teachers' Standards (DfE, 2011), and the theoretical positioning required for it.

The main research direction concerns three groups of people who work within the process of an assessed placement of school experience in Initial Teacher Training: trainee primary teachers, teaching assistants and school-based mentors in primary schools in England. The deployment of teaching assistants is a key part of the trainee primary teacher's responsibility (DfE, 2011) but there is little, if any, existing literature that concerns the deployment or the relationship between a primary trainee teacher and a teaching assistant in United Kingdom state schools. This was experienced by Bignold and Barbera (2011, p. 367) who asserted:

'There has been little academic attention given to the role of teaching assistants in working with ITE trainees...'

A similar situation was experienced in New Zealand where Stacey, Harvey and Richards (2013) discuss the lack of training that secondary school teachers receive to prepare ESOL teaching assistants, whom they term 'paraprofessionals':

'The literature provides no instances of teacher training for working with paraprofessionals. While many countries have guidelines...these alone are not adequate for giving teachers the pedagogical and people management skills required to coordinate and lead teams of paraprofessionals' (2013, p.12).

The present training of primary school teachers, in my experience, does not give sufficient attention to the preparation of trainee primary teachers to manage teaching assistants in their classrooms. My research study will aim to explore the experience

and perceptions of trainee primary teachers as they establish professional relationships and deploy their assigned teaching assistants. I want to discover what occurs during the process of deployment and how assistants, trainees and mentors express their views. My research study is represented through the following title:

What are the perceptions of the practice of the deployment of teaching assistants by trainee teachers during classroom teaching experiences on a university-based ITT programme in southeast London?

And its subsidiary questions:

i. How do trainee primary school teachers perceive their role in deploying teaching assistants in the classroom?

ii. How do teaching assistants and mentors perceive the role of trainee teachers in deploying teaching assistants in the classroom?

iii. To what extent is deployment of teaching assistants commented upon by visiting tutors?

iv. What is the role of 'teacher identity' in the perception of the deployment of teaching assistants?

v. How can trainee primary teachers be better prepared to deploy teaching assistants?

This research study is organized into five chapters. Chapter 1 is this introduction which outlines the context of the research and why I chose to explore the perceptions of trainee teachers, mentors and teaching assistants.

Chapter 2 is the literature review in which I outline the theoretical perspective of Bourdieu's theory of habitus, capital and field before discussing the nature of teaching assistants in schools. The literature develops to discuss the deployment of teaching assistants and their effectiveness because this is the context in which the trainee teachers find themselves located. The literature deals with research from MITA and

the DISS project, among others, that makes the case for effective deployment of teaching assistants by teachers, and teaching assistants. It finishes by exploring the concept of ‘teacher identity’ and how the trainee teachers’ identity is fashioned during the ‘localized familiarization’ that occurs within the school experience.

Chapter 3 is concerned with the methodology I have chosen to implement for the design of my research study - with a discussion of the theoretical use of a qualitative research approach; a discussion of the sample selected; and methods used for the data collection.

Chapter 4 is the presentation of the analysis of data. I analyse the perceptions of the three main participants: trainee teachers, mentors and teaching assistants, and it is in this chapter that I argue that these perceptions reveal how Bourdieu’s concept of habitus, capital and field are relevant. The theory is not rejected but an argument is presented that the data reveal how it is modified within the notion of existing hierarchies.

Chapter 5 concludes the research study with a discussion from the previous chapter’s analysis before finishing with recommendations for practice.

1.2 Background to the research study

The focus of this research study explores trainee primary teachers, teaching assistants and mentors’ perceptions on deploying teaching assistants in schools. In order to contextualize this, it is relevant to consider how the role of the teaching assistant has developed in English education - an outline of which is contained in the table below:

Date	Event
1945	Creation of National Nursery Examination Board – first appearance of ‘other staff’
1967	Central Advisory Council for Education Report (Plowden) – ancillary staff noted in schools
1978	Warnock Report – other adults assisting with children with SEN
1980s	Inclusion of children with SEN into mainstream education
1997 1998	& National Literacy Strategy & National Numeracy Strategy – Teaching Assistants’ roles defined
2000	Term ‘Teaching Assistant’ becomes preferred government term of reference
2002	HMI report acknowledges teaching assistants to have a pedagogical (teaching) role
2003	National Workload Agreement sees emergence of Higher Level Teaching Assistants (HLTAs)

Table 1 A timeline of developments of the teaching assistant

The National College for Teaching and Leadership (NCTL) is the government authority that awards trainee teachers Qualified Teacher Status (QTS) in England. This, in turn, is facilitated by ITT provision which assesses trainee teachers for the accruing of evidence against the Teachers’ Standards (DfE, 2011). The Department for Education is clear in that it is looking for trainee teachers to show an understanding of their ‘professional duties and responsibilities’. The Teachers’ Standard of relevance for my research is number 8 (bullet point number 3) which in full is: ‘fulfil wider professional responsibilities’.

- make a positive contribution to the wider life and ethos of the school
- develop effective professional relationships with colleagues, knowing how and when to draw on advice and specialist support
- *deploy support staff effectively*

- take responsibility for improving teaching through appropriate professional
- development, responding to advice and feedback from colleagues
- communicate effectively with parents with regard to pupils' achievements and well-being (DfE, 2011).

The argument here is not whether teaching is a profession and that ITT is preparing trainee teachers to enter it (Knight and Saunders, 2010; Rea and Parkinson, 2006). The basis of my research is the consideration that the deployment of a teaching assistant effectively is a professional standard but one which I feel that qualified teachers, let alone trainee teachers, are often not adequately prepared to do (Sharples, Webster and Blatchford, 2015 and Bignold and Barbera, 2011). Trainee teachers not only accrue evidence to pass the Teachers' Standards on qualification but face an expectation to progress beyond the 'minimum level of practice expected of trainees and teachers' (DfE, 2011). This can be taken to mean that Newly Qualified Teachers (NQTs) are to pass their induction period consisting of further assessments of practice (DfE, 2016b) and an expectation to 'hit the ground running' (Bousted, 2016).

1.3 Personal and professional context

I am currently employed as a senior lecturer within Initial Teacher Training (ITT) training students, or as they shall be called in my research, trainee teachers, to become qualified primary teachers. I have been in post for just under eleven years, being previously employed as a primary school teacher, with much experience of working with teaching assistants in my daily practice. At the time of the research I had the responsibility of co-ordinating a school-based experience for a postgraduate (PGCE) cohort of trainee teachers and to link tutor (act as an observer and assessor) any given trainee primary teacher during her school experience. Through reading the collected observations, trainees' feedback forms and listening to oral stories, I wondered how students considered the prospect of working with teaching assistants, especially when there was no taught provision for them at university. Sometimes I noticed that trainees had difficulties in working with teaching assistants, notably when I was acting as their

link tutor. I reflected that perhaps there could be an opportunity for conducting research into the deployment of teaching assistants by trainee primary teachers during their school experience practice.

The current situation concerning the role of teaching assistants is one of uncertainty owing to the debate regarding their effectiveness toward children's learning. This is important to note because this is the professional context into which trainee teachers, in preparation for their Newly Qualified Status (NQT), will be entering. In May 2013, think tank 'Reform' made the argument to the then United Kingdom coalition government (2010-2015) that the 232,000 teaching assistants employed in schools were having a 'negligible effect' (Stevens, 2013) on children's progress. The Treasury and Department for Education considered their removal in order to reduce the education spending budget:

'For head teachers, the overriding priority should be to invest in the quality of teaching. Ministers should support schools that reduce numbers of teaching assistants and allow class sizes to rise. Ministers should make the case that having a high quality teacher is more important than smaller class size' (Thorpe, Trehitt and Zuccollo, 2013).

This was rebutted at the time by the then education minister Liz Truss who argued that government was committed to making the expenditure on them worthwhile (Harrison, 2014). Despite this situation, former Secretary of State for Education, Michael Gove, did remove the pay structuring body for teaching assistants as a way of deregulating pay and conditions for the school workforce (Shepherd, 2010). The Coalition government was influenced by one body of research that declared that teaching assistants were not providing any positive effect on children's attainment (Blatchford *et al.*, 2009). Brown and Harris (2010) argued that the opposite effect was revealed in their research. The previous Labour government (2005-2010) had to cope with the implementation of an austerity budget during a time of severe economic recession (Peston 2012). There were cutbacks to public services but not in spending on education collectively during the recession (Chowdry and Sibieta, 2011).

There have been developments since the protected spending on education with two differing trains of thought about the teaching assistant's future. Stevens (2013)

reported that teaching assistants now faced ‘the axe’ and there was evidence to suggest that in some areas of England, teaching assistants were either facing job losses or pay-cuts (Chakraborty, 2016; Graham, 2016, Hopps, 2016). Whereas in contrast, the MITA group (MITA, 2014) offered schools a programme of support to maximise teaching assistants’ effectiveness. The latter also wrote that there needs to be more careful examination of the call to reduce their numbers:

‘As the authors of the research on which this recommendation was based, my colleagues at the Institute of Education and I have argued that such action is not only based on a partial reading of the evidence about impact, but that is likely to do more harm than good for students, teachers and schools’ (Webster, 2014).

In September 2014, during the season of party political conferences, little mention was made of teaching assistants. Then Shadow Secretary of State for Education, Tristram Hunt (2013-2015) and former Secretary of State for Education, Nicky Morgan (2014-2016) acknowledged the contribution of teaching assistants needed to be recognized (Labour Press, 2014) and that they could be regarded as heroes (Conservatives, 2014). There have been no policy announcements as far as teaching assistants are concerned, though the white paper ‘Educational Excellence Everywhere’ (DfE, 2016a) was rescinded. When in opposition to the Coalition government (2010-2015) Labour’s plan was to ensure all teachers were qualified by providing ‘greater training to make sure, year on year, teachers become better and better at their job’ (Labour Press, 2014). The coalition government announced a nationwide review calling for responses aimed at supporting the development of a new set of professional standards for teaching assistants (DfE, 2014c). However, from October 2015 this had yet to be published owing to a delay (Scott, 2015). No mention was made in either of the two main political parties’ autumn conferences of 2016 by Justine Greening, then Secretary of State for Education, nor by the Shadow Secretary of State for Education, Angela Rayner.

1.4 Original contribution to knowledge

My claim for original contribution to knowledge lies with my argument that the establishing of a professional relationship during the deployment of a teaching

assistant by a trainee teacher in primary schools, in and around southeast London, opens the curtain to a scene where the complexities of the teaching profession are exposed. In my study, the trainee teacher recognizes the powerlessness of her situation in an environment where a safe option is to sometimes accept the existing practice within an environment rather than be expected to make any change, or even offer to make change. That is not to say, however, the trainee teacher totally stagnates in her practice. Rather, she adopts a measure to work with her teaching assistant by negotiation: one I term a process of '*localized familiarization*' within the primary classroom setting. Her trajectory within the new environment is limited and therein lies the wider issue. The stage on which she embarks her professional training is one of conformity, not necessarily one of accepted innovation.

It is within this setting of the school experience that I make a contribution to knowledge. I aim to acknowledge that the theoretical concept of Bourdieu's struggle of power within the field (Bourdieu, 1984) does occur but in a manner that suggests that it is negotiated between the trainee teacher and teaching assistant in the existing professional habitus of the primary school classroom rather than it being an overt struggle. This negotiated struggle limits the social trajectory of the trainee teacher in the school according to the concept of habitus and recognition of capital, and therefore reveals further examples of limited trajectory for the trainee. My research study uses Bourdieu to expose the perceived reality for trainee teachers being one of limitations in the wider picture of the teaching profession.

From this, I aim to support trainee teachers in identifying their powerlessness and the intricacies of the relationship they have with another powerless group - teaching assistants. This will allow them to develop the consciousness of how to move that interaction and relationship into a mutually powerful one in terms of pedagogy and support.

1.5 Theoretical positioning of the study

I chose Bourdieu's theory of habitus, capital and field (Bourdieu, 1984) as the lens through which to conduct my research study. Bourdieu wrote that groups of people

construct their place within the world through living within the world. In other words, knowledge about the world is constructed by being or ‘doing things’. The practice of people, their everyday lives, is socially constructed within time and space and by various factors operating there (Bourdieu, 1984). This provides them with an identity but crucially with Bourdieu:

‘Most people, most of the time, take themselves and their social world somewhat for granted: they do not think about it because they do not have to’ (Jenkins, 1992, p. 70).

Bourdieu’s study of people and the way they are organized into society or institutions, is meant to give an explanation of how society is organized and the reasons why it becomes organized in a particular way (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002). As a researcher looking to explore and understand the practices of trainee primary teachers deploying their teaching assistants, I needed to make sense of the field in which this occurs. The application of a Bourdieusian lens meant that I was seeking to discern the perceptions of how power was recognized and used within a particular environment that comprised a social world.

The data were collected within the ‘small-scale qualitative research study’ method. Safford and Hancock (2011) advocated such a method because initially, a primary school is an unpredictable place and that methods have to be carefully considered owing to such matters as a short time frame for research, and with no intention of generalizing results from a single instance.

1.6 Summary of chapter

In this chapter, I have attempted to argue that there is little literature that explores the managing of the deployment of teaching assistants by primary trainee teachers within the field of ITT. Where it does exist, it is written for teachers rather than trainee teachers. My professional situation within ITT stimulated a curiosity into the perceptions trainee teachers had when deploying their teaching assistants and I decided to conduct research into that area. Nationally, within England, the position of teaching assistants is being evaluated in terms of the possible effectiveness toward children’s learning at a time when their numbers are at their highest in terms of employment and

in their changed role. The research study sets out to explore the perceptions of trainee teachers against this political and economic backdrop. I have outlined my theoretical perspective and suggested a contribution to knowledge within the field of ITT. The next chapter will explore and analyse the literature within this field.

CHAPTER 2 – LITERATURE REVIEW

Part 1 – Bourdieu and the theory of habitus, capital and field

2.1 Overview of chapter

The aim of this literature review is to establish the theoretical background for my research and explore the key issues affecting trainee teachers within education. Therefore, the literature review is divided into two parts. The first part sets the introduction for the literature review and the second section, 2.2, details how I arrived at my theoretical approach for this research study. This is followed by the next section, 2.3 which deals with the theoretical lens for it. I explain why this was chosen and detail some of the key ideas contained within it, for example, the theory of ‘vocational habitus’. The following section, 2.4, explores briefly the use of Bourdieu’s theoretical perspective in research and includes a criticism that shows its limitations. This is followed by section 2.5 which highlights the development of the teaching assistants’ role, where I trace the development of an adult, other than a teacher who appears in a school for the purposes of assisting children’s learning, and the trainee teachers’ place within primary education. Section 2.6 is concerned with the rapid growth of teaching assistants and section 2.7 explores the current debate regarding teaching assistants. This is followed by section 2.8, where I move to discuss the professional identity of trainee teachers and their place within the workplace. I explore the notion of relationships and how an understanding of these from the trainee teacher’s perspective is important to the process of adult deployment. The next section, 2.9, explores the deployment of teaching assistants. I finish with a summary of the chapter in section 2.10.

2.2 A theoretical approach

My research study sets out to explore how teaching assistants, mentors and trainee teachers perceive the experience and practice of the deployment of teaching assistants by trainee teachers during classroom teaching experiences.

I began considering the theoretical approach by exploring what was the underlying concept of deployment. For me, it is an act between two individuals: in the case of a school experience, it is an act between two individuals within an institution - the teacher and the teaching assistant. People are social beings and exhibit feelings toward one another (Rogers, 2004) and the interaction between two or more people is one of awareness and experience. Portes (1998) developed the idea that people who engaged in social interactions constructed networks based on investing of time and effort in order to gain a benefit. The idea of an individual within a network who initiated a process of investing in order to attain a benefit, led me to the theory of acquiring social capital (Field, 2008). This was the beginning of the search for a theoretical approach. I begin with 'social capital' before addressing 'symbolic interactionism' and conclude with a 'community of practice'. I describe how these influenced my thinking but were rejected as a theoretical lens. In each of the following three examples, there will be a discussion that concerns perceptions: that is how perceptions matter within social relationships.

2.2.1 Social Capital

Field (2008) discussed the idea of network interactions and investment by arguing that 'relationships matter' (p.1). He wrote that social capital was at the heart of people working together; connecting through networks, and sharing common values. Through critiquing the writing of Coleman, social capital was perceived as a way of 'explaining how people manage to cooperate' (p. 24) or if people chose to work together, how it was in their interests to do so. Therefore, two parties, in this case a trainee teacher and a teaching assistant, interacting were sharing objectives, or a sense of reciprocity (Gittell and Vidal, 2000). Field (2008) discussed the seminal writers who developed social capital were Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman and Robert Putnam, with Bourdieu sharing a 'Marxist concern of unequal access to resources and the maintenance of power' (2008, p.15). Reading Marx offers this insight into how men (sic) are tied with not only means of production but social relations too:

'The same men who establish their social relations in conformity with their material productivity, produce also principles, ideas and categories, in conformity with their social relations' (Marx, 1956, p. 122).

For Coleman (2001), this interaction from an actor (or agent) permitted a control over resources (social capital) but it was again the social interaction which led to the development of human capital which he saw as an individual acquiring new skills and knowledge. This occurred within a social structure and the structure was responsible for shaping actors' actions. The notion of the structure here is important. It is the structure that embodied and contained the ability for social networks to occur and for people to engage in cooperation or tasks associated with work. This, for Coleman, was key in how interactions between individuals led to the creation of capital: social and human (Field, 2008). Social capital enabled actors to pursue their goals more effectively than they could without it. Here Field (2008) concluded that social capital had an emphasis on relationships in explaining structures and behaviour and offered the view that Bourdieu was more concerned with cultural capital (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002). Bourdieu's definition of capital evolved over time and he did offer a reason as to why he focussed on using such an umbrella term:

'Every kind of capital (economic, cultural, social) tends to function as symbolic capital...It is not a particular kind of capital but what every kind of capital becomes when it is misrecognized as capital, that is, as a force, a power or capacity for exploitation...' Bourdieu, 2000, p. 242).

In summary, capital depends on connections that can be utilised by individuals as they operate within an institution and among each other by establishing social networks (Field, 2008). This then, is the beginning of the idea of power and how power can be accumulated and recognized by others within a social space or structure.

2.2.2 Symbolic interactionism

The idea of social capital develops through changes in the relationships with others. Using the image of an actor, Goffman (1959), Blumer (1969) and Coleman (2001) described how capital is obtained and developed through social interactions. Blumer (1969) described how an individual constructs a relationship with another as a 'social

product' because of the way each would define the activity of the other as they interacted. He discussed this as individuals 'performing activities' as each encountered the other. Both parties were involved in the 'interpretation of such actions' (joint action), which he termed as 'symbolic interactionism'.

Goffman (1959) likened the interpretation of such 'joint action' with the analogy of actors on a world stage during a performance. For him, an individual or a party's activity in each situation was marked by a continuous presence before a set of observers. Therefore, in an interaction there would be two participants who were continually looking to interpret each other's action and to ascribe meaning to the observed action of the other. Goffman (1959) developed his theory by asserting that a given individual would discover a 'front', that is, a set of skills that people used to make meaning of situations. Through exploring personality, social status and manner, Goffman (1959) argued that a given individual requested to his observers to take seriously the impression that was fostered before them. This impression was based on the belief that the individual, as perceived, did actually possess 'certain attributes' that he ought to use to perform the task that was claimed. In other words, if others saw you, for example, as a teacher, they had to believe that your actions, language and appearance were those that would qualify you as a teacher in their presence.

Goffman's (1959) example of a performer's role is measured by the observer along a continuum with the performer not wishing to be embarrassed because he wishes to be viewed as competent:

Cynicism (from the observer) →→→→→→ sincerity (from the performer)

In not wishing to be embarrassed, the 'front' was created and this equated to status, or that role being awarded sufficient status. Goffman was writing that a front was essentially an investing of one's own capital that was recognised by others. The embarrassment was mitigated by such an accumulation of capital and a relationship therefore created through this action. Again, the work of agents here, as for Coleman (2001), was created within a structure: although for Goffman, many of his structures

were examples of the workplace. Within the workplace, he contrasted attitudes of assumed behaviour which he termed 'appearance and manner' (1959, p.34). The former related to the performer's, or agent's social statuses, while the latter was the expectation of a role that someone would perform. The criticism here is that fronts were already established for actors and that this could be limiting to the roles they were required to perform.

The idea of social capital regarding the workplace revealed how professional relationships could be created. Literature was suggesting that relationships, and the forging of relationships within a structure, was a recognition of not only capital but a projection of worth, a sense of identity; for example, a measure of acceptance (Field, 2008 and Coleman 2001). Agents were social participants, socially negotiating pathways and understandings through a system of meaning. The idea of a 'community of practice' was an example of where this could happen.

2.2.3 A 'community of practice'

For Lave and Wenger (1991) the professional workplace was the context in which the process of social participation underpinned the relationship between newcomers and experienced practitioners. Within such a social environment this occurred where learning involved participation in a 'community of practice'. Their description of learning was a process which evolved continuously. It became defined as a renewed set of relations which was perceived by the person engaging with the learning. Wenger (1998) emphasised two ideals: learning must be centred in the community of practice and learning was within the relationships between people, where knowledge was shared. Therefore, learning occurred by social integration. Dinkelman (2011) used the notion of 'collaborative inquiry communities of practice' where he wrote how teacher educators needed to be reminded about their own identities within the institutions where they taught.

Lave and Wenger (1991) and Wenger's (1998) study of social-cultural relations emphasized that socialization was a key element of being able to contribute to, and

learn from, a community of practice. For the trainee teacher, the community of practice is a short experience of some six to eight weeks and arguably a difficult time for the socialization process to occur for it to benefit either party. Wenger (1998) developed the theory that identity was formed in a tension between belonging to something and the ability to negotiate meaning in a context. Identity was both relational (to others) and experiential (formed by experiences). Negotiation was also required to shape the meanings within a social setting. Bathmaker and Avis (2005), through their research into trainee Further Education lecturers, gave an example of how being marginalized became a problematic experience. Their trainee lecturers did not feel they had access to the community of practice and what they experienced did not match their expectations of ideal practice. Their perceptions of the situation did not match their idealized situation.

Cox (2005), in his critique of Wenger (1998), questioned whether communities of practice could accept temporary or part time staff; those workers who came and went. These would be the trainee teachers in a six to eight-week placement. Cox (2005), however, analysed that Wenger's (1998) community of practice did allow for 'sustained mutual engagement' within a temporary time frame but questioned the sense in which *'relationships and understandings were structured by the work itself and a management created context'* (p. 6).

Nias, Southworth and Yeoman's (1989) ethnographic study within five primary schools enabled them to conclude that teachers structured their own view of the world in which they inhabited. Order and understanding of this world was created through an interaction with one another. In relation to the work of Putnam (2001) and Coleman (2001), the authors saw that those who were outsiders of a given network or culture, entered three stages of influence to join it: they complied with a group's behavioural norms; they identified with the members and their behaviour; and they internalized the group's values and outlook. As a consequence of this, individuals were constructing the cultures of the group which they become part of. This culture comprised beliefs, understandings, attitudes, meanings and norms, symbols, rituals and ceremonies. A culture developed, and presumably was inclusive, by interaction (talk) between the

group's members. For those members of staff, for example teaching assistants (whom they referred to as ancillaries), who wished to work effectively within schools they must be:

'...provided with opportunities to perceive and understand school cultures. Above all it is important for staff themselves to realize that they make and maintain these cultures. In the last resort, the manner in which heads, teaching and ancillary staff behave towards one another and the ways in which they work, or do not work, together are in their own hands' (Nias, Southworth and Yeomans, 1989, p. 186).

Wenger (1998) suggested that a community of practice was more than a shared knowledge or understanding but was developed by the process of learning being fashioned by the relationships between people. Nias, Southworth and Yeomans (1989) appear to be suggesting that the adherence to a given culture (attitudes, meanings and rituals) was the process that allowed (or is the licence) for two parties (the trainee teacher and the teaching assistant) to recognize the need that the working relationship was as strong as both parties' commitment to it.

2.2.4 Summary of a theoretical approach

The theories of 'social capital', 'symbolic interactionism' and a 'community of practice' have the concept of social relationships at the heart of them. Not only that they are connected to a social setting where the relationships produce experiences and those who enter the social setting already carry capital (Field, 2008); an interpretation of such capital (Goffman, 1959); and the shaping of identity in a community (Wenger, 1998). Bourdieu encapsulated both social capital and the concept of agency into his brand of sociology influenced by Goffman (Swartz, 1997) and therefore I used this as a means of attempting to perceive the idea of deployment. The theory contained within a 'community of practice' was not used primarily owing to the argument that trainee teachers on such a short term placement could not be considered to be included within that community (Cox, 2005). That aside, the theory of 'communities of practice' does explore the negotiation of meaning; learning the formation of identity as a fact of social life (Wenger, 1998); yet Bourdieu was chosen because I was drawn to him as an

exploration of power within the social setting that I thought would explain my perception of trainee teachers' deployment issues.

From a Bourdieusian perspective, Goffman's notion of a 'front' is similar to that of the competition for power within the field. Bourdieu (1984) articulated how in the field (in this case the school or classroom) agents were continually competing for power. This view would assert that in such a competition, it is those with the stronger capital and the ability to adjust to the work place situation and its rules which determines ascendancy. An inexperienced trainee teacher's reliance on her existing cultural capital is the important factor here, unless the other party in the 'front' acquiesces voluntarily and allows the trainee teacher to assert her position. It was the reading of the culture and how it was constructed, from the study from Nias, Southworth and Yeomans (1989) that gave me an introduction to Bourdieu's concept of the habitus which I discuss in the following section.

The habitus is where those who enter it feel the reality of the competition, or struggle for power, and to assert their professional selves. To be marginalized would suggest a lack of power, or that those who hold the power are not keen to relinquish it. For the trainee teacher, it could be that she does not see the relevance of competing for power, and therefore the field only replicates itself, or that she does not have sufficient time in order to begin to challenge ideas and accepted practice. The next section explores in more depth the choice of Bourdieu as a theoretical lens for the studying of the perceptions of those engaged in deploying teaching assistants.

2.3 The theoretical lens - Bourdieu and the theory of habitus, capital and field

I outline the main theoretical stance of Pierre Bourdieu, a French sociologist, influential thinker and philosopher, author and academic, in this section. I shall endeavour to explain why his theory which encapsulates aspects of social capital, symbolic interactionism and a sense of community of practice was more useful as a choice of theoretical lens.

Bourdieu's writing was concerned with analysing concepts of power and social class (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002) from his position within the *École Pratique des Hautes Études*. His notable works, 'Outline of a theory of practice (1977) and 'Distinction' (1984), demonstrated his intellectual shift whereby he sought to understand the world by replacing philosophy with sociology (Hage, 2009). Bourdieu initially did this with his studies regarding the people of Kabyle, in Algeria, and Bearn, in France, and therefore proposed that research should be grounded in social reality. For Bourdieu, sociology may be summarized as:

'...agents... [who] adopt strategies of behaviour which are based on their perceptions of their objective situation and are influenced also by their objective situation...' (Robbins, 1991, p.102).

The concept of 'perceptions' is important for this research study and Bourdieu used it to explain one of his notable terms, *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1977). People's perspectives of the world shape their world; 'every field is an institutionalization of a point of view in things' (Bourdieu, 2000).

Bourdieu saw the world as possessing an economy of being (Hage, 2009), whereby 'being' was unequally distributed in the world. This can be interpreted as meaning that societies are unequal and there is a need to accumulate 'being' by investing in what life should offer within a given society. If society is unequal, then a struggle occurs for the accumulation of 'being' which is a sense of recognition from others and a sense of being practically efficient within society. Members of a society are not governed by the rules of a society but use strategies to advance their own interests (Bourdieu, 1977): however, members of a given society have their life chances defined by their accumulation of 'being' (Fox, 2013).

It is his theoretical model of explaining the social condition that I have used to investigate the perceptions of the deployment of teaching assistants by trainee teachers:

[(habitus) (capital)] + field = practice (Bourdieu, 1984, p.101).

I use this model as a social perspective on the world to explore how agents understand their world, and to explore how perceptions of trainee teachers and teaching assistants

are influenced by the structures of their environment (Fox, 2013). Bourdieu's theory does contain the development of bridging subjectivism with objectivism; the agent does not conform to established rules (Robbins, 1991) but negotiates a meaning. Therefore, I am drawn to Bourdieu because I aim to use his theory to analyse whether perceptions are indeed bound by a struggle for the accumulation of 'being' in a field or workplace.

To summarize, for Bourdieu, social institutions or organizations are based on divisions within relationships. People within these structures are engaged in a struggle to exert their positions according to the accumulation of being they manage to achieve. Society is not equal; the workplace is not equal; and people have perceptions of where they are in the world and attempt to navigate their pathways by using strategies that best fit their own purpose. To expand further, I shall define each of the four parts of the model above: habitus, capital, field and practice.

2.3.1 Habitus

'Habitus' describes the philosophy or how and why people think and act in particular ways that guide people in their responses to their environment or institution (Wacquant, 2005). It is not a fixed state of being, it changes and evolves because of how people interpret their environment. Although the habitus can evolve it can take time, it can be eroded and there may be a time delay in this process. (Wacquant, 2016). Bourdieu saw people within a given environment as 'agents' and stated that habitus was 'the durably installed generative principle of regulated improvisations' (Bourdieu, 1977, p.78) and:

Social agents are endowed with habitus, inscribed in their bodies by past experiences. These systems of schemes of perception, appreciation and action enable them to perform acts of practical knowledge, based on the identification and recognition of conditional, conventional stimuli to which they are predisposed to react... (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 138)

Agents are responsible for the creation of the habitus owing to the social relations that exist between them in as much as that all actions by agents are interest driven (Navarro, 2006). The habitus is a theory of a process of internalizing the external (Fox, 2013);

of being with a particular set of dispositions that are acquired, and, equally, how the individual engages with the environment because of those dispositions (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002).

In other words, the habitus works on an unconscious level; an individual is conditioned by a habitus. It is a culturally and socially acquired way of thinking (Herriman, 2016) or acting based on an individual's accumulation of knowledge, views, skills, tastes. This accumulation reflects an individual's background, or maintains an individual in a social class which can reflect a social history (1984). Wacquant (2016) elaborated this sociological concept further. For him, the internalization of external things (structures of society) become 'deposited inside persons in the form of lasting dispositions' (2016, p. 2) and repeated the idea that although the individual actively makes the social world, the responses of the individual are largely determined by the origin of that individual within a culture. The habitus is linked to the field, which I discuss later, and it informs the organization and is the organization. Individuals in an organization, for example those within a school, enter it with a set of dispositions and allow them to respond to situations therein but only because of the initial dispositions that individual originally has acquired.

To summarize, the habitus is a fluid concept that consists of a collection of individuals each with different attitudes and knowledge (among other things) becoming active or having a 'social know how' (Hage, 2013). It is a structure and because it is fluid, is engaged in structuring itself owing to the everyday actions of people within it (Wacquant, 2016). Habitus exists owing to an individual's accumulation and amount of capital, which I discuss next.

2.3.2 Capital

The accumulation of capital is central to Bourdieu's theoretical model. Capital is the recognition of worth, through the accumulation of capital by one individual to another (Hage, 2013). It is the use of 'capital' which maintains differences and hierarchies between agents (Navarro, 2006). Bourdieu (1984, p.113) defines capital as:

‘...a social relation, that is, an energy which only exists and produces its effects in the field in which it is produced and reproduced...’

Capital exists within the actions of individuals or is demonstrated in economic capital or cultural capital. Skeggs (1997) and Navarro (2006) expanded the list of capital to include social capital and symbolic capital (how others recognise and attribute value to other forms of capital) although Bourdieu insisted that all capital can be reduced to economic capital – money and property. Skeggs (1997) described how Bourdieu suggested class distinctions were based on the movement of capital in a social space which *‘enabled an analysis of the micropolitics of power’* (p. 8). I am concentrating on symbolic capital, the arbitrary identification of knowledge, skills and education accumulated within an individual, although I acknowledge that all capital can be grouped under human capital, which is the ‘economic value to firms and individuals and the wider public’ (Field, 2008). There is a link to social capital which allows individuals with varying amounts of economic and cultural capital to bring worth to institutions as well as social units (Field, 2008 and Putnam, 2001) although it is acknowledged this can cause inequality within such institutions (Bourdieu, 1984 and 1977).

Bourdieu’s perspective on the accumulation of capital was that it is arbitrary, which in fact is apparent within his writing in ‘Distinction’. In fact, the struggle for distinction (within French social class) was allied to the recognition of symbolic capital within society, for example, through attitudes to art. There is nothing intrinsically valued about an individuals’ capital unless it is recognized and it is at this juncture where power is discerned. Hage (2013) declared that the power is attested by those who value someone’s capital to have power within a field. The ability of an individual to accumulate capital is linked to the notion of investing in life by acquiring opportunities, an improved social gravity. Capital is therefore in the eye of the beholder and only important within a relationship. In other words, an individual’s worth or capital needs to be recognized and the arbitrary nature of what it is worth needs to be forgotten or ‘misrecognized’ (Fox, 2013) as Bourdieu discussed in his humorous perspective on the spelling of words within the French language (Bourdieu, 2014).

The opposite value of symbolic capital is symbolic violence whereby individuals are denied resources (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002). Here the arbitrary nature of accumulated capital is hidden which therefore produces social inequality (Bourdieu, 1984). I would argue that the idea of symbolic capital/symbolic violence is a key issue which to research regarding the perceptions involved in the deployment of teaching assistants. Capital and the recognition of it by agents in an organization would influence how such agents perceive each other. The translation of various capitals into symbolic capital is why I chose to look beyond merely social capital (Field, 2008 and Putnam, 2001).

To summarize, I am looking to Bourdieu's use of symbolic capital, rather than using individual interpretations of 'capital' as part of a theoretical lens for my research. Bourdieu's sociology is driven by exploring social inequalities within society or human organizations (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002) and I shall attempt to use it to see whether there are perceptions of struggle between a trainee teacher and a teaching assistant during a deployment within a school experience. Having discussed habitus, and now capital, I shall see how these both are shaped by interactions within the concept of 'field'.

2.3.3 Field

According to Bourdieu (1985), agents and their associated capital compete for, and struggle for, control of the interests particular to a 'field'. The field is a 'structured space' (Navarro, 2006) organized around either types of capital or aggregated capital, or it can be described as a network or club or institution. Bourdieu described 'field' as:

'A field of forces within which the agents occupy positions that statistically determine the positions they take with respect to the field, these position-takings being aimed either at conserving or transforming the structure of relations of forces that is constitutive of the field' (Bourdieu, 1995, p. 30).

Each field has its unique set of rules or 'doxa', Bourdieu (1984). When an individual enters a particular field, a transaction occurs whereby the possession of existing capital and habitus is exchanged for symbolic capital (Reynolds, 2014). This in effect is how

individuals or agents are defined within the field. In accordance to the perceived capital they bring, individuals are given a position within the field's distribution of existing capital (Maton, 2005, Navarro, 2006). The allocation of resources confers power and status and demarcates relations between positions within the field, hence the theme behind 'Distinction' (Bourdieu, 1984).

The field is a space where the distribution of capital, the unequal distribution of capital, occurs (Hage, 2013). Agents struggle for power and the advancement of their views or interests within the field which in itself becomes the representation of their world (Fox, 2013). This structuring of the field is therefore linked to habitus and the accumulation of the 'volume of specific capital that is possessed' (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 232) by an individual.

As discussed above, the exchange of accumulated capital to symbolic capital allows success in a field. A person's capacity to declare herself is dependent on the recognition of their resources as being perceived to be valuable and by the 'misrecognition' of the arbitrariness of their capital (Fox, 2013). Bourdieu writes:

'The struggles to win everything which in the social world, is of the order of belief, credit and discredit, perception and appreciation, knowledge and recognition – name, recognition, prestige...everything which constitutes symbolic power as a recognized power – always concern the 'distinguished' possessors and the 'pretentious' challengers' (1984, p., 251).

Here, the issue of 'perception' is important. Perception, I argue, is involved in the structuring of a field which in itself takes place in habitus. According to Bourdieu, it is likened to entering a game; joining that game's collective belief which gives it a value (1984). Individuals become conditioned by the habitus of the field, not only because of their existing habitus, but because it is a space whereby they also have a 'feel for the game'. This is their 'bodily hexis' which is manifested as they are exposed to the values (or necessary principles) of the field, or 'doxa' (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002).

The 'doxa' is a concept that requires unpicking in terms of perception. Bourdieu (1984) again uses the notion of perception to discuss it by linking it to the 'primary experience of the social world' (p., 471). The concept is an unconscious submission to arbitrary

measures (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002). Agents either conserve relations in the field or they set about to transform them. Maton (2005), however, writes that relations between individuals within a field are not limited to interactions between them but are revealed through a field's 'structuring principles'. A hierarchy can exist within a field but those agents are now engaged in 'interest driven' social arrangements (Navarro, 2006). Power relations are created although the situation in which they occur is never static. A field generates its own values within its specific structure and in turn becomes recognized as being inherently true and necessary (Bourdieu, 1977 and 1984). It does this by two competing forms of capital. The first, autonomous principle, looks inwards within a field to be impartial. The second, the heteronomous principle, looks beyond the field toward economic and political success, in other words looking to an external authority (Bourdieu, 1995). The hierarchy is referred to as 'social trajectory' (Bourdieu, p.127) and is contained within three conditions of the social space: the total volume of capital (referring to the sum of economic and cultural capital in particular); the second the relative composition of economic and cultural capital; and the third changes in these over time, or social trajectory (Veenstra, 2005). Yet Bourdieu argued that the power relations in a given field create the doxa which is 'misrecognition' of the socially arbitrary nature of the symbolic power (Myles, 2004). Individuals forget they are within the social world and produced by it; their perceptions of this world are shaped by it.

To summarize, the field is the structured space where individuals and intuitions use relationships in a discourse. The field operates by the recognition of one's symbolic capital which not only shapes these relationships but their practice as well. Individuals' habitus determines their actions but also each individual has an understanding that the 'organization of action within the field' (Bourdieu, 1998b) is a game worth playing. The rules of such a game are arbitrary and accepted by individuals unless challenged. The relationship of agents within a field is similar to Goffman's (1959) theory of symbolic interactionism notably because of the interpretation of a social action within a social structure. They both rely on an interpretation or perception and both discuss prestige, or the lack of it (1959, p. 195). This is because then habitus is the relationship between a capacity to classify practices and the capacity to differentiate these practices

(Bourdieu, 1984). For Bourdieu makes more use of what an individual brings to the social situation - the field. This is where practice occurs and I discuss this next.

2.3.4 Practice

Within this social space, Bourdieu argued that his idea of ‘practice’ operates. His theoretical stance was not to favour the objective approach over the subjective approach in the construction of reality. In other words, it is an attempt to ‘construct a theory of social practice and society’ (Jenkins, 1992, p.41). This can be done through the theory of habitus, capital and field. Practice is informed by an individual’s ability to understand and control one’s actions. This, however, is influenced by the objective nature of a culture (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002). It is here that agents operate in relation to one another because of how their capital has shaped such relationships and practices.

For the purposes of my research study, the ‘field’ is both the primary school, its classroom in which the trainee teacher enters, and the wider educational field – including governmental departments of education. The trainee brings with her aggregated ‘capital and habitus’: social, cultural and economic which has been accrued through, for example, family upbringing, education, wealth and networking. As she enters the field, she is an ‘agent’ whose capital, represented as a trainee primary teacher, is now exchanged for the symbolic capital of being placed in a classroom as a leading practitioner with the ability and right to deploy a teaching assistant under the supervision of a mentor. The hierarchy within the field is now in place. The trainee teacher has the opportunity to encounter the rules of the field, the ‘doxa’ while putting into practice what has been learnt in the field she has just left – the ITT institution. She will be competing for control of the interests of the field (engaging and teaching the children; deploying the teaching assistant; having sole attention of the mentor’s time); and using her existing capital to do so. It is within such a practice that her capital will increase; her external definition of who she is (identity) will change; and she will make a decision as to whether to conserve relations or transform them.

Using this theory will enable me to give an answer to the research study's question by unpicking what are the processes that underlie the act of deployment. If, as I state, there is a lack of training for trainee teachers in deploying assistants, the theory would suggest that trainees will rely on their existing capital to engage with this part of their professional development and that social relations will be constructed in a struggle for power. It will be interesting to discover how further the struggle for power plays out in the wider school environment.

2.3.5 Summary of Bourdieu's theory

I have argued that using the model of $[(\textit{habitus}) (\textit{capital})] + \textit{field} = \textit{practice}$ as a choice for my theoretical lens is owing to the notion that Bourdieu's sociological perspective is one way to analyse the social world through the perceptions of individuals or agents. These perceptions in the social world are based on the worth, or recognition, of acquired capital and how such capital determines power relations within a field or institution. The field is shaped by the habitus which is the continual appraising of the environment and a struggle for acceptance within it. I now give some brief examples of how Bourdieu's key theory has been used in others' research.

2.4 Using Bourdieu in research

2.4.1 Examples of Bourdieu's theoretical perspective

There are many examples of using Bourdieu as a theoretical lens in doctoral research and in published sociological writing. Researchers used Bourdieu as a theoretical lens, or a method in which they discussed exclusion, because of capital (Savage, 2012), marginalization (Morris, 2008), the social problems associated with inequality (Dorling, 2012); confirming and justifying inequality (Mansaray, 2012); or replicating a habitus (Watson and Grenfell, 2014). In this section I shall discuss the how other research has used the theoretical perspective of Bourdieu, or has elements of it with naming him as such, before exploring the use of 'vocational habitus', and finishing with a criticism of his theory.

2.4.2 Bourdieu in wider sociological studies

Savage (2015) championed the thinking of Bourdieu in his unravelling of the complexity of the British class system in a nationwide sociological study. The accumulation of inherited capital distinctly led to social inequality, in the form of wealth, education and cultural taste. Such inequality had led to a renewed interest in class consciousness and the increase of the 'precariat', as defined by other people's definitions as they experienced culture, employment, dress and language. The habitus of the group was one defined by the structuring of the economy, a symbolic violence expressed in perpetuating economic and educational cycles, but with a wry sense of knowing that it is not fully structured because those who fall into economic decline can enter its ranks. The opposite of this idea is discussed in the baby-boomer generation being criticized for holding onto accumulated capital (or accumulating too much of it) at the expense of newer generations (Willetts, 2010).

The perceived absence of capital, especially economic capital, is the source of numerous books within sociology that not only explain inequality but the presence of struggle. Dorling (2012), Lammy (2011) and Wilkinson and Pickett (2010) describe how symbolic capitalism and symbolic violence are perceived to be necessary in sustaining inequality. Dorling (2012) used Bourdieu to explain that views on inequality in the media were expressed by those who were seeking to fit the habitus of that media. Wilkinson and Pickett (2010) used Bourdieu to analyse how social mobility was limited in societies that are more hierarchical or unequal, while Lammy (2011), articulated the causes of the UK riots of that year as a lack of a stake within capitalism and the legitimizing of an underclass by those better able, and in power, to give voice to identifying and entrenching class differences. Lammy (2011) did not specifically refer to Bourdieu but his theory can be inferred, as it can with the concept of habitus, which was explored in a genial style in the collection of case studies from Levitt and Dubner (2006). They discussed how individuals' actions are at the centre of lifestyles. Though the term habitus is not used; the concept does explain that 'freakonomics' is the action that affects people daily.

Inequality within sociological studies are similarly captured by Skeggs (1997) and McKenzie (2015), who both expressed how 'misrecognition' had been used to deny a

group of people resources and to treat them disrespectfully. Skeggs used Bourdieu's theoretical framework of capital and space to argue how working class women were 'born into structures of inequality' (1997, p.161) and denied capital to trade for the rewards and recognition of middle class women in education and employment. Similarly, McKenzie (2015) used Bourdieu's idea of symbolic violence to explore the lives of residents on a Nottingham council estate. Though these residents have had their social class denied (not legitimately recognized within a social space), their trajectory was located within their class through the concept of 'getting by'. This was the articulation of passing on knowledge about living and coping with the structures that they encountered. Both authors made use of the term 'misrecognition' to describe powerlessness, of how those in certain positions were not legitimized to such an extent that they were perceived to be worthless and indeed invisible. Aubernas (2011) recalled experiences of the humiliation of French cleaners who either chose to be hidden from view or who did not have their presence acknowledged as they proceeded with their work.

Within the research there was evidence of a challenge to the use of habitus. Mann (2012) applied Bourdieu's idea of habitus and capital in her in-depth study of ageing male prisoners. She detailed how this category of prisoner had a habitus which enabled them to adapt more easily to the expected ethos of the prison. This was owing to their accrued capital from living in and experiencing an age of deference within wider society. The study found that older prisoners were more passive to authority and were more likely to conform to prison routine. This was in comparison to younger offenders who often struggled with authority. The capital of older prisoners, however, was not sometimes viewed as advantageous. For example, deferential or cordial relations with prison staff were not always popular with other prisoners. Mann (2012) criticised Bourdieu's notion that habitus was a structuring structure which organized the perception of the social world (Bourdieu, 1984). She argued that habitus could change more quickly than suggested, and in her case study of ageing prisoners, it was the ability to use an intelligence to implement change which allows such prisoners to cope with the system of being incarcerated. She projected a scenario where ageing prisoners of the future would be unable to cope with expected habitus of the prison because of their different capital.

2.4.3 Bourdieu in education-based studies

Bourdieu wrote extensively on the topic of education but not about the area of teacher education (Grenfell, 1996). His theory of habitus and capital was discovered in research undertaken in primary schools that is explored below. The research explored social relations; the amount of power a particular group had and used; or the amount of power a group did not have and were dispossessed. In other words, the research used his sociological theory to explain the social dynamics that existed in these particular school environments.

The notion of habitus was a method to uncover social inequalities that are taken for granted (Zacher, 2008) and (Reay, Crozier and Clayton 2005), as well as noting the constrictions it imposed on the positions of individuals (Mansaray (2012)). Here, habitus had its emphasis on domination in everyday practices within the primary school into the power dynamics of gender, class and 'race' relations. For Reay (1995), the case studies of the exclusionary practices of white middle-class children and the contrast with black children's powerful, self-reliant determination to succeed educationally, allowed her to conclude that children were working on the construction of their own particular brand of social 'distinction'. Habitus was used to make 'visible the taken-for-granted inequalities of gender, 'race' and class embedded in such social processes' (1995, p. 369). Zacher (2008) and Mansaray (2012) concluded the struggle of their research subjects, according to the wielding of their symbolic power, was a demonstration and manifestation of a hierarchy. In his conclusion Mansaray commented on the hierarchies he uncovered between middle class and working class teaching assistants in the same school:

'[I have] demonstrated that [the school's] middle-class assistants' identities and solidarities in the parental field shaped their participation in the structures of power, providing them with alternative (albeit still relatively limited) opportunities and resources for micro-political influence, which created an unsettled and alienating context for working-class assistants' (Mansaray, 2012, p. 257).

Mansaray's (2012) research explored teaching assistants' transition into their work and how such formations influenced the positions they occupied in two urban primary schools, and in 'relation to complex contextualised aspects of emerging urban class

formations and social relations'. Their work and position within the structure of the primary school was characterized by class tension and struggle. The conclusion revealed that for assistants from a working class background, their habitus and working trajectories reflected the constriction of their positions but in contrast, the formation of the middle-class within the same habitus unfolded differently. Their habitus was consolidated in embodied and institutional forms of capital such as high-status knowledge and qualifications. This was set against a background of affluence. These capitals and dispositions reinforced these women's sense of self-efficacy and control over their life. What is important is that Mansaray summarised the position of teaching assistants as occupying complex positions and the voice they communicated and relay through structures was informed by their habitus, as defined by their class (whereby middle class assistants were better able to use their capital within the social space to gain opportunities). What was of interest was: the positions the teaching assistants attained arose from negotiated opportunities with management and teachers; that teaching assistants and teachers developed common interests and orientations which framed their interactions.

In summary, the use of the concept of habitus has been used as a lens or method to explore aspects of power relations within a social or professional field. Some researchers attest that habitus is not a fixed entity (Mann, 2012) and agents or individuals who either adapt or change it have improved positions or are readily accepted within the field. This leads to an early criticism of the habitus that it is not a constant structure. One distinct form of Bourdieu's habitus and capital revealed in literature is the use of the 'vocational habitus'. I explore this below because it offers an explanation as to how students in chosen vocational professions, such as education or health, are deemed to be recognized as acceptable on entry to that profession because of their acquired habitus.

2.4.4 Vocational and professional habitus

The vocational habitus is a variation of Bourdieu's habitus (1984) and its name suggests that the vocational choice of the students is characterized by the caring professions they chose to train for (Colley, James and Tedder, 2002). They took the identity and associated dispositions within the professions of health and engineering

(Bourdieu's habitus) and argued that the given field was made up of the professional occupation and the vocational education informed by it. Their research was framed by the concept that an individual was suited for a type of employment owing to individuals drawn in from a particular background (existing habitus) which allowed them to adopt a vocational based identity.

Colley *et al.* (2003) and Hodkinson and James (2003) are credited by Braun (2012) as originators of the term 'vocational habitus'. Colley *et al.* label it as:

'...a central aspect of students' learning...to be a process of orientation to a particular identity, a sense of what makes 'the right person for the job' (2003, p.14).

Hodkinson and James (2003) defined the vocational habitus as 'learning as becoming' or recognizing, in their opinion, that successful students were socialized into the values and practices of their chosen profession. In other words, both Colley *et al.* (2003) and Hodkinson and James (2003) described how students adapted to the existing habitus of a field in order to fit in but then become unable to be effective in making any change.

Their later work (Colley *et al.*, 2003) proposed that their three students (from a Further Education College) would aspire to the existing habitus of each student's chosen vocational career. They drew from Bourdieu's theory of habitus to develop the concept of 'vocational habitus' to explain a central aspect of students' experience, as they have to orient to a particular set of dispositions – both idealised and realised. Predispositions related to gender, family background and specific locations within the working class were necessary, but not sufficient, for effective learning. They concluded:

'Vocational habitus proposes that the learner aspires to a certain combination of dispositions demanded by the vocational culture. It operates in disciplinary ways to dictate how one should properly feel, look, and act, as well as the values, attitudes and beliefs that one should espouse. As such, it is affective and embodied, and calls upon the innermost aspects of learners' own habitus' (p. 14).

The argument here is that the existing habitus of the workplace dictates that students must orient themselves to both the idealised and the realised ways of being within it.

Braun (2012) critiqued the earlier work of Colley *et al.* (2003) and Hodkinson and James (2003). For her, vocational habitus was about shaping a person, not directing

their particular work; but in agreement with Hodkinson and James (2003) it restricted personal agency - the ability to make an effective change. Her study revealed that her research subjects struggled with adjusting to the vocational habitus because of the complexities of work-based relationships and the nature of teacher training courses with a reliance on gaining tacit knowledge.

Braun's (2012) research concerned the exploration of vocational habitus, using Bourdieu's concept of habitus, with a small cohort of PGCE secondary trainee teachers. Her analysis of interview data revealed the research subjects struggled; this was a result of the vocational habitus in which the students were placed. The habitus was a mixture of discourses that were formed within the teaching profession and without it. The habitus in this case was bounded by three aspects of fairness, strictness and dedication, and students struggled to impose authority and be an exciting teacher at the same time. The habitus neglected the students' skills and abilities and did not allow for any movement from official guidance and policy regarding discipline. The accumulation of tacit knowledge was difficult to acquire because work-based teacher training was not as straightforward as it seemed, owing to the complexities of practice and work-based relationships. The conclusion was stark: the naturalisation of those trainees who entered the habitus of the 'profession' rendered it as '*lacking in status, stature and seriousness*' (2012, p. 243).

It was a challenge for students to adjust to the nature of the vocational habitus because of the limits of teacher training and because of their existing habitus not being informed by various items of capital. Elliott *et al.* (2011) acknowledged that the school-based model of teacher training was predicated on the notion that mentors made knowledge and skills available to the trainee teacher. The trainee teacher was to acquire a set of skills (Moore, 2004 and Braun, 2012). Elliott *et al.* (2011) in their research into skilled interpersonal relations explored the difficulty of ensuring sound relationships through daily interactions with various parties. Through exploring the nature of behaviour management, they noted how trainee teachers had:

'...limited experience of dealing with teacher colleagues within school-based hierarchies, a phenomenon that becomes increasingly salient to them as they progress through their first years of teaching. It is unsurprising, therefore, that trainees' development as teachers has been found to be greatly impacted by the

quality of the professional relationships that they are able to develop with their colleagues in school' (Elliott *et al.*, 2011, p. 84).

Within ITT in England, the School Direct programme advertises to potential applicants the promise that they would be supported by colleagues in a primary school (DfE, 2015). This is a form of teacher training that places trainees in a school to be taught relevant skills, '*receiving intensive support from experienced teachers and mentors*' (DfE, 2017) in partnership with ITT institutions or SCITTs. One advocate of this form of teacher training describes:

'One of the benefits of School Direct is the immediate immersion in school life...School Direct allows trainees to participate as active members of the community from the off. Working from... September through to July allows trainees to build lasting relationships with students and colleagues' (Jones, 2015).

Working with colleagues and being a 'member of the community' seems to be a valid argument for this area of ITT. Therefore students in School Direct are receiving quality teacher training programmes immersing them into a vocational habitus.

Habitus may be seen to be a concept of adjustment and conformity for individuals (Spence and Carter, 2014 and Watson and Grenfell, 2014). Watson and Grenfell's study (2014) explored students entering higher education to study occupational therapy. They noted how more successful individuals were able to adapt their habitus and convert that into recognizable forms of capital, which is, converting their portfolios into the recognizable academic qualifications necessary for that profession. The conclusion was that occupational therapy students whose habitus was '*most closely aligned to the pervading culture of the field*' (2014, p. 11) had increased capital on entry and therefore became more professionally comfortable with the existing practices within the field. As a result they were in a better position to respond to the expected practices therein.

The security of trajectory afforded by acquired capital was also recognized in the business world from a study by Spence and Carter (2014). They argued that Bourdieu's concept of habitus is one of fluidity, demonstrating how accountants became partners, or climbed the hierarchy, within the four leading United Kingdom accountancy firms, were those who embodied 'commercial-professional logics' over those who more

embodied ‘technical-professional logics’. Accountants who accepted the logic of the former were those who adapted more readily to the habitus within that profession and reaped the reward of being a partner. They concluded the habitus presented itself as something that can be ‘*substantively enabling for social agents, provided that they were capable of embodying the logic that is more highly valued by the surrounding field*’ (p. 960).

In his study of five case studies concerning modern language students within ITT, Grenfell (1996) used Bourdieu to explain how trainee teachers’ pedagogic habitus and their identity is formed by the practical field into which they are located. The learning that occurs in an ITT institution and in a school is different and is reacted to:

‘Indeed, schools will always say, or appear to say, things differently from the training institution; and the consequent interpretations imply contradictions. By having school and training institution as two structurally positioned, distinct sites, two purposes are served. Students engage in the training process by experiencing these sites, and the different issues that arise within them, and make choices about where they stand with regard to the various theoretical and practical questions involved. Such a choice often comes about through working with dilemmas’ (Grenfell, 1996, p.11)

This implied that trainee teachers decided for themselves what happened in this space and that their habitus was informed by reacting to events in order to progress and be identified as teachers. One example from a case study revealed that a trainee recognized the differences between the approaches to teaching from a school and university perspective which forced her to locate herself within one methodology. This subsequently proved difficult.

These examples of research illustrate that applying Bourdieu’s theory of the habitus has yielded different conclusions. Whether or not the habitus is fixed is dependent on those who enter it, the capital they possess and how they internalise the social norms and rules of the field. Habitus can be fluid (Spence and Carter, 2014) or it can be difficult to navigate (Elliott *et al.*, 2100). The question to consider, therefore, is what would the habitus of the school environment offer the trainee teacher when deploying

the teaching assistant? Is there trajectory or stagnation and therefore to what extent for the trainee teacher is the habitus fixed or navigable?

In summary, the trainee teachers in their study would have benefited from accessing tacit knowledge in order to identify given solutions to problems in a school setting. The experienced teacher's greater store of tacit knowledge gave them an advantage over inexperienced teachers who did not possess such an equal amount. Tacit knowledge was gained by the ability to demonstrate an interpersonal competence and an ability to respond to significant others within a school context. It is this very idea of having a 'limited experience of dealing with teacher colleagues' (Elliott *et al.*, 2011) that is important to remember when discussing the perceptions centred on professional relationships.

2.4.5 Criticism of Bourdieu

As a sociologist, Bourdieu analysed his findings from a political perspective rather than from a strictly quantitative analysis (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002); this is what occurred in his work on the Kabyle people of Algeria in (1977) and in discussing French social class in 'Distinction' (1984):

Sociology as I conceive it consists in transforming metaphysical problems that can be treated scientifically and therefore politically' (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 28).

The political interpretation of his anthropological and sociological studies has been translated into terms that are subject to criticism. It is worth noting that Bourdieu did offer a defence of his definition of habitus as a 'critique of critiques' (2000, p. 64) but for some academics the theory is not robust. There are reasons for this which I shall discuss below: the definition of the habitus; the issue of agency within it; and the rigidity of the habitus.

The concept of 'habitus' is never clearly defined according to Sullivan (2002). It is, however, discussed many times in his work and within the same book but the concept of habitus is used to discuss education and culture as well as the social setting; it is this which causes ambiguity to arise. For Sullivan (2002), the criticism of Bourdieu's

theoretical use of the habitus is that it does not allow an individual to change their conscious attitude to the structure's dominant forms or dispositions. It should be possible for an individual to be conscious of an explicit disposition and alter one's attitude toward it rather than be unconsciously affected by it.

This would suggest that the agency of the individual is suspect. Yet Bourdieu would define agency as being 'understood and contextualised in terms to the relation to the objective structures of a culture' (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002, p. ix). Robbins (1991) posits that individuals inherit a cultural identity but it can be modified as they age:

'The scope for changing [the identity] is circumscribed by the social expectations of the group with which we are associated. By our actions, we informally reinforce our inherited group affiliation. We adhere to groups... and we adopt the identifying images of social groups...so as to confirm our social identity. For the same reason, we take steps to distinguish ourselves from those who belong to different groups' (1991, p. 174)

Although an individual is influenced according to the inherited dispositions from a family, that same individual does not radically escape a particular class but only modifies a social position. Sullivan (2002) questions why this happens and that the current dominant disposition of a social setting should not alter one's future aspirations. For Bourdieu, though an individual has consciousness in decision making, that process of deliberation is unconsciously influenced by habitus and is not spontaneous or innovative (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002). He did, though, write that there were three possible trajectories reflected within a habitus: growth, decline or status quo (Swartz, 1997).

The issue of agency is critiqued as being incomplete for Field (2008). He has a concern that Bourdieu did not discuss that inequality or division could be bridged, or brought closer together, because only the privileged or dominant could possess capital. There is a rejection of outright challenge to cultural dominance without seeing that power can be invested in atypical organizations, for example, gang culture.

The problem with habitus is that individuals cannot operate outside of their habitus but this is rejected by Certeau (1984). For him, individuals can be free of the restrictions

of the habitus and critiques Bourdieu's sociological need to produce scientific truths (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002). In a sporting context, a football team that is awarded a penalty kick unfairly would be expected to operate within the habitus of the game and attempt to score a goal. For Certeau, the penalty kick taker could move beyond the dispositions of the habitus and attempt to wilfully not score. This is documented as occurring in football (Dart and Goodhart, 2007) and would suggest that the habitus has been influenced by a new ethos.

In defence of Bourdieu, he was committed to the idea that 'human relationships' were key to understanding the social world (Robbins, 1991, p. 176) and that the sociological framework he has placed on the agents he studied was in relation to his own position within French society. In other words, his theory has no end goal but is evolving. For my research, I note the limitations of Bourdieu's theory, notably with the concept of habitus. The discussion of struggle and competition within social fields tends to reproduce rather than develop or transform practices and actions (Mansaray, 2012). If this is the case, then it is unclear how social change might be perceived in the practice of trainee teachers deploying their teaching assistants. Yet I will be using the theory of Bourdieu to analyse how those involved in the process of deploying teaching assistants make sense of the rules and values that shape their institution. I shall be looking to see how do those involved shape their habitus, their world view and become naturalized by it.

Part 2

2.5 The development of the teaching assistant role and trainee teachers' place within primary education

I move forward to explore the origin of other adults in England within primary education. I present a short historical background to the development of primary education and how a political intervention caused their existence. Indeed, politics and education are entwined in the history of teaching assistants (Lambirth, 2011; Allen and Ainley, 2007; Gillard, 2007). Governments' educational reporting has shaped the conceptualization of primary education (Morrish, 1970); its recommendations prompted the first mention of other adults or 'ancillaries' (Central Advisory Council for Education, 1967); and its advisors influenced the discussion surrounding teaching assistants (Laws, 2010). I shall argue the importance of being aware that the teaching assistant has come into existence from a transformed role of helper to that of pedagogical assistant; one that is framed by perceiving the identity of an assistant in a pedagogical context.

The development of the teaching assistant from 1945 to the present day has seen a rise in their numbers owing to political intervention in education. Consequently, their status has been transformed from that of 'helper' status (or ancillary) to that of a professionalised status.

The first documented appearance of ancillary staff came in the creation of the National Nursery Examination Board (NNEB) in 1945 (Watkinson, 2003). This board created nursery nurses who specialized in assisting with the care of young children in schools. It is necessary to explore how the primary school evolved in terms of developing a particular curriculum which later necessitated the role of the teaching assistant, albeit after a considerable period of time. Morrish (1970) and Gillard (2011) trace how primary education, as a distinct area of children's learning from secondary education at the age of eleven, was first defined in the third Hadow report of 1926, titled 'The Education of the Adolescent':

'We hope, that is to say, that even if the expression 'Public Elementary School' is retained as a legal designation, public opinion and official phraseology may

increasingly recognise and describe education up to the age of 11 as the primary stage, ... (The Hadow Report, 1927, p. 155, cited in Gillard, 2011).

The fifth Hadow report of 1931, titled ‘The Primary School’, gave a view of the curriculum that was to be:

‘...thought of in terms of activity and experience rather than of knowledge to be acquired and facts to be stored’ (Morrish, 1970, p.31).

This meant a focus on children’s physical, intellectual and moral development (Gillard, 2011). The report’s conclusion sought to establish the primary school as a distinct educational identity, in terms of children’s age, but there was no recommendation for any adult helper to appear in the classroom. The emergence of influences on a child-centred approach, where teachers began to facilitate children’s learning by discovery (Gillard, 2011), is important to note at this stage because politicians were beginning to recognize this style of pedagogy existing within schools (Morrish, 1970). I suggest that child-centred education has a history with political recognition in the Hadow reports of 1926 and 1933 and although reflected in subsequent methods of teacher training, the primary education system still had a class teaching approach inherited from the elementary schools. As Gillard (2011, ch.5) noted: *‘progressive primary education would have to wait for the 1960s’* but the seeds of change were rooted in the encouragement by LEAs of innovation in schools; the increased professionalization of teachers; and the decline in whole-class teaching methods.

Central Advisory Council for Education (1967) ‘authorised progressive’ methods of teaching in primary schools (Pollard *et al.*, 2014; Kerr, 2007), notably through a child-centred curriculum. The report’s recognition of the child as an ‘agent of his/her own learning’ was summarised by Pollard *et al.*:

‘Child-centred’ teaching approaches, based on interpretations of Piaget’s work [a Swiss psychologist] were adopted by enormous commitment by many teachers in the late 1960s and 1970s’ (Pollard *et al.*, 2014, p. 38).

It was the recommendation of government for schools to use additional adults to support the pedagogy of child-centred learning which was viewed as *‘effective primary school practice’* (Central Advisory Council for Education, 1967, p.193).

Pedagogy was changing in many primary schools based on the constructivist theory of Jean Piaget (1959). Constructivism described how children learnt as a result of the teacher designing and creating situations that allowed children to construct their own knowledge (Bartlett and Burton, 2012). Children did this by assimilating new information into their existing knowledge and experience. This theory was different to behaviourism or didacticism where children were in receipt of information and facts directly from a teacher.

The Plowden report of 1967 was the first official recognition that made a reference to school-based personnel who would assist the teacher in this style of pedagogy (Morrish, 1970; Curtis, 1968). The report recommended the use of parents, part time teachers, trained ancillaries and teachers' aides:

'The type of help that is, or might be, given by teachers' aides, who ought to have equal status with nursery assistants and have a comparable training, falls into three kinds:

- (a) ...help that amounts to an extra pair of hands for the teacher...*
 - (b) ...help, often part-time, from those with special skills...*
 - (c) ...supervising children after school hours while they are waiting for their parents...*
- Teachers' aides can make a contribution to junior as well as infant schools....'*
(Central Advisory Council for Education, 1967, p.330).

Another reason for the advocated use of other adults in the classroom was because of a rising population and the due raising of the school leaving age (Morrish, 1970). This is important because of two reasons: (1) child-centred education required extra staff for an increasing school population (Morrish, 1970); (2) Plowden report acknowledged that school teachers were stretched in the administering of their teaching duties and that 'ancillary services' existed in 22% of all primary schools at the time (Central Advisory Council for Education, 1967, p.318).

The government commissioned Warnock report of 1978 also noted that other adults (or assistants) were beginning to support teachers especially in the provision for children with Special Educational Needs (SEN) (Lorenz, 1998). The 1970s and 1980s witnessed a further change in role for this group of adults, in terms of the numbers being employed in state education and the defining of roles. Balshaw (1999) gave two broad reasons for this: first, the inclusion into mainstream education for children with

SEN (DfES, 2001) and second, the devolvement of schools' budgets. Schools employed extra assistants through devolved budgetary powers from initiatives such as Local Management of schools (Great Britain. Education Reform Act, 1988). It was during the post-Warnock period that teachers needed to adapt quickly to the 'rapid, radical and far-reaching change' (Cousins, Higgs and Leader, 2003, p.5) that happened within primary schools and that the use of the other adult/teaching assistant needed to be considered by school managers.

It was at this time that specific literature concerning teachers' understanding and management of the evolving role of such adults began to appear (Cousins, Higgs and Leader, 2003; Watkinson, 2003) to support the National Workload Agreement (DfES, 2003). This is important to my research because, although teachers' training needs were considered, the need to implement similar training for the benefit of trainee teachers were not; this being acknowledged by Bignold and Barbera (2011).

Two significant reasons for the further increase of classroom assistants during the 1990s were the introduction of the National Literacy Strategy (DfEE, 1998) and the National Numeracy Strategy (DfEE, 1999) (Watkinson 2003; Balshaw and Farrell, 2002) and the bi-lingual language assistant. The prescribed strategies aimed specifically to raise standards in English and mathematics respectively by being taught daily. The Literacy strategy mentioned the use of extra support staff quite categorically:

'Where extra support is available, it should be deployed in the Literacy hour. Additional adults should work in close partnership with teachers as they plan and teach the Literacy hour' (DfEE, 1998 p. 94).

It was because of these strategies that the role of the teaching assistant changed from that of a helper, or ancillary, to that of someone who became involved with teaching and children's learning. Therefore the role became pedagogical. Government required these additional adults to be involved, at some degree, with the planning and teaching that before was the sole preserve of the qualified teacher (HMI, 2002). This was done by government providing a budget of some £350 million to recruit an additional 20,000 teaching assistants (Vincett, Cremin and Thomas, 2005). Pedagogically, the rationale

for the literacy strategy was that it required whole class teaching at the start of the literacy hour, and then small group work, to be staffed by an assistant. Guided reading and writing programmes were also introduced to provide intensive input, again to be staffed by additional adults. In order to provide equal access, children with English as an additional language (EAL), or no English at all, were being integrated in mainstream teaching from 1986 (British Council, 2014). This also had an impact on staffing levels and how inclusive teaching was to consider all needs within a primary classroom. HMI (2002) described how this pedagogy therefore influenced the need for increased numbers of teaching assistants.

‘Teaching assistants play an important part in implementing these strategies. They support teachers and pupils in the classroom and also have a key role in the related intervention and catch-up programmes... (HMI, 2002, p.3).

The report from HMI (2002) reinforced the notion that the teaching assistant was now a pedagogical member of staff rather than a practical assistant. Within almost thirty-five years, from the Plowden report to this HMI report, the transformation has been significant.

The rise in numbers of teaching assistants was a direct result of centralised government policy within education (Ainley and Allen, 2010). The emphasis on financial efficiency and accountability with, for example, more children in mainstream schools, led to a significant increase in this element of the workforce. The subsequent National Workload Agreement of 2003 (DfES, 2003) saw more teaching assistants being employed in schools but with the emergence of a new role - Higher Level Teaching Assistant (HLTA). Their role was to reduce teachers’ workload by taking classes in the absence of a qualified teacher (Birkett, 2004). The growth in teaching assistant numbers and HLTAs led to assistants being referred to as part of the ‘school workforce’ (Swann and Hancock, 2003) which not only necessitated in the origination of a generic term, but also of their role.

HMI (2002) investigated the impact of teaching assistants following the deliberate intention of government in this period to increase their numbers in both primary and secondary UK schools and concluded from their case study that:

- ...*'as the role of teaching assistants shifts more towards providing **learning support** [my emphasis], the demands of this work compete with the time needed for teaching assistants to provide their traditional practical support for teachers*
- ...*the presence of teaching assistants improves the quality of teaching.*
- ...*the way in which teaching assistants are deployed and managed in schools is improving...*' (HMI, 2002, pp. 4-5).

This is important for trainee teachers, as well as qualified teachers and leadership teams, to realize that their management of other adults has an effect on children's learning (Stevens, 2013). The report from HMI (2002) stated that the teaching assistant was now a pedagogical member of staff rather than a practical assistant, and such a deployment did improve the quality of teaching.

2.6 Rapid growth of teaching assistants

The number of teaching assistants increased steadily through the 1990s and 2000s (Pollard *et al.*, 2014; Watkinson, 2003). Watkinson (2003) provided data for the total of 'support staff' in English primary schools from 1992 to 2000 (see figure 1). It was not until 2000 that the wording on Form 7 (the school census form that dealt with school work force numbers) began to reflect the use of 'teaching assistants' as an entity (Watkinson, 2003).

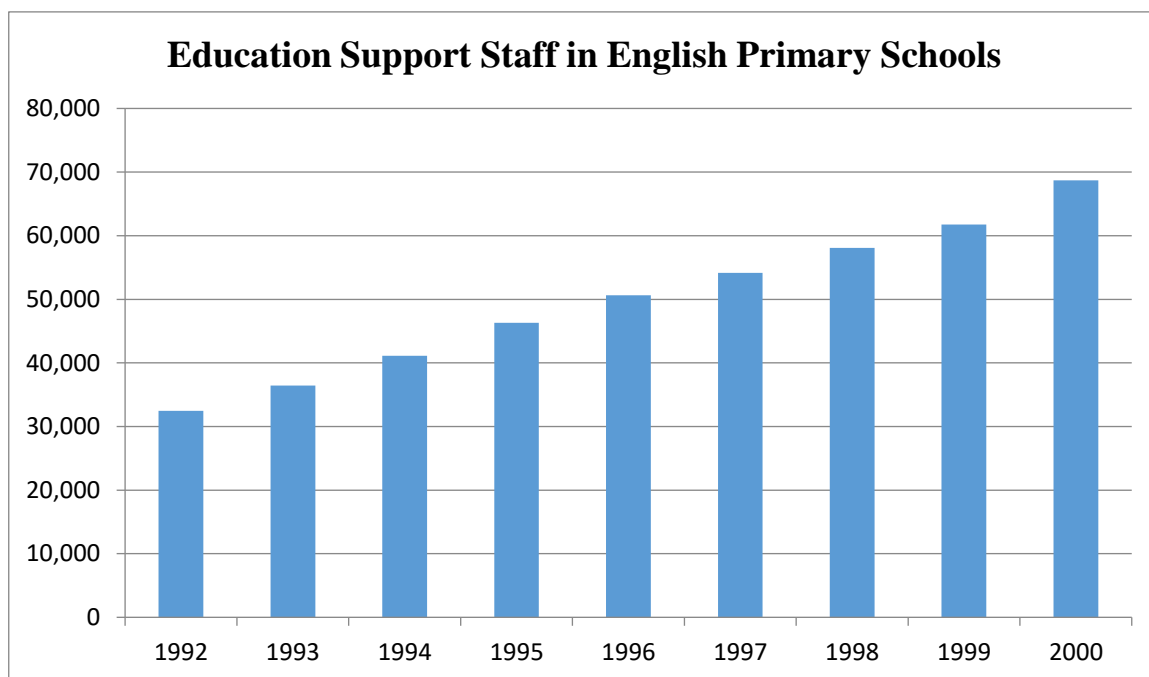


Figure 1 Education support staff in English primary schools

Figure 2 shows the number of teaching assistants in local authority maintained primary schools. Every year has seen an increase without exception. In all state funded schools from November 2013, there were 921,800 full time equivalent staff members. There were 451,100 teachers and 243,700 teaching assistants. The number of teaching assistants in local authority maintained nursery and primary schools amounted to 138,700 or 15% of the entire state funded school workforce (DfE 2014b).

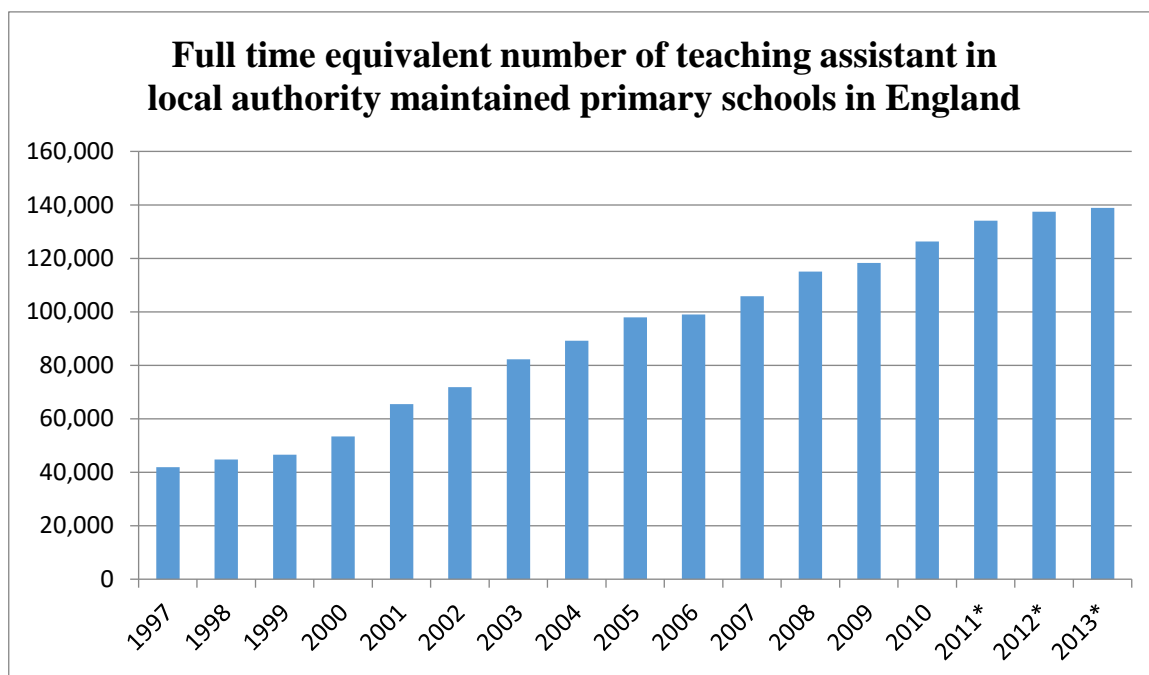


Figure 2 Full time equivalent numbers of teaching assistants in local authority maintained primary schools (data showing November rather than January collection)*

From 1997, with 41,900 teaching assistants, to 2007, with 105,800 teaching assistants, represented an increase of 153%. In the same period, for the numbers of regular nursery and primary teachers (191,700 to 197,100) the increase was just 3% (DfE 2014b). As a comparison it is worth examining the pupil: teacher ratio (PTR) and pupil: adult ratio (PAR) from years 1997 to 2013, see figure 3 (DfE 2014b). The decrease is more significant with PAR (from 17.9 in 1997 to 11.3 in 2013) a decrease of 58%, than with PTR (from 23.4 in 1997 to 20.8 in 2013) a decrease of 11%. The PAR is the number of children on roll divided by the number of teachers and support staff, but not including administrative or clerical staff. Although pupil numbers fluctuated with the number of births, classes could not have over 30 children unless in exceptional circumstances (Shepherd, 2013). This data showed the increase in teaching assistants was represented in the increase in the pupil: adult ratio. It was a sustained increase in personnel (figure 3).

Pupil: teacher ratios and pupil: adult ratios in local authority maintained primary schools

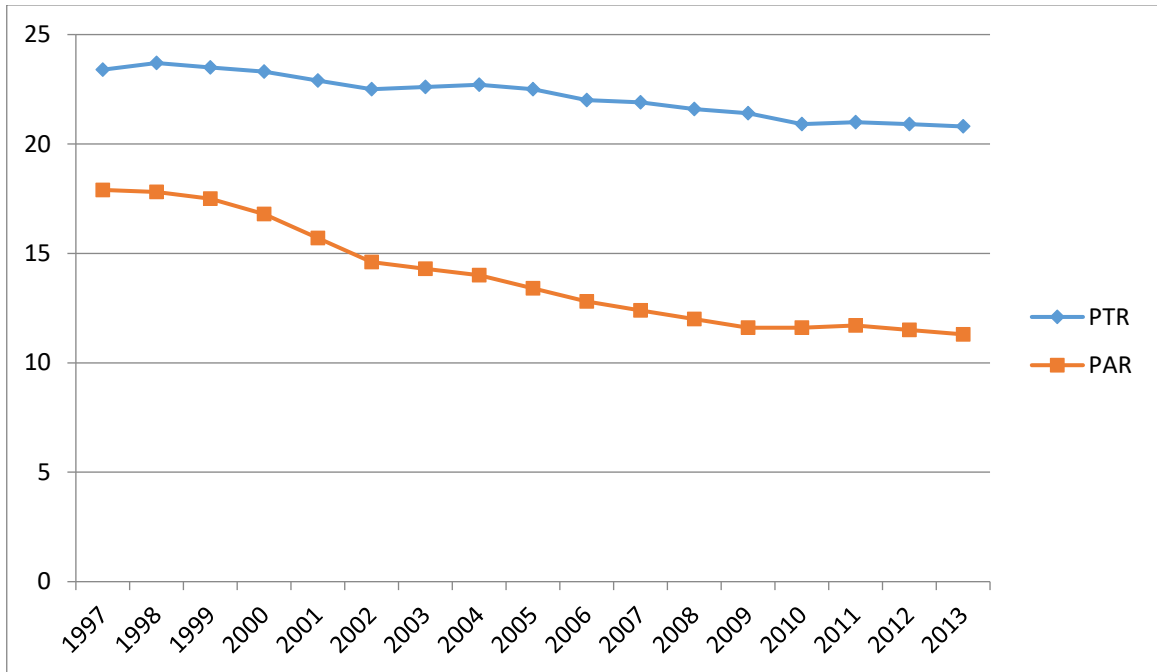


Figure 3 Pupil: teacher ratios and pupil: adult ratios in local authority maintained primary schools

The rise in the number of teaching assistant is attributed to initiatives such as literacy and numeracy hours and government policy for the provision of children with SEN (Faraday, 2010; Farr, 2010). The current picture of the school workforce in 2013 (DfE, 2014c) revealed that in the primary school the teaching assistant was likely to be female (92%) and White British (88%). There would be 138,900 teaching assistants, a number that increased by 0.7% from 2012 to 2013, of whom 86.6% would be employed on a part-time basis. 74% of all assistants would be female and 55% would be between the ages of 30 and 50, with 26.4% being under the age of 30 and 18.6% being over the age of 50. In contrast, of those trainee primary teachers who qualified with QTS on the BA Honours ITT provision at my university in 2014: 90% were female, 77% were Ethically White British and 91% were under the age of 30.

Balshaw and Farrell's (2002, p. 8) research at the time of this sudden influx of other adults recognised the strains involved within the school workforce and concluded:

'Giving names to assistants can imply that one group with a particular name has a higher status than those who are given a different name. We have evidence that this has led to there being unfortunate jealousies and rivalries within a school'.

The New Labour Government (1997-2010), being aware of the need for standardization in name, devised a particular term in order to provide a solution:

'The term 'teaching assistant' is the Government's preferred generic term of reference for all those in paid employment in support of teachers in primary, special and secondary schools' (DfEE, 2000, p. 4).

There are *'no national requirements for support staff to have a qualification'* to work in a state primary school in the United Kingdom (Royal Borough of Greenwich, 2014, OfSTED, 2010) but as Burgess and Shelton Mayes (2009) reported, teaching assistants may embark on foundation degrees which would offer an opportunity to *'secure a professional standing'* by combining academic study with work place learning (UCAS, 2014). In addition there is the National Vocational Qualification (NVQ) in *'Supporting Teaching and Learning Skills levels 1, 2 and 3 (NVQ Teaching, 2014)*. The nature of this qualification suggests that it may be more advantageous in the competitive jobs market to attain this. Pollard *et al.* (2008) recorded the significant increase of employed teaching assistants in primary schools, some 40% of all adults working in schools, of whom some can be expected to become *'accredited with Higher Level Teaching Assistant' (HLTA)* status. The words *'professional standing'* and *'accredited'* give the notion of a job of work with some measure of professionalism; therefore it would be relevant to examine the very nature of the teaching assistants' deployment.

2.7 Current debate concerning teaching assistants in United Kingdom

The previous section described the transformation and expansion of the teaching assistant from one of a helping role to that of a pedagogical one. By pedagogical, I mean the situation whereby a teaching assistant has some responsibility toward an aspect of children's learning, for example, teaching a small group from a teacher's

plan. If the teaching assistant is to be assisting with planning and teaching then that brings to light debates over such an aspect. These debates include the effectiveness of teaching assistants on children's learning; the type of pedagogy that leads to a deployment; and whether trainee teachers are comfortable with deploying teaching assistants during a school experience. This section will briefly explore the notion of the effectiveness of such deployment and can be seen in professional, policy and political arenas.

I begin the political discussion by starting in the post-Plowden era. Pollard *et al.* (2014) labelled the ideology of the Plowden report as 'liberal romanticism' with its child-centred approach. It was not long before such liberal values came under attack namely from the focus of an ideological debate concerning the need for government to intervene in education. The Black Papers on Education (Cox and Dyson, 1971) attacked not only progressive education and the lack of discipline within schools, but also the assumption that the welfare state was to blame:

'All these children are growing up in a welfare state where it appears to them that everything in school is free; it is a world where they follow their own inclinations and where things are not right or wrong but merely a matter of opinion and where there are virtually no rules' (Johnson, 1971, p.99, cited in Cox and Dyson, 1971).

The Black Papers (Cox and Dyson, 1971) attacked child-centred education, and accused it of lowering standards in primary schools (Allen and Ainley, 2007). Not only that, but they were opposed to the increasing numbers of children who were educated via the state (for example, in comprehensive schools) and '*called for more control over teachers*' (Allen and Ainley, 2007). The Ruskin College speech in 1976 by then Prime Minister Callaghan, was said to have launched the 'Great Debate' on education (Gillard 2010; Allen and Ainley 2007). Government was urged to focus on politicising educational standards (Chitty, 2014) because of the criticism it was receiving over its handling of the economy (Allen and Ainley, 2007). This speech is notable for expressing future policy that dealt with: employers' calls for skilled workers; unease about new '*informal methods of teaching*'; a need for a '*basic curriculum*' with standards; and greater accountability:

‘To the teachers I would say that you must satisfy the parents and industry that what you are doing meets their requirements and the needs of our children. For if the public is not convinced then the profession will be laying up trouble for itself in the future’ (Callaghan, 1976).

The consequence of the Black Papers on Education was that it provided an ideological grounding for politicians either side of the centre to have greater control and intervention in education: from Labour’s Ruskin College speech to the Conservative administration after 1979, there followed rapid educational reform (Chitty, 2014; Gillard, 2011, Ainley and Allen, 2010 and Halcrow, 1989). I have suggested that politics so far has, not only defined the very nature of primary education, beginning with its conception in the 1944 Education Act, but that it has also begun to attack it. Teachers’ aides were recommended by Plowden to make a contribution to learning and this has been the main reason for their increase since, along with subsequent government policy. This does suggest that although pedagogical reform advocated the conception of teaching assistants, it was politics and economics which was the driver behind it.

The call for a basic curriculum was realized with the introduction of the first national curriculum of 1988 (Gillard, 2011) and the subsequent mass introduction of other adults who became later termed as teaching assistants (Watkinson, 2003; Balshaw and Farrell, 2002). Gillard (2011) and Halcrow (1989) noted that political interest at this time was an attempt to break into the world of the ‘Secret Garden’, a term coined by a Conservative minister of Education, David Eccles in 1960 (Husbands, 2013). This was the perception that the responsibility for English schools had been the preserve of local government rather than central government, with the feeling that standards in education would *‘never rise without clear leadership from the centre’* (Halcrow, 1989, p. 178). The wall of the ‘secret garden’ was *‘pulled down’* (Husbands, 2013) during the administration of the Thatcher era (1979-1990), notably with the issuing of DES Circular 3/84 in 1984 which *‘represented a major turning point in initial teacher education in Britain’* (Furlong and Maynard, 1995) and increased control from central government. This permitted the right of the Secretary of State to set a defined period of time that trainee teachers had to spend in schools and to *‘intervene in the content and structure of school teacher training’* (Bailey and Robson, 2002, p. 327).

The administration of the new Labour government (1997-2010) did not do much in the way of radically altering the politics behind teacher education (Allen and Ainley, 2007). Whitty (2006) observed how the competences to be met for trainee teachers was accompanied by a ‘*content that had to be covered by trainee teachers in English, mathematics, science and ICT (Information and Communications Technology)*’ from the 1997 Excellence in Schools White Paper. This was replaced by the DfES/TTA ‘Qualifying to teach’ which outlined standards that had to be met by trainee teachers before the award of QTS (Whitty, 2006). This was subsequently revised in 2008 and 2012. Increased centralised control saw the introduction of the ‘literacy’ and ‘numeracy’ hours which were prescriptive down to the amount of time teachers could spend on teaching their component parts (Ainley and Allen, 2007) and responsible for a surge in teaching assistant numbers (Watkinson, 2003; Balshaw and Farrell, 2002). Whitty (2006), argued that students were trained (rather than educated) to meet centrally defined competencies (or Teachers’ Standards as from 2012). Training is now largely school-based (DfE, 2014a), even on programmes led by universities, the latest example of this being the School Direct model, first run in England in 2012 (DfE, 2014a).

Governments dictated the source of initial teacher training into the very schools that were already seen by some to be de-professionalized because of the methods teachers used to transmit centralised schemes of learning (Allen and Ainley, 2007) and, for example, the systematic synthetic phonics reading programme (Lambirth, 2011). The focus on recent education policy is to inform the knowledge economy and to compete across global ranking systems that measure the success of educational attainment by children (Ball, 2017 and Acquah, 2013). The focus from government has shifted to assessment indicators and increased accountability (Acquah, 2013). An example of this is the need for governments to focus on content and control over knowledge and values in schools (Ball, 2017), and for education management and performativity (a culture of judging teachers) impacting autonomy (Ball, 2006). Ball (2017) described how education policy through accountability identified deficiencies, which through reform, allowed for economic competition. The DfE’s (2010b) key stage 2 tests press release advocated the retention of assessment tests because they allowed standards to

be gauged and ‘*played a vital role in accountability*’ whereas the ‘Importance of Teaching’ paper (DfE (2010a) reinforced the notion of external control albeit with a nod towards increased professionalism:

‘In England, what is needed most of all is decisive action to free our teachers from constraint and improve their professional status and authority, raise the standards set by our curriculum and qualifications to match the best in the world and, having freed schools from external control, hold them effectively to account for the results they achieve’ (p. 8).

In such a privatized market of education (Chitty, 2014), this has led to changed social relationships, decreasing professional relationships, increased report production for performative systems, increased monitoring of teachers outputs (and lessons) and, tellingly, teaching staff having a concern with curriculum coverage, classroom control and record keeping (Ball, 2017).

Since the workforce remodelling agreement (National Joint Council, 2003), some teaching assistants have been assuming the role of the teacher (Hayes, 2009) or as ‘co-educators’ (Cajkler, 2006 cited in Tucker, 2009). Butt and Lance (2009) uncovered the link of ‘commonality of a number of standards’ for the Higher Level Teaching Assistant status and the Qualified to Teach Status (QTS) for a training primary school teacher; the ‘boundary between teacher and assistant’ was colliding (Tucker, 2009; Gibson and Patrick, 2008). A contrasting opinion identified the supporting role of the teaching assistants: they were not given authority to engage in pedagogy, they delivered tasks without exercising judgment (pupil assessment) and that they were no substitute for the delivery of the curriculum (Gibson and Patrick, 2008).

The senior leadership team in a school decides how and where a teaching assistant is deployed and managed (Sharples, Webster and Blatchford, 2015). It is the ability of schools to manage their teaching assistants which is important to children’s attainment.

One head teacher from a Derbyshire primary school declared:

‘Leaders with a clear vision and focus will deploy teaching assistants. This deployment will be purposeful, adding clarity and increased professional standing to teaching assistants’ (Open University, 2010, p.4).

There did appear to be disquiet about the position of teaching assistants in schools with some sources declaring that it was the poor management of teaching assistants in

schools which jeopardized children's performance (Griffiths, 2009; Kelly, 2009 and Newman, 2009). Kelly (2009) went further to outline that it was the deployment which hindered the valuable role of a teaching assistant and supported this with the notion of teaching assistants not being asked for qualifications on their appointment. The deployment of teaching assistants is a key part of the trainee teacher's responsibility. This is where my research study has relevance. The trainee teacher, although relying on the management within the school for an objective deployment and allocation of staff, will still have to deploy the teaching assistant on a daily or part-time schedule in order to have an effect on children's attainment (Brown and Harris, 2010). The following paragraph is important in terms of the effects of deployment. The research-informed debate as to whether teaching assistants are effective will have a fundamental impact on primary education.

Effective deployment can only occur if, within the school community, an understanding of pedagogy accompanies it (Basford, Butt and Newton, 2017 and Butt, 2016). Pedagogy will allow the discussion of good practice to manifest itself, a consequence of which will be the effective deployment of teaching assistants. Trainee teachers need therefore to understand the effect of pedagogy in this matter; that the deployment of a teaching assistant is rooted in pedagogy. In other words, any deployment of a teaching assistant is for a pedagogical reason and the effectiveness of it will be some part of quantifying children's progress. Research is clear in that effective deployment must have an effect on raising children's academic progress (Webster *et al.*, 2011; Brown and Harris, 2010; OfSTED, 2010). Literature does also reveal that the deployment of teaching assistants should be more than concerned with making progress and should focus on the development of the assistant in terms of recruitment and management (Basford, Butt and Newton, 2017); the difficulty of working with children with SEN who are not perceived to be fully included in mainstream education (Lehane, 2016, Farr, 2010); and how curriculum support can descend into behaviour management (Clarke and Visser, 2016).

There is much literature in the field of educational leadership and management (Bush and Middlewood, 2013; Earley and Bubb 2004; Everard, Morris and Wilson, 2004;

Bush and Middlewood, 1997). Much of this literature makes use of structure and implementation of measures designed to improve efficiency especially within an era of increasing accountability. There is very little literature within this field that deals with the management of teaching assistants. Existing literature serves as a guide or 'toolkit' for schools or classroom teachers (Briggs and Cunningham, 2009; Morgan and Ashbaker, 2009; Birkett, 2004; Balshaw and Farrell, 2002 and Lee, 2002) or for teaching assistants themselves (Burnham, 2011; Hryniewicz, 2007 and Tyrer *et al.*, 2004). Watkinson (2008) made a clear statement in her assessment of how schools managed staff:

'Teachers are not often trained to manage people' (Watkinson, 2008, p. 25).

Advice ranged from basic protocols such as time management (Burnham, 2011); the necessity of a clarity of role, purpose and communication to form an effective team (Vincett, Cremin and Thomas, 2005); and a checklist of appropriate school-based implementation of procedure for effective working of teaching assistants (Lee, 2002). In her 'checklist' Lee (2002) called for more research to show how the implementation of such measures could show how teaching and learning (for the children) could be more effective. Yet there was no call to be made for prioritising tasks over assisting children with their learning – the pedagogical function. It should be noted that Lee did call for the:

'Consideration of [the] most appropriate deployment of teaching assistants' (Lee, 2002, p. vii).

This research was answered by the Effective Deployment of Teaching assistants (EDTA) project (Webster, Russell and Blatchford, 2013). EDTA was a subsequent study from the DISS project which examined the impact of support staff in schools. Using an empirical-based methodology, the team used the Wider Pedagogical Role (WPR) as a model to 'evaluate alternate strategies' of the WPR's components: preparedness, deployment and practice.

The need to support children's learning was clearly raised by EDTA. Webster, Russell and Blatchford (2013) uncovered how schools were inconsistent in their agreement of assistants' roles (Mistry, Burton and Brundrett, 2004; Watkinson, 2003) but the pedagogical deployment of teaching assistants was now being more strategically

deployed from working with lower ability groups (Lorenz, 1998) to working with children of other abilities. The deployment, although still of a pedagogical nature as opposed to mainly the completion of tasks, resulted in more effective organisation and effective learning.

What the EDTA study did not reveal were the benefits of the teachers and teaching assistants working in a more effective way, although it did suggest improved wider management models. Literature is clear that there are benefits in a closer cooperation and improved deployment. There is collaboration (Emira, 2013 and Morgan and Ashbaker, 2009) and how that collaboration can create valid learning partnerships (Bedford, Jackson and Wilson, 2008). Such use of the teaching assistant was seen to be empowering and even seen by Emira (2013) to influence the wider leadership of a school.

The debate thus far concerns how, the habitus, which comprises the actions of different individuals, defines how such individuals are viewed according to the capital they bring. In the act of deployment, for which teachers receive little training, it is worth considering the impact this has on the identity of a trainee teacher. I continue the review of literature by discussing the professional identity of teachers. Thus far, I have provided an explanation for the rationale for using Bourdieu as a theoretical lens, which is to be used as a way of attempting to understand the perceptions of the social world. Perceptions frame the understanding of the social experience and are linked to the formation of a professional identity. This professional identity has been shaped by the professional and vocational habitus and shall be discussed further.

2.8 Professional identity of trainee teachers

Space does not allow a thorough review of the literature in this area but much of it reveals that professional identity is formed because of human interaction, from a subjective perspective, (Bourdieu, 1984 and 1977 and Goffman, 1959) and, for teachers, has a part to fulfil in the construction of a professional teacher. Professional

identity matters to trainee primary teachers (Menter, 2010). A teaching identity (the teacher a trainee wishes to become or the identity given) is constructed through social interaction. (Wenger 1999):

[the experiencing of a job or the interpreting of a position] *'are negotiated in the course of doing the job and interacting with others. It is shaped by belonging to a community but with a unique identity'* (199, p.146).

This interaction, alternatively termed discourse, is the interaction of the self with beliefs, attitudes and values that exist in socially constructed situations (Dickerson and Kemeny, 2004; Breakwell, 1986 and Bourdieu, 1984). Therefore, it leads to the construction of identities which the self can define, as well as being defined by others. For Bourdieu (1985), it is not as simple as this. The construction of an identity has its worth determined by a 'work of categorization', which is 'performed incessantly, at every moment of ordinary existence'. This results in 'the struggles in which agents clash over the meaning of the social world and of their position within it' (1985, p. 729).

Bourdieu argued that a definition of the social self is based on others' perceptions of one's worth that are valued positively or as 'signals of rejection or disinterest (Dickerson and Kemeny, 2004). This is a core feature of collective identity which enables the trainee teacher to be accepted in a practicum (school experience):

'It seemed that knowing information, techniques or strategies that enabled students to 'pass' as teachers was not enough to calm their fears or lessen their anxieties about who they were at the moment and how long it would be before they felt they were 'truly teachers' (Danielewicz, 2001, p.13).

Identities, according to Danielewicz, are made by classification (I am a teacher); association (I am like that teacher); and identification (I want to be like that teacher). She argued that trainees' fears about feeling as if they were teachers stemmed from their perception by external observers or the 'public image' (Goffman, 1959 and Bourdieu, 1985). They needed to be accepted by those with whom they engaged with pedagogical discourse, that is, their mentors and the staff who worked in a school. To be accepted would require the translation of acquired capital, for example, teacher

training, into symbolic capital. The recognition of symbolic capital reflected the identity given to the individual. This developing identity is recognizable at best in the institutions that supported trainee teachers, for example, schools and teaching unions, and is what she termed as 'collective identity'. This is not new: Mead (1934) developed his theory which gave meaning to the relationship of the individual belonging to an organized social community. For him, the self-conscious individual assumed the social attitudes of the community, became part of the community in addressing that group's problems and consequently allowed him the possibility of making social relations within that community.

Menter (2010) and Britzman (1991) made a similar argument. Successful pedagogy requires the construction of 'complex social relationships' in regards to those who are learning. The strategies that called for the development of knowledge would also involve the necessary components of the classroom. Pedagogy was a concept that should be reflected on (Eaude, 2011) and a distinction should be made between pedagogy, as a list of skills that teachers do, and an experience constructed from lived experience.

2.8.1 Professional identity and pedagogy

Britzman (1991) explicitly linked identity with pedagogy, that is, with being a teacher. The trainee teacher in constructing her identity must first explore the existing pedagogy that surrounded her in a school experience; develop her pedagogic skills; recognize the pedagogic environment in which she was expected to teach (and how she fitted into this); and finally critique the tension between existing orthodoxy of curriculum design and how she wants to teach from it. Such tensions, Britzman (1991) argued, were natural and the identity of a teacher was framed by it. A strong teacher, one with an identifiable presence, with a strong pedagogy, would be able to have a confidence to execute a pedagogical decision. For Atkinson (2004), students formed their identities through their subjective construction to obtain understanding, not from imagined or fantasised scenarios, but the problems of reality. In other words, trainee teachers rather than constructing identities based on what they imagine themselves to

be and from what they perceived others to think they were, should consider removing their existing view of professional identity and replace it with a 'real' approach to teaching. An example would be that a trainee teacher, who was experiencing a difficulty with deployment, should not imagine an ideal response as a solution through reflection. She should signify the issue of deployment as an ideal opportunity to engage with it and therefore become someone who was given an identity because she was called into being as a subject through 'the discursive form of reflection in which phenomena are constituted'. That is, her identity was not solely formed because of engaging with reflection but because her teaching had been constructed by knowledge and practice.

The framing of an identity owing to such interactions would be familiar to Bourdieu; it is the creation of the habitus. Identity is both existing capital on entry to teaching and determined during teaching; it is the 'bodily hexis' or the taking in of the rules or dispositions of the habitus that allows the individual to respond through pedagogy and the values of the classroom or school environment. Identity is constantly developing; it shapes a teacher and it demands a skill set, which is to be based in pedagogy:

'...always the process of becoming: a time of formation and transformation, of scrutiny into what one is doing, and who one can become'. (Britzman, 1991, p. 8).

Trainee teachers formed their identity during their training through their engagement with pedagogy (Britzman, 1991; Danielewicz, 2001 and Atkinson, 2004). Atkinson (2004) regarded becoming a teacher as a process of self-identification and identification of that self by others. This continuous process is necessary because the profession of teaching calls for more than a 'role' of a teacher to be adopted but that an identity must be constructed instead.

An identity is the result of interactions between those who are training and the trained within a school context. These interactions are perceptions that exist within the social space and are the processes of individuals competing to project their symbolic capital and to have it recognized. Power relations are also present in people's minds, in the form of the categories of perception of these relations (Bourdieu, 1985). The

development of a teaching identity is most keenly felt on a school experience for those trainee teachers in my study. Hayes (2003) uses the analogy of a rite of passage in which an individual moved from the position of ‘outsider’ to ‘insider’ based on discerning what is an accepted practice and using pedagogy to cope with children’s responses to teaching. During that time, the trainee teacher will have several collective identities (for example: as a student, as a teacher, as a mum, or as a member of a Pilates class) and there is a need to forever join the ‘*collectivity of teachers*’. This is not the only influence and even then, the identity can only develop in a relationship with pedagogy.

In summary, I have attempted to argue that professional identity matters to trainee primary teachers because it is rooted in social interaction which has resulted in a construction of an identity that has a perception of value. The recognition of a teacher, for example, occurs because of the recognition of the pedagogy that the identity is framed by. Using the lens of Bourdieu would allow the researcher to consider the power relationships that occur during the perception of the construction of a teaching identity.

2.8.2 Being prepared for the workplace

Trainee teachers do struggle during their teaching practice and there are statistics that show retention rates after becoming a NQT are not particularly impressive (DfE, 2016). In the year 2015, of the 21,400 who began teaching in English primary and secondary state schools in 2010, 30% had quit the profession. This section offers some other alternative reasons from Bourdieu (1984) and Chitty (2014) why trainee teachers may struggle in their teaching careers.

Husén (1979, p. 128) adversely criticised the extended leaving age of pupils for keeping them ‘assigned to functions which previously were discharged by the home and/or the work place’. Potential school leavers stayed in school rather than enter the employment setting of adulthood. They were effectively ‘segregated’ from other adults and presumably not engaged in developing the skills and knowledge required by the

work place. This means that their identity within the work place (Danielewicz, 2001) was stunted owing to a lack of opportunity to develop the skills to work with adults.

Gatto (2005) was more caustic with his analysis of raised school ages. Children were ‘indifferent to the adult world’ and were separated from mentors in the professional world who would be able to teach them. Cassidy (2014) acknowledged this theme by reporting how the Confederation of British Industry (CBI) lamented that school leavers lacked the basic skills required for the work place. She quoted Cridland:

‘The journey from school towards the world of work can be daunting, so we must support schools and teachers to help develop the skills, character and attitudes students need to progress in life’ (Cridland, 2014, cited in Cassidy, 2014).

The issue appears to be with school leavers not being adequately prepared for the world of work. Postman (1994) would agree with the locus of blame but in his view he reasoned that larger society was at fault for rushing the child into the world of the adult without giving time for sufficient preparation. This is the amount of capital acquired by the school leaver and how that lack of capital affected the amount of power the individual could hold; in this case, arguably in the form of a position they receive or the perception of the exchange of their capital in symbolic form (Bourdieu, 1977 and 1984).

Using Bourdieu’s model of the habitus and field, the positioning for power within the workplace is a direct cause of the promotion of interests according to the amount of capital an individual has. The habitus conditions individuals and the position of someone is thus determined by the ordering of oneself, where they feel at ease (Bourdieu, 1984). This sense of ease may be likened to a ‘hierarchy’ and the struggle is negotiated by the individuals according to their status or position within an institution. The notion of a struggle, or tension, is dealt with in literature.

Vincett, Cremin and Thomas (2005) cited the earlier research of Thomas’ (1992) explanation of why tensions exist in the classroom. They exist owing to qualified teachers’ lack of opportunities for collaboration with colleagues and they summarised others’ research as:

- Teachers are not trained in the management and deployment of teaching assistants
- Teachers have insufficient time for planning and meeting with teaching assistants
- Teachers find some teaching assistants lacking in requisite knowledge and skills

If I consider replacing (qualified) teachers with ‘trainee teachers’ the model can be used to explore the perception of teaching assistant deployment in the professional environment by trainee teachers. The claim by Thomas (1992) is echoed later by Watkinson (2008); Sharples, Webster and Blatchford (2015); and Bosanquet, Radford and Webster (2016).

Calderhead and Shorrock (1997) reasoned that tension exists within teacher education when teachers need to understand teaching and the need to be able to perform teaching. This is the difficult issue of bridging theory and practice. They list a series of tensions; the most striking one being ‘personal development versus professional development’:

‘Teaching...is one that relies very heavily on personal interactions. Teachers rely on their personality in developing relationships in classrooms...The personal development that this entails may be as important as the professional development that is aimed at within the formal structured curriculum of teacher education, but is much more difficult to coordinate and manage and is often more difficult to justify as an essential component of teacher preparation’ (Calderhead and Shorrock, 1997, p.196).

It is this notion of ‘developing relationships’ which is ‘important’ but ‘difficult to coordinate and manage’ which has found resonance with my earlier research (Morgan, 2011). Perceived barriers to an effective working relationship between trainee teachers and teaching assistants were the perceptions of power held within a classroom between trainee teacher and teaching assistant (in the field), and how well the trainee teacher was perceived to manage and deploy that assistant.

2.9 Deployment of teaching assistants

I have already discussed in the introduction how the development of the primary school's curriculum led to a particular type of pedagogy. Here, I take the opportunity to argue that an understanding of pedagogy will enable a trainee teacher to best consider the deployment of a teaching assistant. The teaching assistant has had her role changed from a basic helper to that of a pedagogical one and the recognition of this would feature as part of the acquired capital of the trainee teacher within the workplace.

The use of reflective practice, as the process of identifying effective teaching strategies and understanding why a strategy is effective, is important to a teacher's use of pedagogy. (Pollard *et al.*, 2014). The need to be a consistent reflective practitioner can be seen in the work of Schön (1991) and his examining of 'reflection in action' and 'reflection on action'. The former allows students to use experiences, feelings and existing theories to create a repertoire of pedagogy and test them out in a given situation (on a school experience). The latter allows for a discussion with a professional staff member in the school to enable the trainee teachers to explore and explain why they acted as they did in a given situation. This would allow both parties (the self of the trainee and the public image of the trainee viewed by the school or teacher training institution) to facilitate the exchange of, in this case economic (or professional) capital, into symbolic capital. This is supported by Atkinson's (2004) analysis of students' narratives as they formed their identities within initial teacher education and practice and, importantly, were recognized as having done so by relevant observers.

Reflexivity, from Bourdieu's perspective, relies on the individual recognizing how she is shaped by or is shaping the norms of the field; a deepening understanding of one's own self and position in the world (Marshall, 2012). The individual, in an attempt to understand the social world, has to recognize herself as being sceptical of her own views or acknowledging scholastic bias (Bourdieu, 2000) and realize that her position within her perception of social reality is informed by her habitus. Bourdieu (2000) discusses how an individual would consider the 'occupation of a position in a social

space' (2000, p.10) and how she arrived at it, and how an individual's submission to a core of values in a field has enabled her to arrive at that position (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002). In other words, the habitus possessed by a trainee teacher, and the ability she has to negotiate an identity in relation to someone else, occurs as the result of the exchange of capital. The trainee teacher is required to critically examine the actions of the other person in the exchange because that same person is also engaged in the same activity.

The creation of a repertoire of pedagogy, the accumulation of capital in this case, brings with it a recognition because it is valued by the observer. In the example of ITT, this would be the mentor on a school experience. I move on to explore how a pedagogy, usually found in ITT institutions, allows the trainee teacher to consider why a teaching assistant should be deployed.

2.9.1 Pedagogy

Pollard *et al.* (2014) offered a definition of pedagogy as the connection between the science, craft and art of teaching in classroom situations that is informed by theory and research. It is a balance of theory and practice with an emphasis toward possessing subject knowledge. This is required to make successful, usually instant pedagogic decisions in a busy classroom or as Knight (2012) referred to them, as '*teachable moments*'. The teacher's use of pedagogy partly defines her as a teacher but within the wider habitus of the current education environment one may ask whether the pedagogy is decided by her or whether she is required to use the pedagogy favoured by her school. As I wrote earlier, the issue concerning government control over the national curriculum, and its latest incarnation from 2012, is symptomatic of the debate of teachers' professionalism. One could ask whether political interference has a direct impact on the pedagogy favoured by schools, rather than teachers, to not only teach the curriculum but to be responsible in maintaining reasonable test scores (Chitty 2014).

Finlay (2008) wrote that reflective practice in relation to pedagogy, should be critiqued and should not be applied without thought. Within teaching, she argued that reflective practice is not strong owing to students' developmental readiness and their compulsory reflection. The former referred to students being able to master their own pedagogy before being able to be critical reflective practitioners. Their ability to do this divides them on a range of novices and experts. Pollard *et al.* (2014) discussed four aspects of successful pedagogy: critical pedagogy; theories of mind; pedagogical discourse; and pedagogical thoughtfulness. The first three saw learning as very much teacher-led and focussed. The final aspect, thoughtfulness, challenges the teacher's practice to be informed while noticing the learners' perspectives in a learning situation. In other words, teachers should value the learning needs of the children and incorporate that into their pedagogy.

A successful primary teacher can master the repertoire of pedagogy at her disposal (Pollard *et al.*, 2014 and Eaude, 2011). Her pedagogic approach is therefore also evident in the classroom. If she is predominantly a social constructivist, then her teaching, learning and classroom organisation reflects this, for example, from arranging the furniture to facilitate children being able to work collaboratively; encouraging children to talk to one another (DfES, 2007); and the explicit planning requirements for the teaching assistant. This assumes the teacher is free to engage in such pedagogical decision making independently of her school's requirements for teaching. Pedagogy requires reflection and time in order to build expertise. If this expertise is affected by the expectations that others have of teachers (Eaude, 2011), then it becomes problematic. For example, a particular scheme of work in a primary school being taught using a certain preferred teaching style, being at odds with the preferred pedagogical style of the teacher. Alexander (1984) was keen to stress that pedagogy must take account of centralised (prescriptive) teaching methods and be wary of objectifying classroom behaviours in order to teach for them. He then defined pedagogy as the ability to both inspire and empower learning, or not (Alexander, 2010, cited in Pollard *et al.*, 2014).

The argument is that effective deployment can only occur within the school community if an understanding of pedagogy accompanies it; the deployment of a teaching assistant is rooted in pedagogy. Research is clear in that effective deployment must have an effect on raising children's academic progress (Sharples, Webster, Blatchford, 2015; Webster *et al.*, 2011; Brown and Harris, 2010; OfSTED, 2010). It must be noted, however, that this is not a discussion about effective deployment but still a realization that within literature there is a link between effectiveness and preparation of trainee teachers and teachers to achieve this. I use the research of Bosanquet, Radford and Webster (2016) who concurred that teachers were 'not well prepared to manage' teaching assistants:

'...the majority reported that knowing how to work with TAs did not feature as part of their initial teacher training' (Bosanquet, Radford and Webster, 2016, p. 9).

This finding would have a significant impact on the perceptions of trainee teachers when it comes to pedagogical decisions they can make in the classroom. The discussion regarding teaching assistants' deployment may be one that is outside of the control of the teacher let alone the trainee teacher.

2.10 Summary of chapter

In this chapter, I have put forward an argument for the choosing of Bourdieu's theoretical perspective of habitus, capital and field to explore the perceptions of trainee teachers, mentors and teaching assistants within the complex, social world of classrooms in England. I discussed how I arrived at this theoretical study and explained its significance as a method of discerning relationships in these social worlds. The notion of habitus, based on the accumulation of capital; its exchange for symbolic capital; and the misrecognition of this is at the heart of his theory. It is the lens which I have adopted to explore the perceptions of the three main parties involved in a school experience setting: the trainee primary teacher, the teaching assistant and the mentor. I have explained why the teaching assistant has occupied such an increasing role in English state education and how that has affected the possible relationships between teachers. Some reference has been made to the issue of professionalism within English

state education and consideration given to the rise of accountability and performativity cultures that have been a noticeable feature of the breakdown of post-war educational consensus. The theoretical lens will be used to analyse whether, as Bourdieu (1984) asserted, that within the social space (the field) a struggle occurs owing to the volume of capital, the composition of capital and the moving through that space.

Trainee teachers need to deploy teaching assistants within the field. As they enter the field, the trainees become exposed to the existing habitus of the school, that is, how teaching assistants are deployed currently by qualified teachers and the ethos and practice of how this is managed. During a school experience, the trainee teachers become agents, that is, they bring their existing habitus into play (they ‘play the game’); some will seek to adapt to the habitus and others will be aware that the habitus is making them conform. The ability of the agent/trainee teacher to do this will result in their already accrued (and developing) cultural capital. Literature has been clear on two fronts: First, the teacher (rather than the trainee teacher) has either not been trained to manage people generically (Watkinson, 2008) or second, that they received little training on how to work with teaching assistants (Bosanquet, Radford and Webster, 2016).

I have argued above that the deployment of a teaching assistant by a trainee teacher is rooted in her understanding of pedagogy and how deployment, particularly at a management level in schools, is ultimately responsible for the efficiency and effectiveness in achieving progress with children’s learning. Literature suggests that the deployment is the responsibility of the teacher and therefore it urges schools to re-evaluate procedures and daily work-based practices for this to result in better learning outcomes. The literature, however, is also clear in that there is little training for teachers in deploying teaching assistants, as well as in management practices. Trainee primary teachers entering the profession of teaching as NQTs will need to consider how their understanding of pedagogy facilitates the use of the teaching assistant. How this is done is encapsulated in the perception of social interaction between these two parties.

CHAPTER 3 – METHODOLOGY

3.1 Overview of chapter

In this chapter, I outline how my methodology evolved. I will explain how certain research designs were considered and rejected before sharing the chosen methodology. I will present the research questions before discussing the methodological pathway that I selected. This is followed by an introduction to the research participants; the selection of the data collection methods; before finishing by discussing the ethical dimension of methodological research.

3.2 The research question

The purpose of my research is framed by my main question which has been presented in the introduction. This is the starting point for determining the methodology within this chapter. As a reminder the question is:

What are the perceptions of the practice of the deployment of teaching assistants by trainee teachers during classroom teaching experiences on a university-based ITT programme in southeast London?

And the subsidiary questions are:

- i. How do trainee primary school teachers perceive their role in deploying teaching assistants in the classroom?*
- ii. How do teaching assistants and mentors perceive the role of trainee teachers in deploying teaching assistants in the classroom?*
- iii. To what extent is deployment of teaching assistants commented upon by visiting tutors?*
- iv. What is the role of 'teacher identity' in the perception of the deployment of teaching assistants?*
- v. How can trainee primary teachers be better prepared to deploy teaching assistants?*

Clough and Nutbrown (2012) described how the purpose of research must be articulated because it ought to inform the reader; lead to a process of enquiry; and bring

about change. From my perspective, it was to investigate a phenomenon – the perception of the relationship between trainee teachers, teaching assistants and mentors during the act of deployment. The purpose of research would originate from any research question; this would affect future research design and data collection methods (Creswell, 2009; Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011 and Clough and Nutbrown, 2012). In other words, as a researcher, I needed to reflexively examine my understanding of research in order to begin to conceptualise a research design, which I discuss next.

3.3 Ethical reflexivity as a researcher

My reflexive ethical journey began with addressing my personal history in the topic; the fact I am employed as a senior lecturer working with trainee teachers; assessing them on their school experience practices; and listening to their accounts of deploying teaching assistants. Specific methodological literature discusses the positioning of such a researcher (Etherington, 2004 and Costello, 2011). This initial statement, therefore, prompted me to give due regard to the ethical dimension in which my methodology would be constructed. The main ethical issues are related to the power imbalance and the duality of my role as researcher and potential assessor/tutor of the BA (Hons) Primary Education with QTS year three trainee teachers who will be involved in my research. Although I did not teach on any of their courses specifically, I did assess and link tutor the cohort's school experience and supervise selected research projects. I was, therefore, involved in the active assessing and grading of that cohort's year three coursework.

In addressing this, I did not assess any of the research study participants' school experience or any of their future research projects for the same academic year. Trainee teachers were fully informed of my research project and were required to give their informed consent (Robson, 2011). There was no compulsion to participate and they had the option of leaving the research process at any time, with no consequences. My scrutiny of assessment documentation written by university link tutors would only be used for the purposes of this study and observations made did not contribute in any way to the formal course assessment of the students. The trainee teachers were made

fully aware of the distinctions made between the study and formal assessment. They were free not to participate in the study and could withdraw at any time. (See appendix D for the letter given to trainees and appendix H for the information sheet).

Ethically, I am located within the research setting: I am a researcher and a teacher educator within my current workplace. Sikes and Potts (2008) contended that prior to conducting research, an 'insider researcher' would have an attachment to the institution in which an investigation was to be conducted. This would be, for me, researching trainee teachers, some of whom would be my students or personal tutees, and teaching assistants and their mentors with whom I would have a professional relationship. My positioning is that of an 'insider researcher' owing to the situation and location of my study.

Robson (2011) used the term 'practitioner-researcher' to describe how the researcher holds down a full-time job within the institution within which she is embarking on a systematic enquiry. The implication here for me was to consider the benefits of having an existing knowledge base about the situation to be researched and the constraints therein (Drake and Heath, 2008). The advantage of being an 'insider researcher' was being able to carefully consider my area of study as a result of reflecting on my practice of link tutoring trainee teachers. I was able to have access to the trainee teachers as well as knowing the network of links to colleagues in the partnership schools. This also became a disadvantage. I was acutely aware that the trainee teachers I intended to interview may not wish to offer their time for my research study because of the perceived tutor/trainee relationship and their perception of the process as them being assessed further. Similarly, with the schools' mentors, I was concerned that they would either be overly critical of the partnership relationship or not reveal significant data in case of a perceived criticism from me. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011) advise the researcher to be cognizant of certain considerations when entering a research field. The researcher needs to be wary of personal attributes, bias, the recognition that research would be a personal benefit and whether the research would be of any benefit to the researched:

‘Practical issues here...often attenuate what can be done in research. The researcher is advised to consider carefully the practicability of the research before embarking on a lost cause in trying to conduct a study...’ (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011, p. 110).

My presuppositions about knowledge in the field were challenged by a colleague who questioned my early assumption of the habitus of the school environment and considered that it was more powerful than I first anticipated. This led to me searching for the theory that ultimately developed in my using of Bourdieu’s writings. This state of my reflection was critical; I had to be confident the theory I selected for my lens was appropriate in order to be not only a listener but an enquirer (Clough and Nutbrown, 2012). This is a warning to be epistemologically vigilant (Bourdieu, 1998b) and it reminded me as an ‘insider researcher’ to consider how identity, location in the field and intellectual bias, constructed the way the world is viewed (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002 and Wacquant, 2008). For me, this was a crucial factor in determining my methodology because reflexivity informs interpretation in research; challenges the researcher to be conscious of research participants; and adds rigour to research by considering the context in which data are located (Etherington, 2004).

To be reflexive is to acknowledge the location of power within research (Robson, 2002). The singular issue that Bourdieu had with research was that it needed reflexivity to prevent the researcher taking, as given, the values of the field in which she operated (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002 and Etherington, 2004). Reflexivity is a tool, therefore, designed to limit researcher bias owing to the Bourdieusian notion that sociological research must be critical of power and how it is maintained. For according to Bourdieu, theory is only useful if it enables a problem to be understood. If a theory ‘provides evidence for the actions of social groups and practices’ (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002, p. 49) then the researcher must treat the evidence he finds carefully. This is important because the researcher is called on to acknowledge his gender, social class, and ethnicity and how that influenced the relationship with the study and the participants. I was aware the ITT cohort was predominantly female, most of whom were younger than me, and that I was in an obvious position of power owing to

assessing their coursework and, on some occasions, grading their practical school experiences. One consideration was to ask a female colleague, who was also employed as a student counsellor, to interview the students, to which she agreed. This did not occur, however, because she had taken early retirement so I made the decision to conduct interviews myself. It did, though, make me more conscious of the interpretivist paradigm chosen and to consider that my role was partly making the voices of the research participants known and published.

It was the issue of me as an ‘insider researcher’ that influenced the method of data collection. My choice was to embark on a perception study rather than a case study, which would have involved the use of observations. I felt the latter choice would have impacted trainee teachers’ concerns about being graded by a university tutor and that this would have affected the observation. Perceptions are the subjective process of making sense of external stimulation through internalization, or as Munn (1994) wrote: they are ‘*individual mental phenomena*’. One problem is that one individual’s perception may differ widely from another’s in the same social situation. Another problem is that holding a perception may not be the same as representing it in action (Plewis and Veltman, 1994). A third issue, in conducting a perception study within largely the same cohort of trainee teachers, is the extent to which their perceptions are already shaped by certain homogeneous factors, for example, the same ITT teaching; coming from similar geographical backgrounds; and being roughly of the same age. This required a reflective approach and the consideration of using appropriate methods to investigate what trainees thought from existing perception studies. So consideration was given to allow them to ‘talk freely about opinions’ through the use of semi-structured interviews and questionnaires (Convery *et al.*, 1997).

3.4 Selecting a research design

Creswell (2007) argued that research design begins with researchers being aware of their existing worldviews which are brought to a study before a philosophical informed decision process begins. Robson (2011) acknowledged how pragmatic a researcher should be. For them, ‘real-life’ research is about aiming to find explanations and to find those answers in a field rather than a laboratory. Although there is no ‘overall

consensus about how to conceptualize doing social research' (2016, p. 45), the type of research question asked determines the methodology chosen. Methodology is not necessarily about fixed philosophical assumptions and traditions that are brought to a question, but that a question shapes the methodological philosophy.

My methodology is qualitative in design. Creswell (2007) argued that qualitative research enquires into problems concerning the meaning that individuals or groups attribute to a social or human problem by researching subjects in their natural setting. This is in order to establish a pattern or theme from the analysis of collected data. Denzin and Lincoln (2009) suggested that qualitative research is more interpretive in terms of epistemology and offered this succinct definition:

'Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. [It] consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings and memos to the self. [It] involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them' (2009, p. 3).

Here I note their use of interpreting phenomena and the meanings that are attributed within a particular setting. This was necessary because it enabled me to consider that social research is both qualitative and interpretive in design. From this, I was influenced further by the viewpoint of Clough and Nutbrown (2012):

'All social research sets out with specific purposes from a particular position, and aims to persuade readers of the significance of its claims. These claims are always broadly political' (Clough and Nutbrown, 2012, p.4).

They framed social research as being persuasive, purposive, positional and political. The investigation of a question, enquiry into phenomena and exploration of issues would be the researcher making change in real world situations which is complex and ultimately political.

3.4.1 Ontological and epistemological assumptions

Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011) suggested that the research should be significant to make an important contribution to understanding and to practice; I take this further to claim my research is important and original. From an ontological perspective, reality is revealed by ‘what there is to know about the world’ (Snape and Spencer, 2003) or asking about the form of the social world (Waring, 2017). Wilson (2013, p.80) is clear in that ontology is:

‘...about defining precisely what it is that you are studying or researching. That is, the nature of the world and reality being studied...’

Idealism, within ontology, is concerned with reality being known through the human mind and through socially constructed meanings (Snape and Spencer, 2003). Ontologically, my research question demands the exploration of the socially constructed perceptions of the teaching assistant and trainee teachers. Ontology, therefore, is a personal and cultural matter; the socially constructed views of reality and understanding of different people (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011); but importantly, how some views are better represented than others. The realities of teaching assistants and the realities of trainee teachers may not be as privileged as the realities constructed by mentors. As a researcher, my reality may be different to those of my research participants.

Epistemologically, my study is ‘ways of knowing and learning about the social world’ (Snape and Spencer, 2003). To uncover knowledge, I have chosen to regard it as personal and subjective, which calls on me as a researcher to be involved with the researched (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011). Wilson (2013) calls on the researcher to question how the world is known and to consider good procedures for discovering knowledge. As a qualitative researcher with an interpretive philosophical assumption, this is my procedure for discovering knowledge. It is done by reflecting on the process of research between researcher and researched with the interrelatedness therein, as the study is conducted in the field (Creswell, 2007).

An epistemological perspective informed my philosophical choice of being pragmatic in order to research subjects in a natural setting. This led to the adoption of an interpretive approach. The epistemological position I adopted was interpretivist:

rejecting the possibility of direct knowledge and accepting that knowledge is instead developed through interpretation based on observations within the world (Waring, 20017). This, therefore, has indicated my paradigmatic standpoint. Morgan (2007) defined paradigms as:

'... shared belief systems that influence the kinds of knowledge researchers seek and how they interpret the evidence they collect.' (p. 50).

For Creswell (2009), such shared belief systems are termed as a '*worldview*', or for Crotty (1998) a '*theoretical perspective*'. Crotty listed these as positivism, interpretivism, critical inquiry, feminism and postmodernism. Paradigms are viewed as a way of thinking about a research question and its answers (Robson, 2011). Qualitative research investigates the social world focussing on understanding, 'rich description' and emergent concepts. Therefore, interpretivism, or social constructivism, relies on how research subjects' views of a given situation are negotiated socially and historically (Snape and Spencer 2003 and Creswell, 2009) and therefore social reality is the interpretation (Waring, 2017). Creswell (2009), in summarizing Crotty's work (1998), agreed that a qualitative researcher would aim to understand the position of the participants and, more crucially, have their interpretation 'shaped by the researcher's own experiences and background'. This was the argument of Clough and Nutbrown (2012): the linking of a researcher's position with a political perspective underpins the research to be undertaken.

My research question concerning the perceptions of the management of the deployment of teaching assistants by trainee teachers, allows for them to share their views with me as the researcher. They are making sense of their position within their real world setting (in this case, the classroom and the school) and the culture of the school experience which frames the theoretical perspective. The notion of interacting socially allows for meaning to be made and I, as the researcher, am seeking to understand the context in which these trainee teachers are in (Creswell, 2009). Therefore, I argue that from a methodological perspective, I am adopting an interpretivist paradigm.

In order to adopt a paradigm, and be comfortable to explain the rationale for doing so, it is important to state why other paradigms were not adopted. The distinction for this occurred at the epistemological choice where the basic division lay between positivist and anti-positivist paradigms with the assumption of how knowledge is acquired. If knowledge is seen to be objective, the researcher adopts a positivist role with a reliance on the methods of natural science (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011). Positivism seeks laws to explain events within the natural world and for an 'ability to control the conditions' of a given experiment (Robson, 2002). My research was always going to be with people but it was important to read that positivist paradigms were not people friendly according to the complex nature of human behaviour and the intangible quality of social knowledge. In other words, people are not straightforward, they are messy and positivism does not cater for such a study:

'This point is nowhere more apparent than in the contexts of classroom and school where the problems of teaching, learning and human interaction present the positivistic researcher with a mammoth challenge' (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2002, p. 7).

Objectivism asserts that truth resides in objects independent of consciousness. Therefore, in contrast, subjectivism relies on a consciousness and therein is the case for making meaning; for it is interpretivism that looks for:

'...culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world' (Crotty, 1998, p. 67).

Ormston *et al.* (2014) bracketed this critical inquiry alongside feminism and queer theory as a family of postmodern paradigms which are characterised by a deep distrust of scientific methods to explain reality because there are no fixed meanings, because all meanings in the world are a product of time and place.

I have stated above that ontologically, and epistemologically, my research is concerning perceptions, and therefore the choice of paradigm would have to suit the need to explore perception.

3.5 A qualitative research study

Social research requires certain researcher skills, for example, adaptiveness and an enquiring mind (Robson, 2011), where a researcher needs to interpret information during a study, as well as listening to the research subjects during the data collection period. A qualitative research study is an approach which I feel can be used in planning and conducting research in the busy primary school in order to answer my research question (Clough and Nutbrown, 2012, Robson, 2011 and Crotty, 1998).

My research study was influenced by methodological literature that explored small scale research with an appeal to the voice of the subject in their environment. This meant finding the opinion of the research subjects: for me it was listening to the opinions of my trainee teachers, teaching assistants and mentors. Layder's (2013) work had a focus on human behaviour, with a link to its social context, although he focused on the necessity to choose methods for the explanation of the problem being investigated rather than the pragmatic approach of choosing methods that work best. Denscombe (2014) and Holloway and Jefferson (2000) discussed how the interpretative paradigm within a research study enables the researcher to develop insights into the world of the researched.

Safford (2011) described how such an approach was there to inspire the practice and professional development of adults within primary schools. Safford and Hancock (2011) describe how a small scale study with a predominant focus on a qualitative and interpretive approach is a valid method of obtaining a narrative. For my study, this is suitable because it enables:

'...adults to create more holistic responses to puzzles and questions which arise in classrooms' (Safford and Hancock, 2011, p. 10).

The qualitative research study will be an appropriate design in order for me to find the explanation not just *how* trainee teachers manage the deployment of their teaching assistants but allow me to find *why* they decide to justify it. The *why* of the study is a key aspect of social research because of a scientific need to find explanation that goes beyond description (Layder, 2013).

3.6 The pilot study

The pilot study (Morgan, 2011), as part of my doctoral coursework, considered the issue of the deployment of teaching assistants. The research question was: ‘What are the perceived barriers to an effective working relationship between primary trainee teachers and teaching assistants?’ Five teaching assistants and one trainee teacher were selected to be interviewed on my behalf by my ‘gatekeeper’: a contact I had in a local primary school whom I knew in my role as a link tutor. I conducted a semi-structured interview with the gatekeeper in her role as a senior mentor. I wanted to explore and interpret the opinions of teaching assistants who would be busily employed in that school. The chosen school was a two-form entry primary school serving a vibrant and challenging, multicultural community in the Royal Borough of Greenwich, London.

The pilot study revealed that within the school there was a barrier to an effective working relationship between the trainee teacher and the teaching assistant. This was a tendency for the trainee teacher to perceive herself as becoming socially accepted by the assistant before effective deployment could be realized. The reason for this was a degree of confidence to occur before the request of deployment could be done. The school-based mentor perceived that this was owing to maturity (age and experience) and the trainees’ reluctance to identify their role while deploying teaching assistants. It was perceived by the teaching assistants and the trainee teacher, that the notion of the trainee bringing in new systems of practice and ideas of teaching and learning, led to the teaching assistant judging the trainee’s competence in this field. Once the trainee teacher was perceived to have passed a degree of competence, then a working relationship could be established because the assistant accepted the role of the trainee as a leading professional.

The pilot study was important in shaping the methodology for the research study. I was interested in pursuing a research approach to the study; describing the meaning for several individuals of their lived experiences of a concept (Creswell, 2007). I found this approach to be problematic. The teaching assistants were not forthcoming with responses to semi-structured interview questions; they would say little or be keen to offer favourable responses. Crotty (1998) warned of not only researcher bias in

prejudicing the experiences of the research subjects but that interviews should be unstructured so that ‘themes pinpointed in the data arise out of the data’ (p. 83). I learnt that time was important when conducting interviews in school and, therefore, I ensured that in future interviews, I would ask very basic supplementary questions and leave an open question at the end requiring the interviewee to add anything else they would wish to tell. In addition to this, I would record what I felt to be key phrases and ask the interviewee to discuss these in more detail.

3.7 The research study sample

3.7.1 Synopsis of the sample and data collection methods

The research study was primarily conducted at the ITT institution where I worked between 28th May 2013 and 18th July 2013, with further interviews conducted on 16th July 2016. In total, fourteen trainee teachers were interviewed. The original ten trainee teachers were selected from the cohort that returned twenty-nine questionnaires. I visited six primary schools within the ITT partnership (see table 2) and interviewed six teaching assistants and five mentors between 6th June 2013 and 6th September 2013. Therefore, a total of twenty-five participants within the ITT partnership were interviewed; although this was a small sample, the interviews were in-depth. It must be stated that the fourteen trainee teachers did not necessarily attend the primary schools for their placement blocks in which the teaching assistants and mentors were interviewed. The justification for this was that the ITT partnership was considered to be the ‘*field*’ (see section 2.3.3 - Bourdieu, 1984) in which its values were recognized to be consistent. In other words, each trainee teacher would expect to find the same process for completing a school experience block, for example, university documentation, university-based theoretical provision, schools’ mentoring programmes and appraisal of evidence against the Teachers’ Standards. In addition, although the schools were different institutions, they were still operating under the same policies and accountable measures, for example, teaching of curricula. Through an external measure of such quality assurance, for example, OfSTED, it could be argued that the partnership is one entity into which any trainee teacher would see the

similarities during a three year course of training. Further details of the process of the succession of the stages of data collection and the participants are shown below.

3.7.2 The trainee teachers selected as a sample for the research study

I selected the 2012-13 BA Primary Education with QTS year three cohort from which to select as potential research participants. This was because they had undertaken three school experiences and would have had more time and experience of being a trainee primary teacher on any of the ITE routes within the university. In addition to this, their final examinations and assignments had been undertaken and completed which enabled them to give their time for my study.

There were 107 trainee teachers in this cohort of whom ninety-six were female and eleven male. I approached them at the end of an administrative meeting given on 30th April 2013, and outlined my research proposal. Later, I distributed questionnaires for those who wished to participate (see appendix J). There were twenty-nine questionnaires returned, a return rate of 27%, of which seventeen trainees wanted to be approached to be interviewed and twelve did not (but completed some of the questions). From the seventeen trainees who wished to be interviewed, I decided to choose ten because it would be easier to manage this number of interviewees and also I could be selective from the field of seventeen. I chose ten trainee teachers based on a purposive sampling method to be typical of the wider population (Thomas, 2017). I interviewed four more trainee teachers from the 2015-2016 BA Primary Education with QTS year three cohort.

I present further information of each of the sampled trainee teachers in the following table. This originated from the initial questionnaires that were distributed to the trainee teachers and that I gleaned from the interviews that followed:

Trainee Teacher	Age range	Ethnicity	Notes
one	18-24	White British	She previously worked as a TA in a primary school. The only trainee in the sample to be listed with a disability.
two	18-24	White British	He had previously worked as a Learning Support Assistant (another name for a TA).
three	25-34	White British	She had not worked as a teaching assistant previously but as a compliance co-ordinator (company liaison co-ordinator).
four	45-54	White British	The oldest trainee teacher in the sample. She had a varied career before becoming a trainee teacher, working in finance for eighteen years and being a former teaching assistant for five years.
five	18-24	White British	She had been previously employed as a teaching assistant with a contract for supporting a child with Special Educational Needs. She had experience of being deployed by a trainee teacher during this period of employment.
six	18-24	White British	She came to teacher training directly from sixth form.
seven	25-34	White British	Her previous career was that of a legal secretary.
eight	18-24	White British	He had entered teacher training direct from secondary school.
nine	18-24	White British	She had previously volunteered as a teaching assistant in a primary school.
ten	18-24	White British	She entered teacher training straight from college but had worked part time as a waitress
eleven	45-54	White British	She worked full time before having children
twelve	45-54	White British	He worked full time within the transport industry before entering university.
thirteen	18-24	White British	She entered teacher training directly from school and works as a dance instructor.
fourteen	18-24	Asian	She entered teacher training directly from school.

Table 2 The selected trainee teachers

The first ten selected trainee teachers all underwent three school experiences in which they had varying practical contact with a teaching assistant: five weeks in April and May 2011; six weeks in November and December 2011; and seven weeks during January, February and March 2013. The final four trainee teachers underwent their three school experiences for five weeks in April and May 2014; six weeks in November and December 2014; and eight weeks during 2016. All of them were successful in passing the school experiences according to the Teachers' Standards that were applicable at the time (they were reduced from thirty-three standards to nine in 2012). In particular, they were successful in attaining sufficient evidence to pass standards associated with working with additional adults (Q32 and 33 pre-2012 and TS 8 post-2012).

3.7.3 The primary schools selected as a sample for the research study

There were 218 primary schools that were recorded as being in partnership with my university in 2012-2013, that is, schools which offered to accept students on school experience placements. These schools were located primarily in southeast London, east London, west Kent and southwest Essex. I selected five schools that were in different geographical areas; which had different socio-economic catchment areas and in which I knew someone could act as a gatekeeper, a professional who can allow access to research subjects within an institution (Robson, 2011); either a known mentor or a student who was already undertaking a school experience. I wrote to each school to seek permission to conduct my study (see appendix E). It must be noted that these primary schools were not the ones in which the interviewed trainee teachers attended for their school experience placement. These were the selected schools:

School	Deprivation Index (Out of 32,482) *	No of Children on roll	Year of entry into ITT Partnership **	Total no. of students placed in school experience up to 2012/13	Local Authority area	Type of school
A	3,892	420	2005/06	121	SE London	Maintained
B	6,870	491	2011/12	4	E London	Maintained
C	30,482	222	2005/06	45	NW Kent	Maintained
D	14,077	190	2012/13	3	NW Kent	Academy
E	3,845	795	2006/07	82	SE London	Maintained

* The deprivation index ranks all 32,482 wards in England according to economic deprivation, whereby 1 is the most deprived see <https://neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination>

**Database records go far back as 2005/06; some schools would have been in partnership before this date.

Table 3 The five schools selected as a sample for my study

3.7.4 The teaching assistants selected as a sample for the research study

In each school I interviewed the mentor (the teacher with overall responsibility for assessing trainee teachers who could also be the class teacher) and a teaching assistant between 26th June and 23rd July 2013.

I present mini-biographies of the selected teaching assistants which can be viewed in the following table. These originated from the initial questionnaires that were distributed to the teaching assistants and that I gleaned from the interviews that followed:

Teaching assistant	Age range	Ethnicity	Primary School	Notes
one	16-24	White British	A	She has been employed as a teaching assistant just under four years at Primary School A. Prior to that she was employed as a bar-maid. Her level of qualification is that of a NVQ/BTEC and she is qualified as 'Supporting Teaching and Learning in Schools'. She has worked with a trainee teacher on four previous occasions
two	45-54	White British	B	She has worked as a teaching assistant at Primary School B and has been in that role for between five and ten years. She did not indicate her previous employment but possesses a 'NVQ level 2 Teaching Assistant' qualification. She has worked with a trainee teacher on one previous occasion.
three	45-54	White British	C	Prior to spending ten years employed as a teaching assistant at Primary School C, she worked as a travel consultant. She is educated to A-level standard and holds a qualification in 'Specialist Teaching Assistant'. She has worked with a trainee teacher five times in the past.
four	25-34	White British	D	She has been employed as a teaching assistant at Primary School D for just over five years, having once been a cleaner. She has a degree (a 2:1 in Special Educational Needs) and is qualified as a Higher Level Teaching Assistant (HLTA). She has worked with two trainee teachers in the past.
five	45-54	White British	E	She has worked as a teaching assistant for just under ten years at Primary School E. Before that she was a manager at a day nursery where she gained a NNEB in 'Nursing'. She has no qualifications directly related to being employed as a teaching assistant but she has worked with trainee teachers on eight previous school experiences.

six	45-54	White British	*	She has been employed as a teaching assistant for over ten years in her current junior school.
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Table 4 The selected teaching assistants

The teaching assistants were accompanied by five class teachers/mentors from their respective schools. *In addition I interviewed a further teaching assistant in a different school (school F) on 6th September 2013. She was chosen because I wanted to compare her views with my chosen sample.

3.8 The use of trainee teachers' written lesson observations

The final pieces of data were realised in the way of trainee teachers' written tutor lesson observations during their school experience. I decided to use these because they were an existing piece of evidence that explored the perceptions of the observers of the trainee teacher's lesson observations, namely the link tutors and mentors. In 2012-13, observations on all subjects taught by trainee teachers were recorded in triplicate forms. The purpose of these forms were to produce a record of a taught lesson that would serve as evidence towards gaining particular Teachers' Standards and to record developmental points in teaching. All link tutors and class-based mentors/teachers would send their copies of recorded lesson observations to the university on the completion of a debriefing tutorial with a successful trainee teacher who had completed a school experience. The comments can be seen in appendix Z.

I divided the comments into three broad areas: Non-specific (where the comments do not reveal an insight into the nature of the deployment or are vague); trainee teachers who did not consider the deployment of teaching assistants or underused them; and where an observer noted an effective/specific deployment of teaching assistants by the trainees. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011) described how content analysis is the technique that could be applied to any written material and that it:

'...takes texts and analyses, reduces and interrogates them into summary form through the use of both pre-existing categories and emergent themes in order to generate or test a theory' (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011, p. 564).

Silverman (2001, p. 123) reinforced the idea that content analysis is an 'accepted method of textual investigation' although Spencer *et al.* (2014) list that it is one of several approaches for analysing qualitative data because of the need for triangulation of the data. The intentions of the authors (class teachers and link tutors) and the purpose of the documents were not originally intended for me as the researcher. Therefore, bias had to be acknowledged in interpreting them which is an obvious disadvantage of such data (Robson, 2011 and Denscombe, 2014). In contrast, the advantage of the documents allowed me to 'observe without being observed' (Robson, 2011 p.357) in an unobtrusive fashion. I did conclude that an overall advantage of using the written lesson observations was that they had been conducted within the existing parameters of the ethos and practices that were shared with the ITT institution and its partnership schools which gave it more credibility as a source of evidence (Robson and McCartan, 2016).

3.9 The interviews

Interviews exist for the purpose of data collection (Robson 2011) but more subtly they allow individuals to discuss their interpretations of their world (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011). The interviews in this study did not treat the interviewee as a mere subject but as a partner with the interviewer as both parties are constructing knowledge. As Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011) acknowledged, however, this is not a natural process because of the need to create the opportunity for the interview to take place.

The interview has as an advantage over the questionnaire in that it allows for the collection of deeper information. This is because of the skill of the interviewer using human qualities to collect such data which may not be yielded in other forms, such as the questionnaire, although Robson (2011) warns the researcher about this validity. This was the main reason for me choosing this method of data collection. The three

types of interviews I considered were: structured, semi-structured and unstructured (Robson and McCartan, 2016 and Bell, 2010). The principal difference between the three resides with the design of the interview by the interviewer in setting boundaries for the responses from the interviewee. I opted for the semi-structured interview owing to the interpretivist perspective I had decided upon in my methodology:

'...because [the semi-structured interview] is concerned with creating the environment to encourage participants to discuss their...experiences in free-flowing, open-ended discussions. Also it enables the researcher to interpret their views' (O' Donoghue, 2007, p, 147).

O' Donoghue (2007) described the advantage of the semi-structured interview but I highlight its disadvantage and how the process of interviewing worked for me in the partnership schools. The disadvantage of the semi-structured interview lies with the time constraints of busy teachers in busy schools. Robson (2011) described how anything under half an hour of interviewing is likely to be invaluable but it was difficult to get more than an hour. At times I was interrupted by cleaners, children, loud bells, staff members and the hubbub of children playing or going home and this was an issue of researching in unpredictable schools (Safford and Hancock, 2011). The need, however, to be focussed with interview organization ensured I did not suffer from 'respondent fatigue' (Robson 2011). I had booked a guaranteed half an hour slot as a minimum requirement in my initial communication with the five partnership schools and with the trainee teachers.

The questions I asked at the interview stage were derived from the research questions. Owing, however, to the nature of the semi-structured interview, I did allow for the interviewees to digress but, mostly, I found that I was needing to prompt them for further information through using subsidiary questions (Denscombe, 2014) but also needing to still listen to the voice of the participant (Clough and Nutbrown, 2012).

For the trainee teachers, I asked questions that concerned: observations made about their working relationships with teaching assistants; strengths and issues related to the way in which the trainee teacher and teaching assistants worked together; experiences of managing the deployment of a teaching assistant during a school experience (including strategies used); an understanding of Teachers' Standard 8 – 'deploying

support staff effectively’; a perception of who a teaching assistant would be and their role; to recall anything in their background which they had been able to draw on in order to deploy the teaching assistant; whether trainees felt able to change matters in the classroom, for example, when deploying a teaching assistant or generally wishing to improve something; and whether teacher trainer institutions could do more to prepare trainee teachers to work effectively with teaching assistants.

For the teaching assistants, I asked questions that concerned: thoughts regarding the introduction of a trainee teacher; the qualities that are looked for; observations made about their working relationships with the trainee; did the trainee teacher bring a perceived benefit to the school; their understanding of Teachers’ Standard 8 – ‘*deploying support staff effectively*’; whether they felt a trainee should be deploying them; what was the perception when the teacher was not around when the trainee became the leading practitioner; whether they judged the performance of a trainee teacher and what advice they would offer if they were involved in ITT.

The questions asked to the mentors were similar to those asked above to the teaching assistants except for: why they agreed to host trainees; their observations regarding trainee teachers’ working relationship with the teaching assistant and themselves; whether they felt teaching assistants appreciated the trainee teacher’s need to have a school experience placement in their class; and their experience of supporting a trainee teacher when it came to Teachers’ Standard 8 – ‘*deploying support staff effectively*’.

I aimed to make the interviewees feel comfortable; explain the procedural aspects of the interview, and explain how the research was not of importance to me but to them (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011). I was aware of how to put people at ease and use facial expressions and sympathetic vocal cues and body language but what helped was writing notes as the interview was recorded. I found that recording notes not only helped me to understand what was being said, for example, observing particular hand gesticulations to reinforce a point made, but that interviewees were becoming less hesitant as I wrote notes. An example of an interview transcript from a trainee teacher can be read in appendix N and a transcript of an interview from a mentor and teaching assistant from school C can be read in appendix O. All interviews were audio recorded using a digital Dictaphone placed in a discrete location which did not affect its

recording ability. I found this technology useful when transcribing because of the half-speed function on playback enabled me to transcribe quickly and I could store the interviews in a catalogue system. Therefore, as Preissle (2011, p. 695) wrote, the ‘*ease and accessibility of audio recording devices*’ made qualitative research much easier.

I present further information regarding the interview schedule and location. All trainee teachers’ interviews took place in various rooms I had booked within my ITT institution. The interviews were held between 28th May 2013 and 18th June 2013 for the original ten trainees, and then again on 12th July 2016. The times of the interviews were in agreement with the availability of the trainees within those dates and yielded total interview time of around six hours. The interview process of the teaching assistants and the mentors did not turn out according to plan. After I had interviewed mentor A and teaching assistant A separately, I found the other teaching assistant and mentors preferred to be interviewed together. The reason for this was pressure on time, because they either occurred at lunch time or after school.

Teaching assistant/mentor	Date	Location	Duration of interview in minutes/seconds
Teaching Assistant one	26/06/2013 10.00 am	School A	30.33
Mentor one	26/06/2013 9.15 am	School A	38.12
Teaching Assistant two & Mentor two	05/07/2013 at 3.30pm	School B	41.08
Teaching Assistant three & Mentor three	11/07/2013 at 3.25pm	School C	32.40
Teaching Assistant four & Mentor four	22/07/2013 at 1.00pm	School D	43.03
Teaching Assistant five & Mentor five	23/07/2013 at 2.30pm	School E	27.51
Teaching Assistant six	06/06/2013	School F	19.57

Table 5 Details of the teaching assistants’ and mentors’ interviews

3.10 The analysis of the interviews

I shall outline how the data from the interviews were analysed. Robson (2011, p. 409) outlined a simplified but realistic approach for a researcher when the time came for analysing data by asking the question, 'How can I understand what is going on here?' This question was reinforced by warnings against wholly relying on computer software and to discover hidden messages and nuances which a human could more easily identify. This is reinforced when he compared data analysis to data interpretation; the researcher not searching for causes but looking to 'shed light on meaning'. I was reminded that in my analysis of data and the search for meaning, I wanted to use the theoretical lens of Bourdieu's (1984) theory of capital, habitus and field. Webb, Schirato and Danaher (2002) describe that his theory should be used as a:

'...temporary construct to provide evidence for, and demonstrate the specific properties of social groups and practices' (2002, p. 49).

3.10.1 Using thematic analysis

I chose thematic analysis as a qualitative method to analyse the interviews I had transcribed because it is:

'...a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data that reports experiences, meanings and the reality of participants... which works both to reflect reality, and to unpick the surface of 'reality' (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p9).

In order to make sense of interview data the generic approach to analysing it resides with thematic coding (Robson 2011 and Braun and Clarke, 2006). This is the breaking down of text into new pieces of data that are aligned with a code which then allowed me to identify themes. It is the theme which should be of interest to the research question. They outlined how this could be done and it was the method I used:

Braun and Clarke (2006, p.15)	Stage of using thematic analysis	Robson (2011, p. 476)
Familiarizing yourself with the data	1	Familiarize yourself with the data
Generating initial codes	2	Generate initial codes
Search for themes from codes	3	Identify themes and network
Reviewing themes	4	Interpret
Defining & naming themes	5	-
Producing a report	6	(Robson did advocate a chapter for this)

Table 6 Stage of using thematic analysis

Thematic analysis captures meaning within the collected data in relation to the research question and represents it as a patterned response or meaning according to the judgement of the researcher (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Therefore the researcher is reminded of the epistemological viewpoint in the methodological process; in my case looking at the overall story the analysis tells of how the research participants perceive their social world.

In my analysis, I was searching for the relationship between people within a cultural field (the school or classroom) and the practices that are involved. For example, I would be looking for themes (or patterns) of power, hierarchy, and status within the data owing to my choice of using Bourdieu as a theoretical lens.

I began by transcribing the interview data which itself was a lengthy process. I decided not to use the services of a transcriber because I wanted to immerse myself as much as possible into the meanings interpreted from the data. I wanted a verbatim transcription and to maximize my opportunity of collecting as much data as possible.

This helped me to determine the initial codes from which I used to reduce the data into meaningful and manageable themes and codes (see appendix L and appendix M). To assist with this search, I decided I would need to use software to help with the analysis

(Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011) and I chose NVivo. Coding helped with making the hours of transcribed interview data meaningful as I searched for the stories of perceptions within it. Robson (2011) cited Miles and Huberman's (1994) description of coding whereby groups of words are given codes that allow them to form a number of themes or patterns (Braun and Clarke, 2006). During this process, I was aware that I was looking for the perceptions of the research participants through the chosen lens of Bourdieu's sociology.

Re-reading the transcriptions, and replaying the audio recordings of the transcriptions, enabled me to be confident in identifying the themes to which I was able to assign a code and so begin to interpret the transcripts against the research questions. I then collated the themes and applied the NVivo computer software to help me analyse further. The use of such a computer software programme is advocated in the analysis of qualitative research. Qualitative data analysis software has a history of assisting researchers since the 1980s and has evolved to support interpretational analysis of data, from which NVivo evolved (Davidson and di Gregorio, 2011).

It was necessary to remind myself of the disadvantage of being an analyst. The data has to be manageable, first impressions of the analysis must be rechecked; ensuring that analysis does not conflict with existing held ideas and opinions. As a good researcher, I would minimize the effects of these deficiencies as a qualitative researcher (Clough and Nutbrown, 2012 and Denzin and Lincoln, 2011). I did this by reading transcripts in a different order, mixing trainees' transcripts with mentors' transcripts.

3.11 Validity and reliability

Validity concerns whether a research finding accurately reflects the phenomenon being studied (Lewis *et al*, 2014) or it concerns the credibility of the research. Punch (2005) furthered this perspective by asking '*how do we know that the measuring instrument measures what we think it measures?*' In order to answer this question, and from the point of using the interview as the main source of data collection, Robson (2011) advised the researcher to consider the actual source of the data (whether it is complete

or inaccurate). Bias is a second threat to validity. Bell (2010) warned that if there is only one interviewer, then bias may go undetected and the data would become subject to natural prejudices and influences. Her solution is criticality of interpretation and the need to triangulate. Robson (2011), Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011) and Bell (2010) advocated that data triangulation would enhance research and reduce the threat to validity. My triangulation included the analysis of trainee teachers' lesson observations.

Reliability means consistency (Punch, 2005), determining that a future researcher could use my research methods and be likely to get a similar response (Punch 2005 and Bell. 2010). However, Robson (2011) wrote that it is more problematic with qualitative research. His advice was for researchers (in my case who are using interviews) is to ensure there was an audit trail of transcripts, field notes, data analysis as well as making sure that transcriptions are accurately transcribed; interruptions are minimized; and that the equipment is not faulty.

As an 'insider researcher', I reminded myself of the need to be reflexive (see my thoughts above in section 3.3) and to be reminded of what I brought to the research in terms of ideas, my own habitus and assumptions. Indeed, I was reminded of the need to re-conceptualize my own perception of teaching assistants' roles in a classroom and to be objective in this. I was far too subjective and made an error in assuming their place was because of a lack of activity, but instead it was pointed out to me that I was interpreting the situation incorrectly because the habitus of the situation was not recognized. Such assumptions are pointed out:

'We do not enter a research project as a neutral vessel, rather we take with us our values and politics, gender, ethnicity etc. We also take our assumptions, categories, feelings and previous experiences. This is inevitable but it is important that we should reflect on and be transparent about the way this impacts on our research' (Munn-Giddings, 2017, p. 72).

This was a valuable lesson and one I quickly learnt *. A researcher holds power and therefore if reflexivity is not recognized then the whole research study would be called into question.

**This episode occurred during a critical feedback session of an early presentation of an assignment during the EdD programme. I entitled it 'Why are you (teaching assistants) sitting there doing nothing?' The point made to me was that they might have been 'sitting there' but they were 'doing' what was required of them by the teacher or trainee. Therefore I was not giving due consideration to the theoretical lens that I had decided to adopt.*

3.12 A Summary of ethical considerations

The British Educational Research Association's (2011) guidelines were used to inform the ethical considerations required for my research study as well as the approval from the University Research Committee in May 2013 (see appendix B) and my Head of Department.

Information sheets for teaching assistants and senior mentors made clear that they did not need to participate in the study should they choose not to, and they could withdraw at any time (see appendix F, appendix G and appendix I). It was made clear that any comments made would not affect the formal assessment of the students in any way. No participant, either trainee teacher, mentor or teaching assistant, would be identified by name in the publication of this study. All participants would be assigned a pseudonym. I guaranteed confidentiality and anonymity in the published work because of the trust that was held in me by the research participants. Data were stored on a private computer which was password protected and stored in a locked office (Carey, 2009). All participants were treated with respect and confidentially following the guidelines set out by BERA (2011).

Although ethical considerations are discussed last in this chapter, it does not mean they were not considered at the outset of the selection of my methodological design. An ethical approach was as important as selecting the qualitative and interpretive route. For Clough and Nutbrown (2012), the ethical dimension permeates all research activity which for me, as a researcher, was uppermost in my methodological process.

3.13 Summary of chapter

In this chapter, I have discussed how I selected a methodology that was relevant to my research. I argued that I would be using a design that was interpretive, and a perspective that used a qualitative research study. I introduced the research participants and their schools and gave a discussion concerning validity, reliability and importantly, ethics. In the next chapter, I will set out how the data were analysed and interpret its findings.

CHAPTER 4 – DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Overview of chapter

In this chapter, I outline the process of how I will be presenting the analysis of the data by addressing the research questions in turn. The chapter begins by discussing the need to be reminded of the voice of the participants before presenting analysis according to the order of the research questions. The chapter ends with a summary of the analysis. Any interview excerpts that are listed in bold type are emphasised by me.

4.2 The concept of ‘listening’ within data analysis

Data are merely information, regardless of the methodological assumptions and paradigms chosen, and, therefore, I am seeking to interpret the meaning from the data to make sense of it. As a qualitative researcher using an interpretivist design, I was drawn to the argument of ‘radical listening’ (Clough and Nutbrown, 2012). This is the consideration that I need to interpret what is said by the participants in order to consider making change:

*‘trying to understand something of what lies behind what is said by research subjects...trying to understand this in terms of the speaker’s/author’s intentions, and trying to understand what this means **within their particular social framework**’ [my emphasis] (Clough and Nutbrown, 2012, p. 27).*

Therefore, while I analysed data, I was being respectful to the participants’ voice while seeking to find it, interpret it and report it (Robson, 2011, Braun and Clarke, 2006). This was necessary because of my earlier choice to use Bourdieu’s theory of ‘*struggle*’ of how individuals exert their positions according to the accumulation of capital and the underlying concept of habitus (Bourdieu, 1984).

Methodologically, the key tasks for me as a researcher were to investigate a phenomenon, as an ‘insider researcher’, and to identify it within my study. That is, the perceptions surrounding unqualified trainee teachers as they implement a professional standard of deployment whilst not being qualified. Qualitative research investigates the social world, focussing on understanding, and it enquires into problems concerning the meaning that individuals or groups attribute to a social or human problem. This is

conducted by researching subjects in their natural setting in order to establish a pattern, or theme, from the analysis of collected data.

The trainee teachers, mentors and teaching assistants are making sense of their position within their natural setting and by doing so are defining the culture of the school or school experience. The notion of interacting socially with other parties in this context allows for meaning to be made and I, as the researcher, am seeking to understand the context in which this occurs. Finally, the research should be significant to make an important contribution to understanding and to practice.

I begin the data analysis in the next section by discussing the data with regards to answering the main research question. The subsidiary questions are discussed and are used in order to build a picture of the perception of the deployment of teaching assistants. I present a general picture of the perceptions of the personnel within this field of ITT in relation to the deployment of teaching assistants.

4.3 The background picture of link tutors' and mentors' perceptions

I begin this section by analysing the data obtained from the written record of observed lessons of trainee teachers from the entire 2012-13 cohort, by mentors and visiting link tutors, to answer the subsidiary question '*to what extent is deployment of teaching assistants commented upon by visiting tutors?*' This will provide an introductory frame to ascertain the deployment by trainee teachers and how it is perceived and commented on by the observers of the lessons. In total there were 392 observations of the 2012-2013 final BA (Hons) Primary Education with QTS year three recorded lesson observations. 126 of these were written by the link tutors who had made some reference to a teaching assistant fifty-five times, 43.65% of all returns. 266 of these lesson observation records were written by the mentors, who wrote 109 comments concerning the use of teaching assistants, 40.98% of all returns. Together, of the 392 records, there were 164 comments relating to any mention of the use of a teaching assistant, comprising 41.84% of all forms. It must be noted that this does not represent all recorded observations that were written during the cohort's school experience; just the number that were returned, which was a requisite of the school experience

assessment. There were three broad categories that I detected from the 164 recorded observations: non-specific comments, comments relating to either the under-deployment or non-deployment of teaching assistants and comments which made notes of some form of specific deployment. Example quotes from these three categories were as follows:

Non-specific: *Other adults supporting on the carpet and all children on task (Link Tutor on 28/01/2013)*

Under-deployment or non-deployment of teaching assistants: *Think about how you use the TA in the introduction of the lesson (Link Tutor on 14/03/2013)*

Specific use of teaching assistants: *You deployed your adult support well and they were good at challenging, supporting and questioning the group you directed them to (Mentor on 20/03/13)*

These data reveal that from the 164 comments related to the use of teaching assistants, 26% featured external observers' notes that trainee teachers did not use teaching assistants at all or underused them. 36% of comments featured observations of deployment that were non-specific and therefore not helpful in this analysis. The comments written by observers, concerning the 'specific use of teaching assistants' and 'clear deployment' of teaching assistants, totalled 38% of all comments. By 'specific use', I mean some form of deployment was noted and that there was some recognised, positively described outcome as a result, or a positive adverb used, for example, 'appropriately'. (It was revealed that the word 'deploy' was used thirteen times (8% of all comments) and 'directed/directions' was used nine times (5% of all comments). These verbs, suggesting a form of management, were used twenty-two times in all (13% of all comments).

I analysed the third category, 'specific use of teaching assistants' further to explore how the trainee teachers were deploying their teaching assistants, and reduced this to four new areas. These were: fifteen comments concerning deployment for groups of children or individuals (21%); seven comments concerning deployment for 'children' or the class (10%); thirty-five comments for 'general' deployment (50%); and thirteen comments that featured an indication of pedagogy (19%).

The most frequent category, ‘general deployment’, involved mostly some form of perceived deployment according to the mentors and link tutors. It did not, however, describe what the task was or how the deployment of the teaching assistant for a particular purpose achieved a satisfactory outcome, for example, whether it was linked to children’s learning:

You have considered the key vocabulary and deployed your support staff (Link Tutor on 7/2/13)

Also you have prepared an excellent sheet for the TA which includes assessment (Link Tutor on 1/3/13)

Other observations were more specific in terms of what the teaching assistant did or produced but again did not focus on an outcome or explain why a form of deployment was specific. There was not an indication of how a target could be achieved (although this may have occurred in a debriefing session after the lesson had finished):

Used TA to model and demonstrate giving and following instructions (Mentor on 18/03/13)

Use your TA effectively involve her (Mentor on 31/1/13)

Trainee teachers tended to deploy their teaching assistants to work with groups of children or individuals. It could not be ascertained, however, if the word ‘children’ either meant ‘a group of children’ or the whole class. Only in one example did an observer perceive a notion of hierarchy and a sense that the trainee teacher’s role was that of someone who had a role characterized by deployment:

You and the TA work well as a team but you are clearly the leader giving her directions appropriately (Mentor on 8/3/13)

There were only thirteen examples, from all the comments, which gave some indication of why the deployment of a teaching assistant could be perceived as being specific. These were examples that made reference to a specific need which I interpreted as being pedagogical, for example:

You deployed your adult support well and they were good at challenging, supporting and questioning the group you directed them to (Mentor on 20/3/13)

Other adults used effectively to support children, prompt them to identify, discuss and make notes (Link tutor on 21/3/13)

Effective use of TA to assist SEN children with how to obtain information (Mentor on 5/3/13)

The subjective analysis of the recorded lesson observations of trainee teachers by link tutors and mentors needs to be treated with caution. It was not always possible to infer what was meant by ‘non-specific’ deployment of teaching assistants. It was evident that 26% of observers considered that teaching assistants were not deployed specifically according to their perception or interpretation of this against Teachers’ Standard 8. Therefore it was not clear whether this deployment was to contribute to children’s learning although literature reveals that it should be a consideration (Sharples, Webster and Blatchford, 2015; Webster, Russell and Blatchford, 2013; Webster, Blatchford, Bassett *et al.*, 2011 and OfSTED, 2010). The overriding pedagogical use of the teaching assistant was to be deployed to work with a group of children to perform assistance to the teacher (for example, behaviour management or assessment recording). The role of the teaching assistant was recognized on a lesson plan for this reason. 38% of these observations reflected that the type of deployment used was perceived to be specific with a perceived positive outcome evident. Only thirteen observations, however, could be interpreted as signifying how deployment had a link to a trainee teacher’s lesson or implementation of pedagogy. This amounted to 8% of all the observation records which may suggest that the frequency of written notes and the positive critique of their practice to assist the trainee teacher in considering the deployment of teaching assistants is limited.

I present a response to the subsidiary question (iii) ‘*to what extent is deployment of teaching assistants commented upon by visiting tutors?*’

It is not that the observers, the mentors and link tutors, are not making comments to reveal how such deployment is specific in terms of children’s learning but that there is little evidence of it. That is also not to say that their perceptions are not identifying

good practice of deployment but the written records also comment on all other observed aspects of the trainee teacher's observed lesson. It may be, as I wrote earlier, that any reference to the use of a teaching assistant may occur in the oral debriefing after the observed lesson. The written record of the observation is not designed to be explicit in describing a trainee teacher's ability to collect evidence to pass the Teachers' Standards (DfE, 2011), notably number eight, and its compilation is at the discretion of the observer.

Literature reveals that effective deployment can only occur within the school community if an understanding of pedagogy accompanies it; the deployment of a teaching assistant is rooted in pedagogy (Sharples, Webster, Blatchford, 2015; Eaude, 2011 and Webster *et al.*, 2011). There should be a link between effectiveness and preparation of trainee teachers and teachers to achieve this, for example, Bosanquet, Radford and Webster (2016, p.9) have described how teachers were '*not well prepared to manage*' teaching assistants owing to the delivery of their initial teacher training. This is somewhat problematic for a trainee teacher on entry to the primary classroom and the school environment. The picture presented so far would suggest that evidence for the trainee teacher in respect to the deployment of the teaching assistant is not consistent. There is little evidence of link tutors questioning the pedagogy behind the deployment of teaching assistants. Braun's (2012) research concluded how students struggled with adjusting to the nature of their vocational habitus because of the limits of teacher training. Here, at the writing of lesson observations, would be an opportunity for this practice of deployment as observed by mentors and, in this case, link tutors, to be presented with clarity. Comments written on the recorded lesson observation forms would enable trainee teachers to reflect on their deployment from a pedagogical perspective (Pollard *et al.*, 2014; Eaude, 2011 and Schön, 1991). From here, it would be apparent that trainee teacher and mentor may be in a better position to evaluate the perceived specific deployment of the teaching assistant for children's learning (Webster, Russell and Blatchford, 2013) or from a mentor's perspective, opportunity to consider the management structure within a school (Bush, 2013; Earley, 2004; Everard, 2004 and Bush and Middlewood, 1997).

I am looking to explore whether there is an opportunity for trainee teachers to establish themselves, and to develop as professionals within the school environment, as they interact with their teaching assistants. To achieve this, I use the theoretical lens of Bourdieu, that is, the use of habitus, capital and field (Bourdieu, 1984) within the data analysis. The analysis of the recorded lesson observations presented a vague introduction to the values of the field but the discussion will move forward to seek a clearer perspective through the interpretation of their opinions.

4.4 How trainee teachers perceive the experience and practice of the deployment of teaching assistants

The data analysis here answers subsidiary question (i) *'how do trainee primary school teachers perceive their role in deploying teaching assistants in the classroom?'*

Bourdieu (1984) argued that social research was looking to explore social inequality. For him, inequality was determined by an individual's amount of capital and how that was translated, or perceived, into having worth by another individual. The opposite scenario was having an individual's capital denied which was how inequality became established. Within the area of practice, individuals have a 'feel for the game' in which they become conditioned by the habitus of the field and determine their social positions within it. The values of the field, or 'doxa', is again an arbitrary concept owing to individuals either conserving relations in the field, or transforming them.

The literature also revealed that identity was formed as a result of human interaction (Bourdieu, 1984 and 1977 and Goffman, 1959). Professional identity was explored to be a perception of one's worth by an observer. For a teacher, identity was characterized by an implementation of pedagogy, for example, a confidence and clarity in executing a pedagogical decision (Menter, 2010 and Britzman, 1991). Once in the field, more successful individuals were able to adapt their habitus (existing knowledge, values and attitudes) and convert that into recognizable forms of capital. This was the discussion concerning the location of an individual within the habitus of an organization (values and attitudes that shape rules and social contexts).

I divide the response of this subsidiary question in two parts: starting with the analysis of the trainee teachers' questionnaires before moving to the analysis of their interview transcripts.

4.4.1 Analysis of the questionnaires

From exploring patterns within the data I extracted themes to get an idea of initial trainee teachers' thoughts about how they perceived the deployment of their teaching assistants during a school experience. This data were collected from questionnaires returned by ten trainee teachers from the 2012-13 cohort. The themes were reduced into codes A, B, and C and the frequency they appeared (see appendix K). This was achieved by the application of a Bourdieusian lens, looking at habitus and capital (Bourdieu, 1984) but particularly how that transformed itself within the field. In other words, interpreting how the trainee teachers saw their position being determined within the school environment according to the structure of relations of forces constitutive of the field (Bourdieu, 1995). The table is presented below:

Issue	Code	Frequency
Learning from another member of the school community (Habitus)	A	5
The establishing and maintaining qualities of a professional relationship (capital and field)	B	14
The consideration of children	C	2

Table 7 The reduction of the codes

From the initial analysis of these initial questions, it becomes apparent that the construction and maintenance of a relationship with the teaching assistant was the most frequent category (B) mentioned. For these trainee teachers it was their perception of this relationship, how it was approached and established, which revealed their attitudes and position within the habitus existing in the classroom:

Trainee one '*...Within my eight weeks, we managed to develop an exceptionally good working relationship...*

Trainee four '*...As the placements went on, we developed partnerships that were based on mutual respect for the work that each other did.*'

Trainee nine '*Mostly good. I feel that I developed very positive relationships in year two and three.*'

The trainees were describing that they perceived their role was to establish a relationship with the teaching assistant but in order for it to be seen as working successfully, they felt they required the cooperation of the teaching assistant for the development of the trainee herself; the health of the relationship to foster as a result of the necessity of cooperation; and for the needs of the children. The support of the teaching assistant was important to the trainee during the period of the school experience, although it was interpreted that notions of teamwork or collegiality were favoured in terms of professional relationships. I am suggesting that, as the trainee teacher enters the field, it is apparent that the need to engage with another agent (the assistant) is paramount. Here, however, is where the application of Bourdieu (1984) as a theoretical lens is pertinent because the theory of habitus, capital and field is encapsulated by an analysis of power: how it is accumulated, how it is recognized and how it is struggled for, or shared (Bourdieu, 1986). Therefore, I shall discuss the analysis from the perception of the trainee teachers' questionnaire data by looking at the first two issues from the above table through that lens.

4.4.2 Learning from another member of the school community

The notion of recognizing the existing values of the field was discernible within the questionnaire data. Five trainee teachers described how being on placement with a teaching assistant was practice for becoming a NQT. Trainee three and Trainee ten both viewed their school experiences as fitting into the real world setting of the primary classroom to which trainees should be exposed. For Trainee four, however, she recognized that working with a teaching assistant during school experience was a change to her routine. She gave an example of how the habitus (values of the field) were going to be changed:

‘My only reservations related to how different the [new] placement school would be to the familiar setting I had become accustomed to where I worked. Having been there for a number of years, I had become acquainted to certain routines, customs and approaches which would not automatically be adopted in every school. For example, behaviour management policies, SMT [Senior Management Team] expectations of staff and different ways in which parents are encouraged to engage with school life. Some elements of school life that I had taken for granted up until that stage were suddenly areas to consider or address.’

Here the perception was that the values of her existing school where she volunteered had become normalised for her and that they were accepted. There was a sense of how the habitus of her forthcoming placement would affect her, therefore suggesting the acknowledgement that she had to be prepared to fit in. Trainee four felt that it was the role of the mentor to *‘provide guidance on how to best utilise the teaching assistant’* to ensure that the teaching assistant’s strengths were *‘maximised for the benefit of the learning experience.’* According to her, a good relationship incorporated a complete understanding of each other’s roles and strengths and not asking the *‘teaching assistant to do anything she would not be prepared to do [herself]’*. A similar view was expressed by Trainee five, who reasoned that the experience would be *‘good preparation for teaching’* and Trainee eight, who wrote it would be good for *‘future employment opportunities’*.

Bourdieu (2000) described that habitus was where people’s perspectives of the world shaped their world and that an individual was conditioned by it. The habitus is a culturally and socially acquired way of thinking, or acting, based on an accumulation of knowledge and views or skills (Herriman, 2016). The trainee teachers are making sense of their position within the school experience and giving meaning to the social interactions they encounter. The skills the trainees acquire, for example, specific forms of communication, working collaboratively, appreciating and utilizing the role of a teaching assistant for context-defined pedagogical purposes, are the very skills that are shaping their perceptions of both current and future practice. This may be reflected in the concept of the vocational habitus as *‘learning as becoming’* or recognizing that trainee teachers are becoming socialized into the values and practices of their chosen profession (Hodkinson and James, 2003).

There followed an example whereby this can be seen as a form of recognition of capital; capital being recognized as having worth in the classroom by the trainee teacher. This 'worth', or 'doxa' is having a feel for the 'rules of the game' or the values within the field. Trainee one described how teaching assistants '*held a wealth of knowledge about daily routines, behaviour, children, parents and staff within the school*'. On reflection of her previous role as employed as a teaching assistant, she stated that any trainee could have deployed her but only in a '*respectful and courteous way*'. Trainee six noted teaching assistants were possessors of valuable experience which enabled them to act as a '*guide*' within the classroom and, importantly, should offer welcoming gestures of appreciation and support in the trainee's teaching; and Trainee five perceived she would benefit from their knowledge only after a good relationship was established.

Trainee seven thought that a trainee teacher should view working with a teaching assistant as an opportunity to utilise the '*expertise and skills for the benefit of the children and their learning.*' She revealed that on school experiences she found the delegation of tasks to teaching assistants as difficult but that she welcomed forthcoming advice. This was an example of how a trainee's appreciation of the capital of a teaching assistant was relevant when considering the learning needs of the children. Trainee three mentioned how poor planning could '*alienate a teaching assistant*' in the classroom but Trainee five recognized that an appreciation of roles would counteract that in order for the benefit of the learning experience of the children. She expressed an opinion that saw the teaching assistant's qualities from a pedagogical perspective:

'Someone that is passionate about children's learning and developing the whole child. They need to view the child at the centre, be open to suggestions and have ideas.'

Menter (2010) and Britzman (1991) argued that pedagogy required the construction of complex social relationships in regards to those who are learning. The strategies that called for the development of knowledge would also involve the necessary components of the classroom. There is some evidence, so far, that social relationships based in pedagogy are occurring from this data although, as yet, not enough to

comment or discuss whether a professional identity has arisen or has been constructed from it.

4.4.3 *The establishing and maintaining of qualities of a professional relationship*

Bourdieu highlighted inequality and struggle and how that led to a structuring within the field (Bourdieu, 1984 and 1977) and the analysis of the questions appears to pick out small instances of someone's worth being measured as an ability to perform a role. There appears to be a pattern emerging with perception of the role of either party. One perception from a trainee's perspective is that the teaching assistants seem to be viewing the incoming trainee teacher with a form of scepticism. Trainee eight saw the opportunity of working with a teaching assistant as '*good practice*' for future employment. His initial deployment of teaching assistants felt embarrassing and he had the perception that he was being '*scrutinized*' by the teaching assistants whom he deployed. A good relationship with his teaching assistant was based on respect and effective communication.

Trainee one mentioned that she felt to be '*a guest in the classroom*' by her teaching assistant, as if she did not fully belong or as if she were accepted. She perceived the teaching assistant had a '*wealth of knowledge*' concerning various aspects of the school routine but the sense of being a guest applied to the working relationship with the teaching assistant as well as the classroom teacher. There was, in addition to this, a description of how one's age was seen to be a factor in being judged. Both Trainee five and Trainee ten raised the issue of age being a barrier to successful deployment. Trainee five experienced an older teaching assistant perceiving her to be '*inexperienced*' in her role as a trainee teacher, whereas Trainee ten perceived age to be such a barrier to deploying her teaching assistant she felt she '*automatically felt unauthoritative*'. For Trainee seven, a good relationship was characterized by a mutual respect and, importantly, '*equality without an explicit hierarchy exercised*'. In contrast, a poor relationship was caused by the presence of a dominant partner within relationship between the trainee teacher and teaching assistant. Finally Trainee eight

described how he perceived the experience of deploying his teaching assistant during a school experience. For him it was an uncomfortable situation:

'I felt embarrassed when having to do it [deploy]. I felt like the TAs were judging each decision [I made] and scrutinising [my] teaching.'

In the questionnaires, the trainee teachers expressed feelings that described their perceptions of the act of deployment to be problematic.

The recognition of worth, through the accumulation of capital, by one individual to another is clear to see from one perspective, that of the trainee teacher. According to Bourdieu (1984), capital is not intrinsically valued unless it is recognized and it is then where power is brought into being. The capital is recognized by the trainee teachers and slight inference can be projected that a power imbalance, or inequality, arises. This is where some trainee teachers discuss age being a 'barrier' to deploying a teaching assistant, or as Trainee seven declared above, where she did not wish to see a hierarchy in the classroom; she stated that being an equal partner with her teaching assistant was the method of achieving this. At this stage, it is not possible to discern the teaching assistants' perception of this.

In the field, the primary trainee teachers saw the necessity of deploying teaching assistants. This was realized in preparing them for the daily practice of being a teacher. The experiences of deploying a teaching assistant were characterized by the construction of a positive relationship in which there were examples of support. It was clear to the trainees when the relationship was perceived to fail with poor communication being a notable feature. It is not yet clear to see what the rules of the field (or 'doxa') are at this stage. This is where Bourdieu argued that individuals share power according to the distribution of their capital. What can be seen is that the trainee teachers value the idea of 'respect'. This is revealed by Trainee one, Trainee six, Trainee seven, Trainee eight, Trainee nine and Trainee ten who wrote that respecting the teaching assistant was a positive quality in determining a relationship. Other attitudes, for example, having sense of humour, mutual support, not asking a teaching assistant to do anything one would not do herself, honesty or a sense of humour also were detected. These are not professional qualities but they do seem to be important

according to their frequency within the questionnaires' data. This may be interpreted as a strategy of coming to terms with the professional skill of deployment.

Before the interview transcripts are analysed, I am building a picture of the perceptions of the trainee teachers from these questionnaires. Using the Bourdieusian lens of habitus, capital and field, trainee primary teachers perceive and recognize the capital brought to the field by the teaching assistants. This analysis does begin to show that some trainee teachers perceive themselves as not being equal in the distribution of capital within the field. Phrases such as being '*scrutinized*' and '*guest in the classroom*' and the concern regarding age may indicate this, as well as the revelation concerning a perceived '*hierarchy*' existing in the classroom. The trainees did write about how they recognized good relationships could be established with their teaching assistants. These were characterized by the need to have communication, mutual respect and support, working together and then this different sense of '*getting to know them*' or '*showing an interest*' in them. Bourdieu (1977) wrote that inequality is caused by the distribution of capital. Is this a hint of some form of coping mechanism in the deployment of a teaching assistant, or is it that teaching assistants are wary in some way about the entry into the field and are reminding the trainee teacher about how the habitus informs the accepted practice in the particular school?

In regards to the social setting and making sense of participants' positions within, it is revealing that trainee teachers' entry into the field may not be an easy transference. The habitus of the field in which they are entering reveals itself to be a distinct way of being, with its rules and knowledge, manifesting itself with the attitude of the teaching assistants. What is of consequence is that trainee teachers have the right to deploy the teaching assistant under Teachers' Standard 8, but the questionnaire data I interpreted indicated that this is not a straight-forward process. During the establishment of a relationship, the perception is that the teaching assistant is acting as a judge on the trainee's ability in the classroom rather much in the capacity of a mentor, in other words, a guide as to '*how things are done here*', which would suggest the teaching assistant is acting as a kind of arbiter of the habitus. The trainee teachers have given an indication of how they perceive this, which will be developed further by the

following section which analyses the data collected from interview transcripts from the trainee teachers.

4.4.4 Analysis of the interview transcripts

The trainee teachers (n=ten) that were selected from the returned questionnaires (n=twenty-nine) from the cohort in attendance (n=107) were interviewed in depth and their interviews transcribed. The analysis of the interview transcriptions did provide an insight into the trainee teachers' experience and practice of the deployment of their teaching assistants during a school experience. Some trainee teachers gave examples, expressing how they felt the deployment of a teaching assistant was to be achieved. The analysis of the interviews will attempt to further my interpretation of the opinions of trainee teachers, teaching assistants and their mentors. With the assistance of the NVivo software, I identified twenty-six emerging themes which I coded from the ten trainee teachers' interviews and are presented in appendix L. (The four trainee teachers that were interviewed from the 2015-16 cohort had their transcripts analysed without the use of any software programme). I wanted to explore themes which had a greater frequency in order to interpret a richer collection of data. From these lists, I reduced the codes to three main issues, categories: 1, 2 and 3, which are directly using the theoretical lens of Bourdieu's (1984) theory. I took each category in turn and expanded it using analysis from the interview transcriptions and then applied it to answering subsidiary question (i). These issues are presented below:

Issue	Category
Negotiating the field – habitus (field) of the school experience placement replicating the pedagogy capital recognized in a teaching assistant habitus and deployment familiarization	1
Pedagogy & Identity (Practice)	2
Recommendations for improving ITT	3

Table 8 Reduction of the trainee teachers, teaching assistants and mentors' codes

The issues I analysed further were those within category 1: negotiating the field, with its five sub-issues. I follow with analysis of category 2: the implementation of a pedagogy and subsequent identity, and category 3, recommendations for improving ITT in later sections, 4.6 and 4.7 respectively. This analysis is presented below beginning with the consideration of ‘negotiation’ in the deployment of teaching assistants by looking at the perception of the habitus of the school experience placement.

4.4.5 Negotiating the field – the perception of the habitus of the school experience placement

The habitus of the trainee teachers, that is, the attitudes and dispositions that they bring to the school environment, conditions their perception of the ability to deploy a teaching assistant and how their accrued dispositions allow them to cope with that situation. Webb, Schirato and Danaher (2002) interpreted ‘habitus’ as how individuals develop attitudes and, also, how they themselves engage in practices within the field. I take this to mean within the context of this research study, that trainee teachers, owing to their cultural capital (of, say, prior work-based experience, ITT training, values from home) consume the values of the field (in order to be able to deploy) but that the outcome (whether deployment has been achieved) has been determined by the amount of cultural capital (or power) within that field. In other words, how a trainee teacher deploys a teaching assistant is determined by the skill or expertise to do so. The habitus of the school or classroom are the values and essentials of the field which individuals’ habitus is influenced and adapted by. Data revealed statements regarding how the existing practices of the school environment were perceived by the trainee teachers. These included their concerns over destabilizing the field or a possibility of affecting change in the field. Some trainee teachers recognized the status quo of the school environment, its habitus, was established firmly in regard to its practices and that any possibility to suggest change would be problematic or resisted. In order to be judged as being successful during a school experience, it was perceived that complying was a safe option.

The perceptions of the trainee teachers were revealed and a sample from the interview transcripts is provided in a table in appendix P:

The recognition of the habitus of the school environment (the values of the field) by the trainee teachers is significant. Trainees six, seven and twelve who had previous work-based experience realized there was a system or ‘*way of doing things*’ that could not be changed much, if at all. This was similarly expressed by those who had no such experience of other work practices, such as Trainee fourteen and Trainee eleven, who were being reminded of the resistance to the way of the classroom’s way of operating. The trainee teachers have a small ability to make a change within a school practice. Trainee twelve recalled his teacher was ‘*happy for him to try things new out in the class*’ for his own development but only in his deployment of the teaching assistant. For him, change could only be a feasible option if the children’s assessment data showed their progress; change could not be risked if there was no learning outcome evident:

‘...You hold responsibility for the children progressing, making sure they do progress. So you’ve got to make sure they’re progressing. For me it’s giving the TA the toolkit to be able to use to do that effectively, you move them children on, progress their learning... if you seem not to be making progress with the class because you’re trying to change too many things that perhaps don’t work, suddenly that then starts reflecting in your interim report, TIP, final report, that’s always sitting by. But it’s then having suppose the confidence to see that through.’

He recognized that a confident teacher would permit a trainee teacher to make small change but did comment that if this were not the case then the statement “*Well no, this is how we do it! This is how we always do it!*” from the class teacher would make him inclined to go with that view and therefore not to ‘*rock the boat*’.

This perception from Trainee eleven and Trainee twelve, both of whom were mature trainees, of being unable to effect more than a little change, was also felt by the younger trainee teacher, Trainee fourteen. She discussed how being in a school experience for a short amount of time did not allow her to have the ability to make a change in practice. She gave an example of being in disagreement with the school’s

policy of teaching assistant deployment which was set by the head teacher:

'I don't feel like I could [make change]. I had quite a few kids struggling and even though they were put into sets they needed additional help. So they're falling behind while she's probably cutting and laminating stuff outside which I thought was "Well I don't need that right now I need this"... because they had a system where it goes through the head teacher where everybody's going to be so I didn't think I could just step in and say "Well I need her here now".'

Trainee fourteen wanted to change the deployment practice of a teaching assistant in order to assist with children who were struggling with their learning but she felt the 'system' could not be changed by her 'stepping in' and requesting that change. She later went on to add that she perceived a sense of powerlessness during her final school experience placement:

'But as silly as it sounds you don't feel like the class teacher and when you're on placement and you have to run everything by your class teacher as well and say, "Well I'm going to do this" it's almost like you don't have that kind of [power - added by Trainee eleven].'

This sense of powerlessness is a powerful statement that was expressed. Not having the ability to make a change in practice has direct ramifications for what is meant by training within a profession. This was also evidenced in the research from Colley *et al.* (2003) and Hodgkinson and James (2003) in their exploration of the vocational habitus where they concluded that research participants were more likely to adapt to a work-based environment but be unable to produce any change. The data seem to suggest that trainee teachers are facing certain values within the field that should not be interfered with, for example, the progress of children's learning and how a particular school implements measures to achieve that. It would suggest that the trainees should adapt and negotiate to their environment in order to succeed, thus reflecting the outcomes and experiences faced by the business accountants in the research from Spence and Carter (2014). This research concluded that success in the form of a developed career was achieved by internalizing concepts that the habitus welcomed.

4.4.6 Perception of trainee teachers' role to replicate the pedagogy and practice

Trainee eleven also used the phrase of not wishing to 'rock too many boats' because of the short time that any trainee teacher would spend on a placement. She was concerned about not wishing to upset anyone if she wished to instigate any amount of change. She mentioned that a teacher would be likely to say '*I wouldn't do it that way*' either to mean a) learn from my experience of teaching or b) '*this is the way we do it, do it that way!*' Trainee 11 opted for the former, recognizing that her pedagogy was replicating that of the teacher's:

*'...well I just decided to sort of **do the school experience sort of emulating the way the teacher did it** and think well sort of 'make notes to myself if you like things you might do differently when you have your own class'. In some respects it be nice to have tried it out on school experience wouldn't it really?'*

This notion of replicating the existing pedagogy can be seen in the table in appendix Q.

The phrases used by the trainees are of interest: '*not make that change happen*', '*inclined to go with that*' and '*emulating the way the teacher did it*'. The five trainee teachers listed here were either former teaching assistants, or had previous other work-based experience and had a range of age. The trainee teachers did discuss how they discovered and experienced the working practices of their schools, in particular how the teaching assistant there was already deployed. This is of interest because this section of analysis seeks to interpret how the trainee teacher, with her existing capital (pedagogical knowledge, relevant ITT training, previous employment experience) which informs an existing habitus, is revealed in its ability to engage with entry to the school or classroom. The trainee teacher, in negotiating the new structure of the classroom, will utilize her habitus, where possible, to cope with the daily rules or values ('doxa') of the field and will find that other members of that same field will be deciding how the trainee teacher's capital will determine their position therein.

Here are examples of how some trainee teachers expressed their thoughts regarding their entry to the field or the school experience environment. Trainee five quickly discovered how her interpretation of deployment was not what the school was used to:

*'...sometimes when I asked them [the teaching assistants] to be part of the class it was for some of them... it wasn't sort of what they normally did so... it became a little bit of a challenge to make sure they sort of clear on what... I expected them to do when working with the children and things. So I tried to sort of explain prior to my lessons and things and gave them copies of lesson plans **but often they were sort of... controlled by the school and so sometimes when I had the planned lessons they weren't always available..**'*

She went on to describe how there was not always the opportunity to discuss matters with a teaching assistant because of their contracted hours of employment. She referred to her previous school where she recognized how children learnt as a result of its practices. The issue of teaching assistants' contracted hours was also noted by Trainees one, ten and eleven, who described the issue as 'difficult' and 'hard' respectively. Both found the use of communication books as a solution to this but it was this comment from Trainee 1 which was noteworthy:

*'If you've got a teaching assistant who... leaves dead on twelve o'clock and does not return until one o'clock **it's very hard as a trainee teacher to broach the subject and encroach their lunch time.**'*

This sense of finding a particular practice 'hard' seemed to resonate with some of the trainee teachers and I interpreted a sense of powerlessness from Trainee one in her recalling of the incident; there was no ability for her to make a change to the situation. She went to comment how the implementation of the communication book did not 'go down well at all' and was part of her reflection in improving her working relationship with that teaching assistant.

Trainee eight also found a difficulty in trying to re-evaluate the deployment of his assistant with the lower ability children. He decided against changing the teaching assistant's usual allocation to a particular ability group of children owing to the perceived relationship she had with them:

*'I asked my teacher how does the TA work, how, what areas does she focus on, her strengths or anything? And the teacher didn't seem to really know. So I just kind of **kept her doing what she was already doing** - which was working with*

the lowers [sic] because she already had a relationship with them so I thought it was a bit stupid to try and break that up but as effective as I managed to get from that experience.'

This transcript excerpt is interesting in the sense that Trainee eight perceived there was no appreciation of the usual deployment by the classroom teacher of the teaching assistant but he did, however, realize that there was no good reason to change that aspect of practice. He accepted the habitus as it existed with the teaching assistant and that group of children despite him knowing that his understanding of deployment should be considered '*sensibly and efficiently to try and get the best out of them.*'

In an example given by Trainee seven, she mentioned that she maintained the stability of the classroom practice by continuing the method of using teaching assistant observation sheets. It was felt that this system of an assessment pro forma being in place was effective owing to its familiarity and there was no need to introduce a new method of observational recording. This would have made the assistants '*feel uncomfortable*'.

Trainee six gave an example whereby, although she did engage with the wider life of the school, she still felt wary of her sense of place or role within the school:

*'...and I was still quite an active member of the school community as well during those eight weeks so I think I was still as close as I could have been **without overstepping, overstepping my boundaries in a way**...yeah...I would say I was the class teacher.'*

She felt that at times in her second teaching placement, that she was held back from developing her role as a trainee teacher by being required to perform routine activities that did not contribute to the development of her practice. Her teacher would only allow her to undertake small teaching activities because it was announced the teacher would not relinquish her main teaching role. This was similar to the earlier thoughts of Trainee one who felt herself to be a 'guest' and not fully accepted in her practice. During her third teaching placement, she began to challenge the accepted practice of the school. She observed that current practice did not cater for meetings between teachers and their teaching assistants but her view was that teaching assistants should

meet with their teachers. She accepted that they were included in other matters which she regarded as being defined as an inclusive community:

*'I think so [the TAs] still felt a little bit like they could be they could be brought to meetings a little bit more like Friday meetings, Friday morning meetings all the teachers would meet **but I think the TAs had the point of view of "Well we could go to that as well."***

It is interesting to note that there was a challenge presented by Trainee six, and she was not alone in being somewhat critical of observed practice. Trainee three gave a similar example but concluded that she felt she could not get involved at this stage of her career:

*'I could see the difference working with the three TAs I can see perhaps why they had that opinion and it was slightly odd because as a student teacher I **didn't really want to get involved in their sort of politics of their school but as a qualified teacher if that was the case I think I would have maybe suggested something be done about it ...***

Trainee nine was not afraid to be openly critical and judgemental of the practice she observed and was expected to participate in her second placement:

*'...the TAs are expected to teach a full lesson which I think is ridiculous, not that they're not anywhere near as kind of they might have just as good an idea, just as good as a plan put it together in the same way that I could but they're not getting paid to do that. ...**But to be put in a position where actually they can't really turn it down they have to do it!***

There were no instances of the trainee teachers praising the existing practice within their allocated schools, either an acceptance of it or a critical evaluation made of it. There were, however, few examples found of any of the trainee teachers being able to change matters in aspects of their practice within the classroom. This does suggest that the perception of the deployment of teaching assistants is one where the trainee teacher does not bring new ideas to the practice which are adopted. The professional training in a school may be one that is short of bringing innovation. The analysis in this section is moving away from the relationship between trainee and assistant and is beginning to reveal a much deeper situation. In the above section, I discussed the powerlessness felt by trainees, but here, the powerlessness extends beyond that immediate social interaction to the interaction within the wider school community. The notion of '*replicating pedagogy*', '*finding a practice hard*' or not wanting to make assistants '*feel uncomfortable*' or '*overstep a boundary*', limits the trajectory on offer

to the trainee teachers that I interviewed. In section 2.3, I wrote that the kernel of Bourdieu's sociology was that agents, or individuals, 'adopt strategies of behaviour which are based on their perceptions of their objective situation' (Robbins, 1991, p. 102). From the interview transcripts in this section, I would state the struggle of the trainee to assert herself yields to the habitus of the school; the trajectory is very limited according to how she is defined (Reynolds, 2014; Navarro; 2006; Maton 2005; Bourdieu 1995 and Bourdieu, 1984). This, I must state, is how the trainee teacher perceives her situation according to her interactions with others and understanding of existing practices. Their feel for the game, or 'bodily hexis', suggests that the game is worth playing but it is a game that has its rules decided by others: at local level and at national level. This would counteract Mann's (2012) findings that the habitus is not fixed but concur with Mansaray (2012) that symbolic power does indeed translate itself into a hierarchy and how individuals within that hierarchy see their own position.

4.4.7 Perceptions of capital recognised in the teaching assistant

The capital that I intend to demonstrate in this section is the cultural capital of teaching assistants. That is to say, the knowledge, skills and experience within the setting of ITT and therefore that type of capital as perceived by the trainee teachers themselves, and how this perception influenced their understanding of their role in deploying teaching assistants. The analysis did uncover many examples, in my interpretation, of trainee teachers actively wanting to liaise with their teaching assistants in order to discover their skills and knowledge. This can be seen in appendix R.

Data suggest the trainee teachers perceive that part of their role is to learn and utilize the knowledge and interests of their teaching assistants. Management of the deployment of a teaching assistant needs to utilize teaching assistants' existing capital. Trainee eight deployed his teaching assistant in the subject of mathematics because he knew of her relevant degree in the subject. He encouraged her to be creative in her support of the lower ability children. He declared that he relied on '*competent and good subject knowledge*' of his assistant along with an existing recognition of her

ability to be organized and creative. Trainee four agreed with identifying a particular ability in her teaching assistant, in her case, art, and this was used to establish class displays. Putting subject knowledge aside, some trainee teachers made the link between effective deployment and expertise, as exemplified by Trainee one, who after the need for humour to be a valued attribute from her assistant, made the observation:

'I know that to deploy her effectively or him effectively, (I'm using that word 'deploy'), if I'm to get the best out of that TA and keep them happy and get work done that I need done, doing sorry, I'd I home in on their qualities and their skills and I'd use them to my advantage but I don't exploit that...'

Trainee teachers four, nine and ten all described how relying on the teaching assistant, or knowledge of the children and the working practices of the classroom, were important to their own practice. Trainee nine made the connection to wanting the '*best for the children*' and seeing the assistant as a resource to be used; Trainee four recognized the accrual of tacit knowledge collated over the years and how assistants were perceived by her to be the '*fonts of all this knowledge*' that she quickly needed to rely on in her school experience placement. She thought that the amount of time employed in one particular school not only added to the assistants' role but added to a sense of their maturity owing to, among other factors, the knowledge of having children in the same school and therefore being aware of the school's ethos and practices. Trainee ten summarised her thoughts of managing her teaching assistant to support children's learning by drawing on the experience and linking it to a value:

'And I've also said so many times before they are the most expensive resource that you've got in the classroom and I think that sometimes TAs can be undermined... they're not always used to their advantages and the skills that they have.'

When I asked why she felt their experience was not always maximized, she gave an example of her knowledge that assistants were usually being deployed with lower ability children. The impression I gained was that their expertise and creativity was not shared more widely in the class with other ability grouped children. This is an example of how the perceived utilization of the capital, as offered by the teaching assistant, has a potential to make a difference to the management of their deployment. This, then, is the capital recognized by the trainee teacher in the teaching assistant. From the discussion above, concerning the habitus that is found within the classroom,

some trainee teachers have already expressed their perceived difficulty with the act of deployment. This, however, can be addressed by examining and interpreting what resources, that is, capital, is drawn on by the trainee teachers in order to conduct deployment. For Bourdieu, the ‘network of relationships is the product of investment strategies (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 22), the establishing of relationships that are useful to the situation the relationships find themselves in; in other words relationships making a difference to the requirements of the school environment. The recognition of capital also enables recognition of ‘group membership’. The introduction of new members into the group, which in this case would be trainee teachers on placements, allows the group to be redefined and altered.

4.4.8 Perception of trainee teachers’ own habitus in their role in deploying a teaching assistant

The perception of role here for the trainee teachers emanated from being reflective. The analysis discusses how existing skills and expertise were considered to be useful in the current work-based situation in schools. Data transcripts to form this discussion can be viewed in appendix S.

Trainee teachers two, three, six, seven, eight and twelve had some experience of prior employment, mostly in professional places, that they felt had contributed to their ability, of varying degrees, of managing the deployment of a teaching assistant, or coping with the expectations of the primary school classroom. For Trainee three, it was her previous employment to ITT within a different professional setting:

‘...when I worked as a compliance coordinator in a recruitment company so I was used to dealing with all different types of people from managing directors through to admin. assistants so I dealt with a wide variety of people within a professional environment so I’m used to talking to people, I’m used to asking people to do things...’

She said she was ‘used to asking people to do things’ and her statement is an example of how her capital accrued as a compliance coordinator has enabled her to enter the field of the primary classroom and use that capital with a degree of confidence in her role of deployment. The opposite was the case for Trainee seven who was unused to

delegating but very used to being the employee who was delegated by others. She described this experience as contributing to her finding *'it hard'* to deploy a teaching assistant but she recognized the support that was offered to her in her school to address this issue. Trainee eight described how his employment experience was drawn from a predominantly female background as a domestic assistant. This was perceived to be beneficial especially since he noted there were few adult males in a primary school and that he reckoned he possessed an ability to co-operate with females without feeling he was in a minority situation. Trainee two discovered that he could deal with events in his school placement by recounting experiences from his employment in a shop; notably how to address people in particularly fraught circumstances and how to solve disputes:

*'...working in a shop which was mind-numbingly boring, but I think getting that experience of just being in the **'real world'** is really important because then you're working with people of all ages all of the time ...I mean as much as I hated working in a shop that **taught me a lot about dealing with the general public** ...It definitely builds confidence just experiencing these different situations so I imagine it would be quite difficult if you'd come straight from school into your first teaching placement and **there's a bit of friction with your TA.**'*

'...A lot of it is on a sub-conscious level like I wouldn't go into a ...into a classroom and think back to specific times in the shop or specific times when I was in the classroom although there are a couple of things that really stick in my mind...'

Trainee six discussed how she felt she was equipped with the skills to deploy older colleagues from her part-time employment:

*'I have a Saturday job and I have been given quite a lot of responsibility in that Saturday job ... I'm the one that quite often delegates jobs to an older ...team that has got members who are older than me, who have got children of their own, who are grandmas and who have had more life experience than I have. **So I think I knew how to talk to the teaching assistant and I knew how to delegate...**'*

Trainee teachers one, four and five had spent the most time employed as former teaching assistants from the fourteen interviewees. Not surprisingly they could discuss how their accrued capital had a direct correlation to their experiences on school placement. This is a small example of Hodkinson and James' (2003) work that discovered how students were socialized into the values of their chosen profession, or,

as in the opinion of Colley, James and Tedder (2002), the transfer to becoming a trainee teacher was owing to their having the background of being a teaching assistant. Trainee five spoke openly of her experience as a SEN teaching assistant and in particular observed that not only should trainee teachers make the effort to discover the skills of the assistant (as described above) but how she would use knowledge in her future relationship with a teaching assistant:

*'...but it definitely developed my confidence in thinking "you know I can do this, you know, **I feel like I have a value towards children's learning**", yeah I would disagree that you should come straight out of college...that's only my own personal view...and I suppose maybe I'm being biased because **I've had the experience that I had I value that quite highly what experience I gained from working at that school.**'*

The capital of the teaching assistant drawn on by the trainee teacher was found in the need for feedback and assurances that their practice was developing adequately (or meeting the Teachers' Standards).

Trainee twelve, who worked in the transport industry for fifteen years as a senior manager before leaving to train as a teacher, described how he would draw on the skills he used in that workplace. He recognized how the existing capital of a teaching assistant would determine his perception of his deployment:

'I've had two very experienced and one not so experienced [teaching assistants] and I've found that the not so experienced harder during placement professionally because you've got to be thinking more about making sure that they're doing, what you need them to do whereas the more experienced TA can kind of ...you know...[give her] a brief overview of what you want them to do what you want them to achieve and a better understanding of how the steps to go through to get to that point.'

Trainee one, a former teaching assistant, commented that assistants viewed classroom practice from a different perspective and would offer suggestions for improvement because they '*knew far more about [the] children*'. Trainee two held the view that being offered an opinion should be done in a forthright manner and preferred a direct but honest approach, as did Trainee three who expected assistants to '*voice their concerns*'. She stated that she would rely on the experience during the advice given to

her. Trainee seven would design opportunities in her plan to discuss a lesson evaluation with her assistant in recognition of the expertise offered by her teaching assistant.

4.4.9 Trainee teachers' perceptions of identity – hierarchy

The largest amount of coverage in the trainee teachers' interview transcripts came from perceived notion of identity which was characterized by their references to an existing 'hierarchy' during this relationship. Nine trainee teachers (directly or indirectly) perceived themselves to be placed within some form of a hierarchical situation, usually at the bottom layer of a hierarchy that they interpreted to exist within the classroom:

*Trainee nine – 'so it's like the pecking order in the classroom it is **student teacher is like at the bottom of the pecking order...**'*

*'...but my first placement we were definitely, **if there was a pecking order we would have been at the bottom of that.**'*

The perception of a hierarchy was seen to be reinforced during the period of the school experience placement although without evidence of it being enforced or replicated by any other party within the school. Despite this, the trainee teachers appeared to be uncomfortable with such a perception and in the construction and maintenance of the relationship with the teaching assistant, call for a more equal (as well as democratic) situation and the abolition of such a hierarchy. The reasons for the perception of a hierarchy were given as:

*Trainee three – 'I think there naturally is a hierarchy in schools, **perhaps maybe because of the level of qualifications you need for a certain role** but it doesn't necessarily constitute that if you have a teaching degree that you're any better equipped than a teaching assistant...*

*...but unless **maybe perhaps you were in the role of management before university you had to maybe deploy other members of staff** but I think that's where the hierarchy comes in, it's viewed as a level of management. You're managing the TA therefore you're pinned higher above them the same way you're then pinned below the phase leader and the SLT and um the head and so on.'*

During this perception of hierarchy, the trainee teachers did reveal a sense of 'who they were' during the process of deployment. The trainee teachers saw themselves as

the class teacher, in other words, the leading practitioner after the original class teacher had withdrawn from the majority teaching of the class timetable (Danielewicz, 2001 and Britzman, 1991). Their identity was realized as ‘teacher’ mostly, rather than as ‘student teacher or trainee teacher’. This was reinforced by the perception of other members of the classroom, in this case the teaching assistant herself:

Trainee three – ‘...**and I think she [the TA] saw me as teacher as well...she saw me as someone in the classroom there to help, help support children to learn yeah I’d say she saw me as a teacher.**’

Trainee four – ‘**I mean on the three lessons that they [the TAs] came in to um...they saw me as very much in control of the lesson and they would look to me for guidance as to what was required of them...**’

Here is where I introduce my term ‘localized familiarization’: this is defined as the act of a trainee teacher engaging in the process of an informal relationship parallel to that of engaging in the professional relationship of deploying a teaching assistant during a school experience. Analysis of the data has revealed how trainee teachers attempted to make sense of this relationship which I refer to Bourdieu (1985) who described an identity as being ‘*fashioned incessantly*’, in this case, during the practice in the school environment. I describe it as such because the process of familiarization is an attempt to make meaning of the difficulties of deployment in an assigned social setting. The table in appendix T indicates a selection of transcripts that I interpreted to measure this term.

Trainee teacher eleven talked of the need to ‘*build a mutual relationship*’ rather than having an intimate knowledge of each other’s social life, whereas Trainee thirteen, was more straightforward in her response stating that she saw friendship as being important:

‘I’d want...you know, even though I have a right to do that I still want to...like have a common ground, have a friendship, ...be polite because treat people how you’d want to be treated. I know it’s a right you have but that’s just my view on it’

In comparison, there was an overwhelming message from the trainee teachers that they had a strong opinion over their interpretation of the word ‘deploy’, as written within

Teachers' Standard 8, to '*deploy support staff effectively*'. That message was one of dislike and a desire to substitute 'deploy' for another word which did not have such a connotation of power or, to use a popular word from the interview transcripts, '*hierarchy*'. The deployment of the teaching assistant was interpreted as 'directing' them and that it was seen by her to have a different meaning:

Trainee four – '*I mean looking at it crudely it would be you directing them to do what you want them to do but I don't...I never ...um...going back to it sort of being a two way relationship I don't think it is all about deploying one person all the time it's working in harmony with each other to...*'

The construction and subsequent development of the relationship between trainee and teaching assistant is characterized by negotiation and the need for a sense of partnership (Menter, 2010 and Goffman, 1959). The trainee teachers were keen to create a partnership as the dominant feature of the relationship rather than one based on hierarchy and deployment. It was apparent, however, that although the trainee teacher recognized the need for deployment, and indeed, did actually deploy the teaching assistant, it was the use of language which was expressed to be problematic. Rather than using the 'harsh' connotations of deploy, it was preferred by the trainee teacher that negotiation and a sense of agreement in the issue of deployment should occur. Trainee one thought that she should not deploy people because it sounded '*regimental*' and suggested the phrase '*engage with support staff effectively*'. This was not to be confused with being liked, or inviting a friendly disposition, it would help in creating an effective working relationship in the classroom.

The reason for this substitution of terms was revealed from a sense of unease of entering the classroom and assuming the role of leading practitioner with the ability to deploy another member of staff. Both Trainee three and Trainee seven appeared to echo the sentiment articulated by Trainee one. Trainee three used the word '*partnership*' and Trainee seven mentioned how her position within the classroom could not be viewed as that of sharing an equal status with the teaching assistant:

Trainee three – '*If I needed someone to do something I would ask them 'can you go and do this?' so yes technically I yes I would be deploying but to me that seems 'Do this, do that!' and that's not how I think a TA relationships in the classroom should be. It's all about a partnership it's about working together*

it's not me saying 'Right, you do this, you do that!' ...but it's a discussion I think, it's not a direct order...'

Trainee seven – *'I don't know I suppose it depends on, on, on, **whether at the time I felt that I could delegate to them because if I couldn't then I suppose I would be technically... equal to them** because I wouldn't be... um being true to the position that I was supposed to be fulfilling... so I suppose it depends on what they think of you as a teacher...'*

This feeling of being largely uncomfortable in deploying teaching assistants resulted in a desire for a perceived sense of equality between the two parties. This was a strong pattern emerging from the interview transcripts of Trainees eleven, twelve and fourteen. These three students discussed at length the need for teamwork: having trust, respect and enabling a professional relationship to be established in order for children to make progress. They saw that the needs of the children were paramount in the deployment of their teaching assistants - the deployment had a pedagogical significance. Yet there was a need for some aspect of familiarization:

Trainee fourteen – *'...**but I would make her feel a bit comfortable**. So if she said to me "Well actually [I] don't want to move there" I would have **that relationship [with her]** so I would be able to move her or deploy her somewhere else...so it's kind of like having that mutual kind of understanding because you want the kids to see you as the same, not different. I think it's building that relationship which is quite important.'*

Trainee twelve discussed that for him the classroom was a learning environment, incorporating the children, himself as the lead practitioner, and the teaching assistant. He perceived a concept of a learning team and expressed equality through that analogy. Trainee fourteen would review assessment data to identify struggling children but would ask whether the teaching assistant *'could help them to achieve the learning objective'*. Trainee eleven agreed by framing the discussion by putting it in such a way that *'this is what I would like you to do, are you alright with that?'* She perceived deployment as making the teaching assistant comfortable with the desired task. Trainee twelve concluded by revealing that the relationship was to be viewed by external observers (children) as a team where the most important thing is that working relationship first and foremost and then the manner in which communication leads to effective children's learning outcomes. His *'working relationship'* which he felt as an

equal partner, has notions of social integration (Lave and Wenger, 1991) and therefore a notion of a community of practice whereby as a newcomer he felt welcomed. His ability to enable children to learn could only, in this example, be achieved by the relationship he perceived he had with his class team (Wenger, 1998).

The very act of management was a measured balance between the need for a professional deployment and with what I have already referred to as a ‘familiarization process’. In other words, to soften the perception of deployment, the trainee teacher was seeking for an indication of being accepted by the teaching assistant by the emerging discussion of social issues; for example the spending of leisure time. When the trainee teacher felt that there was a sufficient degree of familiarization (which can be instigated by either party) then the imagined act of deployment became easier to impart in the real life situation within the classroom:

*Trainee two – ‘I put so much importance on **just chatting to them as people like trying to build up a relationship with them**, being able to sit in the staffroom and chat with them at lunchtime...because... in life in general if you feel valued as a person...everything improves...so... yeah in a classroom that’s really, really crucial.’*

*Trainee eight – ‘The respect between the two... the friendliness, the fact that I knew that I was the one that should be doing it and that if they didn’t get it from me they weren’t going to be getting it from anyone else and it would be picked up on by observers and obviously as that goes up it gets more serious than maybe not doing it as much in year one. And it kind of just got to the stage where I then was **a team rather than two people.**’*

The field that exists within the primary school classroom is, according to Bourdieu, a situation which produces discourses (the values of the classroom or ‘orthodoxy’) and how individuals determine what those values are and how they are to be used. The teachers may have no control over the trainees entering the field (that is usually decided by a senior mentor) but the distribution of capital that determines the position they take (Bourdieu, 2005) is already evident. The trainee teacher on all placements is expected to become involved immediately in the teaching and learning practices of the school experience placement (although that may not always be clear as to what that entails) and to recognize the teaching assistant is there to be deployed.

I would argue that it is at this point that the habitus of the primary school classroom is influencing the disposition of the trainee teacher – that is the orthodoxy of the classroom, the normal practice of teacher and teaching assistant. The habitus is not static and always reinvents itself (Mann 2012). It is here that the trainee teacher must re-establish their capital within the field and through the habitus. In other words, a reflective trainee teacher (Schön, 1991) must have the self-determination to seize the initiative and refashion the act of deployment according to the preferred pedagogy for that period of time in the classroom. Atkinson (2004) wrote that an identity is not fashioned as a result of reflection, in itself, but deployment as an action is constructed by practising.

Teaching assistants, mentors and trainee teachers perceive the experience and practice of the deployment of teaching assistants by trainee teachers as one of a slight struggle, or to use the term, ‘localized familiarization’. The field appears to be conditioned by the mentors and the existing practice therein appears to be something that trainee teachers are not always comfortable of how to deal with. Pedagogically, the teaching assistants gave no indication of what they should be doing but that it was the trainees’ responsibility to organize and decide this. This again suggests that the teaching assistants recognize the dominant social structure within the classroom as epitomized by the roles of trainee teacher and teaching assistant.

4.5 How teaching assistants and mentors perceive the experience and practice of trainee teachers’ deployment of teaching assistants

This section will be used to answer subsidiary question (ii).

For the teaching assistants and mentors’ interviews, I identified twenty-two emerging themes, again using the NVivo software (an example can be seen in appendix M). I present the analysis of the interview transcripts from the teaching assistants and mentors in two sections. This begins with category 1, negotiation; category 2, identity and category 3, recommendations for improving ITT which are discussed in sections

4.6 and 4.7. The tables in appendices U and V respectively reveal the perceptions from teaching assistants and mentors regarding the role of the act of deployment.

4.5.1 Negotiation - fitting into the field/habitus of the school environment

Mentor two recognized how his trainee teacher possessed, what I am calling, ‘appropriate habitus’ for the school in which he did his placement: a vocational habitus where he was ‘*right for the job*’ (Colley, James and Tedder, 2002). According to him he perceived the qualities that his trainee teacher brought to his classroom as fitting in to what was deemed to be required for the practice:

‘He knew how to work with a group of children and get their learning on and he also knew how to work with adults effectively...I think he had that already, I didn’t need to teach him that...I don’t think you can teach that. I either think you are that person or you aren’t...’

Mentors and teaching assistants expressed an initial concern that the incoming trainee teacher would be detrimental to the existing classroom practice should they wish to implement any change. Behaviour management was a popular theme for Mentor one, Teaching Assistant two, and Mentor five; in this example from Teaching Assistant one, it was not desired for this to deteriorate:

‘...we have like two students... they wasn’t as confident as they needed to be and stuff and they didn’t take on advice as well as they could have done and so we found that it impacted on our class negatively. Our kids’ behaviour was awful; it deteriorated a little bit. We got it back you know we got it back eventually.’

What became revelatory was the judging of the trainee teacher by the mentor and teaching assistant in aspects of personal presentation and teaching ability. Mentor three was open about her interpretation of the trainee’s initial qualities:

*‘...we like it that when they are very willing to participate in things... Obviously we look for different qualities depending on how long they’ve been in university...**good standard of grammar and use of English...good general subject knowledge** which obviously that is refined as they go through the placements.’*

She followed this by explaining how trainee teachers at her school were eased in gently to the routines of the school. This sentiment was echoed by Mentor two who described

how trainee teachers have ‘*got to be able to fit in*’ and ‘*work as a team*’ and Mentor four who inducted her trainee teachers on placement with a coaching session ‘*leading by example*’. She explained how a meeting was arranged and that ‘expectations’ were set so that ‘*they know what we expect of them as a school*’. Her expectations revealed:

‘I think somebody that’s hardworking and wants to learn and wants to get better, somebody that is professional so their appearance, when you first see them, is professional, their attitude towards the school is professional... and that they’ve done some research and background information about the school so I think it shows what sort of person they’re going to be and basically that they’re keen to learn.’

The statement expressed by Mentor three regarding grammar and subject knowledge may be an example of how external factors have influenced the values of the field as she saw them. Both of these are incorporated in Teachers’ Standard 3 with a requirement to ‘*have and demonstrate strong subject knowledge*’ and to ‘*demonstrate an understanding of and take responsibility for...the correct use of standard English*’ (DfE, 2012). The notion of possessing a professional attitude can be found within Teachers’ Standard part 2 with the requirement for trainee teachers to ‘*demonstrate consistently high standards of personal and professional conduct*’. In fact, part 2 of the standards contains this statement which may explain how the perceptions of the mentor toward the trainee teacher has been shaped:

‘Teachers must have proper and professional regard for the ethos, policies and practices of the school in which they teach, and maintain high standards in their own attendance and punctuality (DfE, 2012)’.

This could be interpreted as presenting a teacher, and trainee teacher, little option but to fit into the school ‘in which they teach’ and that external factors have determined what is meant by ‘*proper and professional*’. I have discussed this above in section 4.4.6 from the perspective of the trainee teacher but from the mentor’s perspective it reveals a fascinating, if not deeper insight, into the social position of the trainee teacher, the social world she encounters within the school. By school, I am discussing the overwhelming majority of schools in which the trainee teachers within my ITT institution attend for a school experience in England; namely community schools, foundation schools and voluntary schools. These schools follow the national curriculum and are publicly accountable through the administering of national curriculum assessments, usually referred to as SATs. Mentors could be viewed as

acting as a ‘monitor of the values’ of their school; whether those values have been imposed upon them or they have evolved during the life of the school is beyond this study but it may suggest that the trainee teacher is being scrutinized to determine whether they are suitable for the school and that they should act in some degree of conformity. An example of this is demonstrated by Mentor four:

‘I think first of all we look at appearances, first appearances and then we look at their attitude towards the children and attitude towards other members of staff and how they fit into the school...kind of like they’re not judgemental to the other children but they understand and they try and work with procedures and practices we’ve got in the school...and they fit in with school policies.’

Navarro (2006) described how the habitus of an institution is created by the actions of agents which are interest driven and it may be that these interests are manifested to maintain the requirements of the field. The above quote from Mentor four becomes interesting when considering the factors which ‘drive the interest’ that come from trainees’ appearances and how they ‘fit into the school’. Mentor four openly declares a critique upon trainee teachers, let alone ascertaining their ability to be judgemental to other children. This may be because of Teachers’ Standard part 2 as well as, more than likely, the need to adhere to policies that ensure children progress and learning targets are met. Learning targets and public accountability are set by government; it is their habitus. The habitus is reinforced as it trickles down to schools and becomes interpreted fields (Bourdieu, 1995 and 1984). This can not only be viewed from a top-down process (which this analysis is beginning to uncover) but from a bottom-up process, it is arguably an explanation as to why trainee teachers face issues where they feel a lack of control or resign themselves to accommodating observed practice without being able to make much of a contribution. The following is an example - here is an explanation of why some trainee teachers may struggle with changing the practice of teaching assistants as expressed by Mentor three:

‘I think as well you know when all the TAs in this school... we have all been here for a long time so we all...nobody sits and waits to be told what to do so if we’re not told by the student we will be doing it anyway. And I think a lot of the time they look and see that we’re doing and think “Oh I can’t ask them because they’re doing something else” or they don’t understand that we’re doing it because we’ve not been told to do something else.’

On a purely practical level, it would not be feasible to assert that trainee teachers can affect the values of a field where the teachers, leadership and governing body of a school are constrained by government policy. There may be some evidence from the data analysis to put forward the case that on a micro-level, matters could be different.

Bourdieu (1984 and 1977) suggested a field generated its own values within its specific structure according to the relationships between individuals. An example would be the possibility of being able to change matters in the field, which was revealed by Mentors two and four. Mentor two mentioned that both he and his teaching assistant would need to be ‘*open-minded*’ and recognize that procedures in the classroom needed to be carefully supervised or they could get a ‘*bit chaotic*’. He mentioned that ‘*everyone has a drill*’ within his classroom and knew how matters were organized but he was suggesting that there was some scope for a trainee teacher to find their way within the habitus of the classroom:

‘... if the teacher themselves is really that closed off to somebody coming into their class then the student is going to pick up on that anyway and there’s going to be like treading on eggshells trying to get their practice and I’ve had that experience myself so I think [the teacher] need[s] to be as welcoming as possible to the person and they need to be as open minded and as flexible as possible.’

Yet, there was the sense that for Mentor two, the habitus was fixed and that his trainee teacher would merely become part of it. He used the phrase being ‘*part of our Early Years family*’ but it was apparent that part of the family meant conforming to the habitus:

‘...and he was just part of our classroom and I used him like I used [my teaching assistant] so he was aware by the time he did his placement block placement of what was expected of everybody in that room.’

I interpreted his position of being a teacher who would not be threatened by a new trainee entering his classroom because he would welcome the new ideas and use of technology, for example being aware of particular software programmes that would accompany them. In other words, he saw it as a trade between letting matters, as he saw them, slip, and being compensated by new pedagogical thinking and strategies. This, however, was a compromise between bringing an addition to the family but, more crucially, fitting into the family and not upsetting that dynamic. Mentor four described

a hypothetical scenario whereby if a trainee teacher experienced a teaching assistant, who could be deemed as being resistant to change, she would have the legitimacy to enable the assistant to accept the need for change. This was because the trainee teacher would be projected to be *'the leader'*. These are glimpses of the possibility of trainees effecting change in the field and could be explained by discussing the benefits they could bring to the school.

Mentors explained the reason for taking trainee teachers for a school experience, despite there being no statutory obligation to do so. It is part of the process of ITT in England for trainee teachers to enter the field and learn the requisite skills of being a teacher as detailed by the Teachers' Standards. The situation was also viewed as a two-way process where the teachers and school community could learn from the trainee teachers, especially in the light of bringing new pedagogical ideas into the school, or, to continue the cycle of learning as expressed by these two mentors:

Mentor three – *'We think it's really important for us to keep up to date with what's happening in university so that we know what students are expected to do when we have them with our own teachers we know what is expected of them you know what they've been through. We like to have students because as well they bring fresh ideas to the school um they do benefit the school and it's, it's a good way of us working with the university.'*

Mentor four – *'I think you have a right, a duty to do it really because all of the teachers here were students once and all students need somewhere to learn and practise their skills...'*

All mentors in my study were overwhelmingly in favour of receiving students because it was a valuable, reflective experience for the staff members concerned, and for the fresh pedagogical input from the trainees. Mentor four likened the initiative to a driving test where she reminded the profession that all teachers were once trainees and therefore it was a duty to support this cycle. There was not one sense of rejecting the need to welcome trainee teachers for a school experience despite the demands of extra paperwork and time commitments. Bearing in mind the perception of the role of deployment, the data reveal that there is, from the teaching assistants' view, a guarded approach. I described earlier how mentors act as monitors and the same may be said of assistants if this example from Teaching Assistant one is used:

'...I don't feel like to do their job like, I feel like I'm there to impose the rules, you know, like to make sure the rules are being followed or to make sure that the class are learning because sometimes I'm here to say "Be Quiet!" and stop them from talking or you know calm them down on the carpet or if there's no control I have to stop the class and sometimes I just feel like I'm taking away from the teacher.'

Teaching Assistant one maintained a watch over the class but wants to be seen as 'approachable and that they could ask for help'. Her perception suggests that the role of a teaching assistant is to be utilized before any problems would occur but that she would also intervene on behalf of the trainee teacher, in other words, take an initiative. Therefore, the role of being deployed comes with caveats. There is an expectation to conform to the principles of the school, an expectation to allow learning not to be hindered by, for example, poor management of behaviour and, as expressed by Mentor two, to actively demonstrate the values of the school to the observer:

'...to be really proactive and be willing to just get involved, hands on start like chatting to the kids, asking them questions, helping with like sticking in and resources and stuff, just that's what a real school is like, to give them experience of what a real school is like...and for them to be really positive and to have a positive approach to the placement and to the behaviour management and everything in the classroom.'

The perception of the role is not straightforward.

Both trainee teachers and teaching assistants recognized that deployment must occur, with no teaching assistants in my study providing objections to this. Bourdieu (1984) would argue that it is not an acceptance of the role that occurs unless a struggle has occurred, with the struggle being dictated according to power. For the trainee teacher, this means presenting a persona that is accepted by the teaching assistant (Field, 2008 and Goffman, 1959) whereby the skills and attributes deemed necessary to be seen as a qualified teacher are recognized by the teaching assistant, in this example, Teaching Assistant six, who willingly assented to deployment:

Teaching assistant six – *'...it's my job if I wanted to be teaching I would be teaching but I don't. I choose to do what I do. But I'm here [for you] to give me anything you want me to do and if you need help or [need] policies, [or you] can't find anything... And I think if I always say that right at the beginning it sort of takes all that away and nine times out of ten they're lovely and, you know,*

they're in like a fish out of water sometimes aren't they? They don't know what they're doing - they know on paper what they're doing but they don't really know until they come into a classroom situation.'

The habitus of the school experience placement is one which trainee teachers find challenging. A little power is afforded to some trainee teachers by mentors, whereas other trainees realize that either a short time-frame or no desire to distress anyone, hinders any ability to want to make changes. The overall habitus appears to be consuming the trainee teachers and the transcripts interpreted as replicating practice, or to use Trainee eleven's phrase, '*emulating the way the teacher did it*' may suggest this is the case. Yet, within this situation, there exists leeway but only under careful guardianship of either mentor or teaching assistant - albeit on a very small scale. What power that exists rests in the relationship between trainee teacher and teaching assistant and that is because the teaching assistant is also powerless in the exchange of capital within the wider school community. Therefore, I would assume it is also an example of where the trainee teacher could not change the habitus of the school experience placement during her time there **but is expected to adapt the existing practice of the teaching assistant** according to whatever capital she possesses in order to satisfy an externally imposed mark of professional competence. As Bourdieu (1984) wrote, the habitus of the individual is influenced by the amount of capital she possesses and, as such, there is little distinction between the trainee and teaching assistant within the profession. As Spence and Carter (2014), Watson and Grenfell (2014), Mansaray (2012), Zacher (2008) and, to some extent, Dorling (2012), Mann (2012) and Reay (1995) found in their Bourdieusian research, inequality of one group is explained by the power afforded to it in relation to others within that same community or organization.

4.6 The role of ‘teacher identity’ in the perception of the deployment of teaching assistants - pedagogy

This section will be used to answer subsidiary question (iv).

All trainee teachers, in my research sample, managed the deployment of the teaching assistant by assigning them to work with a group of children. This is the basic act of pedagogy within Teachers’ Standard 8. The learning needs of the children were recognized and the teaching assistant was deployed as a pedagogic resource. This section looks at ‘teacher identity’ first from the viewpoint of the trainee teacher, then, in more depth, from the viewpoint of the teaching assistant and mentor.

4.6.1 The trainee teachers’ perspective

Examples of the trainee teachers’ perspectives can be seen in the table in appendix W. Trainee six understood that deployment meant directing teaching assistants by giving them tasks to complete in order to benefit the children. This, however, was tempered by the need to make her ‘direction’ a comfortable process for the teaching assistant. She supported this by stating that her perception of a typical teaching assistant was one who was ‘more involved in the children’s learning and education. She also recognized the change in role of the teaching assistant to one of a pedagogical role. Trainee seven’s pedagogy involved the teaching assistant in her planning for group work, as shared by Trainee five:

Trainee five – ‘... I suppose I do deploy the staff I do ask them to be involved with certain children and work with certain groups or so yeah I suppose I do deploy staff towards the end I think as my confidence builds... I think you have to obviously have the skills of identifying perhaps what that TA is going to do with certain children so whether they’re going to be working with them on particular strategies or like sort of subject based or whether they’re going to be looking at skills. So I think you’ve got to be able to assess what you want to come out of that TA working with a group of children. It could be for assessment purposes or it could be to develop their learning and sort of I think you’ve got to understand what you want them to do in terms of their skills and knowledge as well.’

Trainee five articulated later in her interview how she felt that as a trainee teacher she was unable to enter a school without comprehending the role of a teaching assistant. This was because of how she perceived that role to be linked with pedagogy, or as she referred to, being a ‘part of the children’s learning’. I infer that, deployment for the purpose of children’s learning, was a core feature of her teaching. Trainee one similarly interpreted the need to deploy pedagogically by assigning an assistant to work with a group. She did this, not only because she recognized the ability of her teaching assistant, but she recognized the need for a desired outcome, in this case, characterized by her expected progress of children’s learning. There were instances whereby trainee teachers five, nine, ten and eleven appreciated the need for feedback and assurances that their practice was developing adequately (or meeting the Teachers’ Standards). These trainee teachers were keen to receive guidance and appreciated it. Trainee nine described how in her final placement it was interesting, for the first time, to have a teaching assistant come up to her and congratulate her on how well the lesson went. The teaching assistant revealed how having that input prior to the start of her lesson made such a difference to the quality of the learning. For Trainee nine, this response was described as ‘*organic*’ and most welcome. Mentors, such as Mentor one, were also keen to share their knowledge as feedback:

Mentor one ‘...it’s been feedback on the deployment of their TA and then coming up with suggestions again of how they could deploy [the] TA differently...or making sure that they were using them to ...maximum effect.’

Trainees four, nine and ten recounted how they deployed the teaching assistant for the purposes of assisting with group work. Trainee ten, described how her directed activities had to be followed by a designed method to ensure that the learning intentions were fully understood by the assistant. This, in turn, was followed by her discussing that the purpose of the management of deployment was to ‘ultimately support children’s learning and development’. Trainee two’s pedagogical deployment was more critical owing to his revealed background reading. His teaching assistant was assigned to support children in his class owing to her discretion while he supported targeted children. According to him, this was more of an effective method of pedagogical deployment. He explained his rationale by developing the idea of empowering the assistant to make a judgement in supporting children and to have a

sense of freedom in determining the next steps in assisting with the children's learning. Trainee two's description of the teaching assistant being empowered, arguably is an implicit reliance on his teaching assistant's existing skills, expertise and knowledge, in other words, her capital and how her daily interventions with the children are a feature of the classroom habitus of teaching and learning.

Pedagogically, trainee teachers deployed teaching assistants to perform tasks connected to the learning activities, or assessments of groups of children that were a combination of adhering to existing practice from the school and according to how they saw fit. Teaching assistants were perceived to be primarily deployed to work with sections of a class, namely groups, rather than perform non-pedagogical tasks such as contributing to displays. Some trainee teachers utilized the expertise of the teaching assistant with a recognized specific subject knowledge while there was at least one rejection of the notion that teaching assistants had to be deployed to the '*lowest ability*' group (Webster, Russell and Blatchford, 2013). The rejection by Trainee two of deploying assistants with the lower ability children as a matter of course, is an indication of him experiencing an ability to articulate his demonstration and understanding of pedagogy (Vincett, Cremin and Thomas, 2005):

*Trainee two – 'I think it is easy to see a TA or a LSA as the person who you stick with the lower ability kids all the time you know like you put them on the bottom table that's where they're most effective **but I particularly learnt this year that if you're going to deploy your support staff effectively they're probably more effective actually working with the more able children in a class.**'*

For Trainee fourteen, she was clear that the deployment of her teaching assistant was her decision. She was not content to deploy them for non-pedagogical reasons and, in agreement with Trainee two, would not deploy them with '*low ability children*'.

From two of the mentors' perspective, it is suggested that the trainee teachers need to demonstrate that they could articulate their pedagogy in the deployment of their teaching assistants, for example, by writing it on a lesson plan:

*Mentor three- 'Well he would plan for, for activities for Teaching assistant 1 to do in his like core subject lesson like literacy and maths um outside of that **I don't think until he was guided**, he was kind of using her outside of those areas because he was kind of like well that's just what you do ...I suppose a bit of... making... the student aware of the fact that actually... **they need to sort of have***

an idea of what they're going to do all day really rather... than in just literacy and numeracy, would you kind of agree?'

Mentor four – '*...they'll [the trainee teacher] think the TA is there just to sit with a group so they need to be taught exactly how a TA supports a group, what they're doing to move their learning forward and how important the role of the TA is.*'

This resonates with the opinion of Trainee five concerning the need for a trainee teacher to make the link with a pedagogical deployment and to understand the reason for it. Mentor five expressed a similar conclusion by calling for the ITT partnership to '*drill it into*' trainee teachers the need to give the deployment of teaching assistants the same weighting as they would for behaviour management which would be more of a worry for them, before considering the '*way different schools deploy their TAs*'. I interpret that as her saying trainee teachers not only need to be clear in their execution of a pedagogical deployment but they need to consider how their existing pedagogy would need to alter to fit that of the school's working practice.

Pedagogy is the art, science and craft (Pollard *et al.*, 2014) of teaching and is a skill that is required for the primary classroom. The analysis suggests that trainee teachers are aware of the role of the teaching assistant and can express that the deployment should be for a desired outcome (learning) that is to be understood and shared by both parties. The mentors expressed the opinion that the trainee teacher should highlight the pedagogical reasons for a deployment in their practice. This skill of pedagogy informs the capital of the trainee teacher, that is, the capital required to teach and be graded against the Teachers' Standards. Trainee two and Trainee five gave examples of this. They discussed how the notion of teamwork in order to assist children's learning (a pedagogical use), is how trainee teachers perceive the experience and practice of the deployment of teaching assistants. Trainee five saw the relationship as teamwork to support children's learning, discussing the children's progress and determining future strategies in planning and teaching. Trainee two was clearer in his identity: he recognized himself as a student '*going in to do a job*' of deploying a teaching assistant and for him this was not an issue.

Trainee two – ‘...so maybe making that link a bit more explicit to say ‘and actually this is part of your role in the classroom is to do this, there is nothing to feel awkward about or nervous about doing it.’

He had been a teaching assistant previously but accepted this transition of role; from teaching assistant to trainee teacher. In contrast, Trainee thirteen, who began her first school experience aged eighteen, had no prior knowledge of working with any adult. For her, it was a strange process and she coped by building a friendship and breaking ‘the barrier’ that she perceived between them because of the age gap. In this case, it was talking about a mutual like of dancing which allowed her slowly to gain the confidence to deploy her teaching assistant. She revealed the process thus:

‘Yeah towards the end I was um telling, giving [her] things to do but it was written on paper... I never voiced to [her] what they should have been doing and then in the last two weeks of my first one I’d start giving [her] resources I made and explaining to [her] what I wanted to do with [her] and that worked better.’

Bourdieu’s theory of the ‘field’ details the struggle for capital within it. His concept of the ‘field of power’ (Bourdieu, 1984), where individuals relate to one another as a result of the distribution of capital, is being played out here. The trainee teacher perceives a hierarchy to exist in the classroom and appears not to continue in the overt struggle for power – but rather does this covertly. This is done by the trainees’ process of ‘localized familiarization’ and, in their perception, working towards equality in the classroom through negotiation and discussion. The trainee teachers, however, appear to be uncomfortable with that perception that signifies them in this way. Their identity is being fashioned as a result and a new culture is developing with this preferred interaction (Nias, Southworth and Yeomans, 1989) and as Furlong and Maynard’s model (1995) showed, teachers entered the phase of ‘self-control’ and ‘self-protection’ where feelings and authority were managed respectively.

Trainee teachers were keen to stress that although they were required by Teachers’ Standard 8 to ‘deploy’ a teaching assistant (or additional adult), they were uncomfortable with the nuance interpreted from the word. Despite that, their identity as a trainee teacher (Britzman, 1991) was formed by the notion of the deployment – recognized by themselves, the teaching assistant, and indeed the children in the classroom. As a method of alleviating the negative connotation of the ideas of

deploying another adult, trainee teachers sought to engage in a process of familiarization with their teaching assistants. This process was seen to act like a balance, or an intervention mechanism, whereby deployment could be achieved following some feature of acceptance from the teaching assistant. Britzman applied the term 'socially negotiating' an identity to this process, whereby the application of theory in the deployment (and the deliberation regarding this) is leading trainee teachers to adopt this manner during deployment. Briggs and Cunningham (2009) discussed that a relationship between a trainee and assistant, if based on respect, would be successful. The process of transforming a trainee's pedagogy, by deploying a teaching assistant, is characterized by the process of familiarization. The trainee teacher is deploying a teaching assistant with the need for her identity to be recognized through a 'familiarization' process not by the recognition of her assertion of her pedagogy as an authoritative and confident practitioner. In other words, the trainee teacher's use of such a process is therefore her 'bodily hexis' (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002). It is the 'bodily hexis' which signifies the identity of the trainee teacher during the act of deployment. This 'localized familiarization', I argue, is how the identity of the trainee teacher is characterized.

The accruing of work-based experience – usually in the form of deployment, was an instrumental factor in the confidence of managing deployment. This then, is the core argument of the habitus of the trainee teachers. From the sample of fourteen trainee teachers, seven had previous experience of a professional work place and seven did not. It was felt among the trainee teachers selected, that the absence of work-based experience made the deployment of another adult in the work place an issue (Gatto, 2005; Postman 1994). For example, if a trainee teacher has no experience of delegation or deployment, and there was little or no provision for this training within ITT, then the realistic expectation of being able to do this in a professional setting separated from the ITT institution could be difficult. O' Connor (2007) discussed how some students struggle with entry to the field because of existing colleagues already established within it; it would require assistance by a school to help the trainee teacher in this way. Colley, James and Tedder's (2002) use of vocational habitus would also not be a way

of explanation. An individual would not be suitable for a particular vocation if they did not have the capital to cope on entry.

4.6.2 *The teaching assistants' and mentors' perspective*

The issue of the trainee teachers' experience of any form of deployment, or similar professional qualities of personnel management, was commented on freely by the mentors and assistants. This could be divided into emerging areas of age (of the trainee teacher compared to the teaching assistant); the issue of confidence; and general inexperience of work skills. Examples of this can be seen in the two tables comprising appendices X and Y respectively.

Mentor three and Teaching assistant three commented:

Age:

Mentor three – *'I don't know whether it's maybe because a lot of students come in are young and TAs in our school from my experience tend to be more motherly sort of people aren't they? So it's almost like they'd be telling their mothers what to do but we don't have any young TAs so I've not experienced...'*

Confidence:

Teaching assistant three – *'I think that they feel that I'm your TA I'm not there for them whatever you say I think there's sort of barrier and they're a little bit scared, you know, not frightened but a little bit apprehensive about asking the TA to do things.'*

The reasons for having no confidence were owing to a lack of experience:

Mentor three – *'A lot of it's down to inexperience isn't it because you think some of them straight out of school particularly the first years [trainee teachers on a first year school experience placement]. By the third year you do see a slight difference I think...'*

Or because of prior experience:

Teaching assistant three – *'I did have one student...do you remember Mrs X? She's the only person I've worked with who knew, on a student basis sorry, who*

knew how to utilise a TA ... she had been a TA herself and she was very experienced so she knew...'

Trainee five elaborated on her perception of being viewed by an older teaching assistant, something which was supported by fellow trainees, ten and thirteen. She discussed a time when she struggled with one teaching assistant who was older than her as she subsequently felt it was difficult to deploy her because she felt she was viewed as '*inexperienced*'. Trainee ten, in the 18 to 24 age range, recognized that her confidence in deployment was affected by her perception of being younger than her teaching assistant as did Trainee thirteen:

'... going into second year and one of them [a teaching assistant] was about sixty and obviously that's a forty year age gap and for me to be bossing someone around that's potentially my grandmother's age I found extremely hard because I wouldn't dream of telling my grandma what to do and I was put in a situation I hadn't been put in before.'

The question of how teaching assistants perceive the role of trainee teachers in the classroom can be answered in a straight-forward way. The teaching assistants within the five selected schools agreed that they accepted the fact that they were to be deployed by a trainee teacher and that they were comfortable with this. It did not present an issue, or any degree of resentment, despite the fact on many occasions the class teacher would withdraw from the classroom leaving a new combination of trainee teacher and teaching assistant to teach the children. Some teaching assistants recognized that the trainee teachers were in fact teachers (in all but name and approved qualification). Teaching assistant six, for instance was very clear in her assessment of the capital possessed by the incoming trainee teacher:

Teaching assistant six – *'But I'm here [for you] to give me anything you want me to do and if you need help or [need] policies, [or you] can't find anything... And I think if I always say that right at the beginning it sort of takes all that away and nine times out of ten they're lovely and, you know, they're in like a fish out of water sometimes aren't they? They don't know what they're doing - **they know on paper what they're doing but they don't really know until they come into a classroom situation.**'*

The recognition of the symbolic capital of the trainee teachers (the skills gained from the ITT courses and subsequent knowledge and experience) allowed the teaching

assistants to recognize the position of the trainee teacher in the classroom, providing the trainee teacher could then use the capital in the new relationship. This is what Teaching assistant six refers to as stating she is available to be deployed although she recognized that the ability to engage in practice may be difficult. Bourdieu's theory of habitus, capital and field suggests that the teaching assistant has evaluated the person entering the field and ascribed a role to that person. In other words, the trainee teacher has been accepted as the leading practitioner in the classroom. There is no struggle here; there is a recognition of the capital of the trainee teacher by the teaching assistant – the symbolic capital of being the leading practitioner who is to be responsible for deployment. This would suggest that a struggle is manifesting itself in a different form. The teaching assistant acquiesces to the role of the trainee teacher, whereas the trainee teacher prefers the hierarchy to be flattened; although I infer that the recognition of the capital of the trainee teacher does assert itself within the classroom.

The teaching assistants did recognize the apprehension of the trainee teachers in the act of deployment but not necessarily that the trainees were afraid not to deploy them. This apprehension was considered to originate from the age of the trainee (where most of them would be younger than the assistant); and the confidence of asking another adult to perform a task owing to a lack of previous work-based/life experience in delegation or working with older colleagues. This is, however, the key feature which will enable trainee teachers to have the confidence to deploy teaching assistants and to manage that easily – if the teaching assistant recognizes the trainee as someone who can deploy them, then that association becomes powerful and useful. This question of the role of 'teacher identity' in managing the deployment of teaching assistants is therefore bound in the social interaction that occurs and, more pointedly, in the perception that the role of the teaching assistant also comes with existing deficits of confidence and experience. That is to say, the trainee teacher's identity in this study is developed by how she projects negative thoughts into the relationship.

Thus far I have attempted to demonstrate that the way trainee teachers perceive the experience and practice of the deployment of teaching assistants is to rely on the

existing capital of the teaching assistants to utilize for teaching and learning in the classroom, and to receive critical feedback. The perception or recognition of how trainees accomplish this not only defines them but gives them a position. It is this positioning of individuals that enables differences or hierarchies to be established in relationship to the capital possessed; therefore strategies of behaviour are adopted and meanings are negotiated. The field, therefore, is determined by institutionalized points of view (Bourdieu, 2000).

A mentor, and teaching assistant on the arrival of a trainee teacher during school experience, looks for a trainee teacher to be proactive. This was seen as desirable from the mentors' perspective to be willing to be engaged without being directed. There was a need for the newly introduced trainee to be involved with the children and the daily expectations of preparing to teach children; this is an example of expecting the trainee to quickly ascertain how to contribute to, and be part of, the existing habitus (Bourdieu, 1977). Mentor one did acknowledge that the trainee would have to maintain her paperwork but not at the expense of the energy directed to the children. In other words, the expectation to conform to the school's practice carried greater significance to the ITT institution's demand for accountability and production of evidence. The teaching assistants' view, as demonstrated by Teaching Assistant two, is slightly different in that they perceived the introduction of the trainee to the classroom as a form of assistance rather than a form of deployment:

Teaching assistant two – *‘Initially I’m quite chuffed about it I feel that they’re quite an asset to our classroom because they can come in and sometimes the TAs are really stretched at times and at other times when they’re here we are not as stretched you know but they... take on things that we would do for reading, for example, Oxford Reading Tree’* [a popular reading scheme in English primary schools].

Teaching Assistant one expressed the view that the lack of a qualified teacher status was irrelevant to the situation in the classroom during a school experience placement for the trainee teacher, and stressed that it was a feature of primary teaching that trainees needed experiencing. Teaching Assistant two revealed a pedagogical explanation for her reluctance to challenge the trainee teacher during the deployment and gave an indication how she perceived the identity of the trainee teacher as a

‘teacher’:

‘...it is a right assumption that I work with them children every day and I should know what to use but rightly or wrongly, you know, they [the trainees] are the teachers and they should tell me and even if they like want to try something new you never know till you try something whether it is going to be successful or not.’

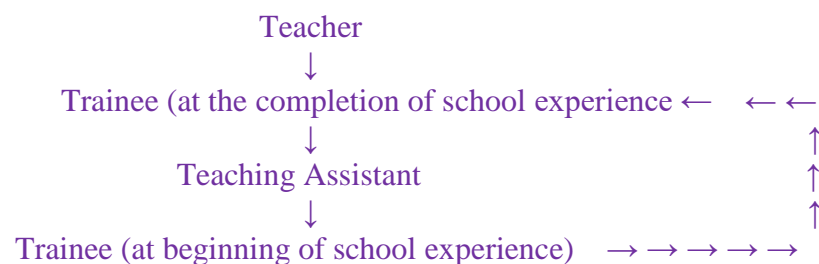
These two teaching assistants recognized that trainee teachers would present themselves on a school experience with the recognized authority (or symbolic capital) that came with them as teachers in training. Their identity as teachers was assured (Britzman, 1991). Yet, however, they also recognized the trainees would be apprehensive while deploying them but attributed this to two indicators: first, the incorrect assumption that teaching assistants sometimes undertook tasks because they have not been deployed by a trainee (and do so in order not to be seen as being idle), and second, trainees lacked the management skills to deploy teaching assistants and therefore disliked the process of doing so. In this example, Teaching Assistant three, reverted to the normal practice (habitus) of the classroom and explained her thinking from the perspective of the trainee teacher:

*‘ “Oh I can’t ask them [the teaching assistant] because they’re doing something else” or they don’t understand that we’re doing it because we’ve not been told to do something else. You see what I mean? If we’re not told by them [the trainee teacher] there’s ...always things to do... we’re **always be doing it anyway** we won’t be sitting there waiting for them to tell us what to do.’*

The teaching assistants had a perception of the ‘hierarchy’. Teaching Assistant one also articulated that the hierarchy, as it existed to her, in the classroom saw her at the bottom where the trainee teacher’s entry to the classroom put her above her but below the teacher:



She was willing in her perception of the hierarchy for the trainee teacher to supersede her although she viewed herself as ‘*part of the family or team*’ within the classroom. Other teaching assistants, such as Teaching Assistant two, stated that the hierarchy should be viewed in softer terms rather than an undemocratic imposition. She saw that the trainee teacher was at the bottom of the hierarchy but that there was scope to progress:



Teaching Assistant one legitimized the process of the trainee teacher moving up the hierarchy as long as the trainee teacher was able to be assertive in her behaviour management with the children and did not have to rely on her as a teaching assistant who would perform that role for her.

All teaching assistants in the study acknowledged that a hierarchy did exist in the scenario of the school experience. They either perceived themselves, or the trainee, at the bottom of this hierarchy but the trainee would move ‘up’ the scale, leaving the assistant at the bottom. This perception of the hierarchy from the teaching assistants’ perspective led to some commenting on some form of adjustment (Bourdieu’s use of struggle). The existence of hierarchy was very much a feature of Mansaray’s (2012) research into the roles and positions of teaching assistants in different urban primary schools, whether that was in terms of parents or teaching assistants from differing socio-economic groups.

Even though both parties (trainee teacher and teaching assistant) accepted the presence of each other, the role, at times, would not always be consistently applied. This was problematic for the trainee teacher in the eyes of the teaching assistant. The assistant would argue that if she was not being deployed, she would seek work (which usually

turned out to be the daily tasks expected of her in the existing deployment by the class teacher). In other words, the habitus of the daily classroom was maintained by the teaching assistant because the trainee teacher was unable to impose her pedagogical identity within it. If, as Mann (2012) suggested, that habitus can change or, as Spence and Carter (2014) observed, that successful employees can detect the prevailing change within a company's habitus, then the question to be asked is: what is limiting the trainee teachers' ability to make a change? I interpreted the teaching assistant would expect the trainee teacher to initiate the responsibility of full and effective deployment but also appreciate that the trainee, at times, and according to experience, may find this difficult. Here I address the point I made earlier in that either there is insufficient capital (and therefore existing habitus) of the trainee to achieve this, or, they acknowledge that there is little scope, time or even inclination to do so, as suggested by Trainee ten:

'... I think having that experience [of being a class teacher] now and I think as an NQT that's going to grow and develop because obviously I'll be doing it but throughout my school experience I wouldn't say I did feel like that but part of that was because I was always panicking and I was always [pause] there's lots of other pressures as well isn't there as a trainee teacher? You sometimes haven't got the freedom to do what you like in the classroom so hopefully doing my NQT year that will grow even more.'

Some teaching assistants moved this discussion forward by exploring how trainee teachers would be fitting into the relationship that was previously the domain of the teacher and teaching assistant:

Teaching Assistant four – *'I think it's two people trying to work along together isn't it? There's one person trying to **find their place** and another one trying to **hang onto their place**.'*

Teaching Assistant five – *'**Because you have a working balance** I think it sort of... if when students come in you've got to be that person, you've got to be that sort of person that can actually deal with other people coming in the room but some people can't deal with that.'*

Teaching assistant four described the relationship as individuals seeking to '*find their place*'. Bourdieu would say this is precisely the nature of the 'field' as relationships are determined by existing capital or the habitus of the individual which has been

influenced by her capital. Teaching assistant five, on the other hand, was accepting of the situation and relinquished any notion of power struggle:

*'I...actually say to them that "Right is there anything you want me to do, then let me know" **I always will say because that's what I'm there for.** I've had students and they will come in and they know what they're doing and they would say "Would you mind working with that group today instead of that group" because it's got to fit in with their training what they've got to be doing that day and **I'm quite happy to flip from one [group] to the other.**'*

In response to the question concerning her perception as to whom she belonged to as a teaching assistant, the class teacher or the trainee teacher, the reply from her was emphatic:

'No, I do see myself as the student's TA!'

It became clear that the trainee teachers were expected to deploy the teaching assistants fully and effectively. It was, however, recognized by the teaching assistants that the trainee teachers would use a friendship technique of making this process easier. Teaching Assistant four, in particular, used the phrase '*friendly professionalism*' to describe how she felt the relationship between the trainee teacher and teaching assistant could be achieved:

*'... I mean it doesn't have to be really personal don't have to phone anybody up but 'did you see the telly or nice weather!' that sort of thing then **[if] you haven't got the relationship and then it's harder if you have to give part messages or if something goes wrong and you want support with it, things like that.**'*

To conclude the analysis of the perceptions of teaching assistants and mentors, I revisit three words/phrases unearthed in the transcripts which appear above. Mentor two used the phrase '*Early Years family*'; Mentor three used the word '*motherly*' and '*mother*'; and trainee teacher Trainee thirteen used '*grandmother*':

*'So then... going into second year and one of them [a teaching assistant] was about sixty and obviously that's a forty year age gap and for me to be bossing someone around that's potentially my grandmother's age I found extremely hard because **I wouldn't dream of telling my grandma what to do** and I was put in a situation I hadn't been put in before.'*

Do these three examples give some indication or insight into perceptions of the habitus and field being likened to a household or kin? The sense I felt was that for Mentor three she perceived some teaching assistants in her school to act as a mother to younger students, as if describing a mother/daughter relationship. From some of the trainees, I felt their anxiousness not to deploy a teaching assistant was compared to the analogy of not *'telling [her] grandma what to do'*. This, I interpreted, was that the mother figure/primary carer within a home would be responsible for bringing a child up into the ways of the home; the nurturing of family ways. To then reverse the relationship would be strange and problematic and I found that this is what some voices were articulating. To enter a school environment where the perception of approaching the teaching assistant is compared to previous maternal interactions, maybe is symptomatic of how some individuals interpret the habitus in general. I used the phrase *'monitor of the values'* to describe how some teaching assistants were judging entrants to the school environment but maybe it could be likened to a *'passing on of the values'* especially if there is no ability to change those values because the teaching assistants are a powerless group. They are not completely powerless because although they accept the position of the trainee teacher, albeit engaging in the localized familiarization process, there is the suggestion that scrutiny does occur. If the teaching assistant recognizes the ability of the trainee teacher, then the habitus of the environment is revealed. To use another analogy, the teaching assistants are the fly-crew who operate the stage curtain in a theatre. When the play is deemed ready to begin, the curtain is raised, the stage is revealed and the play begins: when the teaching assistant feels ready, the trainee teacher can be competent the struggle of power should be over and the ease of deployment can begin. To finish this example, neither the teaching assistant nor the trainee teacher are the theatre directors; it is the director (the teacher) who oversees and organizes the running of the play.

4.7 How trainee primary teachers can be better prepared to deploy teaching assistants

This section will be used to answer subsidiary question (v).

Within the field of school experience, or on a micro-level, it would be considered to

be useful for mentors and teaching assistants to be better prepared to receive trainee teachers during a school experience in light of this research. This is because trainees appear to be calling for some form of an induction with the teaching assistants. Trainee eight advocated a time at the beginning of a school experience placement where trainee teachers could discuss the requirements without upsetting any member of staff with ignorance. Trainees five and six called for a time to observe the teacher's practice before a school experience had officially commenced.

These responses ranged from having prior experience as a teaching assistant, to having an induction with a teaching assistant prior to commencing a school experience with ongoing support and training for that particular aspect of the experience. Trainee one suggested the importance of the teaching assistants assisting with a training day at the university in order to prepare trainees for the school experience placement. It would seem apparent that this would be included within the called for induction period.

The trainee teachers recognized the need to deploy a teaching assistant and therefore to manage the subsequent professional relationship. There was not one statement in the data to suggest that teaching assistants were to not to be included within the pedagogy of primary classrooms or for their removal from education. Rather, trainees were calling for better access to them prior to their school experience placements. It seems then that teaching assistants are seen by trainee teachers to be still necessary within primary pedagogy. Bourdieu called this 'illusio', an investment within the field, or that deploying teaching assistants is a worthy matter (Bourdieu, 2005). As a result of this investment, the trainees are also demonstrating an agreement to the core values of utilizing and deploying teaching assistants within the field, or 'doxa' (Bourdieu, 2005).

Teaching assistant five was more practical in calling for something as simple as received communication from the ITT institution in the form of an information pack or toolkit. The teaching assistants were receptive to taking a part in the development of working with trainee teachers in ITT, either by volunteering to visit the ITT institution or by having an induction in the host school:

Teaching assistant five – *‘I think they when they come in they it is... just actually just sort of coming in and making a point of saying as [my teacher] was saying that ‘This is where this is what my name is, where I’m from, what we’re doing’ and then you can sort of get your ...the flow will go then start working and saying ‘This is what I do’ and then they get to know...’*

The teaching assistants were keen to participate in a recommendation to improve practice. There were two strands in this: first, recognition of the role and task performed by the teaching assistants and second, an induction, whereby orientation was important and the need to address some degree of socialization (getting to know the colleague). There is not only an acceptance of trainee teachers in the classroom by teaching assistants but also an encouragement of methods to improve this aspect of the trainee teachers’ ITT. It is as though the ‘community of practice’ (Wenger, 1998) is extended beyond the school itself and into the ITT institution, or in contrast to the findings of Bathmaker and Avis (2005) who discovered the problems of marginalized trainees within their chosen profession. This opportunity to establish a comfortable act of deployment during ITT would also help to gain access to tacit knowledge and exposure to teaching assistants’ skills (Elliot *et al.*, 2011). On the other hand, it may lead to trainee teachers becoming socialized into the values and practices of the chosen profession of teaching – or the vocational habitus (Hodkinson and James, 2003).

Teaching assistant six was clear that she was addressing the shortfalls as perceived in the community of practice that existed in her school (Lave and Wenger, 1991) and the potential for the trainee to be ill-prepared as a result (Hasson, McKenna, and Keeney, 2013). She accepted the dominant role of the trainee teacher, despite her own age being higher than the usual trainee teacher and greater experience, rather than competing for any controlling interests in the classroom (Lingard, Taylor and Rawolle, 2005). She did this by offering to approach the trainee teacher directly or to invite her in for an induction that would be conducted by her. Teaching assistant six displayed her skill set and expertise and as such became engaged in reducing the potential marginalization of trainees (Bathmaker and Avis, 2005) and possibly simplifying work-based relationships (Braun, 2012). It may be inferred that the habitus of her school may also be one that allows for collaboration rather than total competition; but in another sense

it could be seen as an example of her passing on the values of the field from her school, to use the analogy of the family that I described above.

On a wider or macro-level, there was nothing revealed in the data to suggest that trainee teachers or teaching assistants were calling for any reform of the system, for example, requesting a voice to relevant political bodies responsible for education. The 2012-13 cohort interviewed in this study would have experienced the change in the national curriculum (from 2012); the change in the Teachers' Standards (from 2011); and the discussion concerning the Rose review (DCSF, 2009). They would have been aware of the Academies Act 2010 where community schools could apply for a change in status to academies, hereby changing the landscape for local authority control. The white paper 2010, entitled 'The importance of teaching', mentioned professionalism in these terms:

*'What is needed most of all is decisive action to free our teachers from constraint and **improve their professional status and authority**, raise the standards set by our curriculum and qualifications to match the best in the world and, having freed schools from external control, hold them effectively to account for the results they achieve' (DfE ,2010 p. 8).*

This white paper would have been published in November 2010 in their first year, indeed term, of the cohort's teacher training and the need to '*improve professional status and authority*' may be a step too far because the conditions experienced in the school experience placement may not allow this to happen. The values of the field are arguably set by the following phrase 'the curriculum' and the accountability that goes with it.

4.8 Summary of chapter

In this chapter, I have interpreted the data as revealed to me by the trainee teachers, mentors and teaching assistants. Bourdieu's sociology produced theory, not for its sake, but to make sense of the world; to give it a practical use:

'... [it] can be used as temporary constructs to provide evidence for, and demonstrate the specific properties of, social groups and practices (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002, p.49).'

The properties of this group of trainee teachers, as shown through the analysis of data, revealed the power inherent in them as limited. Data revealed the perceptions of trainee teachers in their deployment of teaching assistants moved beyond that relationship and exposed something more wide reaching and potentially alarming. This was also supported through interpreting the perceptions of the teaching assistants and mentors.

The main research question '*what are the perceptions of the practice of the deployment of teaching assistants by trainee teachers during classroom teaching experiences on a university-based ITT programme in southeast London?*' revealed that deployment of a teaching assistant only scratches the surface in terms of a trainee teacher's ability to exert her power and be recognized. The habitus of the school environment in which a trainee teacher finds herself for a placement cannot be challenged and only in a few instances can any trainee be given some degree of leeway in decision making. Trainees quickly realize they have to adapt, accept their place as they conform to policy and practice. For some trainees this is an easier process according to their work-based history and experience. How trainee teachers obtain knowledge and negotiate the cultural field of the school experience environment is as a result of their 'practical sense' which is their ability to understand and negotiate that particular field.

There is some ability to make change, to exercise power, within deployment. The trainees recognize from their teacher training course the necessity to deploy teaching assistants but are not easily prepared to accept the position this endows. In other words, guidance from the DfE (2011) in the form of the Teachers' Standards, allows them to assume a dominant position in the relationship with the teaching assistant. The trainee teacher, during a school experience, should be able to deploy an assistant but they choose not always to be willing in accepting their position. This is, for some, determined by their accrued capital and for others, to renegotiate their teaching identity. This is achieved by the attempts at familiarization with assistants, although this is welcomed by some assistants as part of an accepted professional attitude. This answers the subsidiary question '*how do teaching assistants perceive the role of trainee teachers in the classroom?*'. If, as Navarro (2006) indicated, that it is the amount of capital which accounts for the differences and hierarchies (in this case with trainees

and assistants) then I would argue that the 'social relation' (Bourdieu, 1984) is negotiated in the field. It is not a struggle, or attrition as such, but more of a compromise as described by Wacquant (2005) where the habitus guides people in their responses to their environment. Such negotiation, however, is still fitting in with the existing habitus, in other words, that is how the deployment of teaching assistants already works in the school's ethos and practice.

Outside of the perceived socially constructed relationship between the trainee teacher and the teaching assistant, I argue that the trainees' role is determined by the habitus they encounter within the school. The trainee teacher is expected to conform to the values of the field, which are monitored as such by the teaching assistant and the mentor. The act of deployment is undertaken according to the norms and accepted practice within the school. Here is the relevance of the subsidiary question regarding '*the extent that deployment of teaching assistants is commented on by visiting tutors*' Data reveal that not only is guidance not that specific, and arguably wholly useful, but it reinforces the existing practice of the school in regards to deployment and the perception by tutors of what deployment should be.

It is appearing from the analysis that the issue of the '*role of teacher identity*' arises which becomes conditioned by the habitus within the school experience placement. It may appear that trainee teachers can legitimately deploy a teaching assistant, but this is still a guarded process. The teaching assistant is still wary of the perceived capability of the trainee teacher during this process; the compromise is a measured one. Within this scenario, both the teaching assistant and trainee teacher are pitched into a situation where, certainly for the trainee teacher, they have little power elsewhere during the practice. The ability to effect change is either recognized to be insurmountable or to be accepted. Some trainee teachers accept the values of the field, some trainee teachers recognize they are powerless to effect any change. The distribution of capital within the field only reproduces the inequality within it from the position of the trainee teacher rather than seeing the process as a transformative one. Although, during the process of the reproduction of capital, the teaching assistant does have some power; she is perceived to be the monitor of the habitus of the classroom. Here is where, according

to Bourdieu's theory, a struggle within the field does occur although there is a sense that it is accomplished in a familial manner, without threat, and in a sense of welcoming the trainee to the school environment. This '*practical sense*' of having a feel for the game is understood by the trainee teacher and can be for some, a sense of misrecognition where the individual is unaware of how their own habitus has been shaped. For others, though, it is inevitable that the habitus of the school, despite attempts at negotiating, becomes a realization that there is little negotiation owing, mostly, to a short time-frame within the school experience. There may be the possibility of negotiation being different when the trainee teacher becomes a qualified teacher.

On a wider level, however, the data analysis offers further contemplation in terms of the final subsidiary question '*how can trainee teachers be better prepared to deploy teaching assistants*'. The data reveal that trainees, teaching assistants and mentors discussed narrower solutions of support such as inductions and orientation programmes. For trainee teachers who are entering a profession, they are expected to conform. This brings into the question of whether that would indeed bring the need to reappraise the idea of professional training if trainee teachers, with an aim of fulfilling professional standards, are resigning themselves to replicating the values of the field. Therefore, this subsidiary question grows in importance because possible answers to it, and my recommendations in the following chapter, point to measures that are larger than I had expected from this research study. Using the theory of Bourdieu (1984) in terms of the habitus, it makes an observer wonder whether trainee teachers can advance their interests or whether they are professionally constrained by their accumulation of being. The debate certainly changes to one that needs to reflect the professionalism of teaching in light of the experiences of that profession's newer entrants.

CHAPTER 5 – CONCLUSION

5.1 Overview of chapter

In this chapter I will present a consideration following the data analysis. This will be followed with my thoughts of the research study and my recommendations for practice and for the field of education.

5.2 Consideration

The research question wanted to explore the perceptions of deployment but as the previous chapter revealed, this was only a small factor of what was perceived in the wider picture. As I analysed the interviews, it became apparent the perceptions articulated by the trainee teachers, teaching assistants and mentors seemed to indicate the deployment of teaching assistants was embedded within a wider social network, culture and accompanying conceptions of education. A person's role was wrapped in the larger habitus of the school and the trainee teachers were able to recognize not only their limitations in deployment but in their practice too. It brought about the consideration of professionalism - trainee professionals entering a profession and considering the notion of resigning themselves to acts of replication and conformity. The social space of the school was negotiated and adapted to by the trainees; the habitus was apparent. The trainees' perceptions of their role in deployment and that of the teaching assistants and mentors became symptomatic of how trainee teachers are inducted into the habitus of the school. This habitus is influenced by the pressures of accountability and performativity agendas coming from current education policy in England.

5.2.1 *Replicating the pedagogy- a potential issue*

“What's done cannot be undone” (Shakespeare, 2015). Lady Macbeth in Macbeth: Act V, Scene I.

This section of the discussion is of serious interest to those within the field of education who consider the question of professionalism of teaching, not only in schools in

southeast London but nationwide. The literature review did discuss the question of professionalism (DfE, 2010), and professional identity (Danielewicz, 2001), and the analysis of the interviews indicated that trainee teachers were aware that their development as trainee teachers working towards a professional qualification would involve them in replicating the observed existing practice in the classroom. This is in contrast to the statement from the DfE (2010a) concerning their perspective on education *'In England, what is needed most of all is decisive action to free our teachers from constraint and improve their professional status and authority...'* (see section 2.7)

From Bourdieu's theoretical perspective, the acknowledgement of a trainee teacher to replicate the values of the field, or, *'to fit in'* and not *'to rock the boat'*, brings the issue of professional practice into focus. It suggests the habitus of the school, that is, its values and attitudes are dominant and therefore the habitus of the individual agent is shaped by those values. It may be that the trainee teachers accept this because they have no more than eight or nine weeks to make a difference but this is important to reflect on. This is where the research study begins its clarion call for recommendations for practice and where its contribution to knowledge needs to be acknowledged (I offer a personal reflection later in section 5.4).

The research study has moved beyond a question of simply deployment of teaching assistants to one of professionalism. The warning to the profession is that some trainee teachers in England, to use the quotation from Shakespeare, have the perception that when entering state schools the existing practices are expected to be conformed to and that they cannot be undone:

Trainee eleven *'...generally no, little things that you could change but if it was different things there was quite a lot of resistance from the teacher and the TA was like "I wouldn't do that if I was you"'*

Trainee fourteen *'...because they had a system where it goes through the head teacher...and when you're on placement and you have to run everything by your class teacher as well...it's almost like you don't have that kind of power'.*

Any power the trainee feels she has is negotiated through the class teacher but only small changes to existing practices are permitted and the dominant practice, status quo

or habitus is not challenged or affected. The results of this study poses noteworthy questions. In 2015, there were 30,600 NQTs from a total teacher (primary and secondary) population of approximately 450,000 (DfE, 2016c). This amounts to a figure of nearly 7%. Earlier, Mentor four discussed how her trainees were judged by appearance and attitude and then '*how they fit into the school and how they work with procedures and practices and policies*'. That question is, to what extent are NQTs in England led to believe that being a teacher includes the need to conform to the practices and values of teaching? The posing of such a question is predicated on the neo-liberal policies that have made education in England, its values and objectives, a state of being controlled by current assessment and accountability measures.

This, then, is problematic and moves this research study forward from a place it did not intend to go. The trainee teachers, in their interviews, moved beyond the dynamic or the relationship between themselves and the teaching assistant. They critiqued policy as well as practice and quickly acknowledged their lack of power or trajectory within their setting. The response was based on their perception of who they were and the capital they carried, as that was recognized by the mentor. It is problematic because professionalism requires innovation and autonomy, not an emulation of existing practice (Whitty, 2006). In fact, the DfE (2016d) gave this statement regarding teachers' professional development:

'Effective teaching requires considerable knowledge and skill, which should be developed as teachers' careers progress. High-quality professional development requires workplaces to be steeped in rigorous scholarship, with professionals continually developing and supporting each other so that pupils benefit from the best possible teaching.'

I would query how knowledge and skill could develop if trainee teachers feel unable to contribute to their own pedagogic development and the school community in which they are based. It would appear, then, that the habitus of the school, under existing educational policy conditions, would not allow this to happen which, in turn, restricts the agency of the trainee teachers involved; the antithesis of an autonomous profession. The trainee teachers in this study have accepted the orthodoxy of the field, that is, the sets of beliefs and values that substantiates the field. For teaching, this orthodoxy is preserved in public documents, publications (for example, from the DfE) and practices

which, through public accountability, manifest themselves down a chain of those of individual schools or groups of schools. A question to ponder is why a trainee teacher would not want to challenge the orthodoxy of the field when the symbolic capital offered is low. As Grenfell (1996) observed when the trainee teacher makes a choice of how to progress during a practice away from the ITT university, her choice is informed by the perception of a more dominant habitus of the school.

The dominant habitus, then, is where this research study finishes. The trainee teachers reveal that they have little leeway in developing their practice by experimentation. It is largely a process of replication. That replication is bound further within the habitus imposed on the school by policy through accountability and government action. English state schools' own leeway for professional development and innovation is also limited (Chitty, 2014; Ball; 2006, Whitty, 2006) from the marketization of education and the need to demonstrate results in a culture of accountability. If results matter, then so does the teaching required - the pedagogy involved. The pedagogy for a post-1988 national curriculum is beyond this research study (whether it is narrow, too prescriptive, not broad or exciting) but my trainee teachers were caught in it and discussed it. Some discussed their unease about wanting to make a difference, others accepted it. Being restricted so early on in a trainee's career is not healthy. One reason for a hesitation in deploying teaching assistants was that they would be disturbing the normal routine of teaching and how pedagogical decisions were executed in the school.

The literature review discussed how the deployment of teaching assistants is influenced by the teacher's, or trainee teacher's, understanding of pedagogy. The analysis of the interviews indicated that the pedagogy trainees encounter in schools is not to be greatly disturbed because of the need to ensure pupil progress, which taken further leads to various end of year performance testing. Therefore, the pedagogy in schools is developed with this end goal in mind, and from a schools' perspective it would be easy to understand why there would be a reluctance for visiting trainees to disturb this.

There were many examples of teaching assistants discussing the need for trainees to '*fit in*' and being likened to 'monitors of the habitus'. The trainee teachers were discovering that the way children learned and how teachers taught was a pedagogy to

aspire to. As Bourdieu wrote, those with limited power have limited trajectory because of their position in the field. Those with dominant capital set the arbitrary values for others to adjust to (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002). The habitus is a spiral effect in English state education beginning with government and transmitted to schools and governing bodies, to teachers, and finally teaching assistants and trainee teachers. The gradual removal of local authority influence and the increased establishing of academy chains (Gillard, 2011) seems to strengthen such a top-down approach of policy and the entry to the once ‘secret garden’ of education.

The curtailing of professional freedom and agency nationally is leading to the profession of teaching gradually being homogenised. As Bourdieu (1998a) critiqued the power of the media, he suggested that the opposition to autonomy was the result of uniformity and that *‘all production is oriented toward preserving established values’* (1998a, p.73). This may be the case for teaching in England and is certainly an issue for those involved in ITT to give serious consideration to. Indeed, this unintended finding has led to my own contemplation within the question of teachers’ professionalism as an overarching category rather than a question of trainee teacher’s deployment. This is the warning; can it be undone, is there the political will? (see recommendations in section 5.6) This is the most significant finding in the research study. As Watson and Grenfell (2016); Spence and Carter (2014); Mann (2012) and O’Connor (2007) all described in their research, the ability of participants to adapt to the new habitus of the workplace by ‘cashing in’ on their capital defined their likely success. In other words, to be successful can require a costly transaction, one which results in a loss of autonomy. I move to discuss the nature of the struggle that does occur between the trainee teacher and the teaching assistant during the act of deployment.

5.2.2 *A struggle – who deploys whom?*

According to Bourdieu, power relations are created according to the jostling of recognized capital of individuals although the situation in which they occur is never static. A field generates its own values within its specific structure according to the capital of the individuals involved. Bourdieu described capital as a sign of importance

when recognized because the habitus of a particular institution or organization is designed to do so:

'...symbolic capital rescues agents from insignificance, the absence of importance and meaning' (Bourdieu, 2000, p.242).

For the trainee teachers in my research study, their relative position remains according to the recognition afforded by the habitus; this applies to the monitoring of the trainee teacher. Trainee teachers valued the qualities of team-work and mutual respect in the deployment of the teaching assistant. This relied on basic components of good communication and the skill set, or expertise, of the teaching assistant to assist with managing the children's learning. Maton (2005) argued that a field has its own structure and values and when a trainee teacher enters this she is not always able to acknowledge her ready-made position as the leading practitioner, who is allowed to deploy. A hierarchy exists and that is realized by both parties – this corresponds to the way that agents conserve or transform relations. I would suggest that the 'doxa' of the field (Bourdieu, 1984) is one in which the rules are embraced more willingly by the teaching assistant rather than the trainee teacher. Trainee teachers with prior experience of deployment in the workplace may be better able, and more confident, to deploy an assistant. This is because they are better placed to construct a working relationship more efficiently and not be held back by negative thoughts or doubts.

There is a struggle with the relationship with the teaching assistant; both parties acknowledge a scrutiny of each other; this is clear from the data. Trainee teachers perceive their role to be that of the leading teacher within a classroom. All the trainee teachers interviewed had no problem with identifying the necessity and rationale for teaching assistants' deployment; they saw it as part of their pedagogical repertoire and as fulfilling Teachers' Standard 8. The role is understood but it is the execution of this in practice to which belies the dominant social position afforded the trainee teacher. It is this initial struggle that enabled me to see the teaching assistant as having the role of a monitor and guide; drawing the trainee into the habitus of the classroom; showing her how and where things happen; judging the capability of her practice before agreeing to be deployed. For a short time in the practice, the trainee teacher is not the one who deploys the teaching assistant, but ironically, it could be argued the teaching

assistant plays an important role in deploying the trainee. In other words, the values of the field are causing an inverse deployment from the expectation within Teachers' Standard 8. This, however, is temporary, until the process of 'localized familiarization' occurs, at which point the trainee has been deployed into the habitus and the struggle is potentially over.

This is another example of the capital of the trainee teacher being ignored, or as Bourdieu called it, the act of '*misrecognition*'. This was where agents become limited in their mobility but do not perceive it that way and rather view the situation as '*the natural order of things*' (Webb, Schirato and Danaher, 2002, p. 25.) or judging the skills set of a trainee teacher from the '*front*' offered by the trainee (Goffman, 1959). Likewise, this was replicated by teachers and mentors who did not object to their teaching assistants being deployed although the process was scrutinized as part of their willingness to adapt their own pedagogy and practices of the classroom. This was due to perceived competence (usually in behaviour management, as well as making progress with children's learning). It is in this initial struggle that familiarization occurs, which I discuss next.

5.2.3 Localized familiarization and identity

One way trainee teachers seek to secure their teaching identity is by their attempts of familiarization with assistants; this is welcomed by some assistants as part of an accepted professional attitude. This process is an interesting finding from the analysis. The perception of the experience and practice of the deployment of teaching assistants by trainee teachers during classroom teaching experiences is multifaceted. Using the lens of Bourdieu (1984), a trainee teacher's recognition of existing capital permits them an allocation within the habitus of the 'school experience' classroom. Trainee teachers recognize the right to deploy but appear not to wish to engage in an overt struggle for power – but rather do it subtly, by preferring to adopt a process of 'localized familiarization'. This, in their perception, enables them to work towards 'equality' in the classroom through negotiation and discussion. Trainee teachers are also aware of the habitus of their environment in which they recognize aspects of

having little control and of having their teaching skills judged. Mentors will permit some leeway which allows a perception of some practice replicating existing pedagogy. Therefore, the experience of deployment is played out in an arena where power is limited. The ‘localized familiarization’ draws on whatever capital the trainee teacher can find in order to negotiate their way within the field – and in addition is used to promote their identity as a trainee teacher in a complex place.

5.2.4 The etymological problem

Teachers’ Standard 8, bullet point three, requires the trainee teacher to ‘deploy support staff effectively’ under the wider remit of fulfilling wider professional responsibilities (DfE, 2012). Concise Oxford English Dictionary (2008) defines ‘deploy’ as a military action and ‘to bring into effective action’; Collins Advanced Dictionary (2009) offers a military definition only with reference to positioning troops. Penguin English dictionary (2002) adds that it can mean ‘to bring into action’ and ‘put to use’. Ultimately ‘deploy’ derives from the Latin verb ‘displicare’ meaning to scatter or unfold but in modern English usage this is unhelpful because of the connotation with military matters.

The trainee teachers discussed how ‘harsh’ this was and the analysis revealed their attempts to mediate the process of deploying a teaching assistant during a class based school experience. The comments regarding the perceived awareness of telling an older family member what to do were a fascinating insight into hierarchy and trainee teachers’ practice and experience with the teaching assistant. The interpretation of the verb ‘deploy’ was seen to be accompanied with a feeling of acting with superiority especially in a classroom situation where this was expected to be effected from a very early opportunity. It is necessary to consider real life experiences of the typical trainee teacher. Five of my sample were previously employed as teaching assistants (one as a volunteer) but only three had entered ITT directly from school, with limited part-time work experience. Literature does suggest that students are not prepared for the work place (Cassidy, 2014; Postman, 1994) and therefore it is unrealistic to expect them to contemplate deployment of an older, more experienced and resident teaching assistant.

Some interviewees described the process of telling ‘*your mum*’ what to do; drawing the comparison with age and assumed authority. The advice from Phipps (2015) in the field of nursing may be apt here for trainee teachers; that is, the consideration of oneself as a leader would help in establishing an authority that would improve the quality of practice and that delegation should be an immediate process within practice.

The verb ‘deploy’ is perceived as uncomfortable but this word on the actor’s script for ITT could either be changed or serious consideration given to unpicking it carefully in ITT institutions. Synonyms for ‘deploy’ include ‘arrange, position, spread out, distribute, use and utilize’ (Penguin A-Z thesaurus, 1992). In fact, the word is still used at the time of writing in reference to teachers’ health and deployment implications for working longer as a result of the increase in their normal pension age (Teachers Working Longer Review Steering Group, 2017). The verb still has currency within ITT but a suggestion would be to remove it with a synonym that when read in the dictionary, would not see such a structure of command as associated with the military. That is, not to argue against the hierarchical implications associated with this act of professionalism but to take into consideration that the dislike of the word is accompanied by the experience that trainee teachers have of such a professional requirement.

5.3 Limitations of the research

The qualitative research study is not intended to have its results generalized because of the very nature of the research design and the sample that was chosen; only fourteen trainee teachers, six teaching assistants and five class teachers/mentors. In addition the research study was a snap-shot of the phenomenon of a particular cohort’s final school experience in that particular academic year (2012-2013), in a small geographical area (in comparison to a nationwide spread). I was very much aware of my role as an ITT lecturer who may have carried undue influence in the research, especially during the process of conducting the semi-structured interviews. In regards to research methodology, with hindsight a reliance on others’ observations of taught lessons by trainee teachers, as a secondary source, may have been complemented by my own

observations. I did choose not to use my own observations but on reflection this may have provided different data. The interview analysis did not reveal two things which perhaps should have been present. First, whether the trainee teachers perceived the teaching assistants as monitors of the school experience habitus, and second, drawing into the aspect of pedagogy and interpreting how the trainee teachers' understanding of pedagogy enabled them to deploy their teaching assistants. Perhaps this was not as clear as it could have been. Finally, because it was a perception study, it may be questioned to the extent to which the perceptions of the research participants should be taken; for example would the trainee teachers coming from the same ITT institution be influenced by the views of that place?

5.4 Personal reflection

I was greatly surprised by the findings from my interpretation of the data analysis. My methodology was predicated on exploring the perceptions among ITT personnel within a school environment. As chapter four made clear, the perceptions cover the inequality that trainee teachers face and the resignation that appears as a ready solution to the dilemmas they faced in this setting (Grenfell, 1996). It did make me wonder that if trainee teachers from my sample are making such decisions, then the future of the teaching profession is indeed problematic. How else are trainee teachers being affected by a loss of autonomy in their NQT year and beyond? As I have already stated, such thoughts are beyond this research study, but this study has pointed out concerns, albeit from an unintended angle.

To date there has been very little literature concerning the deployment of teaching assistants by trainee teachers during their ITT courses as highlighted by Mansaray (2012) and Bignold and Barbera (2011). Within educational management, it is slowly dawning that Watkinson's (2008) claim that teachers are not often trained to manage others is being addressed (Sharples, Webster and Blatchford, 2015). There is also little literature that deals with trainee teachers being trained to manage others (Bosanquet, Radford and Webster, 2016). This was confirmed within my own ITT institution which, after my interest in this research began, was rectified by me with the addition

of an appropriately themed module – ‘The Class-Based Team’. This lack of literature in this area bothered me. It is not that the deployment between trainee and teaching assistant is not covered, but in considering the wider life of the trainee teacher/qualified teacher; what other inequalities do they face? Are there issues to do with leadership, addressing subject knowledge, professional development that literature does deal with? Are there other inequalities which exist in schools – racism (Lammy, 2011)? Sexism (Bates, 2014)? Poverty (McKenzie, 2012)? In other words, in the continuing struggle of negotiating social relations in which inequality does present itself, which is the rationale for Bourdieu’s sociology, the issue of deployment is only one small factor.

5.5 Original contribution to knowledge revisited

My contribution to knowledge has been that within the study of deployment in English primary schools in southeast London, the perceptions of power addressed wider areas beyond the classroom. The perception of role was interpreted to be weak but the perception of the wider picture was apparent and recognized. What started off as research into roles in a classroom, ended with a critique of wider educational policy and a cause of concern for the teaching profession. The perceptions of alarm were raised by the trainee teachers in my study; this is the contribution. From beginning with the academic attention given to the role of teaching assistants in working with trainees (Bignold and Barbera, 2011), academic attention has placed the trainees at the centre of the wider debate about their status as professionals because of the associated habitus of their environment.

The use of Bourdieu as a theoretical lens to explore the perceptions of the deployment of teaching assistants during classroom teaching experiences on a university based ITT programme in south London, has revealed that perceptions apply to the wider teaching profession. The habitus, the values of the field, are dominant, and the recognition of the capital of trainee teachers is low; they have to negotiate a place within the field with the teaching assistants who, the study has revealed, do wield unexpected power. The strategy of the localized familiarization is employed by the trainees as a coping

mechanism but is limited because the habitus still influences the decision making of the trainee teacher. In comparison to other studies that used Bourdieu as a theoretical underpinning (Mann, 2012, Mansaray 2012), this one is different. It concerns the perceptions of the roles of trainee teachers and teaching assistants, and has realized not only the place of trainee teachers within the school habitus but the power that assistants have in relation to the trainees who are meant to be deploying them. The study also reveals where else power resides: with mentors and head teachers and ultimately with government. It is a study that has revealed an upward spiral of power.

5.6 Recommendations for practice

I have attempted to organize these recommendations starting from a policy level, university level then at school level:

- 1) Consider the issue of replicating pedagogy. My research study reveals that trainee teachers within the profession of teaching are prepared to acquiesce to existing practice they perceive as relevant to them being judged as successful. Being successful may come at the expense of professional autonomy. This is a call to government education ministers, teaching unions, parents and interest groups. The debate of whether accountability is not healthy for education (Ball, 2017 and Acquah 2013) or that teaching is potentially being de-professionalized, is discussed in this study; trainee teachers need to be fully cognizant of what lies ahead of them post-ITT. The current head of OfSTED, Amanda Spielman, a former banker, was criticized for taking the role owing to a lack of educational experience (Morgan, 2016). In a recent speech regarding the national curriculum she said:

'We will look at how schools are interpreting the national curriculum or using their academy freedoms to build new curricula of their own and what this means for children's school experience. We will look at what makes a really good curriculum...I do hope that many of you will be able to play a part in this review and share your experiences so that others can learn from your example. You are the experts and you understand these issues better than anyone. Everything we know is informed by the work that you do, and that's the way that it should be' (Spielman, 2017).

This reads as a ‘top-down’ approach, the language used is ‘*we will look*’ and ‘*I do hope that many of you*’ rather than a serious suggestion of a profession that is informed from the grass roots. I recommend that ITT gives serious consideration to debating the power that trainee teachers have in school and to question why their autonomy would be limited in the dominant habitus of the school and the reasons for this (see below). A trainee teacher should be critical of education and the teaching profession and be prepared to have their abilities, suggestions and desire for innovation for change be recognized and acted. In the same way, it should be the responsibility of mentors, head teachers and governing bodies to welcome new innovations and ideas from newer entrants and not be constrained by their perception of the habitus of the school or the habitus of the demands of accountability. Habitus can be changed; it can be ‘undone’.

- 2) ITT institutions should give consideration to ensuring they are educating trainee teachers to be critical of policy, pedagogy and the teaching profession. Of course, it may be a contradiction that throughout this study the term ‘trainee’ has been used. Chitty (2009) discussed the actual terminology between ITT and ITE:

‘... ‘education’ is all about transforming the mind so as to equip us for independent judgement and rational action; whereas ‘training’ should be directed towards practical skills for particular ends’ (p. 259).

This is a reminder to those involved in teacher training within universities that operate in the increasing QTS market that involves, among others, organisations such as: SCITTs, School Direct and Teach First to consider their uniqueness as institutions that promote thought and criticality. The literature review discussed government desire to gain influence and implement policy within the profession of teaching and the consequent reforms that followed. Trainee teachers need to reflect on their role in a school experience and as someone expected to manage deployment of another adult, to consider how they would be affected by it.

This is where teaching modules within professional practice (teacher training) that deal with the deployment of the teaching assistant by the trainee teacher would be affected. ITT staff should consider recognizing the empathy behind the deployment of an older, more experienced member of staff by a largely younger, inexperienced trainee teacher in a powerful social network. This may happen in time as the school experience progresses but time needs to be applied to creating an effective pedagogy (see recommendation 3), of which deployment is one factor. Put simply, children's learning needs to be prioritised because the trainee teacher is accountable for proving her impact on promoting children's progress and outcomes. Therefore, trainee teachers should view this as the legitimate ability to commence deployment as soon as the Induction process has been completed.

In light of recommendations 1 and 2 above, political will to bring change can come from several sources. A study of politics since 1976, the time of the Ruskin College speech, suggests political consensus in neo-liberal approaches to education from both Labour and Conservative parties. Ideologically, a new shift is required that seeks to end the dominance of the market in education and replace it with a more democratized and autonomous focus. That cannot happen in isolation. The role of the teaching unions is also an important factor. The NUT and ATL merged in September 2017 to become the National Education Union, the largest teachers' union in England (NEU, 2017). Their website contained this statement regarding its opposition to assessment tests:

“The Government envisages a future for primary education that continues to be dominated by high-stakes testing. The National Education Union believes that there are better ways of assessing children, and better ways of ensuring school accountability. We will work alongside parents and education professionals to stop the introduction of the Reception Baseline Assessment and Multiplication Table Check, and to replace the present broken system with one which will support schools to deliver the best education for every child.”

The conflict between government and this professional teaching union is clear and perhaps the more efficient and powerful union can exert pressure in the interests of its members. If a narrow focus on accountability through tests is

the issue, then, as the NEU suggests, reform can offer an alternative by implementing a different interpretation of learning and the curriculum that is driven by those who know; those who teach; and those who can critique education - the professional teachers. That can only be achieved if trainee teachers or students are mobilized in their thinking and their desire to effect change, which is where ITT institutions can play a role. If the habitus within the teaching profession is only an arbitrary expression of values and principles, then agency can effect change. Such change can radiate and influence those who are stakeholders in education: teachers, governors and importantly, parents. In a digitally savvy world, where social media is the platform for discussion groups, pressure groups (for example, mumsnet) and organized action, then it is possible for a mediation between government and its front line teachers. That change is, therefore, the restoring of teaching decisions and the freedom to exercise professional judgement. For the trainee teachers in my study, this would allow the habitus to welcome experimentation, freedom (to make mistakes) but to contribute innovation and reform.

- 3) Trainee teachers to be given a welcome when entering school experience led by a mentor. This is not to detract from the findings above which could infer this is maintaining the habitus of the school in which this induction is to take place. This is written on the assumption that, as the interview data did reveal, schools actively welcome trainees for their practice (It could be that teachers and schools also engage in a critical reflection of their habitus and the implications for teaching and learning). These stages are:

Reception – The teaching assistant would assist the trainee with her orientation or ‘bearings of herself in unfamiliar surroundings’ (The Penguin English Dictionary, 2002, p.621). This would be achieved on 2 levels. First the pragmatic matters including familiarity with the daily routine and procedure of the primary school and classroom: matters ranging from having a space to work; access to computer login and Wi-Fi; a name ID badge that is not simply ‘visitor’; how to pay for the staff room drinks and inclusion onto staff social events.

Obligation - The second level would be to make it apparent to the trainee that their presence, their input and their ideas concerning pedagogy are a welcome addition to the school's habitus. In other words, the trainee teacher will be able to recognize that her agency is not only welcomed but will have an impact into the school's whole community of learning (she is obliged to make a difference), and will result in her individualized learning journey and progress in her achieving a successful school experience outcome. The trainee teacher will realize that it is a two way process and that her learning will come from the school environment. This environment is to be regarded as one of experimentation, freedom and innovation as part of wider pedagogical practice, of which deployment of the teaching assistant is a part.

If the trainee teacher feels included, and this is shared with her, it will enable her to accept that she can deploy her teaching assistant without the feelings of apprehension. From the perspective of the teaching assistant, the mentor and the head teacher, this is going to be a slow process of change. It comes down to the concept of whether schools see themselves as compliant organizations to government policy, and how much they are prepared to alter practice. Schools would see the powerful habitus as one that needs reform, and one indication of this would be to welcome the trainee teacher's ability to make important pedagogical decisions in her practice.

Utilization – The trainee teachers revealed in their interviews how they utilized the skills and expertise of the teaching assistants in the deployment of them during classroom lessons. During the induction period, appropriate time needs to be given to an auditing and sharing of skills of the teaching assistant.

The main feature within this third aspect of the induction process of sharing skills, is pedagogy. The knowledge of the skills available to the trainee teacher from the teaching assistant is valuable but needs to fit

into a wider pedagogical understanding of how teaching and learning will be effected in the classroom. The trainee teacher is the lead practitioner and this means that she is imposing the pedagogy in the classroom.

I would recommend that the trainee is able to consider the role of a teaching assistant more closely; maybe reading the historical development of the teaching assistant; her changes in role from general assistant to pedagogical assistant, and what the latest research is calling for in terms of making a real difference to children's learning (Sharples, Webster and Blatchford, 2015). A conceptual shift in thinking is not only required from the trainee (for example, the frequent deployment of teaching assistants for group work) but to be shared with the teaching assistant. I could not find much in the data to suggest that the teaching assistant called for her role to be considered from a pedagogical perspective. In other words, teaching assistants are content to be deployed but are not considering, or even being critical, of the pedagogical reasons for their task allocation. An example of this could be in planning discussions or evidence that may be gathered as suggested by recommendation four of the Carter review (Carter, 2015).

In my research I have addressed the question of how trainee teachers perceive the practice of the deployment of teachers and I have put forward several recommendations. These are written to enable trainee teachers who need to experience the deployment of teaching assistants to become confident in their praxis in their classrooms; to be critical of policy; and to assert confidently the skills, ideas and innovations they have as fully recognized members of their chosen profession. I leave the research study with this claim: that the discourses and knowledge structures of educational studies have indeed shifted in response to the political and ideological position within the education landscape (Ball, 2006). Political parties have regarded university departments as places of 'dissent' (Chitty, 2014) where teaching methods are questionable. Currently, the professional wisdom favoured within schools (Whitty,

2014) has a preference for teacher training routes such as the School Direct and Teach First programmes. If professionalism, however you wish to define it, is to be found in these programmes or offered by academy chains, the warning for universities that offer ITT is clear: find your distinct voice and apply the rules of the market to promote your own research informed interests within teacher training and continue the contribution to developing England's teachers. This sentiment is echoed by Whitty (2014) who viewed the future of ITT within universities optimistically, providing institutions should view new found freedoms of promised government professionalism to further educational projects. For new trainee teachers entering ITT within universities, the future of their autonomy, during training or into their nascent careers, is not certain if universities, as places of critical thought and reflection, are not secured:

'There are concerns, therefore, that, as the government pursues its ambition for a school-led system, the pace of change could create teacher supply issues in the future if university-delivered training becomes unsustainable. It is vital that a greater level of stability is given to universities, and that their role within the wider ITT system is recognised and clearly defined within the government's strategy for teacher training' (Universities UK, 2014)

Within university-based ITT, the perceptions of trainee teachers should not be allowed to be one of resignation or compliance but to be channelled into pedagogy, practice and policy for confident change.

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APPENDIX A

Teachers' Standards (2012)

Teachers make the education of their pupils their first concern, and are accountable for achieving the highest possible standards in work and conduct. Teachers act with honesty and integrity; have strong subject knowledge, keep their knowledge and skills as teachers up-to-date and are self-critical; forge positive professional relationships; and work with parents in the best interests of their pupils.

Part One: Teaching. A teacher must:

1. Set high expectations which inspire, motivate and challenge pupils

- establish a safe and stimulating environment for pupils, rooted in mutual respect
- set goals that stretch and challenge pupils of all backgrounds, abilities and dispositions
- demonstrate consistently the positive attitudes, values and behaviour which are expected of pupils.

2. Promote good progress and outcomes by pupils

- be accountable for pupils' attainment, progress and outcomes
- be aware of pupils' capabilities and their prior knowledge, and plan teaching to build on these
- guide pupils to reflect on the progress they have made and their emerging needs
- demonstrate knowledge and understanding of how pupils learn and how this impacts on teaching
- encourage pupils to take a responsible and conscientious attitude to their own work and study.

3. Demonstrate good subject and curriculum knowledge

- have a secure knowledge of the relevant subject(s) and curriculum areas, foster and maintain pupils' interest in the subject, and address misunderstandings
- demonstrate a critical understanding of developments in the subject and curriculum areas, and promote the value of scholarship
- demonstrate an understanding of and take responsibility for promoting high standards of literacy, articulacy and the correct use of Standard English, whatever the teacher's specialist subject
- if teaching early reading, demonstrate a clear understanding of systematic synthetic phonics

if teaching early mathematics, demonstrate a clear understanding of appropriate teaching strategies.

4. Plan and teach well-structured lessons

- impart knowledge and develop understanding through effective use of lesson time
- promote a love of learning and children's intellectual curiosity
- set homework and plan other out-of-class activities to consolidate and extend the knowledge and understanding pupils have acquired
- reflect systematically on the effectiveness of lessons and approaches to teaching
- contribute to the design and provision of an engaging curriculum within the relevant subject area(s).

5. Adapt teaching to respond to the strengths and needs of all pupils

- know when and how to differentiate appropriately, using approaches which enable pupils to be taught effectively
- have a secure understanding of how a range of factors can inhibit pupils' ability to learn, and how best to overcome these
- demonstrate an awareness of the physical, social and intellectual development of children, and know how to adapt teaching to support pupils' education at different stages of development
- have a clear understanding of the needs of all pupils, including those with special educational needs; those of high ability; those with English as an additional language; those with disabilities; and be able to use and evaluate distinctive teaching approaches to engage and support them.

6. Make accurate and productive use of assessment

- know and understand how to assess the relevant subject and curriculum areas, including statutory assessment requirements
- make use of formative and summative assessment to secure pupils' progress
- use relevant data to monitor progress, set targets, and plan subsequent lessons
- give pupils regular feedback, both orally and through accurate marking, and encourage pupils to respond to the feedback.

7. Manage behaviour effectively to ensure a good and safe learning environment

- have clear rules and routines for behaviour in classrooms, and take responsibility for promoting good and courteous behaviour both in classrooms and around the school, in accordance with the school's behaviour policy
- have high expectations of behaviour, and establish a framework for discipline with a range of strategies, using praise, sanctions and rewards consistently and fairly
- manage classes effectively, using approaches which are appropriate to pupils' needs in order to involve and motivate them

- maintain good relationships with pupils, exercise appropriate authority, and act decisively when necessary.

8. Fulfil wider professional responsibilities

- make a positive contribution to the wider life and ethos of the school
- develop effective professional relationships with colleagues, knowing how and when to draw on advice and specialist support
- deploy support staff effectively
- take responsibility for improving teaching through appropriate professional development, responding to advice and feedback from colleagues
- communicate effectively with parents with regard to pupils' achievements and well-being.

Part Two: Personal and professional conduct

A teacher is expected to demonstrate consistently high standards of personal and professional conduct. The following statements define the behaviour and attitudes which set the required standard for conduct throughout a teacher's career.

- Teachers uphold public trust in the profession and maintain high standards of ethics and behaviour, within and outside school, by:
 - treating pupils with dignity, building relationships rooted in mutual respect, and at all times observing proper boundaries appropriate to a teacher's professional position
 - having regard for the need to safeguard pupils' well-being, in accordance with statutory provisions
 - showing tolerance of and respect for the rights of others
 - not undermining fundamental British values, including democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect, and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs
 - ensuring that personal beliefs are not expressed in ways which exploit pupils' vulnerability or might lead them to break the law.
- Teachers must have proper and professional regard for the ethos, policies and practices of the school in which they teach, and maintain high standards in their own attendance and punctuality.
- Teachers must have an understanding of, and always act within, the statutory frameworks which set out their professional duties and responsibilities.



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APPENDIX B

Robert Morgan
School of Education
University of Greenwich
Avery Hill Campus
Mansion Site
Bexley Road
London
SE9 2PQ

Direct Line 020 8331 8842
Direct Fax 020 8331 8824
Email research_ethics@gre.ac.uk
Our Ref UREC/12.4.5.12
Date: 21st May 2013

Dear Robert,

University Research Ethics Committee – Minute 12.4.5.12

Title of Research:	How do trainee primary teachers manage the deployment of teaching assistants during their classroom teaching sessions?
---------------------------	--

I am pleased to confirm that the above application has been **approved** by the Committee and that you have permission to proceed.

I am advised by the Committee to remind you of the following points:

- You must notify the Committee immediately of any information received by you, or of which you become aware, which would cast doubt upon, or alter, any information contained in the original application, or a later amendment, submitted to the Committee and/or which would raise questions about the safety and/or continued conduct of the research;
- You must comply with the Data Protection Act 1998;
- You must refer proposed amendments to the protocol to the Committee for further review and obtain the Committee's approval thereto prior to implementation (except only in cases of emergency when the welfare of the subject is paramount).
- You are authorised to present this University of Greenwich Research Ethics Committee letter of approval to outside bodies in support of any application for further research clearance.

On behalf of the Committee may I wish you success in your project.

Yours sincerely



THE QUEEN'S
ANNIVERSARY PRIZES
FOR LIBRE AND FURTHER EDUCATION
2002

John Wallace
Secretary, University Research Ethics Committee

cc. Prof. Andrew Lambirth
Dr Jackie Farr

Maritime Greenwich Campus
Old Royal Naval College
Park Row
London
SE10 9LS
Telephone: +44 (0)20-8331 8000

APPENDIX C



UNIVERSITY
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Date:

Head of Primary Education,
Faculty of Education & Health
University of Greenwich,
SE9 2PQ.

Dear xxxxxxxx,

I am preparing to undertake some research as part of my doctorate at the University of Greenwich. The research explores the relationships between teaching assistants and trainee teachers (students) when they are sent to schools for their school experience. My research is supervised by Professor Andrew Lambirth (a.lambirth@gre.ac.uk) and Dr Jackie Farr (j.farr@gre.ac.uk) who can be contacted for additional information.

I am requesting permission to interview selected BA Year 3 students, five in number, attend schools to interview senior mentors/class teachers and teaching assistants. I shall be accessing various pieces of information such as link tutors' reports, students' final school experience reports and questionnaires completed by teaching assistants and students.

I can categorically assure you that all answers and respondents will be treated as highly confidential and the information will be securely kept on a password protected computer within a locked office. The reason for this research will help me to consider redesigning university courses which deal with 'trainee primary teachers and the teaching assistant' and that it will hopefully produce manageable working relationships within the classroom.

Should there be any queries please do not hesitate to contact me on r.a.morgan@gre.ac.uk or 0208 331 9688.

Yours Sincerely,

Robert Morgan.

APPENDIX D



UNIVERSITY
of
GREENWICH

Date:

Dear Student,

My name is Robert Morgan and I am currently undertaking some research as part of my doctorate at the University of Greenwich, where I am a student. The research explores the relationships between teaching assistants and trainee teachers (students) when they are sent to schools on school experience. My research is supervised by Professor Andrew Lambirth (a.lambirth@gre.ac.uk) and Dr Jackie Farr (j.farr@gre.ac.uk) who can be contacted for additional information.

This letter should be read alongside the information sheet I have prepared for you and has been provided with this letter.

I have chosen to research your cohort, because you have recently undertaken a school experience and I am committed to working to ensure that trainee teachers have every opportunity to succeed. I am therefore asking you if you would like to assist me in my research by undertaking a short questionnaire, which should take no more than 30 minutes of your time.

I can categorically assure you that all answers and respondents will be treated as highly confidential and the information will be kept securely. What you may be asking is, 'What is the benefit in this for me?' I can say that your input will help me to consider redesigning university courses which deal with 'trainee primary teachers and the teaching assistant' and that it will hopefully produce manageable working relationships within the classroom.

I shall also be doing further work for this study with a small group from this cohort. This work will involve collecting interview data from your mentors/class teachers and link tutors and exploring some of the assessment documentation made about this group (please see information sheet). If you would be prepared to be part of this group, please write your name at the top of the questionnaire in the space provided. This will indicate to me that you are happy for me to contact you at University about further work on this study.

Should there be any queries please do not hesitate to contact me on r.a.morgan@gre.ac.uk or 0208 331 9688.

Yours Sincerely,

Robert Morgan.

APPENDIX E



UNIVERSITY
of
GREENWICH

June 26th 2013

Ms xxxxxxxxx,
xxxxxxx Primary School,
Bxxxxxxx xxxxxxxx,
Wxxxxxxx,
Dxx xxx.

Dear Ms xxxxxxxxx,

My name is Robert Morgan and I am currently undertaking some research as part of my doctorate at the University of Greenwich, where I am a student. The research explores the relationships between teaching assistants and trainee teachers (students) when they are sent to schools on school experience. My research is supervised by Professor Andrew Lambirth (a.lambirth@gre.ac.uk) and Dr Jackie Farr (j.farr@gre.ac.uk) who can be contacted for additional information.

I have chosen your school, Jasmine Dene Primary, because it is a partnership school with the university, committed to working to ensure that trainee teachers have every opportunity to succeed. I am therefore asking you please if you would like to assist me in my research by allowing me to visit your school and interview a teaching assistant who has had a working relationship with a recently hosted school experience student from the BA primary education programme. I anticipate that each interview will last no longer than 30 minutes. I appreciate that your staff are busy and time is important in your school.

I can categorically assure you that all answers and respondents will be treated as highly confidential and the information will be securely locked away. What you may be asking is, 'What is the benefit in this for me?' I can say that the input from your chosen staff will help me to consider redesigning university courses which deal with 'trainee primary teachers and the teaching assistant' and that it will hopefully produce manageable working relationships within the classroom.

Should there be any queries please do not hesitate to contact me on r.a.morgan@gre.ac.uk or 0208 331 9688.

Yours Sincerely,

Robert Morgan.

APPENDIX F



UNIVERSITY
of
GREENWICH

Date:

Dear Teaching Assistant/Senior Mentor,

My name is Robert Morgan and I am currently undertaking some research as part of my doctorate at the University of Greenwich, where I am a student. The research explores the relationships between teaching assistants and trainee teachers (students) when they are sent to schools on school experience. My research is supervised by Professor Andrew Lambirth (a.lambirth@gre.ac.uk) and Dr Jackie Farr (j.farr@gre.ac.uk) who can be contacted for additional information.

I have chosen your school, xxxxxx, because it is a partnership school with the university, committed to working to ensure that trainee teachers have every opportunity to succeed. I am therefore asking you if you would like to assist me in my research by undertaking a short questionnaire, which should take no more than 30 minutes of your time.

I can categorically assure you that all answers and respondents will be treated as highly confidential and the information will be securely locked away. What you may be asking is, 'What is the benefit in this for me?' I can say that your input will help me to consider redesigning university courses which deal with 'trainee primary teachers and the teaching assistant' and that it will hopefully produce manageable working relationships within the classroom.

Should there be any queries please do not hesitate to contact me on r.a.morgan@gre.ac.uk or 0208 331 9688.

Yours Sincerely,

Robert Morgan.

APPENDIX G



**UNIVERSITY
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PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

To be completed by the participant. If the participant is under 18, to be completed by the parent / guardian / person acting *in loco parentis*.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I have read the information sheet about this study • I have had an opportunity to ask questions and discuss this study • I have received satisfactory answers to all my questions • I have received enough information about this study • I understand that I am / the participant is free to withdraw from this study: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ At any time (until such date as this will no longer be possible, which I have been told) ○ Without giving a reason for withdrawing ○ (If I am / the participant is, or intends to become, a student at the University of Greenwich) without affecting my / the participant's future with the University ○ Without affecting any medical or nursing care I / the participant may be receiving. • I understand that the research data may be used for a further project in anonymous form, but I am able to opt out of this if I so wish, by ticking here. <input type="checkbox"/> • I understand that the research data may be looked at by the researcher and the researcher's supervisors • I agree to take part in this study 	
Signed (participant)	Date
Name in block letters	
Signed (parent / guardian / other) (if under 18)	Date
Name in block letters	
Signature of researcher	Date
This project is supervised by: Professor Andrew Lambirth and Dr Jackie Farr (contact details listed below)	
Researcher's contact details (including telephone number and e-mail address): Robert Morgan r.a.morgan@gre.ac.uk 0208 331 9688 University of Greenwich, Bexley Road, Eltham, LONDON, SE9 2PQ A.Lambirth@gre.ac.uk 0208 331 9519 J.Farr@gre.ac.uk 0208 331 9221	

APPENDIX H

How do trainee primary school teachers manage the deployment of teaching assistants during their classroom teaching sessions?

RDA Number: RDC/12/A-4/5.3

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS – Students (Primary Trainee Teachers)

You are being invited to be involved in this research study, the title of which is written above. Before you decide whether you want to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what your participation will involve. Please take the time to read the following information carefully. Please do contact me if anything is unclear or if you would like further information. Please take the time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

Thank you for reading this.

What is the purpose of the study?

This study aims to explore the experience and perceptions of trainee primary teachers as they establish and develop professional relationships with teaching assistants and to examine the formation of a ‘teaching identity’ during this process.

Why have I been chosen?

You are being invited to take part in this study because you have all undertaken three school experiences, the third one most recently. Therefore you are in a knowledgeable position about your experiences working with a teaching assistant.

What will participation involve?

I shall be asking you to fill in a questionnaire, from which I shall select five students to be interviewed in a room on the university campus. If you would be prepared to be part of the interview sample you should write your name at the top of the questionnaire. The interview will be based around a semi structured interview pattern and will take approximately 45 minutes. It is intended as an opportunity for you to express your views on the relationships between trainee primary teachers and teaching assistants. The interview will be conducted by another colleague from the university and be audio (digitally) recorded, and later transcribed into text form. Recordings of interviews will be deleted upon transcription. You would be very welcome to a copy of the final report.

As part of the presentation of results, your own words may be used in text form. This will be anonymised, so that you cannot be identified from what you said. All of the research data will be stored as hard copy at University of Greenwich, in a secure password protected computer within a locked office for 1 year. I shall also be asking to access your weekly evaluations and the link tutors’ observations of observed teaching sessions.

Please note that:

- You can decide to stop the interview at any point
- You need not answer questions that you do not wish to
- Your name will be removed from the information and anonymised. It should not be possible to identify anyone from my reports on this study.
- **Your participation will not affect the outcome of your recent School Experience.**
- **If you do choose to be part of the interview sample I shall also be drawing on your mentor and link tutor reports as part of my data on students working alongside teaching assistants**

It is up to you to decide whether to take part or not. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw any time up until 31st August 2013 and without giving a reason. If you withdraw from the study, all data will be withdrawn and deleted. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form.

If you have any questions about this study please contact:

Supervisor's name: Andrew Lambirth

Department address: University of Greenwich, Bexley Road, Eltham, LONDON, SE9 2PQ

Email: A.lambirth@gre.ac.uk

Phone: 0208 331 9519

Supervisor's name: Jackie Farr

Department address: University of Greenwich, Bexley Road, Eltham, LONDON, SE9 2PQ

Email: J.farr@gre.ac.uk

Phone: 0208 331 9221

Contact for further information

Robert Morgan

Department address: University of Greenwich, Bexley Road, Eltham, LONDON, SE9 2PQ

Email: r.a.morgan@gre.ac.uk

Phone: 0208 331 9688

Thank you

APPENDIX I



**UNIVERSITY
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GREENWICH**

How do trainee primary school teachers manage the deployment of teaching assistants during their classroom teaching sessions?

RDA Number: RDC/12/A-4/5.3

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS – Teaching Assistants and Senior Mentors

You are being invited to be involved in this research study, the title of which is written above. Before you decide whether you want to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what your participation will involve. Please take the time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with other members of staff from your school if you wish. Please do contact me if anything is unclear or if you would like further information. Please take the time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

Thank you for reading this.

What is the purpose of the study?

This study aims to explore the experience and perceptions of trainee primary teachers as they establish and develop professional relationships with teaching assistants and to examine the formation of a ‘teaching identity’ during this process.

Why have I been chosen?

You are being invited to take part in this study because partnership schools are in a good position to offer insight into this area. Partnership schools host all trainee primary school teachers from the University of Greenwich.

What will participation involve?

I shall be asking to interview you in the school and fill in a questionnaire. The interview will be based around a semi structured interview pattern and will take approximately 30 minutes. It is intended as an opportunity for you to express your views on the relationships between trainee primary teachers and teaching assistants. The interview will be audio (digitally) recorded, and later transcribed into text form. You would be very welcome to a copy of the final report.

As part of the presentation of results, your own words may be used in text form. This will be anonymised, so that you cannot be identified from what you said. All of the research data, in hard copy and electronic form, will be stored at University of Greenwich, in a secure password protected computer within a locked office for 1 year. After the data has been analysed the recordings of interviews will be deleted upon transcription and the hard copy of data will be shredded.

Please note that:

- You can decide to stop the interview at any point
- You need not answer questions that you do not wish to
- Your name will be removed from the information and anonymised. It should not be possible to identify anyone from my reports on this study.

It is up to you to decide whether to take part or not. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw during the interview or any time up until 31st August 2013 and without giving a reason. If you withdraw from the study, all data will be withdrawn and deleted.

If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form.

If you do have any questions about this study please contact:

Supervisor's name: Andrew Lambirth

Department address: University of Greenwich, Bexley Road, Eltham, LONDON, SE9 2PQ

Email: A.lambirth@gre.ac.uk

Phone: 0208 331 9519

Supervisor's name: Jackie Farr

Department address: University of Greenwich, Bexley Road, Eltham, LONDON, SE9 2PQ

Email: J.farr@gre.ac.uk

Phone: 0208 331 9221

Contact for further information

Robert Morgan

Department address: University of Greenwich, Bexley Road, Eltham, LONDON, SE9 2PQ

Email: r.a.morgan@gre.ac.uk

Phone: 0208 331 9688

Thank you

APPENDIX J

Questionnaire to Students (1)

If you are happy to be interviewed after this questionnaire please give your name so I can contact you. You do not have to give your name.

Name _____

1.	Are you? (Please tick) Female <input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/>																								
2.	Which age group are you? (Please tick) <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse; margin-left: 20px;"> <tr><td style="width: 50px;">18 - 24</td><td style="width: 50px;"></td></tr> <tr><td>25 - 34</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>35 - 44</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>45 - 54</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>55+</td><td></td></tr> </table>	18 - 24		25 - 34		35 - 44		45 - 54		55+															
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4	If you have a disability please indicate by ticking one below <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse; margin-left: 20px;"> <tr> <td style="width: 33%;">No disability</td> <td style="width: 33%;">Wheelchair user/mobility difficulty</td> <td style="width: 33%;">Two or more disabilities</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Dyslexia</td> <td>Autistic Spectrum Disorder/Asperger's Syndrome</td> <td>Disability not listed</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Blind/partially sighted</td> <td>Mental health difficulty</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Deaf/hearing impairment</td> <td>Unseen difficulty (e.g. epilepsy)</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	No disability	Wheelchair user/mobility difficulty	Two or more disabilities	Dyslexia	Autistic Spectrum Disorder/Asperger's Syndrome	Disability not listed	Blind/partially sighted	Mental health difficulty		Deaf/hearing impairment	Unseen difficulty (e.g. epilepsy)													
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5	<p>What was your previous job before being a student? (Please state)</p> <p>Were you a TA?</p>
6	<p>IF you were a TA did you work with a student who was doing their school experience? (Please tick)</p> <p>Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>If Yes, Do you have any qualifications that are directly related to being a Teaching Assistant e.g. 'NVQ Level 2 Teaching Assistant' (Please state)</p>

Questionnaire to Students (2)

7.	<p>What were your thoughts on being allocated a school for your school experience?</p>
8	<p>As a trainee teacher why do you think you should be working with a teaching assistant in the classroom?</p>
9	<p>Do you think that as a primary trainee teacher you should be deploying a teaching assistant during your school experience period?</p>
10.	<p>What were your experiences deploying a teaching assistant during a school experience period?</p> <p>Please give any examples of either positive or negative experiences (as relevant)</p>
11.	<p>What do you think makes a good relationship with a teaching assistant?</p>
12.	<p>What do you think makes a poor relationship with a teaching assistant?</p>
13.	<p>From your experience, what qualities do you look for in a teaching assistant?</p>
14.	<p>From your experience, what makes you aware that working with a teaching assistant is not going well during a school experience?</p>

APPENDIX K

Questions asked to the trainee teachers	Themes I generated from the questionnaires	Code assigned to the themes
As a trainee teacher, why do you think you should be working with a teaching assistant in the classroom?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • experience that could be learnt from the TA by the trainee • preparation for the NQT year or the realistic nature of working in the primary classroom, • need to appreciate team-work • impact on children’s learning 	<p style="text-align: center;">A</p> <p style="text-align: center;">A</p> <p style="text-align: center;">B</p> <p style="text-align: center;">C</p>
What do you think makes a good relationship with a TA?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Respect • Understanding • Team-work • Communication • Sense of humour • Equality • Building a relationship 	<p style="text-align: center;">B</p> <p style="text-align: center;">B</p> <p style="text-align: center;">B</p> <p style="text-align: center;">B</p> <p style="text-align: center;">B</p> <p style="text-align: center;">B</p> <p style="text-align: center;">B</p>
What were your experiences deploying a TA during a school experience period?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • construction of a positive relationship • relying on the expertise of the TA • negative experiences • TA willingly offering assistance • instances of co-operation 	<p style="text-align: center;">B</p> <p style="text-align: center;">A</p> <p style="text-align: center;">A</p> <p style="text-align: center;">B</p> <p style="text-align: center;">B</p>
What makes you aware that working with a TA is not going well during a school experience?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • perceived breakdown of the relationship • lack of communication • being unresponsive and similar undesired behaviour 	<p style="text-align: center;">B</p> <p style="text-align: center;">B</p> <p style="text-align: center;">B</p>
From your experiences what qualities do you look for in a TA?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘open’ and the quality of bringing ‘ideas’ to the relationship • recognize the importance of children 	<p style="text-align: center;">A</p> <p style="text-align: center;">C</p>

APPENDIX L

Theme	No. of Sources
Trainee teachers creating a working relationship with the teaching assistant	9
Hierarchy	6
Teaching assistant accepting the trainee teacher	7
Deploying (directing) a teaching assistant	8
Identity as a trainee teacher	9
Trainee teachers' lack of experience	7
Trainee teachers having work-based experience	7
Who is a teaching assistant?	9
Teaching assistants maturity	7
Understanding the role of a teaching assistant	7
Trainee teachers having previous experience as a teaching assistant	6
How teaching assistants are managed in school	8
Recommendation for teaching assistants to be involved in ITE	6
The desire for friendship	4
The breaking of the relationship between trainee teacher and teaching assistant	3
Recommendation to improve the ITE course	4
Utilizing teaching assistants' knowledge	2
Teaching assistants not co-operating with trainee teachers	3
Teaching assistants being unsure of the trainee teacher	3
The need for a balance within the relationship	2
Trainee teachers and teaching assistants not getting on	1
Recommendation for a trainee teacher to acquire experience working as a teaching assistant	2
The personalities of both parties	2
Lack of time for a trainee teacher to liaise with a teaching assistant	2
Lack of freedom within a classroom for a trainee teacher	1
Feeling of trainee teachers being judged by teaching assistants	1

APPENDIX M

Emerging theme	No. of Sources	No of References	Code assigned
Qualities looked for in a trainee teacher	5	8	A
Hierarchy	4	8	B
Why schools host trainee teachers	5	7	C
Teacher's view of trainee teachers relationships with TA	5	7	D
How schools can improve ITE	5	7	E
TAs' view of being deployed by trainee teacher	4	7	F
Age	5	6	G
Deployment issues	3	6	H
TAs' view of judging trainee teacher	5	5	I
Balance	3	5	J
Strength of trainee teachers with TAs	3	4	K
Trainee teacher assisted to deploy TA effectively	4	4	L
TAs' view on receiving a trainee teacher	4	4	M
Trainee teachers affecting the relationship with TAs	3	4	N
Teachers' view of relationship with trainee teacher and themselves	3	3	O
Difference in relationship with TA or teacher	3	3	P
Teacher having to still manage the TA during school experience	3	3	Q
TAs' view of trainee teachers' relationships	3	3	R
Friendship	3	3	S
Human quality within the relationship	2	2	T
TAs' view of the relationship in the absence of the teacher	2	2	U
Benefit of having a student	2	2	V

APPENDIX N

Interview 1

XXXXX (Student)

May 28th 2013 at 2:15 pm in H142 A14 (45:18)

RM – Do you have any observations to make about a teaching assistant's working relationship with you, the trainee teacher, whilst in class?

K – I think it is it's, it's... a changing observation that I see I think at first teaching assistants can be quite wary of a trainee teacher and because I think teaching assistants are well aware that trainee teachers are there to fulfil the role of a teacher and their practising therefore the teacher will be given them the trainee teacher will be giving them instructions. So I think it's it's, it's quite a delicate relationship to begin with and I think from my experience teaching assistants I've worked with have taken a kind of a back step just to kind of to get to know the way that trainee teacher works and I think certainly in my experience they have given me kind of advice about how things have normally been done or suggested ways to do things and I think that only happens once in a relationship starts to develop between the training teacher and the teaching assistant and I also think that the relationship improves for me as the I totally understand it can go two ways in my experience the relationship improves as they get to know each other. Because I think for me being a teaching assistant, being a teaching assistant myself in the past and working with teaching assistants you get to know how each other work and you use that to your advantage. Yeah I think it's one that definitely to sum it up it's that one that starts quite delicately and it can go two ways, I think it can either get stronger the relationship between you or it can cause a rift in the classroom as well.

RM – Can I ask you to identify two specific strengths related to the way in which the trainee teacher, for example you, and the teaching assistant work together?

K – I think it's really great for me when the teaching assistant sees something that I haven't seen or vice versa, I see something that she hasn't seen and I think the fact that you've got two sets of eyes in the classroom is wonderful. They can see things from a different perspective they can see what the children have learnt from a different perspective, they can suggest ways that you can try things the next time. So I think that's certainly one strength and I also think another strength is the way the two separate roles interact with the children they obviously have different roles with children themselves but like in any relationship in in life you are always going to find children that you get better on with and like so is the teaching assistant and I think that is an added strength of having a teaching assistant in your classroom and working with the teaching assistant is the fact that you both have and hold different relationships with the children and therefore can get different things from those children and enhance their learning.

RM – And maybe two issues or areas of development which the trainee teacher and teaching assistant work together?

K – When you say 'development'?

RM – In their relationship or the one that they work?

K – Where the both parties would work is there anything that could be done that is better?

K – Communication. I definitely think communication could be better at times.

RM – But how, both parties are in the same classroom you share the same time?

K – As you know it's really difficult the school day is so busy you go from one thing to the next to the next to the next and I think lunch time can be difficult as well. If you've got a teaching assistant who leaves dead on twelve o'clock and does not return until one o'clock it's very hard as a trainee teacher to broach the subject and encroach their lunch time. So I've used communication books which haven't gone well for me, the idea's not really gone down well at all, and that's one example of improving the relationship between, well developing communication, and another example for developing the relationship...this is a kind of not a ...I can't answer at all but for me it's getting to know that person personally it's getting to learn a little bit about that person and it's not it's a working relationship and it always will be a working relationship but it's more than that. It's about taking an interest in that person and not just having them there to do a job.

RM – What do you consider is meant by the phrase in Teaching Standard 8 'deploy support staff effectively'?

K – I don't really like the word deploy. It just makes me feel a bit a bit funny as a teaching assistant expecting a trainee teacher to deploy staff but it's generally my interpretation of it is that if you see you're having a group who could do with some kind of quite tense input into a specific area of learning you can say 'Oh great my teaching assistant will be fantastic at doing that' I'm going to ask her if she wouldn't mind working with them on this specific area, this is what I want them to achieve by the end of it, 'Do you think you could help them?' . For me that's deploying the staff for me that's saying 'Oh I've got a display that I kind of I've got this idea in this idea, 'Do you think you could help me with it after school tonight before you go and leave?' that is deploying the staff. It's not necessarily telling them 'You will go and do this' It's asking them 'This is my suggestion, what do you think of it, can we find a way to work together with it?'

RM – It's just that phrase comes from the Teachers Standards 2012 from the DfE it's there, that the phraseology.

K – I just don't really like deploying people, I don't think you should, you know, I don't know why but I don't think you should deploy people

RM – What do you suggest?

K – 'Engage with support staff effectively'.

RM – Do you think the word 'deploy' has a certain meaning or connotation?

K – Yes it's a bit regimental for me and I don't ever, I wouldn't want ever a relationship that that was as close as myself as a training teacher or as a teacher and then teaching assistant in my classroom to be regimental just like I wouldn't want my classroom to be regimental.

RM – What would you say teacher training institutions, for example the University of Greenwich, could do to prepare trainee teachers to work effectively with teaching assistants?

K – In an ideal world I think it would be wonderful if on an EPS session we had a few teaching assistants then it would be really difficult because teaching assistants are normally those people in my experience in life who haven't really got the confidence. They make wonderful teachers but they haven't got the confidence in themselves to go that far but if they would come into a session and maybe have like a quick kind of question and answer format and explain kind of give some examples of really good

relationships they've got with their teachers and some really bad relationships and what would be helpful for them when trainee teachers come in and discuss those issues and encourage it from a different perspective. It's great being taught about the role of a teaching assistant but in all due respect it's a lecturer who's teaching us, it's not a teaching assistant giving us their view on it and I find it difficult to draw upon, you're not really getting an awful lot of chance in school, when you're a training teacher you don't get those valuable moments to have those kind of conversations and interactions because there's so much to do.

RM – You were a TA, you obviously whilst you had confidence...

K – I am, I'm, may be it was confidence. I just I wanted to have more of an impact on what I was as a teaching assistant. You have you obviously have an impact and no matter how good your relationship is with that teacher it mean it's not you're not kind of responsible for that class. You might be responsible for parts of that class but you haven't got overall responsibility. I wanted that I wanted to help. I wanted to make my own mark on it but for example Robert I know two of our teaching assistants in XX XXXXXXXX have degrees and I'm not saying that that's so stereotypical, I'm (not) saying that teaching assistants shouldn't have degrees I'm not saying that at all but I'm saying they were far more intelligent than I ever was and ever will be and yet they chose because of their lifestyle and because they just didn't have that drive to that was the safety net and that just didn't suit me. Sorry that's not answering your question at all...

RM – No it is because it's interesting to know that where you talked earlier about deploying someone you might be thinking of maybe deploying people you just described?

K – Now XXXXXXXXX for example, she's a doctor! She's got a doctorate yet she's a teaching assistant I would hate to think, I'd never in a million years say 'oh I'm going to deploy you, you're going to do this!'

RM – Because?

K – Because I really respect just like I do with any other teaching assistant and that's why I don't deploy my staff who are in the classroom and they're not even my staff the staff that are in the classroom.

RM – So would you 'engage' with them?

K – Yes definitely for the children's benefit and for her benefit and for my benefit but I'd never deploy anyone, no. I might carry out the action deploying is defined as but I would never say to somebody I would never report back to somebody 'Oh I deployed you to go and do this this and this but you haven't done it!'

RM – Even though that is what is, what might be required of you in the job description?

K – Yes but there's ways you can get around that!

RM – Good that's good. What is your understanding of deploying staff effectively so

...

K – For me in my first I'm in a fortunate position in that I know my TA for September but it would be the first of all my understanding of that... when you say 'understanding' can I give you my interpretation of it and how I would take that and make sure that I met it accordingly? First of all I would form a, I'd get to know my teaching assistant. I'd work quite hard just like with the parents just like with the children at developing a relationship with that teaching assistant. That doesn't mean that it is a social relationship where we go out for drinks every night it's a working relationship and it means that, yes I am responsible for the children and the teaching

assistants in my class but I work with them to work out together I'd listen to them and they'd listen to me and together, you hopefully come to some an agreed idea of how they can be best used effectively and how I can be best used effectively and if I don't agree then I will say 'no' that it's me who gets the last say in it as the teacher and I know there will be times and I don't really like confrontation but there will be there times where I will have to say actually 'no I'm going, I'm going not to do this time I'm going to try this one out, or I'm going to try something else out'. And hopefully the time that I would have spent developing the relationship with that individual they'd understand and there wouldn't be any confrontation there, it would be 'Yeah great try it.'

RM – When you were in the classroom during school experience 3, when you were that practitioner, what perceptions did you have of yourself as that person, how did you see yourself in that room?

K – That's something I still struggle with... I saw, I did see myself as the teacher at times, but it tended to be when I was say, if I was having a decision and no, no I did see myself as the teacher but I was I was just quite aware that the teaching assistants in my class had much better knowledge of those children who they were looking after and yes they might not have had necessarily the pedagogical understanding that I may have gained from university and from my studies but that came through my planning and my reasoning for doing things whereas being knowledge of the children made me feel like...we weren't on separate levels at all I'd say we were on a level together and the planning was my planning it was it was what more updating kind of suggesting things but it was me who'd go away and say 'Right we're doing this this and this! but do you feel ok if or do you think its ok if we do x, y and z?' and there were two occasions and I remember them quite clearly because I didn't feel comfortable in going against what had been suggested but I did and it was fine because we had a relationship that I need to kind of do that but that was only toward the end.

RM – You said when you felt the teaching assistants knew more about the children than you do how did you that make you feel, how did you see yourself then?

K – Not on the same level as them because I could learn from them they weren't learning from me. I'd only known these children for 6 weeks but I'd known them from since maybe November or one or two days and then in January through until the end of March and I was always really conscious that they knew far more about these children than I would and yes I learnt a lot about these children but didn't I hadn't known them from the time that that the other staff in the classroom had and I think that's one thing I took from when I was a teaching assistant that when a supply teacher came in or when another teacher came into the classroom and presumed that they knew the children, they didn't and it doesn't work for me.

RM – Is there anything in your background, your previous employment history, for example, that you feel you have been able to draw on in order to deploy the teaching assistant to work with him or her or to engage with...

K – Yes I think a lot almost of kind of all my views about teaching assistants and how you work with them and how you kind of have an effective relationship with them has come from my own experience, the teaching assistant. I also think because I was a teaching assistant in a special needs school the relationship within that school was among the teaching staff was very different from the relationships that I've experienced in mainstream schools. But purely because there tends to be a higher ratios of teaching assistants to children and because there's not so many children and you do

work with children on a one-to-one on a more kind of basis so you know those children exceptionally well because you spend all your time with those children as opposed to thirty children...so that's probably where my kind of belief that the teaching assistant does know an awful lot more about the children or somebody who's just visiting and a guest in that classroom does. Yes and I also had some teachers that treated me like rubbish and I've not only...it leaves you feeling devalued and actually as a teaching assistant you do an awful lot of work with the children so but both of those things contribute quite significantly to the way that I've my views about teaching assistants and perhaps change...

RM – So you think that you can use potentially deploy a teaching assistant a strategy a particular model or is it more...

K – When you say a model, what do you mean as in a model?

RM – Is there anything that you draw on from say EPS or do you use your prior experiences of when you were a TA?

K – I don't necessarily go back to my EPS readings and kind of say 'Right I can identify myself I'm doing this, this and this.' I probably draw upon reasons, approaches that the literature kind of advocates or it suggests but without realising actually that I think I think for me quite merrily if I'm being 100% honest it's from my experience more than anything...

RM – So your experience of being a TA?

K – Yes and an experience of working with different TAs and different areas and different schools yes.

RM – So when you said you were treated badly by some teachers, has made you think about wanting to engage more, taking maybe a softer approach than the harsher deployment?

K – Yes you've probably sussed it up summed it up there completely and that probably is yes and I'm quite sensitive anyway so I wouldn't necessarily speak to anyone in a kind of brusque type ...

RM – What is your knowledge of how a teaching assistant is managed in school?

K- Managed by the teacher or managed by SLT or ...?

RM – SLT for example.

K – Quite a few experiences. I've seen how some TAs can get away with doing the bare minimum, some TAs are really appreciated and they're treated as an equal, just as a teaching staff they're invited into meetings, progress review meetings do not happen if the TAs are not there just exactly the same with they would happen if the teacher is not there because their opinion is just as valuable as the teachers' input...

RM – They're line managed by the SLT? As opposed to by the teacher?

K – You see I find that quite difficult because SLT in quite a lot of schools don't... I've been in don't necessarily have a huge part to do with the dynamics of a classroom or the way that a classroom works. And SLT require ...depend on what the teacher says in order to gauge how well that the teaching assistant did it. So it doesn't contradict itself but for me yes SLT are definitely responsible for the TA, well the SENCO is mostly responsible for TAS aren't they?

RM – Sometimes.

K – But I also feel that...the TA and myself as a TA speaking as well in the past, feel more responsible or answerable to that teacher because I've had more to do with that teacher and because that TA had more to do with me as a teacher.

RM – Do you know how somebody would become a teaching assistant and how would a somebody get that job, what is the process, do you know what is involved?

K – I found it really, really hard to get a job as a teaching assistant...because a lot of the time schools would have a vacancy and a parent or somebody who's connected to the school in that way would find out about it or the school see a parent who's taking an active part in class trips and they're always there and invite to interview for this job and so for me I would if somebody said to me 'How would you recommend I become a TA?' I would say like It's it's if somehow you can get into the school and start doing some voluntary work or if you have children that go to the school ask in the school. Once you've got links to the school you've got a much better you've got a foot in the door so to speak. Whereas as in the outside kind of just popping in the CV, that's much more difficult to gain an interview let alone be accepted for the post. So I would say, yes...

RM – What professional qualifications might you need?

K – Yes, NVQ level 3, in Childcare preferably for primary school years and that's having friends that have got that TAs that are quite a bit older kind of my age they will if they haven't got a NVQ level 3 when they applied they'll have to train on the job to get the qualification an additional kind of role. But yes that's the and I know there's a specific teaching assistant qualification they can get as well but I don't know anyone who's gone through that avenue it's just a kind of a generic NVQ level 3.

RM – So in your experience the school are more likely to approach the person that will become a TA rather than somebody coming from a more professional based route applying to a school?

K – Yes and that's speaking from experience as well. I, things like the school in which I was doing some voluntary work at and the other schools that I applied for and there was like a good dozen I didn't hear anything back from...and what I did hear back from because I got interviews at four of them but it was somebody who a) had more experience than I did. They didn't specify the experience but that could have been your parent but I think that's stands you in good stead as well if you've got skills and experience of working with children that's going to kind of get you in there. And also somebody who's kind of just come out...

RM – What is your perception of who a teaching assistant would be, what sort of person would you think..?

K – What type? A variety of people. People who care about children, people who've got a passion for children's learning. But there's, no for me, there's no it's like who would be a teacher? Yes you have to have a passion for teaching, you have you have a passion for working with children but I think as long as you've got those then you can become a TA. Whether you're an effective TA is a different matter. For me an effective TA would need to be somebody who put the children first before their own kind of need within the classroom, who was quite understanding, who has a sense of humour that's something huge for me, especially working with children, you a sense of humour...definitely...builds relationships and it just makes the environment a much happier place to be I think that's really important.

RM – So assuming that a teaching assistant has these attributes you just described how might that impact on your relationship with them?

K – If they did or if they didn't?

RM – Well let's go for if they did.

K – Brilliant, perfect that's like an excellent situation you've got there. If they didn't then that's unfortunate you have to deal with what you've got but hopefully you can, you...you'd work out what it is that TA is good at, and you'd home in on that and you get them to do that.

RM – So you deal with what you've got that will make it easier to deploy or to engage, that sort of softly approach?

K – You would, I think it would certainly make it easier to engage. It's like, for example, you've got, OK you've got a, I don't know you've got a project that you want a group of children to get involved with and you know that these children absolutely love cars. You're going to use that knowledge and kind of involve cars in this project just like if I knew that my TA was brilliant at putting displays up, I love putting displays up, but there's a thousand and one other things that I could be doing I know that to deploy her effectively or him effectively, I'm using that word 'deploy', if I'm to get the best out of that TA and keep them happy and get work done that I need done doing sorry, I'm I home in on their qualities and their skills and I'd use them to my advantage but I don't exploit that I don't turn around and say... I do it in a roundabout way I try to do it in a roundabout way I will just say 'You go and do this, you go and do that and you go and do this.'

RM – Find out about their skills? (Yes). Is there anything else you would like to share with me concerning the trainee teacher and teaching assistants?

K – I actually think going into and this is just from me probably because of I've had experience of being a TA, I find the relationship with a TA just as important as the relationship with the teaching assistant but it's a bit more, it leaves me feeling a bit more on edge. It leaves me because in my experience I've spent a lot more time as a trainee teacher with the TA because the TA is effectively there all the time that you're there. The teaching the teacher may pop and out may go and do different bits and pieces while you're in the classroom your own the teaching assistant is there obviously...so I wouldn't, worry is not the word I'm just cautious of that relationship with them and I go in with the mind-set that I have for almost not the first one that's a bit naïve then but certainly the second two and like enrichment placement which wasn't a school but there was certainly a manger and teaching assistants and if you put those in the same context as classroom you'd have a teacher and teaching assistants...those relationships are the ones that I, not struggle but not fear but I'm just definitely more cautious of them.

RM – Because?

K – Because I also think I'm...I'm going to sound like I'm contradicting myself here I'm not at all. The teacher has been through what you're going through, the teacher has been in the same position as you because they've had to be a trainee teacher at some point whether that was twenty years ago, two years ago. They know what it feels like to be that trainee teacher. They know that you're there's a thousand and one things to do and you're going to make mistakes but they're there to guide you. And SLT has given them that role and they're effectively there to help you. Teaching Assistants haven't had that kind of given to them, they haven't, nobody has said to them 'You've got to kind of look after this trainee teacher!' You're there...and expected to tell them not what to do but yes you're expected to tell them what to do. You wouldn't really turn around to the teacher and say what to do but you well I have in the past but that's only once I included the teacher there and gone through the plans with her...and I think because you do have that responsibility you do kind of have that, I'm struggling for

words now I think it's a lack of sleep. I think...you do have that responsibility over the TA but you do differ from the relationship you have with the teacher.

RM – Do you have to tell the teaching assistant what to do?

K - It's your wording I don't like! It yes you do have to tell the teaching assistant what to do but my point I believe there's a huge difference.

RM – Do you ask the teaching assistant what to do?

K – Hmm no, no! You see that's different as well. It depends what context. It's really difficult, if I'm asking for an opinion on something if I said 'Oh XXXXX I've got this brilliant idea, what do you think of it?' They're not asking the teaching assistant 'What do you think I should do? How do you think I should take it further?'

RM – ...right now a change of plan...

K – That's telling the teacher teaching assistant what to do so yes I do I do tell the teaching assistant what to do. It's not a role that as a qualifying trainee teacher I feel overly confident in.

RM – Why?

K - A lack of experience...fear of upsetting them...without intending to...and...not developing a good enough relationship or an effective relationship that we can both work on in unison. I think yes I think. With the teacher that's very different that's not the relationship you have with the teacher and that's why I am... I wouldn't say I struggle with the teaching assistants at all but I tread delicately until I know where it is that I stand.

RM -...Upsetting the teaching assistant even though you're maybe polite...would it matter if he or she was upset?

K – At times it matters when the children are there it doesn't matter no because I've asked you to do something and I want you to be professional about it and get on with it because this is what we are here for the children.

RM – But when the children go to play or go out for example?

K – I would then broach the subject and I will hope that the TA would come to me and say 'Look, do you know what? I really wasn't happy with the way you said today!' or

RM – Even if you were polite?

K – Yes and you'd work around it. It would be awful if I had a teaching assistant in my class that ...

RM – Why would you feel that that person would be upset if you asked politely in an acceptable, professional words, for the benefit of the children, why do you think that he or she might be upset?

K – Because we are creatures of habit and I think you have to...in your classroom you have to respect that, that actually some people need a bit more time notice than just thirty seconds, some people need to be... need to know what's happening and that not always going to work and sometimes they're just going to have bite the bullet and get on with it. But I would never make that a common kind of...

RM – So are you breaking then that existing habit between teacher and teaching assistant, take the teacher out, you come in and it's the habit's been broken and you have a fear of of upsetting them. In other words why would you upset somebody if you're being professional and you're using words that are courteous and polite?

RM – Because you can still be polite and upset people. You can you're even it might be fine the way you've gone about it but your actions may make them feel like 'Well I've just spent ten minutes setting this up and you've now told me that I'm not going

to!' and that's that's really difficult that's really, really difficult because I know from my own experience you do all that and 'Oh! You're having a laugh!'

RM – But you're paid to do a job under the direction of a teacher?

K – I am and you do it and you do it professionally but in my experience... if a teacher can avoid that and I'm not saying Robert that there's going to be every single occasion that that's going to happen I'm not under any illusion but ... I just feel that there's this culture; the teacher's here and the teaching assistant's there and I don't like that! Cos I believe that they should be like that! You can't, I believe they should be equal (laughs) I'm sorry'! and I because I'm no better than they are and there no better than I am. We're together and make a great team. And I just...yes I don't...I struggle with that and maybe it's these questions that I struggle with because it's placing me in that position of ...and yes I know I have responsibility for the child and that does entail those staff as well in the class but I don't ever see them like that I don't ever I see them as an equal to me. You're going to disagree with me as well because I see the children as equals as well cos I learn from the children. Obviously I do not treat them the same as I would treat an adult.

RM – It comes down to this word that I'm circling all the way through your answers.

K – Bloody 'deploy'!

RM – Relationship.

K – Yes it is.

RM – You want to have a relationship

K – And that's not because I want to be liked and that's not because I want to to feel like I've got friends with in the classroom, I just feel that for a classroom to be an effective place relationships or partnerships or whatever you want to call them they need to be ...good. They need and for me that's what it all boils down to. If you have good relationships with your TA and you know your TA, you know, that maybe they've got a few autistic tendencies and they can't handle change last minute very well. So therefore you try your hardest not to make that change happen. If you've got a teaching assistant who couldn't care less about it and is a bit haphazard and you can go with it you can do that but you might find that works for them and hopefully in return they're mindful of what works for you in the sense that if they see that you're having a really bad day and you've got them to start changing the books or something or speak to parent about an issue they might just give you a gentle reminder like 'Oh if you sort of mention to that to that parent' brilliant that's teamwork but that's not going to happen if you don't develop that relationship.

RM – Ok, thank you.

APPENDIX O

Interview XXXXXXXX XXXX School

PC & JF

July 11th 3:25pm A10 (32:40)

RM – So why do you host trainee teachers here on a school experience?

PC – We think it's really important for us to keep up to date with what's happening in university so that we know what students are expected to so when we have them with our own teachers we know what is expected of them you know what they've been through. We like to have students because as well they bring fresh ideas to the school um they do benefit the school and it's, it's a good way of us working with the university.

RM – So when you know that you're going to have students, what qualities do you look for in a typical trainee when they come?

PC – Well initially they we like it that when they very willing to participate in things...they... I don't know it depends on what year group you've got whether you've got like initial students in their first years or whether it's their final year students. Obviously we look for different qualities depending on how long they've been in university...good standard of grammar and use of English...good general subject knowledge which obviously that is refined as they go through the placements...a willingness to join in with things. One thing we do find that is... (large pause for vacuuming from cleaner to finish) I can't think where I was now!

RM – You said were saying about their willingness to join in after they've been with us...

JF – and depending on the year group...

PC – Yes so if they're a first year student obviously you don't expect as much and if you've got a third or final year student but you expect a lot more from them expect them to come in using their initiative, we expect them to be a lot more willing to join in more in the wider life of school where as first years, we don't really expect as much, particularly as they come in pairs as well, we do try to ease them in gently obviously we do follow your protocol is and what the expectations you have but we've had that this year we've had first year students who've done really well, a lot more than some of the third year students.

RM – So when the student arrives in class and they begin a working relationship with your TA or any of your TAs, because obviously you being the over-seeing mentor, what are your observations about trainee teachers' working relationships with teaching assistants in general?

PC – I think they have ...I think they have a good relationship with the TAs. Sometimes they would go to the TAs more than myself for things. I don't know if they find it's more comfortable for them but I do find they don't ...they don't necessarily...

JF – Utilise...

PC - Yes they don't utilise the TAs as much as they possibly could. Sometimes I think they're a bit frightened to tell them what to do.

RM – That's a strong word 'frightened'

JF – Apprehensive maybe.

RM – So that negative feeling, why do you think that is?

PC – I don't know whether it's maybe because a lot of students come in are young and TAs in our school from my experience tend to be more motherly sort of people aren't they? So it's almost like they'd be telling their mothers what to do but we don't have any young TAs so I've not experienced...

JF – No.

RM – Would you say that's the same for female students than male students?

PC – From my experience I'd say that female students are better at telling TAs than male students I found it harder to get them to engage.

RM – Any reason why that might be?

JF – I don't know!

PC – The males student I've had appeared to be more confident when they started they seem to come in more confident whereas the female students seem to not hold back a bit like to take in their surroundings first and then get to grips with them so I don't know if that contributes to it at all.

RM – You haven't got any male TAs and there are very few male TAs in primary education in England generally so we can't kind of go there. Would you say the relationship between student and TA is the same or different to the relationship they have with you as a classroom teacher or mentor?

PC – No. I think um from my experience they tend to they tend to go to TAs for help with little things, everyday things but if they want more help with the teaching side of things then they would come to me. The TA is more does help with resources or getting things set up or if they need help with things being done (vacuuming drowns out speech)... where they would come to me if they needed some help with planning a lesson.

RM – Would you use that phrase being frightened of being apprehensive of in their relationship with you?

PC – No I don't think no, I wouldn't say that they were apprehensive I think sometimes they want to do the right thing so they obviously ...use teachers and TAs in a different way (vacuuming drowns out speech)...

RM – Do you think the teaching assistants within the school generally appreciate or welcome having students?

PC – Definitely, yes!

RM – Why do think that maybe? Because would I be right in saying that the teaching assistants don't have much say in this or do they?

PC – No I don't think they have much say I don't think...I don't think any of us have much say I think it's that's part of our school life is to welcome students and when we have new teachers I think it is taken as given but once they've been teaching for a few years then they will have a student. We don't give new teachers the first few years students... (I forgot the question sorry!)

RM – So I was talking about... you were saying that the students is likely to be frightened of or apprehensive... and I was saying what do you think that sort of negative feeling is the same when they ask you do things?

JF – No, No.

RM – and you would say 'No?' but what you're saying is that they tend to perceive you (JF) for non-teaching stuff... for pedagogy I'll go to you (PC) I want you do some cutting or whatever I'll go to you (JF) but they're frightened to ask you to do or...

JF – Yes that's not the right word, unsure, apprehensive...

PC – Maybe they're not sure what the role of the TA is for them maybe that's always not made clear. I mean they're always told that treat the TA if they were your TA.

RM – Who tells them that?

PC – I tell them! And the class teacher would tell them, so when they're planning a lesson...

RM- We tell them that!

JF - But they don't do it

PC – But they don't, no!

RM – So this is why I'm here. Why this is and what can we do about it? So I tell them at university blah, blah, blah! You say treat Mrs XXXXXX as if she's your own

PC – And quite often they'll put it in their plan but they won't do it!

JF – But they won't talk to us!

RM – So why is this?

JF – The last two students that I just had before you came in to observe them and going back a bit as well I've said to students 'When your tutor comes in he'll expect to see that you've involved me in something in the classroom' and I told them that and I said please let me know what I can do. And if they don't tell me what to do, I don't do anything because they haven't...you know and it may look bad but I think that should come from them so I actually take a back seat and years ago I did have one student I don't think she was at XXXXXXXXXX because she was a PGCE student she may have been at XXXXXXXXXX, do you remember Mrs XXXXXXXX? She's the only person I've worked with who knew, on a student basis sorry, who knew how to utilise a TA ... she had been a TA herself and she was very experienced so she knew...

RM – She would know because she's been part of the process...

JF – That's right.

RM - So students in general know how to deploy you, know that they should, you know that they should, you're saying that 'you're very welcome to' but they tend not to. Is it because you're saying... Well what do you think? You said you're going to be honest!

PC – I recently asked a student about why they hadn't utilised a TA as effectively as they could have done in a lesson and her answer was 'because I thought what she was doing at the time was more important than what I would have given her to do. 'and she'd just been sitting there waiting... she's sitting there grabbing some readers while she was waiting for the student to tell her what to do because she wanted to, you know, maximise her time but didn't want to push in on the student and that's what she said. She thought that what she was doing more important than what, what she could have given her.

JF – I think that they feel that I'm your TA I'm not there for them whatever you say I think there's sort of barrier and they're a little bit scared, you know, not frightened but a little bit apprehensive about asking the TA to do things.

RM – Why do you think that?

JF – Because they think I'm there to work with the teacher, not to work with them.

RM – But even though say the teacher were to withdraw, physically withdraw, say leaving the room as teachers do, so it's just you two, they still do not see that even though you've gone and you are now together, but you no longer belong to me, right!

PC – I don't know that's what I think yeah.

New TA – I think as well you know when all the TAs in this school...very we have all been here for a long time so we all nobody sit and waits to be told what to do so if

we're not told by the student we will be doing it anyway. And I think a lot of the time they look and see that we're doing and think 'Oh I can't ask them because they're doing something else' or they don't understand that we're doing it because we've not been told to do something else. You see what I mean? If we're not told by them there's ...always things to do... we're always be doing it anyway we won't be sitting there waiting for them to tell us what to do.

RM – Teaching assistants are obviously very busy ...

New TA – There's always something to do!

RM – A student might know for example, cutting right now maybe not be as important as working with orange group in something...do you think that the student actually knows this but to use your word is 'apprehensive' to say' Please would you do that later?'

New TA – yeah I think they don't like actually telling you what to do. I think the teacher will tell them what to do but I don't think they've actually... management skills they haven't got them yet to be able to tell us what we should be doing.

RM – Why do you think they haven't got that?

PC – Experience...

New TA - it's something that you learn over time don't you I don't think...and they come in and almost treat us like a friend they'll be quiet there and ask you things but they kind of ...won't actually tell you or put you on the plan they'll treat you more like a friend than a TA.

RM – They treat you like a friend.

New TA – Yes they do.

RM - I had an interview this morning, she said 'I need to have common ground with the TA and be their friend first then ask you what to do'

New TA – That's exactly how they think.

RM – Obviously professionalism there's no account of being friendly, as long as you're polite and professional, you would do what I would ask you to do. So why do you think they want this 'buffer zone' of being friendly?

PC – Perhaps it's just a friendly face

New TA – I think its confidence, the teacher is still in charge as such and we're not so I think they see us as an ally in the classroom.

JF – Yes I do as well.

RM – Is that because when they're teaching you're not actually talking about their teaching?

New TA- We're not observing them either are we but as a teacher they're observing them all the time we're not judging them, we're just there to help them so that's the friendly thing I think, that's how they see us a friend.

PC – Yes there's no barriers whereas with the teacher...

New TA – we're not judging them are we?

JF – No not at all

New TA - ...we're not assessing them or observing them, we're just there to do what they want so they do see you as a friend rather than someone they can tell what to do.

RM – But you said you're quite happy for them to tell you what to do

JF – Absolutely.

New TA – Yeah I rather that. But we won't wait that's what I'm saying we will be doing... because we always find something to do.

RM – And if a student were to say ‘Please don’t do that do something else’ would you do it?

New TA – Yeah that’s fine.

JF – Of course.

RM – Even if you thought well ...

New TA – No I would do it if they tell me to do it

PC – Because you never question it anyway do you?

JF – Within reason, it depends, yeah if they asked us to do something outrageous then yes.

RM – If it harms children...

RM – Do you think you actually judge the teaching performance of a trainee? Especially when the usual teacher has gone? Do you make judgements about their ability?

JF – Quietly but you wouldn’t say anything, no.

PC – I’ve had TAs say things to me in the past ‘Oh I don’t think that lesson went very well!’ but very quietly yes,

New TA – or if we were asked ...what’s happened when... we’ve been in there with them... and they’ve been asked then I would say yeah

RM – Supposing a student was not performing very well is not a very strong teacher but would you be confident in being deployed by that trainee teacher? Would you sort of step in a bit more?

New TA – I have stepped in if I if I think the behaviour’s been bad...

JF – Yes we do have to

New TA – Not took control but quieten them down, I have done that to be honest.

JF - Or if they haven’t got the right resources...

RM – So when for example, XXXXX leaves the room or any teacher leaves the room, what are emotions like, especially in the early days when the teacher says ‘I’ll just sit at the back or sit outside’ that early time when the trainee takes over, what are your emotions like?

New TA – We’re supportive of them aren’t you because you have got... you have built up a rapport with them so you are supportive

RM – Are you happy for them to sort of ‘break the bond’ between you and the current teacher?

JF – There’s no problems, yeah, no

RM – Are you thinking ‘Please let them be good! Please let them be good!’ Are you thinking what happens?

JF – Whatever, yeah go with the flow sort of thing.

New TA – You want it to go well for them though don’t you because you...

RM – So I’ll come back to you...if you were involved or could offer any advice to me at the University of XXXXXXXXXX in training of students to work with teaching assistants or adults what do you suggest that we could do back at the university?

New TA – I’d let them know what our role is.

JF – Pot washers!

New TA - I still think some of them I think that we are just there to wash up and hear a few readers and don’t actually realise things that we actually do...we are involved with teaching...

JF – Its evolved hasn’t it?

New TA - ...it used to be that... we are involved with the teachers tell us the plan ...what we have to do... I don't think they actually realise that.

JF – No. It might be worthwhile shadowing a TA for a day because my best training as a TA was to go to another school and shadow another TA for a day. It's very, very useful and they could actually see, you know, what they did.

RM – Would you welcome it if I were to say 'Please visit the University of XXXXXXXXXX and a teaching session' Would you be prepared to come and share your...you know hypothetically...If you were come to the university and take an active part in a teaching session where I'd say 'Here's Ms XXXXX, TA from School X, she's now going to tell you what her role is, what she does.' And you receive questions, would you be happy to do it?

New TA – I'd do it but I don't know if I'd be happy doing it but I'd do it if it helps...

JF – If it helps exactly, yeah.

RM – You talked also earlier about that they don't have management skills in order to deploy you, do you think that's a natural thing or do you think they should get management skills, do you think we should we teach them that?

PC – A lot of it's down to inexperience isn't it because you think some of them straight out of school particularly the first years. By the third year you do see a slight difference I think...

JF – The first year they may have never had to tell someone to do anything they've never had that opportunity so not had that experience or that the time to be actually tell someone what to do they may never have... done it...so to be the first person they have to tell, tell them what to do, the first person they've got to manage is someone who's a very experienced in their job already...

PC – And a lot older than them so I think the age could be a little bit of an issue possibly um and by the third year I mean I notice the difference having had first years this year and previously having had only third years, I think there is a slight difference they do improve slightly you know um...

RM – What's your experience of supporting your TA when the student is in the classroom?

PC – I find that the TA will often come to me and say 'Oh I thought they did that well or I think you might to need get them to do this again' so the TAs are quite open to come to me and I then I can obviously word things to the teacher in the way to help them move forward. I think because we have such good relationships with our TAs that if it ends up just being such a good partnership that the TAs, they do always come to us and because we're all here for the children we're all here for the best for the children that if things are not going so well we want to pick it up quickly and deal with things.

RM – So would you say then you don't have any real problems in supporting your TAs?

PC – Oh not all tall no, no, no

RM – So if I were to say to you what's your experience of supporting a student during this process...could you give me an example ... what's it generally like?

PC - I do find that I do have to repeat quite a bit about deploying a TA and also it's when they're doing their plan, it's they're not just saying 'sit with this group' because that's quite often what they'll do they'll think the TA is there just to sit with a group so they need to be taught exactly *how* a TA supports a group, what they're doing to move their learning forward and how important the role of the TA is.

PC – but they don't often do things like plan for the TA to work with IEP work things like that. It's all sit with this group sit on the carpet, they don't plan for the TA in the big picture of the classroom. And they never ask 'Oh do you think the TA should be doing the IEP work this afternoon?' Or usually on a Wednesday when I've watched you the TA has been doing intervention group now, Are you happy if I plan for them to do that', they wouldn't think anything else.

RM – Why do you think they say 'Oh work with the lower group' Why do you think this happens? Because we tell them not to do it obviously.

PC – But they usually do and I don't know why!

JF – You are right!

RM – Do you think easier to say 'Miss XXXXX work with...?'

PC – Sometimes I think it that it keeps that group quiet sort of

New TA – I think that group needs the more help...

PC – Rather than differentiating the task, to give them the task that they could work with independently so they can work with the higher group to challenge them... I've not often well I've not seen examples of that.

RM – Do you have an idea of why they don't ask you to do that?

JF – It comes down to experience again. Once you've worked as a TA and you know which children need differentiation or certain support, I mean, we would automatically do that you know as a TA you don't actually think about it you automatically do it so I think again that's again down to lack of inexperience (sic) on their part, particularly again with first years you know by the third year they're picking up bit and pieces aren't they because they've been in different schools and they've had that experience.

RM – I said we would go all around the questions! So you think that a trainee teacher is not comfortable in deploying you. They tend to put you with the lower group, they're a bit reticent or apprehensive to ask you do something probably because it's down to a lack of management skills- come straight from school and but that you're happy for them to tell you what to do, you're happy, you help them you welcome the students coming in and breaking the bond between teacher and TA.

JF – Yeah it's not a problem.

RM – How do you think the student sees themselves within the classroom? Do you think they have a comfortable presence or an identity within the school in the classroom, with you?

PC – I think they still see themselves as a student.

New TA – Yeah I think they find it difficult.

PC – Yes...to come in and take over someone else's class...

New TA – because they think it's your class and they're just working in your -the teacher's class... they don't see it as their class do they?

RM – So when it's their turn to teach on the carpet or whatever and then with you, you're saying they still don't see it as the student's class it's still this is Mrs XXXXXXX's class, even though she's maybe not even in the room. So who are they then just a student teacher borrowing a class?

JF – Yes.

RM - Are they just some student teacher that is just borrowing this class?

PC – I think that's what they see. That they're coming in to learn to be a teacher and we happen to be the people that are um being in that placement for these few weeks and then they'll go off and they'll go to someone else. They don't see themselves

coming in and being part of the class and being *the* class teacher for the six weeks that they're there.

RM – So who do you say that they are then? They're just a student who comes in...

PC – Well we treat them as if we treat them as if they were a teacher coming in. And the children don't know that they're a student, the children come in thinking that they're another teacher working with us.

New TA – I think the children actually like a student...because it's young and...different...I think they like a student.

PC – Fresh isn't it?

RM – Do you think the student feels part of because you say you're welcoming, here's my TA But they don't seem to feel that they're a teacher, they're a student who works with a TA

JF – Because it's still just a placement isn't it? You know I mean I've been on placements I went to XXXXXXXX, I'm just trying to think of my experiences there, and similar sort of thing, the TA was there, very experienced, knew exactly what to do. But what I do when I go to other places is I try to shadow the TA as much as possible and learn things from the TA so rather than sort of take over, I wasn't there to take over anyway, I think you're there to learn or to glean as much information as you can so...

RM – Is there anything else you would like to share with me about your views or suggestions or comments, criticism, anything?

PC – How much... I don't know how much students are taught in university about how to utilise a TA because it's very difficult when TAs in different schools are so different because the TAs in our school are so experienced. They do a lot of intervention groups they do a lot of support work with different children whereas in another school the TAs may just be there to sit and work one child or and in some schools they don't even have TAs do they all the time? So I think where it's, it's so different where the teacher is there to teach they know what the expectations are and they know that they're going to be a teacher so you teach the lots of things at university but do you teach them about the TA and all the different roles of the TA?

RM - Yes we have a unit in each year of EPS which is the teacher training bit which is called the Class-Based Team and working with adults... I think the students need to see themselves as 'I belong here, you've asked me to come, you've invited me, I'm here for eight weeks and I've got to tell you what to do.'

JF – 'cos the only students, as I've said before that have, in my experience, have deployed me as a TA have been mature students...only two that I sort of remember so.

APPENDIX P

Trainee teachers' perception of the habitus (values of the field) of the school experience placement (see section 4.4.5)

		Type of Trainee teacher		Issue
Name	Age range	Previous experience as a TA	Other experience of deployment	Perception of the habitus (values of the field) of the school experience placement
Trainee one	18-24	yes	no	<p><i>If you've got a teaching assistant who... leaves dead on twelve o'clock and does not return until one o'clock it's very hard as a trainee teacher to broach the subject and encroach their lunch time.</i></p> <p><i>I just feel that there's this culture; the teacher's here and the teaching assistant's there and I don't like that! Cos I believe that they should be like that! You can't, I believe they should be equal (laughs)</i></p>
Trainee six	18-24	no	yes	<p><i>...because I think sometimes it's quite easy to forget that they've got a way of doing things and I think...</i></p> <p><i>I was sort of a bit self-conscious about what they would think about how I would measure up to maybe the class teacher and how, if I was doing sort of the right thing as it were in the eyes of them and how it was working for the children so I think I was quite nervous as well</i></p>
Trainee seven	25-34	no	yes	<p><i>So it was consistency me maintaining what was already in place and what was working and something that they were familiar with so therefore they're comfortable doing that rather than changing things and making them feel uncomfortable.</i></p>
Trainee eight	18-24	no	no	<p><i>I felt like that I was disturbing the routine ...</i></p> <p><i>you've kind of like to got to prove yourself but you don't ever seem to have the time to prove yourself...prove yourself to the TA to show that you know what you're talking about and so that you kind of feel that they're judging you...</i></p>
Trainee eleven	45-54	no	no	<p><i>So but generally no, little things that you could change but if it was different things there was quite a lot of resistance from the teacher and the TA was like " I wouldn't do that if I was you"</i></p>

				<p><i>well the thing is you don't want to rock too many boats when you're on school experience you're only there for a short amount of time. And you want...you want to get the best out of it but you don't want to upset people</i></p>
Trainee twelve	45-54	no	yes	<p><i>if that's the school policy or procedure then you can't start trying to change that at the top level No as I said I mean I had the opportunity to make small changes to some of the practice...but different to these two that I had a full time TA in the classroom with me all the time. So I was able to work with them... get a TA to work with, so I think that for me that was the biggest change I could...[make]</i></p> <p><i>in an academy in [a Kent town] their TAs are deployed by the head teacher...so the head teacher identifies which groups within the class and they get them to do interventions so they don't do the day-to-day learning as a TA...I personally prefer the children and TA to be in the class environment.</i></p>
Trainee fourteen	18-24	no	no	<p><i>. So they're falling behind while she's probably cutting and laminating stuff outside which I thought was "Well I don't need that right now I need this"... because they had a system where it goes through the head teacher where everybody's going to be so I didn't think I could just step in and say "Well I need her here now".</i></p> <p><i>But as silly as it sounds you don't feel like the class teacher and when you're on placement and you have to run everything by your class teacher as well and say "Well I'm going to do this" it's almost like you don't have that kind of [power]</i></p>

APPENDIX Q

Trainee teachers' perceptions of replicating observed pedagogy (see section 4.4.6)

		Type of Trainee teacher		Issue
	Age	Previous experience as a TA	Other experience of deployment	Perception of replicating the pedagogy
Trainee one	18-24	yes	no	<i>If you have good relationships with your TA and you know your TA, you know...they can't handle change last minute very well. So therefore you try your hardest not to make that change happen.</i>
Trainee six	18-24	no	yes	<i>So I think while, while they're doing the jobs that are a little bit more "Here you go you just do that for me while I teach then I do the learning although you can listen to what I'm doing" I think as long as they feel included they do feel part of the community, I think that is really that is really important because they still feel then they belong and they have got a role to play within the community</i>
Trainee eleven	45-54	no	no	<i>- I think it comes from the earlier school experiences and the early part of school experience and seeing how the teacher deploys the TAs...mimicking that and using them for giving feedback</i> <i>well I just decided to sort of do the school experience sort of emulating the way the teacher did it and think well sort of 'make notes to myself if you like things you might do differently when you have your own class'. In some respects it be nice to have tried it out on school experience wouldn't it really?</i>
Trainee twelve	45-54	no	yes	<i>...didn't feel like that with my class teacher but I can imagine if you do, if that's the case "Well no, this is how we do it! This is how we always do it!" even if from the class teacher and the TA then you're probably more inclined to go with that so you don't rock the boat, as I said I'm guessing.</i>
Trainee thirteen	18-24	no	no	<i>And obviously I'd never been in the school before...never taught so I just assumed that's what the teacher was doing so I should be doing it</i>

APPENDIX R

Perceptions of capital recognised in the teaching assistant (see section 4.4.7)

		Type of Trainee teacher		Issue
Name	Age range	Previous experience as a TA	Other experience of deployment	Perceptions of capital recognised in the teaching assistant
Trainee one	18-24	yes	no	<i>...but I was I was just quite aware that the teaching assistants in my class had much better knowledge of those children who they were looking after and yes they might not have had necessarily the pedagogical understanding that I may have gained from university and from my studies but that came through my planning and my reasoning for doing things</i>
Trainee two	18-24	yes	no	<i>If you've been in a certain school for a long time like the two TAs I've worked with this year they've both been in the school at least ten years, I think one of them has been there for fifteen years or something ...so they have seen the history of the school change you know from going from special measures to being a really good school. They've known every kid that has walked through the door for the past fifteen years and clearly that just it makes them better at their job because they've experienced more.</i>
Trainee three	45-54	yes	yes	<i>...initially they were sort of like, you know, the fonts of all this knowledge and I really relied upon them for the just for the routine of you know the day and the children and just...information that you collate over years and it's never actually written down anywhere but it's up there so that was really, really helpful</i>
Trainee eight	18-24	no	yes	<i>We co-taught um if there was an area where she was good or had like expertise in something my year two placement she had a degree in maths or had worked in maths so I called on her quite a lot to do things or create come up with ideas because she was working mainly with the lowers and she come up with different ideas of how to try and get it across to the lowers because especially she knew the children</i>
Trainee eleven	45-54	no	no	<i>I had a 1-2-1 TA with a child with special needs but I had a TA who came in occasionally but... like you were saying she was really knowledgeable she was actually a HLTA so she was used to taking the class for PPA.</i>
Trainee twelve	45-54	no	yes	<i>I had a very experienced teaching assistant and I found that a lot easier to work with because she</i>

				<i>kind of knew what the routines were... was able to support me things like you know the weekly spelling tests and times tables test she... was involved in the administration of them so she took that sort of control of those things.</i>
Trainee fourteen	18-24	no	no	<i>I think TAs tend to know what resources best for a child, they tend to know the children more; they tend to know what lesson might be better than another lesson so having that discussion, building that relationship with my TA in my second placement was really good because she would kind of encourage me or almost, not guide me, but just have a say...which was really helpful.</i>

APPENDIX S

Perception of trainee teachers' own habitus recognized to deploy a teaching assistant
(see section 4.4.8)

		Type of Trainee teacher		Issue
Name	Age range	Previous experience as a TA	Other experience of deployment	Perception of own habitus recognized to deploy a teaching assistant
Trainee one	18-24	yes	no	<i>Yes I think a lot almost of kind of all my views about teaching assistants and how you... work with them and how you kind of have an effective relationship with them has come from my own experience,</i>
Trainee two	18-24	yes	no	<p><i>I know often you hear people say like the trainee like the trainee goes in the classroom and feels a bit awkward, like trying to tell someone a bit more experienced than them where to go, what to do, but I kind of found the opposite from my own experience, going into class...</i></p> <p><i>I think it has made a massive difference having been a TA before because you can see things from the other side, from the other perspective.</i></p> <p><i>I think getting that experience of just being in the 'real world' is really important because then you're working with people of all ages all of the time whereas I would imagine that if you've come onto the course straight from school, not necessarily a bad thing at all, but your main interaction with adults, if you've come straight from school, is of having teachers um that's I suppose that's your main interaction unless like you say you've been in a club or work at a church or Scouts or Beavers or something like that.</i></p>
Trainee four	45-54	yes	yes	<i>...well working as a TA for...I worked as a TA for four years and then prior to that I did a lot of voluntary work so ... and obviously being a parent as well. You come across...you've had dealings with those members of staff so you go in with an expectation of what they would deliver to you based on your prior experience with them so yes I would definitely say in my background I had standards or expectations that I expected of them and I was never disappointed.</i>
Trainee six	18-24	no	yes	<i>Um I have a Saturday job and I have been given quite a lot of responsibility in that Saturday job, when the managers are away, units the shift I work on I'm given responsibility for... I'm the one that quite often delegates jobs to an older ...team that has got members who are older than me, who have got children of their own, who are grandmas and who</i>

				<i>have had more life experience than I have. So I think I knew how to talk to the teaching assistant and I knew how to delegate and only the most appropriate way to do that whilst still having that respect and..</i>
Trainee seven	25-34	no	yes	<i>I'm used to with my working background having work delegated to me I find it hard to do it the other way around but I found both were really supportive and they would always come to me and ask for more or if they could help in any way other than what I already asked... ...because I suppose it makes you feel a bit bossy doesn't it you know you do this that and the other so I a few people I've spoke to in my class have sometimes mirrored what I've said where they found it hard especially the younger ones.</i>
Trainee eight	18 - 24	no	yes	<i>male I felt that I got a lot from I got a part time job as a domestic assistant in a nursing home so I worked quite heavily with predominantly nurses and females and I felt that having the background and living in all female household, I've worked with females which and I've lived with females especially at uni, I've had the experience and I know how to speak to women professionally and that has helped.</i>
Trainee twelve	45-54	no	yes	<i>For me, I worked in the transport industry for 15 years as a senior manager and I've got my own business ...before coming onto this, so I would draw on all that sort of management skills that I've used since I was a 20 year old. Because that's ultimately what you're doing That's one thing... I've always considered and obviously having the management experience and everything and being mature in age...whether that has been a benefit t to me if it was somebody else maybe twenty, twenty-one going in and trying to do the same thing against a forty-five year old how that varies if you're going maybe my TA was a similar age to me as opposed to somebody who is twenty-one trying...</i>

APPENDIX T

Perception of the ‘localized familiarization’ (see section 4.4.9)

		Type of Trainee teacher		Issue
	Age	Previous experience as a TA	Other experience of deployment	Perception of familiarization
Trainee one	18-24	yes	no	<p><i>It's asking them "This is my suggestion, what do you think of it, can we find a way to work together with it?"</i></p> <p><i>That doesn't mean that it is a social relationship where we go out for drinks every night it's a working relationship and it means that, yes I am responsible for the children and the teaching assistants in my class but I work with them to work out together I'd listen to them and they'd listen to me and together, you hopefully come to some an agreed idea of how they can be best used effectively ...and hopefully the time that I would have spent developing the relationship with that individual they'd understand and there wouldn't be any confrontation there, it would be "Yeah great try it."</i></p> <p><i>A lack of experience... I wouldn't say I struggle with the teaching assistants at all but I tread delicately until I know where it is that I stand.</i></p>
Trainee two	18-24	yes	no	<p><i>I think the biggest thing is... just on a personal level like actually having a relationship with them... just like going in the morning and not just cracking straight on with talking about lessons and what's going on for the day um but just having normal conversations with them is... I was a learning support assistant before I came here and the teachers that I got on best with and so I felt the most well utilised in class, were the ones who just come up and took an interest in me as a person</i></p>
Trainee four	45-54	yes	yes	<p><i>I trust that person they're there to do a job and as long as they feel comfortable doing what has been asked of them</i></p>
Trainee six	18-24	no	yes	<p><i>but they have almost taken me under their wing and I think in especially my last placement which was very stressful the TA was very good actually, she could have been much more sort of held back but I feel that she really once she knew that I was only human as well, she was willing to give up any time any bit of information and I found her to be very, very good once she got in the swing of it and used to each other. You don't have to be best friends, but I think sort of just being able to say "Hello, how are you? How was your weekend?" and also if you're having a bad day</i></p>

				<p>and you come in and maybe need to just to have a quick word with them about what's going on so they understand it , I think it's quite nice for obviously without crossing the boundary and overstepping the mark. I think it is, it is important and it is nice to have a bit of a personal relationship with your TA because if you don't get on with them which there's a chance you won't, I think you still need... a bit of a personal ... I think it is quite important to be able to speak to each on a more personal level.</p>
Trainee eight	18-24	no	no	<p>But I think er I think pleasantness as from a TAs perspective to a trainee teacher is definitely needed because they don't, well I don't think many people especially don't like going into a year one placement marching around giving the orders straight away because you kind of feel like you're standing on egg shells when you go there cos you have to be your best and you have to set the good example from the offset and you've got people that want to help but are not sure of the whole procedure</p> <p>I think that there needs to be the trust, there needs to be... that initial ground where you both you're meant to be equal to a certain extent but when you go in you feel less than equal because...</p>
Trainee eleven	45-54	no	no	<p>- I think it's the same whenever you meet somebody new. You try and find out a bit about them and tell them a bit about yourself. Not obviously when you're teaching the children, but sort of share interests is quite a good one. So if they've got children – I've got children...</p>
Trainee thirteen	18-24	no	no	<p>I think that's hard because I think that's the type of person I am personality wise. I wouldn't want someone to do that to me. I'd want...you know, even though I have a right to do that I still want to...like have a common ground, have a friendship, ...be polite because treat people how you'd want to be treated. I know it's a right you have but that's just my view on it.</p> <p>but then going into second year and, you know, having a laugh with the TA, getting to know about them, getting to know their kids' names, things like that really helped...because then I think they saw me as part of the working staff</p>
Trainee fourteen	18-24	no	no	<p>But I would make her feel a bit comfortable. So if she said "Well actually don't want to move there" I would have that relationship so I would be able to move her or deploy her somewhere else.</p> <p>I think they should just feel equally as involved [in planning]</p> <p>I wouldn't to put them somewhere where they're uncomfortable.</p>

APPENDIX U

Mentors' perceptions of trainee teachers fitting into the school's habitus (see section 4.5)

Mentor	Issue
	Negotiation – trainee teachers fitting into the school's habitus/field
Mentor one	<p><i>someone that stuck when they first come and they're on their placement days I've I always am a bit wary of those who sit at the back with their notebook and are massively focussed on their notebook and making their notes and doing their tasks and don't even speak to a child for sort of the first three days. So the best students I've had have been the ones where they've come straight in and get involved and I know that the uni place a lot of emphasis on the paperwork side of it but I've had a couple of students that have been over completely obsessed with their files and I know I probably was when I was a student completely obsessed with their file but it means that they're not putting as much energy and enthusiasm to kind of planning their fun lessons and getting involved with the class</i></p> <p><i>that maybe he needs to say something I suppose maybe or think about saying something? But then actually I kind of it I kind of worded if I felt a TA was kind of stepping in I would put it as he feels your undermining him I would say" Next time we meet just don't manage behaviour I want to see whether he has taken on my feedback and adopted some of the strategies he is or step back on the behaviour because I have given him some suggestions some behaviour management strategies and I would really like to see how those strategies are working in class or something like that. Then hopefully she would step back and he would be able to assert a bit a more authority and she would feel she would need to step in</i></p>
Mentor two	<p><i>and I think the difference with XXXX is that he knew how to work with a group of children and get their learning on and he also knew how to work with adults effectively and I think both are equally important when you're are working in a school. And I suppose that's, that's kind of it really I think he had that already I didn't need to teach him that um I have seen other student teachers in the school that are absolutely rude to the people that they've worked with but they're brilliant with kids and yes alright they might be a great teacher but they're not a particularly all-round practitioner because they can't actually work well with other adults. The other teacher in the room is over there and she works well with XXXX as well and she wasn't his student so I mean he was able to address himself and talk in a professional manner all the time but equally still be seen as the class teacher with the children so I suppose it's about having that balance and I don't think you can teach that. I either think you are that person or you aren't and he came in like that I don't think we did anything particularly special to get that out of him because it was already there.</i></p> <p><i>I don't need to tell XXXX what to do because she's got lots of experience so there's not really... I ask you but I don't need to say "XXXX ,you know, I'm going to give you a list of jobs to do throughout the day" because there's no point because you already know</i></p>
Mentor three	<p><i>Well initially they we like it that when they very willing to participate in things...they... I don't know it depends on what year group you've got whether you've got like initial students in their first years or whether it's their final year students. Obviously we look for different qualities depending on how long they've been in university...good standard of grammar and use of English...good general subject knowledge which obviously that is refined as they go through the</i></p>

	<p><i>placements...a willingness to join in with things. One thing we do find that is... (large pause for vacuuming from cleaner to finish) I can't think where I was now!</i></p> <p><i>Yes so if they're a first year student obviously you don't expect as much and if you've got a third or final year student but you expect a lot more from them expect them to come in using their initiative, we expect them to be a lot more willing to join in more in the wider life of school where as first years, we don't really expect as much, particularly as they come in pairs as well, we do try to ease them in gently obviously we do follow your protocol is and what the expectations you have but we've had that this year we've had first year students who've done really well, a lot more than some of the third year students</i></p> <p><i>I think as well you know when all the TAs in this school... we have all been here for a long time so we all nobody sit and waits to be told what to do so if we're not told by the student we will be doing it anyway. And I think a lot of the time they look and see that we're doing and think "Oh I can't ask them because they're doing something else" or they don't understand that we're doing it because we've not been told to do something else. You see what I mean? If we're not told by them there's ...always things to do... we're always be doing it anyway we won't be sitting there waiting for them to tell us what to do.</i></p> <p><i>but they don't often do things like plan for the TA to work with IEP work things like that. It's all sit with this group sit on the carpet, they don't plan for the TA in the big picture of the classroom. And they never ask "Oh do you think the TA should be doing the IEP work this afternoon?" " Or usually on a Wednesday when I've watched you the TA has been doing intervention group now, Are you happy if I plan for them to do that", they wouldn't think anything else.</i></p>
Mentor four	<p><i>I think we start off with we sort of do a coaching style and leading by example, quite a gentle approach to start with and the other thing I always do is to have a meeting with them and set out the expectations and so that they know what we expect of them as a school.</i></p> <p><i>I think first of all we look at appearances, first appearances and then we look at their attitude towards the children and attitude towards other members of staff and how they fit into the school...kind of like they're not judgemental to the other children but they understand and they try and work with procedures and practices we've got in the school...and they fit in with school policies.</i></p> <p><i>I think it depends a lot on the set up in the classroom and the way they work and the way the student's welcomed into the classroom to start with... I know that my TA , XXXXX, makes it, makes the student feel very at ease and asks them what they need and asks them what they want to get out of it...in fact I think you were the first person to greet XXXX weren't you, and spend some time with her? and so I think if they're welcomed into the classroom in a welcoming way and asked what they need then it automatically gets things off to an easier footing and then I think the student finds it easier to direct...sometimes though I have seen in other schools TAs that can have slight barriers because they're quite happy with the way things are working in class and I think um ...I don't know if they see it as an intruder or whether... they're not sure, sometimes...</i></p>
Mentor five	<p><i>Um I like someone to be really proactive and be willing to just get involved, hands on start like chatting to the kids, asking them questions, helping with like sticking in and resources and stuff, just that's what a real school is like, to give them experience of what a real school is like...and for them to be really positive and to have a positive approach to the placement and to the behaviour management and everything in the classroom</i></p>

APPENDIX V

Teaching Assistants' perceptions of trainee teachers fitting into the school's habitus (see section 4.5)

Teaching Assistant	Issue
	Negotiation – fitting into the habitus/field
Teaching Assistant one	<p><i>I didn't up until this year we have like two students they was great but they just wasn't they wasn't quite you know they wasn't as confident as they needed to be and stuff and they didn't take on advice as well as they could have done and so we found that it impacted on our class negatively. Our kids' behaviour was awful it deteriorated a little bit. We got it back you know we got it back eventually and it is to do with the kids. The kids don't listen like, you know, you get a certain year sometimes where they find it harder to listen than others or they have more problems such than others and this year has been one of those years but to be honest usually 99% of the time I'd say it is a positive thing I wouldn't usually go "Oh I don't know about that!" I quite enjoy having them.</i></p> <p><i>Well again I feel like... I'm... I don't feel like they're in to do their job like I feel like I'm there to impose the rules, you know, like to make sure the rules are being followed or to make sure that the class are learning because sometimes I'm here to say "Be Quiet!" and stop them from talking or you know calm them down on the carpet or if there's no control I have to stop the class and sometimes I just feel like I'm taking away from the teacher the teacher is not learning anything you know and like I don't like that but I don't know sometimes that can be just me interfering but I don't like to think that someone is being taken advantage of especially by the children.</i></p> <p><i>I like to think that they could find me approachable and that they could ask for help because like I said I like to ask for help if I don't know I'd rather just ask I don't want to get all in a tizz I rather ask get it done and get my job done.</i></p> <p><i>The two girls we had was just I can't explain it was common sense, you know, like don't keep them on the carpet for too long because you know like your observations are twenty minutes long anyway you for teachers and then the speaking to the kids on the carpet sometimes have gone on for like forty minutes and I've been sitting there thinking "Hang on now" and that's me and I'm an adult and I and you know I have a bigger concentration span than all the eight year old children and I was thinking "oh I just want to get out!" and I can't put my finger on what it was it was just too much explanation and or the kids would have been told so many times what they had to do and they just switch off in the end and they wouldn't really know, you know?</i></p>
Teaching Assistant three	<p><i>I think as well you know when all the TAs in this school...very we have all been here for a long time so we all nobody sit and waits to be told what to do so if we're not told by the student we will be doing it anyway. And I think a lot of the time they look and see that we're doing and think "Oh I can't ask</i></p>

	<p><i>them because they're doing something else" or they don't understand that we're doing it because we've not been told to do something else. You see what I mean? If we're not told by them there's ...always things to do... we're always be doing it anyway we won't be sitting there waiting for them to tell us what to do.</i></p> <p><i>The first year they may have never had to tell someone to do anything they've never had that opportunity so not had that experience or that the time to be actually tell someone what to do they may never have... done it...so to be the first person they have to tell, tell them what to do, the first person they've got to manage is someone who's a very experienced in their job already...</i></p>
Teaching Assistant four	<p><i>. I think when a new teacher comes in they still don't they still don't really know what they're good at. They're still trying to find...I'm not explaining myself am I? ...They're not trying to find what they're good at ...and I think that's when it comes difficult so if you've got a TA who thinks they're nearly always teaches PE and then the other teacher comes in and they're going to teach PE, that then causes a big...unnatural balance doesn't it? And it is only for eight weeks, where if you're working with somebody for much longer than that you do find your natural balance you do think I think you're good at that in this school the TAs would even make you take over from the teachers.</i></p>
Teaching Assistant five	<p><i>Well as soon as they come in I always just get to chat to them and then I like actually say to them that "Right is there anything you want me to do, then let me know" I always will say because that's what I'm there for.</i></p>

APPENDIX W

Perception that trainees should deploy the teaching assistant (see section 4.6.1)

		Type of Trainee teacher		Issue
	Age Range	Previous experience as a TA	Other experience of deployment	
				Perception that trainees should deploy the teaching assistant
Trainee one	18-24	yes	no	<i>that if you see you're having a group who could do with some...kind of quite tense input into a specific area of learning you can say " Oh great my teaching assistant will be fantastic at doing that" I'm going to ask her if she wouldn't mind working with them on this specific area, this is what I want them to achieve by the end of it</i>
Trainee two	18-24	yes	no	<i>think it would be good to maybe make the link a bit more explicit that even though you are a student you are going in to do a job and your role as the teacher, you know, that part of your job is to be able to direct the teaching assistant in the classroom I would say from experience it's probably more awkwardness from the student because most the vast majority of TAs I've worked with or worked alongside they're very upfront they're very positive...and they don't have a problem with being told what to do because you know that's part of your role, you're, you're probably on the wrong job if you're not happy for people to tell you what to do</i>
Trainee six	18-24	no	yes	<i>You are not necessarily here for each other you're there to help the children to do the best that they can and to create an environment in which that is able to happen</i>
Trainee seven	25-34	no	yes	<i>fine because I like I said because... they were very welcoming they were very approachable and they seemed like they were receptive to me being there and that they wanted to help in any way possible</i>
Trainee eleven	45-54	no	no	<i>I think it's placing them or asking them... to work with the children where they would be the most help basically ...so maybe different children within different lessons that need support or some assistance or if they're going around in different groups and thinking about where you're best placed, where the TA is best placed, sometimes you have a one-to-one as well that you need to think about as well, to get the most value out of them in the classroom.</i>

Trainee twelve	45-54	no	yes	<i>It's your responsibility isn't it ultimately...you're the one that's going to be accountable for the learning but if you've got a TA that's... (they're a valuable source of knowledge) they've got the ideas you think are going to benefit that learning for you then why wouldn't you use them?</i>
Trainee thirteen	18-24	no	no	<i>How you use them in the classroom to a benefit a child's learning...I think they're used to benefit a child through the teacher's deployment of them</i>
Trainee fourteen	18-24	no	no	<i>I would say the whole point of a teacher is for to move children on and like progression, so effectively that would mean putting them in an area or place where they would help children progress. So it could be group interventions, you're taking a child out of class, saying "right you're not doing well in this particular area and let's focus on it" so that's moving the learning on.</i>

APPENDIX X

Identity from the teaching assistants' perspective (see section 4.6.2)

Teaching Assistant	Issue
	Identity
Teaching Assistant one	<p><i>I think this is what I'm trying to explain is that they need to put themselves amongst the hierarchy as it were.</i></p> <p><i>I'd say: teacher, TA, kids and then probably: teacher, student teacher, TA, student teacher, kids like it depends and sometimes it, you know, it's sort of like going well for them and I know that sounds awful but if it's not going well kids can rule the classroom and that's when I go home feeling like I really need to rip my hair out.</i></p> <p><i>It's like these all rely on the above and I think once they haven't established a hierarchy they will rely on me to keep the kids here and then you know if they have established where they are then I, you know, like I feel like I sort of take the lead from them and then I, it is easy for me to float with the teacher once I know what they...if I know what how they're working I can float along with them.</i></p>
Teaching Assistant three	<p><i>I think that they feel that I'm your TA I'm not there for them whatever you say I think there's sort of barrier and they're a little bit scared, you know, not frightened but a little bit apprehensive about asking the TA to do things</i></p>
Teaching Assistant four	<p><i>I think when you get they come in and that class then becomes their own, they might change where the children sit, they might change the order of the day, they might...and I think all if... that if a TA is quite secure with the teacher that she's working with and maybe has been for years that would be quite hard I think.</i></p> <p><i>I think that's what worked well with XXXX it wasn't... we changed the classroom, we discussed it before, we discussed it afterwards, she was very much in lead but she, she's actually coming back, she's been employed, I'm working with her again in September ...but she was that type of person that she wouldn't have been offended. I think it's two people trying to work along together isn't it? There's one person trying to find their place and another one trying to hang onto their place.</i></p> <p><i>So it's this person trying to find it and there's this person just hanging on and it's trying to get to that balance.</i></p> <p><i>No. I mean um no we never socialised but I would say we were friends. What does friendly and professionalism mean then?</i></p> <p><i>...I suppose that we could talk to each other I've just seen the word confidential, confidentially, so um it may not be classed as professional that child really I wanted to pull out my hair today but it would be confidential and it wouldn't be...</i></p> <p><i>Yeah oh I know I feel like that sometimes too. What shall we try tomorrow? There's a difference isn't there? Professionally we might not, I don't know if, that would come into it, it would be 'friendly professional'.</i></p>

	<p><i>So what if I came in closed the door and said “Good morning Mrs XXXXX, good morning Sarah, this is the plan blah, blah” Now I’ve not asked you about your weekend or asked about how you’re feeling You wouldn’t get away with it Why is that? Because I would say something. Why? Because it’s just I can’t stop talking!</i></p>
<p>Teaching Assistant five</p>	<p><i>– I think I’m like some can also be like maybe they’re frightened to talk to you because I don’t know, maybe because if you’re a mature TA I think then they probably feel a bit ...I don’t know, do you agree with me in that sort of thing? You can understand what I’m saying because I think if you’re a mature student/TA then it’s like life experiences isn’t it I suppose? But when if you’re a younger one then they won’t I think they tend to communicate better with older mature TAs than younger ones sometimes.</i></p> <p><i>Because you have a working balance I think it sort of... if when students come in you’ve got to be that person, you’ve got to be that sort of person that can actually deal with other people coming in the room but some people can’t deal with that.</i></p> <p><i>No I wouldn’t change it because if that’s if they’ve if they’ve sort of planned to be with that group then I wouldn’t that group then I wouldn’t change it remember I’ve always got eyes everywhere else anyway...so I can actually sit there and do...but actually I can see what’s going on somewhere else so I can actually move myself to that ...for a second then come back again</i></p>

APPENDIX Y

Identity from the mentors' perspective (see section 4.6.2)

Mentor	Issue
	Identity
Mentor one	<i>No but I don't necessarily think he should either. I think it is a very difficult balance because me and him talked about this...you're coming into somebody else's classroom if that person is quite prickly and quite um what's the word that I'm looking for? Precious about their surroundings and their domain, I think it's very difficult to then to take on that person's class because you've got to almost be aware... I wasn't so I... he was my first student but I was slightly just go mad with them. I know I could always bring them back so you can't break them you can't do anything terribly wrong with them so just try and different things out. Once you said that to him he was kind of like able to kind of relax a bit. I think that kind of needs to be explained but also the teacher that has the student and the TA need to be a bit open minded about things and know that it is going to be a bit chaotic and a bit different to how it normally is and they are going to do different things and if I've been teaching twenty five years and get a student and then the student's just come from uni thinking with different ideas and different technologies that they bring to the table if I feel threatened in my job as a teacher that might be a different approach I'd give to the student, I didn't so it wasn't a problem.</i>
Mentor two	<i>I think that's really important and he was always really jolly and he was always chatting and stuff and he made himself part of our Early Years family basically which was kind of nice um so I think that's the kind of general attitude to have and he was always able to muck in and do it himself, quite often he would come in and cut things up or stick stuff or and I'd say "Can you just give me and XXXX a hand doing that?" and he was always able to muck in and I think you know being able to do that and see yourself as part of team rather than "Oh well I'm a teacher and I'm a student teacher so I'm here and then my TA is she's doing that for me!" and that's the difference</i>
Mentor three	<i>I don't know whether it's maybe because a lot of students come in are young and TAs in our school from my experience tend to be more motherly sort of people aren't they? So it's almost like they'd be telling their mothers what to do but we don't have any young TAs so I've not experienced... And a lot older than them so I think the age could be a little bit of an issue possibly um and by the third year I mean I notice the difference having had first years this year and previously having had only third years, I think there is a slight difference they do improve slightly you know um...</i>
Mentor four	<i>Can't happen really because if XXX, then if XXXX goes, will need to be 'top dog' you know 'top of the tree' and deploy somebody and say to somebody that might not be as forthcoming and assertive so I think that it is a tricky balance.</i>
Mentor five	<i>I would say that they would need to be friendly with them not friendly in the sense like "We're all going to go down to the pub together, have a drink" but I think they need to be really open and friendly and chatty and amenable like everyone has to be in the workplace to get on.</i>

APPENDIX Z

- 1) You cater for support staff 6/2/13 LT
- 2) TA used to support LA small group 21/3/13 M
- 3) Good flexible use of the TA to support the groups working independently 7/3/13 M
- 4) Planning for other adults is not on the planning format 11/02/13 M
- 5) Additional adults joined in and you shared ideas with children too-good 8/2/13 LT
- 6) All children are engaged and supported by LSAs 11/3/13 LT
- 7) Effective use of TA – all staff in support actively engaged with children with plans 11/2/13 LT
- 8) You have a new child in class and you discuss provision for her in the lesson prior to the start with CT and TA 6/3/13 LT
- 9) Plan carefully for TAs for all parts of the lesson 29/1/13 M
- 10) Detailed lesson plan with details and direction of other adult. TA clearly knew what she was doing showing good communication 6/2/13 M
- 11) You asked for verbal feedback from your TA (previous target) 13/3/13 M
- 12) Your TA was working well with a group, how do you know what those children were doing? 6/3/13 M
- 13) ...and TA was directed to help LA children 14/2/13 M
- 14) You deployed your adult support well and they were good at challenging, supporting and questioning the group you directed them to 20/3/13 M
- 15) You are able to deploy support staff effectively 11/2/13 LT
- 16) You have explained the tasks – they are differentiated with the adults assigned to groups for support 31/1/13 LT
- 17) Can you / TA scribe good vocabulary they use? 15/3/13 M
- 18) You and the TA work well as a team but you are clearly the leader giving her directions appropriately 8/3/13 M
- 19) You give clear instructions for the independent activity and direct the TA well. 26/2/13 M
- 20) The teaching assistant was supportive in leading a group discussion and in supporting behaviour management 5/3/13 M
- 21) Additional adults supporting in the lesson have their role clearly identified for all aspects of the lesson 8/3/13 LT
- 22) An additional adult will be supporting during the lesson and their role is detailed within the lesson – as a further refinement you may like to consider the additional adults involvement with assessment ie what feedback do you require from them? 6/2/13 LT
- 23) This action was supervised by the TA 5/3/13 M
- 24) TA recorded the measurement on a chart 5/2/13 M

- 25) Use your TA effectively involve her 31/1/13 M
- 26) You have two TAs supporting children, could move closer to them? 7/3/13 LT
- 27) You have considered the key vocabulary and deployed your support staff 7/2/13 LT
- 28) You worked well with additional adults who you involved in the carpet discussion 14/2/13 M
- 29) You used additional adults very well. X supported the group doing forward rolls 27/2/13 M
- 30) Good use of additional adults asked x who in her group had good ideas 7/3/13 M
- 31) Think about how you use the TA in the introduction of the lesson 14/3/13 LT
- 32) Good to see your TA using a feedback sheet for the group she was supporting. TA clear about the learning in the lesson 11/2/13 LT
- 33) Support staff: what is her role during introductory phase of the lesson? 28/1/13 LT
- 34) Children were supported to make good progress through the use of: task, resources and adults 14/3/13 M
- 35) Excellent use of other adults to support and extend learning 20/3/13 M
- 36) Support staff appropriately deployed, do they have a plan or other strategy for recording children's responses and/or achievements 14/3/13 LT
- 37) Other adults used effectively to support children, prompt them to identify, discuss and make notes 21/3/13 LT
- 38) Additional adults now using TA focus sheets for assessment 13/2/13 LT
- 39) Additional adults well prepared for group focus, sheets provided 21/3/13 M
- 40) TA at correct table preventing any problems with hyphen group 11/3/13 M
- 41) Be sure to guide TA to table you wanted her at 4/3/13
- 42) Adults clear who and where they're working and provided with a lesson plan by yourself 8/2/13 M
- 43) Why do you not know where your TA is? 8/3/13 LT
- 44) TAs were planned for and used in the main activity 27/2/13 M
- 45) ...plan for and use TA in the Introduction and plenary sections of the lesson 27/2/13 M
- 46) Other adults clearly planned for 11/3/13 M
- 47) Other adults were assigned appropriately to specific children 26/2/13 M
- 48) Could your TA have joined in at this point? Make sure that additional adults are engaged with learning throughout each part of the lesson 7/2/13 LT
- 49) TA's role identified on plan supporting lower ability child 7/3/13 LT
- 50) TA directed to children self-assessing using writing checklist 22/3/13 M
- 51) Good use of TA giving out boards, supporting MA 14/3/13 M
- 52) Used TA to model and demonstrate giving and following instructions 18/03/13 M
- 53) TA walked in and stood by door unsure where to support 8/2/13 M

- 54) What is the proforma for your TA for assessment? What are the instructions for your TA? Do you think she is actively engaged during this opening activity?
14/2/13 LT
- 55) Detailed lesson plan and use of TA planning 13/2/13 LT
- 56) Written instructions given to TA for each group 21/3/13 M
- 57) Working well with other adults 6/3/13 M
- 58) Use of differentiation and TAs is good 11/2/13 LT
- 59) Could have had TA scribing key vocabulary 6/3/13 M
- 60) Logical planning – use of TA 15/3/13 M
- 61) ...had asked TA to pre-set hall ready for activities 15/3/13 M
- 62) Planning has all basics – use of TA 8/2/13 M
- 63) Adults are used to support children on the carpet 29/1/13 M
- 64) TA standing at the side supervising 14/2/13 M
- 65) Additional adults deployed effectively getting children changed and ready
5/2/13 LT
- 66) Positive professional discussions prior to lesson and briefing additional adults in class
- 67) (TA) was given a feedback sheet for her to record about children's learning
7/3/13 M
- 68) How have you planned for the adults? 20/3/13 M
- 69) Planning for TA to support children 4/3/13 LT
- 70) Pleasing to note that you are briefing your LSA prior to lesson regarding plans
6/3/13 LT
- 71) Make sure your adults are walking around with the children trying to find things
6/3/13 M
- 72) Good use of support staff 27/2/13 M
- 73) Plan for lesson clear and comprehensive with other adults contributions identified
21/3/13 M
- 74) Remember to give assessment sheets to TAs in class 28/1/13 LT
- 75) Other adults supporting on the carpet and all children on task 31/1/13 M
- 76) TA supporting pupil and recording an assessment 15/2/13 M
- 77) Monitor the effectiveness and support given by class TA 13/3/13 M
- 78) The TA is underused in this section. He could be making notes (assessing) children's contributions, understandings etc
7/2/13 LT
- 79) TA used appropriately. 7/3/13 LT
- 80) Both other adults are used to support learning and to assess children 7/2/13 LT
- 81) You were using the time to make observations...could (a) TA have done this as well?
31/1/13 M
- 82) You used your TA well and she knew what she had to do 7/3/13 M
- 83) TA working with a group of children and knew what she was expected to do throughout the lesson
26/2/13 M
- 84) TA: her role? 8/3/13 LT

- 85) TA deployed appropriately to support LA/SEN children. You explained that second TA you had planned for has had to go elsewhere – you have changed plan to accommodate this 12/3/13 LT
- 86) Good use of additional adults... 6/2/13 LT
- 87) Also included is a useful sheet for the TA with activity details and a form for assessment 8/2/13 LT
- 88) Also you have prepared an excellent sheet for the TA which includes assessment 1/3/13 LT
- 89) TA and LSA working with groups well (already given LO and resources) so ready to support their groups *undated* M
- 90) Good clear planning including effective use of adults 6/2/13 M
- 91) TA clear on what needs to be achieved working with group 27/2/13 M
- 92) TA also monitored children's answers. Support staff were aware of their role in supporting learning 11/2/13
- 93) TA supporting BA group of 4 children 15/3/13 M
- 94) Get TA to support so pace of the lesson does not suffer 20/3/13 M
- 95) Directed TA when she came in to sit facing children so she could see 18/3/13 M
- 96) Be aware – TA needs a lot of guidance. On your plan it said BA would sit on carpet for her to support, as you were not on the carpet, she just sat on the table not engaging with children. Perhaps you could have said 'Miss A, can you sit next to ____ to help them.'
- 97) Good to see you going round to check groups – checked with the TAs 18/3/13 LT
- 98) You use the other adults in the class effectively – how did you inform what to do? 12/2/13 M
- 99) You have two TAs engaging with a pupil and the other pupils are being left out at times. How could you overcome this in a future lesson? All the adults know what they are doing to support learning 14/2/13 M
- 100) TA to know activity first 13/3/13 M
- 101) Communicate with support staff and plan for all 24/1/13 M
- 102) Support staff had plans 31/1/13 M
- 103) Advised TA to do group work 31/3/13 M
- 104) Support staff notes – direct instructions clearer and relevant to them 7/2/13 M
- 105) Excellent planning notably for the TA 13/3/13 LT
- 106) Reported to work very well as part of the team and the class establishing positive relationships with her class teacher, TA... 6/3/13 LT
- 107) ...ensured adults were used to support learning and progress 14/2/13 M
- 108) You also need to ensure the additional adults are used effectively with targeted support 30/1/13 M

- 109) TA deployment was during the different elements of the lesson – ensure their support with feedback/assessment 7/2/13 LT
- 110) The role of the additional adult is outlined in the plan, detailing her deployment and focus throughout the lesson. You may like to consider how x could assist with any feedback thus enhancing your assessments. 7/3/13 LT
- 111) Differentiation and good deployment of other adults 7/2/13 LT
- 112) The written task is differentiated and you have deployed your TA to work with LA group 5/3/13 LT
- 113) Effective use of TA to assist SEN children with how to obtain information 5/3/13 M
- 114) TA clearly understood the task and supported her group well 4/3/13 LT
- 115) The BAR had adult support 5/2/13 M
- 116) An assessment sheet was provided for the support assistant to use and she was well planned for 27/2/13 M
- 117) The BAR had adult support but some still found the concept tricky 20/3/13 M
- 118) You can also ask the TA to help these children [log on] 31/1/13 M
- 119) Make use of TA at this point e.g. could she sit with a shy group and draw their ideas out 7/2/13 M
- 120) Ensure you get written assessment from all adults so you can plan for progress effectively 14/2/13 M
- 121) Support staff activities: how are you proposing to get feedback? Would a proforma be helpful? 5/3/13 LT
- 122) ...talk to the TA about what you would like them to do in the session with groups/individuals 23/1/13 M
- 123) Use of TA: you explained what you wanted done to the TA beforehand 31/2/13 M
- 124) The TA worked effectively with a small group 1/3/13 M
- 125) The use of TAs clearly outlined 29/1/13 M
- 126) TAs roles were clearly defined 6/2/13 M
- 127) TA's roles clearly defined 25/2/13 M
- 128) Could your TA have taken half the class or a group? It was good to see your TA on the carpet 29/1/13 M
- 129) Plan for your support staff for the whole lesson 5/2/13 M
- 130) (target) TA feedback! 14/2/13 M
- 131) TA clearly planned for and aware of her task 27/2/13 M
- 132) It was nice to see you share some fantastic ideas and great feedback from your TA and LA children... 6/3/13 M
- 133) Ensure you make regular contact with your TA throughout the lesson 12/3/13 M
- 134) ...you showed evidence of communicating with TA 7/2/13 M

- 135) ...you have two groups LA/MA supported by adults while you move around the other groups 19/3/13 LT
- 136) The adults supporting each group are briefed 5/2/13 LT
- 137) Having the TA write up the instructions on the PC helps model the recording 11/3/13 LT
- 138) LSAs are well versed in the lesson and knew what the role was 11/3/13 M
- 139) When you plan for other adults ensure that they know what they are doing before each lesson begins 5/3/13 M
- 140) Good relationships with children and other adults in the setting 23/1/13 M
- 141) When you plan for other adults ensure they are well briefed and ready to work with a group before the lesson starts 7/2/13 M
- 142) Planning for other adults in class in place with evaluation 26/2/13 LT
- 143) TA worked with LA 1/3/13 M
- 144) You used your TAS well each focussing on a specific group or 1:1 child and any others on the table who needed support 7/3/13 M
- 145) ...(you are) able to direct the new TA , using TA and other adults to inform assessment in the form of observations etc 31/1/13 LT
- 146) Additional adults have been planned for ensuring their full participation in the lesson 6/2/13 LT
- 147) The plan shares details of the role to be played by the additional adults at different stages of the lesson ensuring their full deployment 8/3/13 LT
- 148) Consider better use of the TA especially with the two children who struggled to access the activity 12/1/13 M
- 149) Things to consider: use of the TA 18/3/13 M
- 150) TA support 14/3/13 M
- 151) TA is deployed to table with most need 6/2/13 M
- 152) TA positioned with one group to work 26/2/13 M
- 153) TA as sat with HA group to ensure understanding of the more complicated task 5/3/13 M
- 154) She then asked them to pass the numbers back to the TA...The TA was asked to work with the lower ability children while C. worked with the MA. She asked the TA to collect all the clocks to save distraction. 21/3/13 M
- 155) TAs deployed effectively and worked well with pupils 11/3/13 M
- 156) Give TA a group to work with during role play make sure she is [on] carpet too 6/2/13 M
- 157) Use the TA effectively, give her a plan – tell her to work with a group and on carpet too 8/2/13 M
- 158) TA was used very effectively 7/3/13 M
- 159) Good use of TA – Brilliant behaviour control through using ticks on board 19/2/13 M

- 160) TA was briefed well 27/2/13 M
- 161) ...and have explicitly briefed the TA for the carpet session 14/2/13 LT
- 162) Good that your position mirrored that of the TA 5/3/13 LT
- 163) Other adults used appropriately and involved in teaching and assessment 7/3/13 LT
- 164) P has planned for other members of nursery staff... 7/3/13 M