The influence of regional culture on post-sixteen educational choices and directions from school in Lincolnshire: A qualitative study

by Christopher Atkin, Cert.Ed. B.Ed. (Hons.) M.A. ILTM

Thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
October 2002

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF FIGURES

Abstract

This thesis investigates the influence of regional culture on young people's decision making when considering post-sixteen educational choices and directions from school. The data is provided by life story interviews with young people - aged eighteen to twenty years, 'bom and bred' in Lincolnshire - who have followed four pathways fi-om compulsory education. Within the context of Lincolnshire the influence *of rurality* is a major element of regional culture and figures in much of the discussion and analysis.

The work of Pierre Bourdieu in defining culture through *field* and *habitus* is used as a theoretical perspective in the data analysis and conclusions. The research highlights the continued importance of family and community *habitus* in the decision-making processes of young people. The interviews are used to consider the relative *field* positions important in defining individuals post-sixteen pathways. The nature of rurality as a social construct rather than simply a reflection of physical geography is discussed and conclusions offered as to its possible effect on preferred post-sixteen pathways. The relative importance given to physical and social characteristics of rurality is used to construct a series of cultural indicators for rural communities.

The data would support the conclusion that new initiatives designed to increase participation rates in post-sixteen education are having some effect, but only among those young people predisposed through family *habitus* to continuing education. Those young people whose family *habitus* most closely coincides with

pedagogic authority are most likely to operate comfortably within the educational *habitus* and hence continue with formal education beyond sixteen.

The thesis suggests the real differences in *habitus* between urban and rural communities requires a shift in the policy debate if rural people are to participate fiiUy in the notion of lifelong learning.

Acknowledgements

In submitting this thesis for examination I would like to acknowledge all the help fireely given by colleagues working in education, business and the public services in Lincolnshire. Without their assistance in accessing many of the interviewees this research project would have been very much more difficult to conduct (if at all possible). As well as individuals many institutions provided facilities to conduct the interviews and supplementary information about their own particular contextual setting.

I would also like to thank the young people who agreed to be interviewed; their openness and engagement made the thesis possible and is greatly appreciated.

Finally, my thanks to Professor John Morgan who has challenged my thoughts and guided me through the research.

To all those who have helped in this research, many thanks.

Preface

Over the past decade the pace of change in post-compulsory education has tended to mask some deeply held perceptions of post-sixteen education, themselves grounded in cultural tradition. The expansion in the numbers of young people remaining in educafion, post-sixteen (D/EE 1998), has led to the effect of reproduction in society, education and culture being underestimated in a discourse that has focussed on equality, access to opportunity and widening participation, e.g. National Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education, (1997) and Kennedy, (1997). This is particularly true in areas with strong historical links to specific types of educational provision and occupational status, such as the rural county of Lincolnshire[1]. Over this period an observable difference has developed between the 'official' notions of opportunity and the reality of cultural affiliations.

Like many academics and teachers working in fiarther and higher education, I believe that the anecdotal evidence suggests that culture remains a defining characteristic in the decision-making processes of young people, particularly in identifying the range of possible options. As someone 'bom and bred' in Lincolnshire and whose professional career was previously based in the county[2], I believe that I am well placed to carry out the research study detailed in this thesis; as a 'Lincolnshire lad' - able to communicate and interpret data as part of the 'tribe' - and as a researcher able to apply the skills of methodology and analysis gained through higher education and a career in post-compulsory education.

The definition of 'culture', and the examination of its influence in young peoples' decision making processes, is not a new area for investigation[3]; what is new is the precise social context of this research. This thesis considers the extent to which an individual's 'cultural[4]' background remains a defining issue in decision-making processes when considering post-school options. This study is deliberately 'in depth' rather than broad. The research methodology follows an ethnographic style based on life story interviews with a representative sample of young people in Lincolnshire who have taken different post-school trajectories[5]. The interview transcripts are available, in two further volumes, if required but not included in this thesis.

The issues facing rural communities are both of pragmatic and conceptual interest to policy makers and providers of post-compulsory education, eager to engage, and recruit, under-represented groups. In a society that claims, at one level, to have largely removed the barriers to opportunity and progression, the question remains, whether some decision-making pathways or the range of options considered are still effectively closed to certain cultural sections of our society?

Research focus

To what extent does the 'cultural heritage' of an individual affect decision making processes when considering post-compulsory education? The anecdotal evidence suggests that some young people prioritise and value particular post-sixteen options. The decisions they make and take appear to be influenced by cultural heritage as well as by any particular ability (be it academic or vocational).

For example, many of the students I met while working as a lecturer in agricultural education were following similar educational and vocational paths as their forefathers.

Although agriculture may be an exceptional example, given the family nature of farming, it does indicate the importance of tradition and social expectation for post-sixteen destinations. In an environment where the rhetoric of policy suggests that education is simply a matter of choice and ability, and no longer predetermined by cultural or social circumstance, this study will investigate the extent to which this apparent linkage between family, society and post-compulsory education is justified by the evidence.

Sub-questions

During the study the following sub-questions form an almost sequenfial path for research activity, building the data necessary to address the research question identified above:

- What are the cultural indicators useful in the definition and analysis of the sample population?
- What is 'rurality'[6]?
- What effect has 'rurality[7]' on cultural identity?
- Does culture influence the range of options considered by young people at the end of compulsory education? If so to what extent?
- How do those in the study populafion perceive formal education?
- Are some cultural groups in society more likely to be influenced by cultural tradition?

- Are initiatives designed to widen participation and opportunity in post-compulsory education reaching all cultural groups within the study area?

Notes

' At the census in 1991 Lincolnshire was the only county in England with more than ten percent of the working population employed in agriculture. Agricultural employment in most ostensibly rural areas is generally about five percent, while the highest figures (15%) are for the Leominster district of Herefordshire and South Holland in Lincolnshire.' (Payne, 2000: 5)

[2] At Lincolnshire College of Agriculture, which became De Montfort University, School of Agriculture, which has recently become part of the University of Lincoln.

[3] In 1998 the National Foundation for Educational Research (nfer) published '*Staying or Leaving?*' a review of recent studies into the factors affecting young peoples' decision making. (Brooks, 1998)

[4] Although the precise nature of culture is examined later in the thesis, at this point it is sufficient to recognise that here I am referring to the subconscious patterns of behaviour and attitude which are shared and identify members of a distinctive social group rather than any notion of race or ethnicity.

In this context I use the term ethnicity to describe 'its use in 'everyday language; referring to 'racial' characteristics, minority issues and race relations.' (Eriksen, 1993: 4) Race and ethnicity are often used as interchangeable expressions of definition in the popular press and media but I believe there is a significant distinction. This distinction is evident in Barton's view, 'race refers to the categorisation of people, while ethnicity has to do with group identification'. He summarises this difference by arguing that ethnicity is generally more concerned with the identification of 'us', while racism is more oriented to the anthropological concept of 'the other'. (In short, 'race' is seen spuriously to have biological characteristics, whereas 'ethnicity' is cultural.)

In Lincolnshire there are groups of peoples (almost exclusively men) from Central and Eastern Europe who remained, working on the land, after the World War of 1939 - 45. They married local women and have become culturally integrated as part of the discrete social group.

For ethnicity to emerge social groups must have a minimum of contact with each other and consider others as being culturally different from their own group. Ethnicity is essentially an aspect of relationships, not a property of group. This is an important point as this study will identify cultural indicators which are defining indicators of the cultural group not necessarily characteristics of its relationships with others.

[5] A technique used by other researchers in this field e.g. (Ball, et al. 2000) and (Foskett and Hemsley-Brown, 2001)

[6] The research is set within the county of Lincolnshire - England's most 'agricultural' county (the only county in England with more than ten percent of the population employed in agriculture (Payne, 2000: 5) - therefore rurality and its effects are an important aspect of the study.

[7] 'The view that the 'rural' is a myth may be appealing at a time of great change in the countryside, but such a position risks cloaking the real differences which exist between 'rural' and 'urban' populations. These arguments may well reflect statistical evidence about access and inequality, but ignores the nature of 'rural' as a social construct; it remains one of the most important ways in which people see themselves individually and collectively.' (Atkin, 2001: 2)

Chapter One - Introduction

Over the past decade successive commentators and politicians (Kallen, 1979, Lengrand, 1988, Paice, 1996, Blunkett, 1998, Morris, 2001) have spoken of the importance of 'lifelong leaming'; the need for individuals to engage in further study beyond the limits of the compulsory educational infra-structure to ensure personal currency in the job market and contribute to national prosperity. The ideology under-pinning this initiative is the belief that, if the nation is to be successful in the market place of a global economy, the educafion and skills of its workforce will be the catalyst'. It is interesting to recognise that this policy shift towards a 'leaming society' has been mirrored across many 'developed economies of the world'. It might have been expected that the wide ranging challenges to westem societies (e.g. the global market, competition from South East Asia, new methods of production and new technologies) would have resulted in a kaleidoscope of diverse national policies. As Coffield describes:

> 'Instead, there is a growing convergence or homogenisation of policies, based on the same naive *'technocratic model'*[2], which presents a dangerously over-simplified account of the impact of changes in production and technology on education and training, and which is everywhere couched in the same language about the 'drive for competitive advantage'.' (Coffield, 1996: 2)

Raymond Williams, over a decade earlier, noted the common approach by national governments in the world-wide scramble for productive advantage:

'. . . . . I have gone from reading the English newspapers on these familiar themes and then read for some weeks the French or the Italian or the German newspapers only to realise, beyond the differences of language, that the same analysis was being applied, the same remedies proposed, as if each were the only people in the world'.

(Williams, 1983: 96-97)

One could argue that, as the developed economies are facing very similar challenges in terms of the movement of global capital, it is only to be expected that governments would focus on a common policy response. Although at an economic level this may be true, its operationalisation seems to have largely ignored the cultural traditions within each society.

As Coffield suggests, the driving force behind the recent initiatives for increasing participation in lifelong leaming has been the need to compete. This is a concept relafively new to U.K adult education in the twentieth century[3], which, up until the 1980's saw continuing education - for adults - as essentially about the provision of leisure courses, which were often uncertificated and undertaken for personal and/or social development. This vision of lifelong leaming, which has the needs of the economy as central to its purpose, is for some a disturbing move from the liberal traditions of adult education and the original broader concept (UNESCO 1972). Some adult educators consider that the focus on economic need will accelerate the trend away from 'humanist' or 'holistic' course provision - designed to develop in the individual a sense of culture and an ability to think and find one's own way in life - to a vocafionally biased provision, focussed on the

immediate needs of economic advantage and the needs of an industrial élite (Ainley, 1999).

Perhaps in response to these and other concerns - about the 'inevitability and ubiquity of change' (Griffin, 1999: 330) - the British government began to articulate the benefits of 'lifefime learning' (D/EE, 1996) to the social fabric of the nation. Since then a broader language has emerged, recognising the potential for community development and notions of 'citizenship'; as well as the more obvious pragmatic benefits to industry of lifelong leaming. Within these debates the use of the term citizenship is an attempt to reinforce the traditions of community self-help idenfified by the U.K. Secretary of State in his forward to *The Learning Age* (P/EE, 1998: Forward). With cifizenship comes responsibilities and the membership of distinct local communities which, in tum, are seen by government as important elements in economic and social regeneration (NAGCELL, 1999: 24).

At the beginning of the Green Paper, *The Learning Age; a renaissance for a new Britain* (D*f*EE, 1998), the then Secretary of State for Educafion and Employment, detailed the perceived benefits of such an age for the individual, for business, for communities and for the nation:

> 'For individuals:
>
> leaming offers excitement and the opportunity for discovery. It stimulates enquiring minds and nourishes our souls. It takes us in directions we never expected, sometimes changing our lives. Leaming helps create and sustain our culture. It helps all of us to improve our chances of getting a job and of

> getting on. Leaming increases our eaming power, helps older people to stay healthy and active, strengthens families and the wider community, and encourages independence. There are many people for whom leaming has opened up, for the first time in their lives, the chance to explore art, music, literature, film, and the theatre, or to become creative themselves. Leaming has enabled many people to help others to experience these joys too.' (Blunkett, 1998. Section 2 Paragraph 10)

By almost any measure Blunkett's statement is a visionary account of the benefits of lifelong education. In 120 words the extract includes individual and collective cultural renewal, individual prosperity, mental and physical health, creativity and the soul! In fact, it is difficult to see any difficulties which lifelong leaming could not solve (according to the Secretary of State). He goes on to stress the advantages of lifelong leaming for society at large, stressing the importance of a united society, engaged in a culture of leaming.

> 'Our vision of the Leaming Age is about more than employment. The development of a culture of leaming will help to build a united society, assist in the creation of personal independence, and encourage our creativity and innovation. Leaming encompasses basic literacy to advanced scholarship. We learn in many different ways through formal study, reading, watching television, going on a training course, taking an evening class, at work, and from family and friends. In this consultation paper we use the word 'leaming' to describe all of these. (Blunkett, 1998. Section 2 Paragraph 8)

These two quotafions demonstrate the inclusiveness of the language of the times, as though lifelong leaming was a duty[4]. How could anyone possibly object, after all it's only 'common sense[5]'? As Tight (1998) suggested, when considering UK policies dealing with lifelong leaming in the 1990's:

> 'Each of these policy statements is predicated on two, unquestioned assumptions:
>
> - that there is a 'leaming divide' between the substantial minority of adults who currently engage in lifelong leaming and the majority who do not; and
> - that, in order to survive in an increasingly competitive global economy, it is imperative to engage all adults, or at least the great majority of them, in lifelong leaming.' (Tight, 1998: 110)

The advocates of the new doctrine, such as Bob Fryer[6], stress the need for a process of 'cultural change' (NAGCELL 1999: *passim)* in which teachers and trainers have a duty, almost a moral obligation, to advocate lifelong leaming in the wider community. This is an interesting use of the word 'culture'. It implies that it is within the power of government and of intellectuals - who have decided that lifelong leaming is a good thing - to initiate and to impose a cultural change. This theme of a 'vision' for the 'working classes' which would somehow liberate them from the necessity of hard, manual toil is not new: throughout much of the last two centuries the ruling élite have had a recurrent vision that if they could only awaken the 'oppressed masses' all would be 'saved' (Bottomore, 1993: 109). (See also Matthew Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy* (1869), written in the 'Victorian' era and

Jonathan Rose's book *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (2001).) This position ignores the view that culture is, if anything, by the people for the people. It is a reflection of the human condition, the patterns of 'everyday life' (Williams, 1958:*passim),* not simply a product of government policy. In reality the intention may be far less and really about modifying attitudes to continual personal development rather than genuine 'cultural' change. The danger in any government using this bold theoretical language is that when, or rather if, there is no evidence of a cultural shift the positive aspects of lifelong leaming - e.g. the raising of literacy levels in the adult population - will be obscured by the failure.

Other official reports from the late nineties all advocate a widening of participation and provision. Again the assumption is that if the educational places are available all sections of the community will take up the new opportunities.

> 'We recommend to the Government and the Funding Bodies that, when allocating funds for the expansion of higher educafion, they give priority to those institutions which can demonstrate a commitment to widening participation, and have in place a participation strategy, …'
>
> (The National Committee of Inquiry into Higher Educafion, 1997: 14 recommendation 2)

This inquiry, chaired by Sir Ron Dearing (now Lord Dearing), looked at ways in which the expansion of higher education - which had taken place during the early nineteen nineties - could be sustained into the next millennium within a context of static public funding and a growing expectation that young people would be 'guaranteed a university place'. The target for participation in higher education has

continued to move upwards over recent years from a historical level of around 18% to the current figure of over 40%. This increase is set to confinue with a new target:

> 'We plan a radical improvement in secondary schools, building on our success in primary schools. Our aim is to develop fully the talents of each child. Our ten-year goal is fifty per cent of young adults entering higher educafion.' (The Labour Party, 2001: 5)[7]

Within the fiarther education sector - described as, 'Further Education is everything that does not happen in schools and universities'[8] - the committee looking at widening participation in further education, chaired by Helena Kennedy QC, published a report in a similar vein to those above.

> 'Leaming is central to economic prosperity and social cohesion. Equity dictates that all should have the opportunity to succeed. A dramatic shift in policy is required to widen participafion in post-sixteen leaming and to create a self-perpetuating leaming society.'
>
> (Kennedy, 1997: 15)

These reports and initiatives added credibility to a long-standing ambition of Govemment to set out National Targets for Education and Training (NTET) which could be met as part of a process of re-engaging the adult population in leaming. Interestingly the targets, initially an idea of the Confederation of British Industry (CBI)[9], define the proportion of the population which should have achieved certain bench mark qualifications by specified dates. The targets have been revised on a number of occasions in the light of experience, with each time the targets being

revised downwards. This failure to realise targets set by a political and industrial élite, without consultation with the wider community, should not come as a surprise; as described earlier the masses continue to show a healthy disregard for imposed cultural shift (Morris, 2001).

The expansion of post-compulsory education has been accompanied by a blurring of the traditional distinction between forms and levels of education. Indeed 'work based' training, such as National Vocational Qualifications (NVQ) is now a major route for many people and companies engaged in 'in-service' staff training/development [10]. These new forms of qualification - essential if the United Kingdom is to come anywhere close to the NTETs described above - are not stmctured leaming programmes but assessment regimes. They are constructed in discrete units of work-place skills to be assessed; the leaming is assumed to be implicit in the outcome but is seldom specified explicitly". Most young people leaving school today have little understanding or, it is suggested, interest in the distinctions one might make between education and training.

Jessup, the former Deputy Chief Executive of the National Council for Vocational Qualifications (NCVQ) now the Qualification and Curriculum Authority (QCA), suggests that when leaming is perceived from the viewpoint of the learner, the conventional distinctions made between education and training become meaningless.

> 'As a learner I do not make this distinction. My head does not have separate compartments to receive education and fraining.' (Jessup, 1991: Introduction)

Although Jessup may well have a point that many leamers are unable to identify a clear distinction between education and training that does not necessarily indicate that when asked they are unable to distinguish between the two when they meet them. Almost all training is accompanied by some 'under-pinning knowledge' which often fits a more liberal descripfion of education. It is also important to remember the partisan role Jessup was performing when he made these comments, i.e. as a senior member of the National Council for Vocational Qualificafions charged with increasing training in the workplace.

Education could be seen as a universal good, not constrained by the currency of the work-place or immediate usefulness, passing on an academic tradition from one generation to the next (Atkin, 2000: 258). These characteristics of education clearly have an impact on the hierarchical way training and education are perceived by society. An example of this public attitude to training can be seen in the way govemment uses a comparison with academic programmes to bolster the credibility of altemative training initiatives when they are attacked e.g. General National Vocation Qualifications gets the altemative title when under pressure of 'Vocational A'levels'.

Increased flexibility, the more precise orientation of qualifications to the requirements of the workplace and the eradication of the traditional rigid barriers between education and training can all be seen as positive developments. However, at the same time there is a shadowy underside to current trends. Blurring conceptual distinctions between education and training, with the aim of promoting more flexibility, may be acceptable enough, but the suspicion of a hidden agenda

lurks in the background. A commitment to competencies may or may not tum out to be serving the purpose of displacing rather than complementing the goals of a liberal education. The risk of focusing too intensely on the needs of industry, taken at a particular moment in time, risks diminishing those areas of the curriculum without a clear, immediate, usefulness.

The Policy Context

The last decade has seen a concerted attempt by successive governments to increase the participation rate amongst the adult population in education and training, particularly in areas where there is a perceived employment opportunity. The motivation for this policy was increasingly the need to compete in the global economy; a well educated/trained workforce is seen as an essential element of economic strength.

During this period of expansion new qualifications, such as NVQs and vocational degrees, coupled with altemative methods of supporting teaching and leaming have all tended to blur the distinctions between education, educational levels and training. New qualifications have largely swept away many of the linear entry requirements of the established academic programmes - GCSE before A'level, A'level before degree, degree before post-graduate - opening up access to people previously unable or unwilling to fulfil entry requirements for post-compulsory education. The increasing opportunities for post-compulsory education and training have been part of an industry and govemment encouraged rallying cry for

'lifelong leaming' which, if it is to be successful, 'will require a cultural shift in society' (Blunkett, 1998 Section 6 Paragraph 28).

This study focuses on whether, despite the pragmatic changes to post-compulsory education, cultural factors limit the possible options considered by young people. (The precise research aims are outlined in the Preface.) The cultural groups within the study are identified and classified using the theoretical perspective of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. According to Bourdieu, cultural groupings cohere and hence can be identified through similarities in *habitus and fields* and also through similarities in the types of capital within the *fields. Habitus* 'are the mental or cognitive stmctures through which people deal with the social world.' Bourdieu explains them as 'intemalised, 'embodied' social stmctures'. These concepts and the precise way this study will utilize them are discussed later (see Chapter Two 'Review of Literature' and Chapter Three 'Research Methodology').

In this study the research will focus on the county of Lincolnshire for three reasons:

The first is familiarity; as mentioned earlier I was bom and brought up within the county and consequently have insider knowledge and access to social groups within the study area[12].

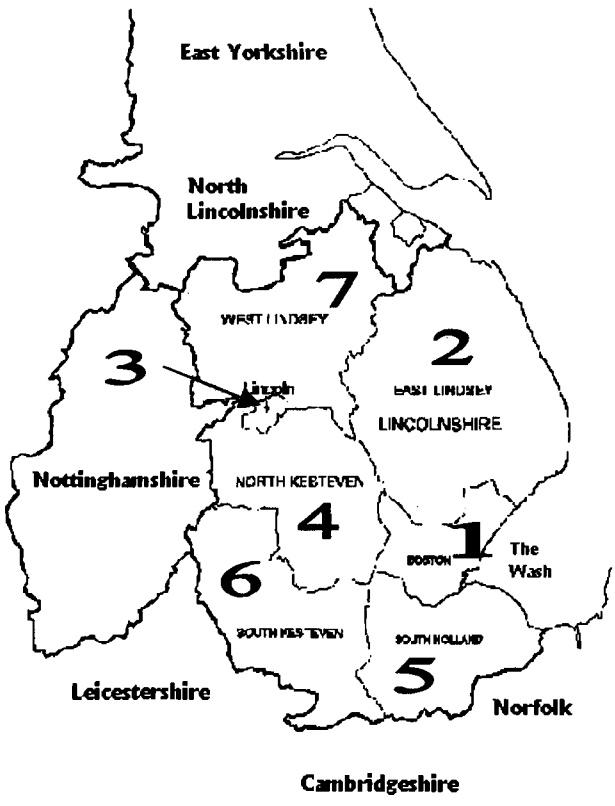
The second reflects a personal research interest in education in a mral context (Moverley, et al. 1997, Atkin, 2000 and Atkin, 2001). Much of the work carried out in similar studies has focussed on urban populations.

Thirdly, because of the nature of the county Lincolnshire has a social unity not found in many urban settings, facilitating clear yet manageable cultural classification.

The Study Area

Within Lincolnshire the initiatives outlined above have had some effect in raising participation rates in post-compulsory education (Lincolnshire Training and Enterprise Council, 1998 and 1999), particularly the large food producers of the South of Lincolnshire. Lincolnshire Training and Enterprise Council (TEC) have been active for many years in promoting lifelong leaming as a catalyst for economic regeneration across the county[13]. The District Authority areas within Lincolnshire are shown below in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Study Area



District Council Areas

1. Boston
2. East Lindsey
3. Lincoln City
4. North Kesteven
5. South Holland
6. South Kesteven
7. West Lindsey

The precise characteristics of the research population is described later in this chapter but all the districts, except Lincoln City, have similar social conditions. Historically the County of Lincolnshire was geographically isolated and relatively difficult to reach. Access to the county is limited by:

- the coastline of the North Sea and the Wash to the east,
- the major river tributaries to the south feeding the Wash,
- the Fens to the south that only became accessible following the Victorian engineers drainage schemes,
- the River Trent to the north west, and
- the Humber Estuary to the North which was only bridged in 1981.[14]

Consequently only in the south-west is Lincolnshire open to the rest of England. These clearly defined parameters mean that despite the differences within the county, particularly between the people of the 'Wolds'[15] in the north-east and the 'Fen'[16] people in the south, there is an essential unity to the region founded on relative isolation and a historical reliance on agriculture employment. Lincolnshire is the fourth largest county in England by land area (the second largest before the change of boundaries in 1974). Yet, as a consequence of its agricultural heritage, it has a low population density compared with the rest of England and with its neighbours in the East Midlands.

Figure 2: Land Area of Lincolnshire by District

District	Land Area	
	Hectares	Square Miles
Boston	36,169	139.7
East Lindsey	176,040	679.7
Lincoln	3,570	13.8
North Kesteven	93,244	356.2
South Holland	74,237	286.6
South Kesteven	94,259	363.9
West Lindsey	115,572	446.2
Lincolnshire	592,910	2286.1

Source - Lincolnshire County Council Demographic Information Users Group

Figure 3: Population of Lincolnshire by District

District	Mid-year population					Change 1991 - 1996	
	1991	1993	1994	1995	1996	Number	Percentage
Boston	53600	54200	54200	54100	54200	600	1.1%
East Lindsey	118000	120800	121400	122400	123100	5000	4.3%
Lincoln	84800	85500	84600	84300	83500	-1300	-1.5%
North Kesteven	80100	81200	82000	84900	86600	6500	8.1%
South Holland	67800	69300	70400	71100	71400	3600	5.3%
South Kesteven	110100	112700	115200	117500	120000	9900	9.0%
West Lindsey	76700	77600	77800	77600	77200	500	1.0%
Lincolnshire	591000	601400	605600	611900	615900	24900	4.2%

All figures are rounded to the nearest 100. Figures may not add exactly due to the rounding process.

Source - Office of Population Census and Surveys (OPCS) 1997, HMSO

In terms of population density, Lincolnshire has an average of one person per hectare. The increase of 4.2%) between 1991 and 1996 was largely due to inward-migration from other parts of the UK by older people; the number of retired families relocating to Lincolnshire is high in the county in comparison with the rest of the East Midland region. This level of population density is however low compared with the wider East Midlands region that has a population density of 2.5 persons per hectare, similar to the National average of 2.4. The most

populated district, as you might expect, is Lincoln City, with over 23 persons per hectare. The other districts are fairly similar, with only Boston and South Kesteven averaging over one person per hectare.

Lincolnshire is one of the few counties which has no 'motorway' roads within its borders. This relative isolation taken with the predominance of the mral economy has led to a very low level of migration by those who would describe themselves as belonging to an 'ethnic[17]' minority.

Figure 4: Lincolnshire's Ethnic Profile by District

Total Number	White	Black Caribbean	Black African	Black Other	Indian	Pakistan	Bangladesh	Chinese	Other	
									Asian	Other
Lincolnshire as a whole										
584536	580083	442	194	549	884	121	141	851	343	928
	99.23%	0.08%	0.03%	0.09%	0.15%	0.02%	0.02%	0.15%	0.05%	0.16%
Ethnic Profile by District										
Boston										
53226	52832	27	35	60	88	24	0	70	26	64
	99.3%	0.05%	0.07%	0.11%	0.16%	0.05%	0%	0.13%	0.05%	0.12%
East Lindsey										
116957	116346	71	23	99	73	21	20	83	58	165
	99.5%	0.06%	0.02%	0.08%	0.06%	0.02%	0.02%	0.07%	0.05%	0.14%
Lincoln City										
81987	80964	98	41	128	217	38	53	200	78	110
	98.8%	0.12%	0.05%	0.16%	0.26%	0.05%	0.06%	0.24%	0.1%	0.13%
North Kesteven										
79942	79360	52	20	68	132	11	9	101	54	135
	99.3%	0.07%	0.03%	0.09%	0.17%	0.01%	0,01%	0.13%	0.07%	0.17%
South Holland										
67261	66894	41	15	40	56	3	15	94	28	75
	99.5%	0.06%	0.02%	0.06%	0.08%	0.01%	0.02%	0.14%	0.04%	0.11%
South Kesteven										
108945	107938	81	45	85	231	20	40	251	58	196
	99.1%	0.07%	0.04%	0.07%	0.21%	0.02%	0.04%	0.23%	0.05%	0.18%
West Lindsey										
76218	75749	72	15	69	87	4	4	52	41	125
	99.4%	0.09%	0.02%	0.09%	0.11%	0.01%	0.01%	0.07%	0.05%	0.16%

Source: 1991 Census, Office of Population Census and Surveys (OPCS) 1991, HMSO

All percentages have been rounded up to two decimal places and therefore may not, when added together, give a total of one hundred percent.

The table above shows the results of the last census which enumerates a county ethnic minority community of 0.77%; Lincolnshire is **not** a 'multi-racial' society. Compared with the rest of the East Midlands and the United Kingdom as a whole the district statistics show a comparatively low number for each of the ethnic groups identified for the purposes of the census of 0.5% to 0.7%. Only Lincoln City has a higher concentration of ethnic groups at 1.2%. If this is compared to the information shown in Figure 5 for the United Kingdom as a whole - identifying a total ethnic minority population of 5.5% - this is still a small figure.

Figure 5: National Ethnic Profile

Total Number	White	Black Caribbean	Black African	Black Other	Indian	Pakistan	Bangladesh	Chinese	Other	
									Asian	Other
Great Britain as a whole										
54888844	51873794	499964	212362	178401	840255	476555	162835	156938	197534	290206
	94.50%	0.91%	0.39%	0.33%	1.53%	0.87%	0.30%	0.30%	0.36%	0.53%

Source: 1991 Census, Office of Population Census and Surveys (OPCS) 1991, HMSO

All percentages have been rounded up to two decimal places and therefore may not, when added together, give a total of one hundred percent.

The ethnic groups have tended to become part of the wider society in all districts of Lincolnshire. The low numbers and distributed nature of each group has made cultural integration and assimilation a necessity. Without the large support communities of ethnic groupings found in many urban areas of Britain (Source 1991 Census - Bradford District, West Yorkshire 15.6% ethnic minority, City of London 20.2%) ethnic minority, London Borough of Brent 44.8% ethnic

minority groups) and together with the pressures of small village life, integration was not so much a choice as an essential element for survival.

Figure 6: Age Structure: Comparison between County, Region and Britain

Age Group	Age Structure (%)		
	Lincolnshire	East Midlands	Great Britain
0-4	5.9	6.6	6.6
5-15	13.1	13.6	13.5
16-17	2.6	2.6	2.5
18-29	16.1	17.9	18.2
30-44	20.5	21.4	21.2
45 - 64 Pensionable age	20.6	19.5	19.3
Pensionable age - 65 - 74	13.6	11.7	11.7
75 and over	7.5	6.7	7.0

Source - Office of Population Census and Surveys (OPCS) 1991, HMSO

Lincolnshire has a slightiy lower percentage of its population below the age of eighteen relative to the region and nationally, and a higher percentage of pensionable age. This does not, however, reflect a shortage, more a variation. The county had a total of 123,302 pensioners in 1991, 20,502 more than in 1981 and 24,298 more than in 1971. The growth in the numbers of residents of pensionable age is likely to continue in line with national trends and has implications for healthcare provision, housing provision and transport policy in the new millennium (Lincolnshire County Council, 1995).

As described earlier, employment in Lincolnshire reflects many of the national trends away from heavy engineering - once an important part of Lincoln's history with companies such as Ruston producing steam engines that powered the empire - to the service industries. Lincolnshire does however have one exceptional employment statistic that jumps from the page; nearly six times more people in Lincolnshire work in the agricultural sector than the national average. This is reflected in the 'top ten employment sectors' showing both

Agriculture/Horticulture and Food manufacturing to be enormously important local industries.

Figure 7: Employment in Lincolnshire

BROAD EMPLOYMENT SECTORS

S.I.C. 1980	DESCRIPTION	Employees	% of all employees Lincolnshire	Great Britain
0	Agriculture, Forestry & Fishing	14400	7.3	1.3
1	Energy & Water	2500	1.3	2.0
2-4	Manufacturing	44100	22.2	21.2
5	Construction	8600	4.3	4.5
6	Distribution, Hotels & Catering, Repairs	46900	23.6	21.5
7-8	Transportation & Communication	23600	11.9	18.3
91	Public Administration & Defence	9200	4.6	6.3
92-98	Other Services	49400	24.9	24.9
0-9	All Sectors	198600	100	100

NARROW EMPLOYMENT SECTORS

TOP TEN SECTORS, ALL EMPLOYMENT

S.I.C 1980	DESCRIPTION	Employees	% of all employees Lincolnshire	Great Britain
64/65	Retail Distribution	21800	11.0	10.5
95	Medical & Other Health	17300	8.7	6.8
93	Education	14900	7.5	7.9
01	Agriculture, Horticulture	14400	7.3	1.2
41/42	Food Manufacturing	12000	6.0	2.4
61	Wholesale Distribution	11700	5.9	4.0
66	Hotels & Catering	11100	5.6	5.4
91	Public Administration	9200	4.6	6.2
32	Mechanical Engineering	9000	4.5	3.1
50	Construction	8600	4.3	4.4

TOP FIVE SECTORS, MANUFACTURING

S.I.C 1980	DESCRIPTION	Employees	% of all employees Lincolnshire	Great Britain
41/42	Food Manufacturing	12000	6.0	2.4
32	Mechanical Engineering	9000	4.5	3.1
47	Paper; Printing & Publishing	5000	2.5	2.1
34	Electrical & Electronic Engineering	4000	2.0	2.2
43+45	Clothing & Textiles	2900	1.5	1.8

Notes

1. All figures are rounded to the nearest hundred. Figures may not add due to rounding

2. S.I.C. = Standard Industrial Classification

3. Source: Census of Employment 1991, Office of Population Census and Surveys (OPCS) 1991, HMSO

Unemployment in Lincolnshire is average for the UK with local variations between the north and south of the county. Generally the further south one goes the lower the unemployment figures get, this reflects the large number of jobs available in the food manufacturing sector centred around the fen areas of Spalding, South Holland and Boston. The low level of unemployment found in the south of Lincolnshire may well prove to have a significant influence on decision making within the secondary schools local to these areas. In Lincolnshire unemployment is a particular issue in the coastal area where many jobs are seasonal, and also in Lincoln and Gainsborough where job losses from the defence sector and from engineering have increased problems. Elsewhere in the county unemployment is less acute, but many of the jobs that are on offer are low-waged (Lincolnshire County Council, 1995).

Figure 8: Unemployment Rates in Lincolnshire

Average unemployment rate; Lincolnshire travel to work areas

	Annual Average							
Travel to work area:	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Boston	6.8	7.4	8.6	8.0	6.9	6,0	4,2
Gainsborough	9.3	10.6	11.3	11.0	10.0	8.1	6,5
Grantham	5.2	6.8	7.2	6.7	5.9	5,2	3,9
Horncastle & Mkt. Rasen	7.0	7.2	8.5	8.2	6.7	5,9	4,6
Lincoln	8.5	9.7	10.0	9.3	8,4	8,3	5,7
Louth & Mablethorpe	10.4	10.7	11,1	10.2	9.1	8,7	6,8
Newark	7.6	9.7	9.8	9.1	8.1	6,9	5.0
Skegness	12.5	13.1	13,0	12.2	10.5	9,7	6.0
Sleaford	4.9	6.1	6.9	6.9	6.1	5,5	3.3
Spalding & Holbeach	4.9	6.0	6.8	6.0	4,7	4,0	2.7
Stamford	5.6	6.6	7.3	6.2	4,9	4,6	3.1

Source: Employment Monthly Reports, Lincolnshire Training and Enterprise Council (TEC)

The above figures are based on travel to work areas (TTWAs) defined by the Govemment in 1992. New TTWAs were set up in 1998 to reflect changing work pattems[18].

Lincolnshire is one of the few areas of England and Wales which retains a 'grammar' school system of secondary education. Outside the City of Lincoln[19] children are tested at eleven years of age and separated from many of their peers on the basis of their 'test' results[20]. This issue may well prove to be important to the research question and sub-questions as the effect of this two-tier system may well be to reinforce division cradled in the family home and society at large. The grammar school system in Lincolnshire is loved by some and loathed by others for mutually opposed ideological reasons. It is likely to pass on the schools' traditions - described by Bantock (1965), Gramsci (1971) and Willis (1977) - of sending pupils to university. Indeed this cultural pathway may only recognise a particular group of universities, or preparing pupils for a life of employment with a specific group of employers.

Educational attainment across Lincolnshire's schools is generally in line with its statistical neighbours[21] and slightly above average levels across the country. The evidence shown below would support the claim the educational standards in Lincolnshire's schools are improving in the majority of areas. The figures shown below are National Curriculum test results for Key Stage 1 (children aged six/seven), Key Stage 2 (children aged ten/eleven), Key Stage 3 (children aged thirteen/fourteen), GCSE (children aged fifteen/sixteen) and A'level

(children aged seventeen/eighteen). The results reflect the range of schools in Lincolnshire entering ten pupils or more for the standardised tests.

Figure 9: Key Stage 1 result in Lincolnshire's schools

	1998				1999				2000			
	KEY STAGE 1 TEST				KEY STAGE 1 TEST				KEY STAGE 1 TEST			
	% LEVEL 2 & ABOVE				% LEVEL 2 & ABOVE				% LEVEL 2 & ABOVE			
	reading	Writing	Spelling	Maths	Reading	Writing	Spelling	Maths	Reading	Writing	Spelling	Maths
Stat Neigh, Avg,	81	83	67	86	83	85	72	88	85	86	72	91
Lincolnshire	81	85	69	86	84	86	74	88	85	86	75	91
England	80	81	66	84	82	83	71	87	83	84	72	90

Figure 10: Key Stage 2 results in Lincolnshire's schools

	1998			1999			2000		
	KEY STAGE 2 TEST			KEY STAGE 2 TEST			KEY STAGE 2 TEST		
	% LEVEL 4 & ABOVE			% LEVEL 4 & ABOVE			% LEVEL 4 & ABOVE		
	English	Maths	Science	English	Maths	Science	English	Maths	Science
Stat, Neigh, Avg.	66	60	72	72	70	81	76	72	86
Lincolnshire	65	60	69	72	70	78	75,6	72,9	83,8
England	64	58	69	70	68	78	75	72	85

Figure 11: Key Stage 3 results in Lincolnshire's schools

	1998			1999			2000		
	KEY STAGE 3 TEST			KEY STAGE 3 TEST			KEY STAGE 3 TEST		
	% LEVEL 5 & ABOVE			% LEVEL 5 & ABOVE			% LEVEL 5 & ABOVE		
	English	Maths	Science	EngUsh	Maths	Science	English	Maths	Science
Stat. Neigh, Avg,	67	64	62	67	67	61	66	69	66
Lincolnshire	68	66	63	68	68	62	67	70	67
England	64	59	56	63	62	55	63	65	59

Figure 12: GCSE results in Lincolnshire's schools

	1998				1999				2000			
	GCSE				GCSE				GCSE			
	% Achieving				% Achieving				% Achieving			
	5+ A* - C	5+ A* - G	1+ A* - G	Avg. Pts.	5+ A* - C	5+ A* - G	1+ A* - G	Avg. Pts.	5+ A* - C	5+ A* - G	1+ A* - G	Avg. Pts.
Stat Neigh. Avg.	48	91	95	38	50	91	96	40	52	91	96	40
Lincolnshire	48.4	89.6	94,4	37,5	50,3	90,7	95.1	39,2	52,6	90,8	95,1	40.2
England	46.3	87.5	93,4	37	47,9	88,5	94	38.1	49,2	88,9	94,4	38.9

Figure 13: A'level results in Lincolnshire's schools

	1998	1999	2000
	2+ A/AS	2+ A/AS	2+ A/AS
	Avg, Pt, Score	Avg, Pt, Score	Avg. Pt. Score
Stat. Neigh. Avg.	17	18	18
Lincolnshire	19,2	20	19.9
England	17,8	18,2	18.5

(D/EE, 2000a)

As described earlier Lincolnshire as a county is dominated by its agricultural tradition, many of the mral areas of the county are very isolated in terms of public and amenity services[22]. Poor levels of public transport and large distances between the market towns further reinforce this sense of isolation. Access to post-compulsory education is only possible through the use of private transport outside the City and towns. These problems of distance and access have led the County Council and other service providers to subsidise outreach schemes such as a mobile dentist, IT based leaming access centres and library vans. Providers of post-compulsory education have also made attempts to provide courses on a limited attendance mode supported by resource based leaming methods, with limited degrees of success. If people excluded from the educational system are to

be persuaded to re-engage it will not happen over the phone or through a computer monitor.

Summary

In short the political context is one of 'widening participation' rates and 'broadening access' opportunities to both further and higher education. The past decade has seen a massive expansion in the numbers of young people remaining in formal education way beyond the limits placed by legislation on school attendance. This expansion is set to continue with the current Labour govemment establishing a target of fifty percent of young people entering higher education by 2010.

Underpinning much of the policy debate is an acceptance that for these targets to be achieved there must be a cultural shift in attitudes to post-compulsory leaming - lifelong leaming - amongst some groups in society traditionally under-represented in fiarther and higher education. One of these groups, traditionally under represented in post-compulsory education, is the 'mral' people of Lincolnshire. It is their experiences and traditions that inform this research study.

Notes

' This realisation comes from a gradual acceptance during the nineteen seventies and eighties that much of Britain's traditional manufacturing industry would be unsustainable in a global economy. Developing countries, able to benefit from a trained, relatively low-wage economy, would increasingly become the preferred choice for multi-national industries employing semi-skilled workers in increasingly automated factories. The argument therefore follows that if this sector of employment and wealth creation is no longer tenable the altemative is to compete in the industries where ideas and high educational levels are the expected norm.

[2] For an extended discussion of the 'technocratic model' please see Coffield (1999).

[3] The needs of the economy and the industrial society had been largely responsible for a growing govemment involvement in adult education in the nineteenth century.

'Government involvement in adult education during the nineteenth century very much reflected broader ideological developments, from a withdrawal from paternalistic protectionism at the beginning of the century, through a period of laissez-faire non-intervention, to a gradually

increasing, if reluctant, state involvement and support from the middle of the century onwards.' (Fieldhouse 1996: 11)

At the Paris Exhibition of 1867 British industry achieved pre-eminence in scarcely a dozen of the ninety classes and this failure was attributed to the lack of suitable educational facilities,' (Vincent, 1989: 114; Keane. 1982:357)

'The early nineteenth century saw a growing belief that the new industrial society required a better educated population and that the ground to be cultivated was the emerging working class.' (Harrison, 1961: 3-5) See also - Sadler, M, E. (1907),

[4] Something to which David Blunkett referred to as a 'new imperialism' at the University of Nottingham in the 1996 Hugh Gaitskell Memorial Lecture.

[5] A term described by Antonio Gramsci as a product of cultural affiliation and not necessarily 'good sense' which could be described as having a universal truth.

[6] Professor Bob Fryer is Pro-Vice Chancellor at Southampton University, Chief Executive elect of the NHS University and works with the University for Industry - itself focussed on increasing participation rates among the adult population in further education - and Chaired the National Advisory Group for Continuing Education and Lifelong Leaming charged with exploring ways in which the policy implications contained within the White Paper **'The Learning Age; a renaissance for a new Britain'** could be operationalised to increase and widen participation in post-16 education and training.

[7] The fifty per-cent target is first mentioned in the Labour Party manifesto of May 2001 and has appeared in ministerial speeches and policy documentation from their subsequent general election victory. (The Labour Party, 2001) See also Morris (2001) and Higher Education Funding Council for England (2001).

[8] A very loose description of this sector but again using the all-encompassing, inclusive language of the time, A more traditional definition of Further Education would have focussed on the 'vocational" outcome and a particular age group attending 'College' on some basis.

It is interesting to note that neither the Education Act 1944 nor subsequent legislation (in 1988 and 1992) define 'adult education' as such - 'further education' is the umbrella term which encompasses all post-school non-advanced provision. In practice, however, local education authorities (LEAs) generally have, to a large extent, treated 'fiirther education' and 'adult education' as separate sectors [(a) and (b) respectively of section 41 of the 1944 Act]. Thus 'further education', in its popular day-to-day sense, has traditionally referred to 16 - 19 vocational courses in the colleges and, as such, excludes the bulk of adult education.

'Following the publication by the Confederation of British Industry (CBI) of **Towards a Skills Revolution** (1989), the CBI consequently set out targets for education and training in **World Class Targets** (1992). These targets, now known as the National Targets for Education and Training (NTETs), have been revised over the years - each revision has seen the targets reduce - and form an important measure for education and training policy. The National Advisory Council for Education and Training Targets advises govemment on post-sixteen education and training policy.

[10] See as examples the increasing importance of 'work based learning' in Training and Enterprise council annual reports e.g. Lincolnshire Training and Enterprise Council (1998b) **Getting Results: Drivers for Change.** Lincoln: Lincolnshire TEC

Lincolnshire Training and Enterprise Council (1999) **Making it Happen: Drivers for Change,** Lincoln: Lincolnshire TEC

" See any NVQ Programme Specification published by the awarding bodies or the Qualification and Curriculum Authority (QCA).

[12] There are of course difficulties in being 'one of the tribe', firstly, the researcher may be tempted to think they know the answer anyway and therefore misinterpret the data to reflect their own prejudices. This is an issue for all researchers but particularly for those who have a shared heritage to the research population. Secondly, as Bourdieu maintained the other major difficulty is in the interview process itself; ensuring that issues are not taken as assumptions, that is to say they are not fully discussed simply taken as read.

[13] Local TECs, originally set up in April 1991, were charged with promoting business development and training in the workplace. Lincolnshire TEC has been amongst the most active of the raral TECs in promoting government policy on lifelong leaming; setting up local schemes to widen

access and participating in national initiatives such as the pilot for 'Individual Leaming Accounts' (ILAs) (Lincolnshire TEC 1998). ILAs were established by the govemment to give leamers a sense of 'ownership' within the training process. In the pilot scheme participating leamers contribute a small sum of money - twenty-five pounds - to a leaming account which is then topped up to one hundred and fifty pounds by Lincolnshire TEC. This money can then be used to buy into any training programme identified in the learner's original application. Applications are judged against a predetermined set of criteria which gave priority to basic skills development and National Vocational Qualifications (NVQs) training for work. These criteria are set by govemment and have employment as the principal driving force.

Other mral TEC schemes include the establishment of local access centres in many market towns offering 'bite' sized leaming opportunities, 'free-phone numbers' offering advice and guidance to local people interested in retuming to study and 'Countryside Job Buses' offering a mobile platform for advice and training. Although TECs have tended to focus on job related training they have been important instruments in raising public awareness and promoting adult learning. Their need to promote adult leaming has ensured local press coverage of successful adult learners and new initiatives. The free phone advice and guidance initiative has now been established nationally under the University for Industry (Ufl) title of 'Learning Direct'.

In spite of these successes, recent legislation, *Learning to Succeed* (DfEE 2000b) swept away TECs in April 2001 replacing them with a National Leaming and Skills Council. The National Leaming and Skills Council operates through forty-seven Local Leaming and Skills Councils; their job is to set local targets and initiatives to meet the National Council's targets. The Council has take on responsibility for all adult learning policy and funding decisions except higher education.

[14] The 1974 Local Govemment changes left the county's northern boundary south of its original position adjacent to the Humber.

[15] The Lincolnshire Wolds are an area of hills mainly within the West Lindsey District of Lincolnshire to the east of Lincoln. The principal towns of this area are Louth and Homcastle. The Wolds are characterised by wooded slopes and valleys, with open hilltops which re\'eal sweeping views of the surrounding countryside. The vast majority of this area - 85% - is Grade two agricultural land, intensively farmed with combinable arable crops.

[16] The fenland in Lincolnshire includes the low lying silt land around the Wash and the Witham Fen along the river of the same name up to Lincoln. The fenland is grade one agricultural land, among the most productive in Britain, producing high quality vegetable and cut flower crops. The principal towns of this area are Boston and Spalding,

[17] 'Ethnic' is the term used on the census form although in reality the form asks respondents to identify their racial origin. The figures shown in Figure four and five are taken from the census information and reflect racial rather than the anthropological definition of ethnic identified earlier in the thesis.

[18] Travel to work areas (TTWAs) are useful for geographers, economists and other people interested in the way the local economy works. They show where most people work, and form the basis of unemployment statistics and estimates of the local contribution to GNP (Gross National Product).

TTWA boundaries are drawn between towns in such a way that within each TTWA boundary, most people travel to work in the town in the middle of the TTWA. The Govemment revised the TTWAs in England in 1998, to reflect changing work pattems. These boundaries do not necessarily match the county boundary. For example, along the southem boundary of Lincolnshire the County has part of the Wisbech TTWA and part of the Peterborough TTWA - both of whose main towns are outside Lincolnshire.

[19] In the early I970's the firmly 'Labour' dominated City Council forced the then Conservative County Council to adopt a 'comprehensive' secondary school system within the City boundary.

[20] Parents who elect for their children not to sit the test are allocated school places with those who fail the test.

[21] Statistical neighbours are Local Education Authorities which share similar social indicators, these include the number of children receiving free school meals, the number of children for whom English is a second language, etc. Lincolnshire's statistical neighbours include:
Norfolk

East Riding of Yorkshire
Somerset
Comwall
Northamptonshire
Devon
North Yorkshire
Cumbria
Worcestershire
Suffolk.

[22] 95% of parishes in Lincolnshire and Rutland have no daily bus service, Lincolnshire and Rutland Lifelong Leaming Partnership (LRLLP) (2000)

Chapter Two - Review of Literature

This chapter reviews the existing body of knowledge relevant to this enquiry, identifying and comparing the previously published literature dealing with the impact of culture on decision making in educational choice. In this way the research provides a link with the work which has been published before, while at the same time shedding light on new directions for fiiture study. The literature will be examined 'topically', moving from the classical studies to the contemporary, making comparisons between related studies and the research questions identified in the previous chapter. The focus of the comparison will be on the variables which characterize much of social science research, such as the methods of enquiry and the specific problem/concept at the heart of the study. The key authors/concepts which shape the theoretical perspective for this study are highlighted, in a summary, at the end of the chapter.

The Development of the Concept of Culture

One of the first, and best known, definitions of culture is that of the anthropologist E. B. Tylor, who referred to 'that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society' (Tylor, 1871: 1). Two years earlier, in *Culture and Anarchy,* Matthew Arnold wrote that culture was best described as 'a pursuit of our total perfection by means of getting to know all matters which concem us, the best which has been thought and said' (Amold, 1869: viii). This is

considerably less inclusive and certainly more evaluative than Tylor', yet both include a value judgement of what is important. The language of Tylor also conjures up one of the historical core dimensions of the nofion of culture, that is culture is 'shared' by all members in a given society; a concept which is increasingly challenged as anthropologists tum their attention to increasingly complex societies.

In the field of educational studies the concept of culture is increasingly used and occupies a central place in 'explanations' of educafional achievement or, perhaps more commonly, underachievement particularly as it affects 'working class' and 'ethnic minority' children. The concept of culture has become popular with social scientists despite, or perhaps because of, its looseness and ambiguity. Worsley (1984) distinguishes four varieties of cultural concepts: elitist, holistic, hegemonic and pluralist. The first of these was once of great importance to educationalists who saw a route to the enlightenment of the masses through exposure to 'high' culture. This elitist view of culture focuses on the 'superior activities within society', those which are idenfified as 'most worthy', 'restricted to the few' (Burtonwood, 1986). It is interesting to reflect on the change in the concept of culture that this view makes no reference to the anthropological view of a holisfic concept[2], stressing the wholeness of a way of life and the sharing of understanding within a group. Raymond Williams (1981), in his book *Culture,* articulates a number of convergent interests, recurrent themes associated with 'culture', notably: -

a) an emphasis on the 'informing spirit' of a whole way of life, and

b) an emphasis on a 'whole social order'.

The first of these convergent interests, the 'informing spirit', Williams concludes is manifest over the whole range of social activities, but is most evident in 'specifically cultural' activities - styles of art, music and intellectual activity, (a description which draws some comparison with Worsley's elitist concept of culture) future and cultural expression.

In the second of the convergent interests, the 'whole social order', Williams describes how a 'specific culture', in styles of art and intellectual work, is seen as the direct or indirect product of an order created by other social manifestations. These two positions are often referred to as (a) *idealist* and (b) *materialist.* Materialist explanation is more commonly reserved to describe other 'primary' activities, leaving 'culture' to a version of the 'informed spirit'. The importance of each position is that it leads to the relationship between 'cultural activities' and other forms of social life.

> 'Each position implies a broad method: in (a) illustration and clarification of the 'informing spirit', as in national histories of styles of art and kinds of intellectual work which manifest, in relation with other institutions and activities, the central interests and values of a 'people'; in (b) exploration from the known or discoverable character of a general social order to the specific forms taken by its cultural manifestations.' (Williams, 1981: 12)

These two themes combine to give an understanding of behaviour that allows us to communicate with and predict the behaviour of others within a *signifying system*[3].

A signifying system is a term used by anthropologists generally and by both Williams (1981) and Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) in this particular context to describe a wider social system than that distinguishable as economic systems, political systems and generational (kinship and family) systems. This signifying system is essential to all of society's sub-systems yet is recognisable as a system in itself; most obviously as a language; as a system of thought or consciousness and as a body of specifically signifying works of art and thought. This system exists not only as institutions and works, and not only as a system, but as active practice and states of mind.

Within this study of decision making - by young people in considering post-compulsory education - the link(s) between the 'signifying system' and the range and preferred options considered will be central. The research data will be used to identify the nature of the 'signifying system', its identifying characteristics and whose 'signifying system' is most influential. These characteristics can be seen as an abstraction of Bourdieu's vision of culture as a multi-layered concept, each building from the general to the specific. The idea of layers of cultural characteristics, identifying sections of society sits well with the current shift in understanding regarding the influence of power and history.

> '. . . .as anthropologists have begun to study more complex societies, in which divisions of class, race and ethnicity are fundamental constitutive, it has become clear that if we speak of culture as shared, we must now always ask 'By whom?' and 'In what ways?' and 'Under what conditions?" (Dirks, et al. 1994: 3)

This shift has been manifest in several very visible ways. At the level of theory, the concept of culture has been expanded by Foucauldian notions of discourse, and Gramscian notions of hegemony (on the latter point the work of Raymond Williams has been particularly influential[4]). Both concepts emphasize the degree to which culture is grounded in unequal relations and is differentially related to people and groups in different social positions. Culture as a mean of determining, or enforcing, social rules of behaviour is a theme picked up by the American anthropologist Clifford Geertz in his book *The Interpretation of Cultures* (1973).

> '. . . . . culture is best seen not as complexes of concrete behaviour pattems - customs, usages, traditions, habit clusters -as has, by and large, been the case up to now, but as a set of control mechanisms - plans, recipes, mles, instructions - for the governing of behaviour.' (Geertz, 1973:44)

The hegemonic dimension to culture was introduced by Marxists who analysed the way in which a set of behaviour is imposed on the majority by the dominant social class. This dimension of culture was pioneered in the work of Antonio Gramsci who elaborated his view that the interests of the working classes were in conflict with the hegemonic culture that serves the bourgeois interests. Gramsci (1971) in his *Prison Notebooks* outlines the trend away from the 'humanistic' or 'holistic' educational curriculum - designed to develop in the individual a sense of culture and an ability to think and find one's way in life - to a curriculum designed to serve a professional industrial sector. The tendency, he

goes on to say, is to abolish every type of schooling that is not 'serving immediate interests'. Gramsci proposed an altemative curriculum with a balance of key skills and an understanding of the role of the individual within society.

The first years of school should focus on imparting the first 'instrumental' notions of schooling - reading, writing, mathematics, geography and history - in particular the 'rights and duties' of the individual. By contrast the final phases of the school must be conceived and constmcted as the decisive phase:-

> '.... whose aim is to create the fiindamental values of humanism, the intellectual self-discipline and the moral independence which are necessary for fiiture specialization.' (Gramsci, 1971: 32)

Different schools, colleges and places of higher education, with different cultural traditions, will produce very different intellectual specialisms, such as those schools exhibiting the academic or vocational divide. During the late twentieth century this was perhaps best illustrated by the widely held views/perceptions in much of England about 'grammar schools'. Children attending a grammar school - having passed a test at age eleven - received and followed an academic tradition; those who failed the test attended the 'secondary modem school' characterised by its less academic, more practical, tradition. The desire of many parents to 'get their child into the grammar', at almost any cost, reinforces the perception of the value of an academic curriculum - a recurrent theme in any study of the relevance of culture to education. Within mral Lincolnshire a grammar school structure persists and is likely to produce a significant influence on the options considered by pupils. Accordingly, culture is responsible for the reproduction of inequality as well as

being a site for class struggle. Gramsci reflects that real change will not come from those who are served by a culture which is designed to favour and maintain their specific way of life.

Finally the pluralist concept of culture recognises that within any society there is a multiplicity of different value systems; society and culture are not co-extensive. The concept of a plural society goes back to Furnivall's experience in the Far East: 'A study of plural economy' (Chapter in *Colonial Policy and Practice)* published in 1948. Fumivall found what he called a 'plural society' where people of different ethnic/cultural backgrounds met only in the market place, and even there they did not mix, so no common 'social will' developed. In education the term 'plural society' came into general use in the 1960's and 1970's. In 1973 Van den Berghe defined pluralism as 'a set of properties of societies wherein several distinct social and/or cultural groups coexist within the boundaries of a single polity and share a common economic system that make them interdependent, yet maintain a greater or lesser degree of autonomy and a set of discrete institutional stmctures in other spheres of social life, notably the familiar, recreational and religious'. (Van den Berghe, 1973: 961) The pluralist view is that rather than attempt a stipulative definition of culture one should consider the variety of altemative, overlapping meanings with the retention of this ambiguity (Worsley, 1984: 59). Pluralist culture could be characterised by its acceptance and non-judgemental view of difference, that is to say positively celebrating difference.

The observation that any culture will evolve, as an abstraction of the social circumstance, is a point picked up by Williams (1981). According to Williams the

'informing spirit' evolves with the passage of history and social circumstance, but is clearly evident in descriptions of particular periods in a society's history e.g. the 'roaring twenties'; summing up a period of confidence, hope for a better and more prosperous fiiture. This is an important point as it challenges the traditional claim that culture is extraordinarily durable. The cultures of 'traditional societies' were thought to have changed very slowly, if at all. The virtual absence of historical investigation in anthropology, until recently, has meant that cultural systems have appeared timeless, at least until mptured by cultural contact. As anthropologists have begun to adopt a historical perspective, the durability of culture has faded. In some cases, long term cultural traditions tum out to have been of recent invention, for political or ideological reasons (see Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983). In other cases, long term cultural configurations have, indeed, been very stable[5].

Pierre Bourdieu describes the stmctures and pattems which, when ordered can be called a culture as '*habitus*'[6]. Bourdieu claims he would have used the word 'culture' if people could agree on its meaning (Bourdieu, 1968: 706). The concepts of *habitus* - embodied depositions - functions as an analogue for culture when it comes to explaining behaviour. The reality of cultural stmctures can, according to Bourdieu, be grasped by means of four basic propositions:

- to see the world is to classify or categorize: -
- classification is based on archetypal binary or dualistic model of order - what unites and what divides;
- the fiindamental binary division, and the model for all others, is that of gender;

- this basic elementary division provides the sub-text, through processes of analogy for all the other binary separation. It is the basic generative separation which provides the model and the interpretative paradigm or key for all other classificatory acts of separation and division.

According to Bourdieu, social groupings cohere through similarities in *habitus* and *fields,* and also through similarities in types of capital within *the fields. Habitus* 'are the mental or cognitive stmctures through which people deal with the social world.' *Habitus* can change over time through different associations and experiences. Bourdieu explains them as 'intemalized, 'embodied' social stmctures' (Bourdieu, 1984: 468). They are acquired primarily through family and schooling. *Fields* are the 'networks of relations among the objective positions within it' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992a: 97). The *field* is described as a 'type of competitive marketplace in which various kinds of capital are employed and deployed'. The types of capital are economic, cultural, social, and symbolic (Ritzer 1996: 408). An example of how social groupings cohere is through cultural capital. Bourdieu uses an example of what he describes as 'tastes'. In cultural capital there is a focus on aesthetic taste. Tastes are the 'acquired dispositions to differentiate among the various cultural objects of aesthetic enjoyment and to appreciate them differentially.'

Shared tastes unite people together into social groupings, whereas dissimilar tastes serve to differentiate between groupings. These dispositions for certain objects are created by people's *habitus* and by *the fields* they live in. Bourdieu states that it is these dispositions 'that forge the unconscious unity of a

class.' Some groups try to be exclusive and limiting in their acceptance of new members. They do this by encouraging or discouraging association with certain objects. There may be a conscious effort to determine what may be associated with the grouping.

For example, preferences for certain foods, cars, and clothing are associated with different social groupings; the groupings are stratified and ranked. This is a demonstration of association with different social economic groups of people. Bourdieu would say that preferences for luxury cars, designer clothing, and expensive goods are shaped by people's *habitus.* Through their association with the *fields* they live in, people leam different *habitus;* these *habitus* encourage certain preferences and discourage others. An example of this is the importance given to particular games or sports by individual social groupings. Sports such as mgby football and cricket were once seen as reflecting a mainly middle/upper class educational and cultural heritage - to some extent this has been overtaken by 'professionalism' and mass television coverage - while soccer was firmly rooted in the working classes. Indeed some sports, such as snooker and darts, were seen by some as sign of a 'mis-spent youth'.

Although the definitions have been blurred by an increase in access to sports in general some retain their association with a particular social group e.g. Polo and the upper class. People classify certain objects and associate them with different groups. By accepting or rejecting these objects, liking or disliking, people associate themselves with these different groups. These different groups vary

within the different *fields.* By stating or displaying the acceptance of an object a person allows himself or herself to be associated with a particular group. As people classify themselves and allow others to classify them, they unite together within these classifications which become social groupings. Shared tastes and the acceptance of the classifications into groups allow groups to cohere. These similarities bring people together by their shared preferences. The similarities allow groups to draw closer together, to cohere, by the members' agreement in taste. Thus social groupings cohere through shared interests and preferences demonstrated in their different types of capital.

Without an understanding of the *habitus,* the conscious and unconscious implementation of explicit or implicit schemes of perception a beholder of 'art' or 'music' simply sees and hears a jumble of sound, colour and rhythm. Not having learnt to adopt the means to appreciate the beholder stops at what Erwin Eanofsky calls the 'sensible properties' - i.e. cannot move from the primary stratum of meaning we can pick up on the basis of ordinary experience - to the secondary stratum of meaning, that which is *signified* (Eanofsky, 1955: 28). Therefore an individual reaction to art is not 'love at first sight', more an act of cognitive acquirement, a cultural code[7]. Bound up with the systems of disposition - *habitus* - is the separation of different classes and class fractions 'taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier' (Bourdieu, 1984: 6).

Social subjects, classified by their classifications, distinguish themselves by the distinctions they make between the 'beautiful and the ugly', the 'distinguished and the vulgar'. Bourdieu makes the point that this classification is

transferable to other areas of the human condition, statistical analysis shows oppositions similar in stmcture in eating habits - the antithesis between quality and quantity, luxury and necessity, and the manner of presenting, serving and eating (Bourdieu, 1984: 6).

Bourdieu carried out his research using a range of quantitative and qualitative procedures including participant observation, observation, stmctured and unstmctured interviews, diaries and the widespread use of questionnaire based interview surveys. Bourdieu's work is characterised by his focus on 'how things are done', the practicality of life. To do this Bourdieu constantly tried to seek a middle way between the thesis and antithesis of objectivism and subjectivism. Bourdieu also argued throughout that a research strategy which consisted largely of eliciting from informants accounts of and for their behaviour will produce a misleading picture of social life. As research data, Bourdieu argues there are three basic things wrong with the answers research subjects - interviewees - give to questions asked by social scientists:

First, as a discourse of familiarity it takes too much for granted, leaves much unsaid which is important.

Secondly, as an outsider-orientated discourse it will tend to remain couched at the level of the general, eschewing the detail of the particular and the case study.

Thirdly, the discourse is bound up by a fundamental desire on the part of the research subject to impress the researcher or to give the 'right' answer.

What Bourdieu is really alluding to is that the research subjects are unlikely to reflect honestly on their own behaviour. Bourdieu's most constant solution to these

problems is in the analysis and interpretation of language. The conventional sociological and anthropological view that culture is unthinkable without language is one which Bourdieu would subscribe to in the strongest terms. He argues that 'standard languages' do not exist, language exists as a product of complex social pressures. For Bourdieu all speech acts are the outcome of two 'casual series', the linguistic *habitus* and the linguistic market. Bourdieu is thus concemed with linguistic practices from the point of view of their production and their reception; the speech act is not to be reduced to 'mere execution'. Given that, for Bourdieu, speech is firmly rooted in social relationships and interaction; the rest of his theoretical framework comes into play in understanding discourse.

During the research leading to his book, *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste* (1984), Bourdieu used a large-scale survey, based on a questiormaire, to gather data from 1217 subjects. Interestingly the finished work drew data from two surveys carried out several years apart which, Bourdieu argued, had little impact on his data. 'Because the survey measured relatively stable dispositions, this time lag does not seem to have affected the responses' (Bourdieu, 1984: 503). The sample Bourdieu chose was made up of Parisians and provincial subjects in equal numbers. The large sample size allows Bourdieu to make quite broad claims for the range of his findings; the sample is stratified to allow analysis of particular cultural groups and practices by class fraction. Therefore the middle and upper classes are over represented to give adequate sample numbers without distorting the composition of the group. This careful

selection of the sample is an important factor in this research project which seeks to identify and analyse a range of social groups.

Cultural Reproduction

When Durkheim visited Germany in 1886 he described how *Kultur* was thought of as an organic unity; no part was to be understood separately from other parts. This organic whole even took on a spiritual quality it was taken as an expression of a national vision (*Geist*°).Durkheim himself asserted the primacy of what he called 'social facts', defined as 'every way of acting, fixed or not, capable of exercising on the individual an extemal constraint'; or again, ' every way of acting which is general throughout a given society' (Durkheim, 1895: 13). There are two points to note here, one is that social facts are said to exist outside the individual consciousness and the second is the coercive power that is exerted, it is claimed, on the individual. It becomes a moral requirement for the collective traits of society to be realised in the individual.

It is Durkheim who, according to Bemstein (1975), provides the clearest understanding of what the term 'social' entails. Bemstein utilizes the distinctions between mechanical solidarity where people cohere because they are alike and organic solidarity where the very differences and interdependencies are what hold a group together. Bemstein seeks to show how these different forms of solidarity produce different educational codes through which cultural messages are transmitted and reproduced. Since the 1960's Bemstein has redefined and developed his analysis by creatively engaging with a number of tendencies in classical sociology.

> 'He has woven a complex fabric with threads coming from a Durkheimian concem with social origins and the functions of symbolic forms, classifications, and representations, and a partly Marxist concem for the way power reproduces itself through class relations.' (Apple, 1992: 131)

During this time Bemstein's corpus of work increasingly focused on *class* power as the dominant feature in cultural reproduction. For Bemstein, to understand how *class* reproduces itself, the task is to show 'how class regulation of the distribution of power legitimates dominant principles regulating the relationship within and between social groups and so forms of consciousness' (Bemstein, 1990: 13). Bemstein goes on to explore the ways in which the institutions of the dominant class, largely the schools' stmcture, are instmmental in this process. He argues that the very nature of the school curriculum is linked to class division and therefore likely to favour specific class groups. Hence acceptable school behaviour is an abstraction of class codes and stmctures. He describes how this process is achieved through the combination of two interrelated complexes of behaviour. First, the consensual rituals of the school that encourage appropriate sentiments towards the dominant value system; in particular what Bemstein called the *expressive order* which 'attempt to transmit a code, an image of conduct, character and manner' (Bemstein, 1975: 38/39). These are designed to bring about a moral order, held by both staff and pupils, which bind the school community. Secondly, the *instrumental order,* the facts, procedures, practices and judgements necessary for the acquisition of skills required by a capitalist society (Bemstein, 1975: 38/39). This reference to the needs and influence of capitalism is important

in Bemstein's work. His use of the term capitalism is not confined to definitions of economic systems; he uses it as a cultural system in its own right. As Apple (1992) describes:

> 'It penetrates to the heart of a people's common sense, so that they see the existing world as the world 'tout court', as the only world. Capitalism becomes hegemonic. It creates what Raymond Williams (1977), following Gramsci's lead, called an 'effective dominant culture' (Apple, 1992: 128).

Bemstein uses the concept of code as an analytical device to link individual behaviour with the stmctures and culture of society; 'the concept of codes refers to the transmission of the deep-meaning stmcture of a culture or sub-culture, the basic interpretive mles, as described earlier in this chapter the tools with which to interpret the 'secondary stratum'.

The thrust of Bemstein's arguments is holistic, concentrating as it does on all parts working together to produce a harmonic interdependence. One criticism has been that this equates transmission with reception - 'becoming another functionalist account which underplays conflict and resistance' (King, 1976: 436). Bemstein's cultural reproduction theory 'explains' what happens in school, in terms of the conditions of the wider social condition it is designed to bring about, and 'this type of explanation defies the laws of logic, for one thing cannot be the cause of another if it succeeds it in time' (Cohen, 1968: 47 - 48). Another shortcoming in Bemstein's work is his failure to identify the precise nature of class formation. His ideas are mainly theoretical, suggestive rather than concrete.

'For such a key concept, questions of how one determines class location are left rather opaque.' (Apple, 1992: 138)

Clearly his work has relevance for this research study in the way it reaffirms the importance of the *whole* on the actions of the *individual.* The cultural heritage of the study population will be, at least in part, an abstraction of the *expressive order* they have experienced during their school days. Also of interest is whether the *instrumental order* Bemstein describes is still all that significant at the beginning of the twenty first century. Since Bemstein's work the introduction of tighter and tighter central control in the school curriculum[9] may well have reduced the differences in 'official knowledge' and hence the divisional affect *of instrumental order.*

Although Bourdieu, like Bemstein, draws on many research traditions, 'his basic thesis on education is Durkheimian[10], in that he sees school functioning to reproduce the social order largely through the legitimisation of the world view of the dominant class' (Burtonwood, 1986: 29). Bourdieu's is another theory of social reproduction which allocates to schooling a central role in the replication of a social order[11]. Through school the individual acquires, quite unconsciously, a whole system of categories of perception and thought. The individual intemalises a set of basic master pattems that through a process of practice result in a unity of cultural behaviour. The credos of culture are tacitly assumed and they constitute 'a totality of mood which characterise all means of expression of an age' (Bourdieu 1973: 180).

The part schools play in passing on a 'culture' has been described by a number of writers and researchers. In his work *Notes towards the definition of culture* Eliot (1948) is quite clear that the transmission of culture is one of the major purposes of any educational system. 'The purpose of education, it seems, is to transmit culture: so culture (which Eliot does not define precisely) is likely to be limited to what can be transmitted by education' (Eliot 1948: 96). This is a very clear indication of Eliot's view of the role schools play in cultural reproduction. It is, of course, a product of Eliot's own educational experience[12] and although his view is clear it is interesting to note that in later life Eliot revised his view of cultural reproduction to reflect the part played by the 'family unit' and the wider community (Bantock, 1970). This is a view echoed in Bourdieu's work and his claims that *habitus* is largely formed through experiences in the family and school (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992b: 97). The debates about culture are, at least in part, debates about education. In *The Long Revolution* (1961) Williams sees what is defined as education in a particular society as being a selection from culture. It has three inextricably related but distinguishable purposes, to pass on: -

1. Accepted behaviour and values of society,
2. General knowledge and attitudes appropriate to an educated person,
3. A particular skill by which they will cam a living.

To the extent that the 'pattern of culture' in a particular society is generally accepted, education towards it will be seen as a natural training which everyone must acquire. The interesting issue today is whether when society is changing, as a product of history and circumstance, education has become such a contested area

that 'one group's education can be another's indoctrination' (Billington, 1991: 140).

Writing from a different political perspective, Bantock shares Williams's view of education as a selection from culture and Eliot's denial of a common culture, explaining the failure of mass education by the attempt to force an alien literary culture on the masses (Bantock, 1971). The culture of school, Bantock argues, is the 'high culture' of the book and 'it nowhere touches those cultural experiences in terms of which a considerable majority are going to spend the rest of their lives' (Bantock, 1971: 28). Bantock suggests an altemative curriculum which has its roots in the 'face to face interest of the folk, and out of their primitive experience' (Bantock, 1971: 48). Bantock argues that the ills of the educational system of his time could only be remedied by providing cultural life chances, rooted in the real cultural life of the people, rather than simply equality of opportunity. Thirty years after Bantock made this observation it is interesting to reflect on the emphasis which has been given to 'equality of opportunity' in our educational system. During the research the opportunity will exist to explore the extent to which the sample of young people identify with the cultural messages contained within the school curriculum e.g. has the National Curriculum relieved or emphasized the divide between the masses and the school culture? Bantock's observations are based on his research experiences as a Schools Inspector in the 1960's and as an academic in the seventies. During this time the individual school and individual teachers had a far greater control on the content of the curriculum than is now the case - c.f. Literacy Hour, Numeracy Strategy, National Curriculum. It is worth

remembering that the National Curriculum was always intended to act as a 'cultural glue' reinforcing the established notion of 'British culture'.

> 'Individual people in these islands have much in common but they also have many individual characteristics specific to country, ethnic grouping, religion, gender and social class. We do not believe that school history can be so finely tuned so as to accommodate all of these details all of the time.' (DES cited in Short and Carrington, 1999: 17)

To be fair to the 'cultural restorationists' (Short and Carrington, 1999: 175) they never tried to hide their tme purpose. They readily admitted their purpose was to stem the tide of cultural pluralism as can be seen from the comments of Nick Tate the first head of the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority.

> 'The proposals for British history, standard English and the English literary heritage are designed to reinforce a common culture. A national curriculum, we imply, is more than simply a recipe for meeting the economic needs, vital though these are: it is more than just the means to facilitate the infinitely varied life choices or isolated individuals. It also plays a key part in helping society to maintain its identity.' (Tate, 1994: 5)

In Lincolnshire multiculturalism in schools is largely addressed through the 'Lincolnshire Agreed Religious Education Syllabus' which outlines the principal focus on Christianity as the dominant cultural tradition but includes at least two other world religions as 'significant leaming opportunities' (Lincolnshire County Council: LEA, 2001: 5). The nature of the agreed syllabus encourages pupils to debate not only the meaning and traditions of the world's religions but the

interrelationship between society, history and religious belief. Schools in Lincolnshire face something of a dilemma in the way they address racism and multicultural issues. In a county dominated by one racial group - see the statistics shown in Chapter Three - the County Council encourages schools to take children on visits to other 'faith communities' in an attempt to widen their understanding of other racial groups in British society[13]. Bourdieu largely fails to recognise the place race may directly play in *habitus* formation, preferring to equate racism with class prejudice. This criticism is highlighted by Diane Reay using *habitus* as a theoretical model to investigate race and class in primary education.

> 'I would suggest that Bourdieu places too little importance on the potential of race to stmcture the *social field* and mediate the differences of social class that he elaborates throughout his writing. In particular, *habitus* has embodiment points to race being a cmcial component of an individual's *habitus.* Bourdieu does not use the term racism in his work, but he uses it with reference to class (Bourdieu, 1993: 23).' (Reay, 1995: 131 - 132)

Many schools in Lincolnshire fail to address multiculturalism in any meaningful way, not because teachers have all taken a conscious decision not to, more it is simply not part of their *habitus.* Racism is largely considered something that happens in urban settings, not mral Lincolnshire! Bourdieu writes that the dominant group in any setting feel themselves to be superior (Bourdieu, 1993: 177). In a similar process the taken-for-granted mono-culture of mral Lincolnshire may also seem to be the natural order *of habitus.* Recent attempts by govemment to ensure all schools properly address these issues are likely to prove only partially

successfiil in mral areas like Lincolnshire. The *Race Relations Act* (2001) introduced a general duty on public bodies, including schools, to have a due regard to the need to eliminate unlawful racial discrimination and promote equality of opportunity and good relations between persons of different racial groups. All maintained[14] schools must have had a written race equality policy in place by 31st July 2002. The legislation may well be useful in urban areas with diverse racial groups but within many mral communities it fails to address the more common concems of 'ethnic' prejudice. Ethnic groups such as 'travellers' fall outside the legislation with its focus on biological characteristics. Indeed the imposition of a policy, which is not seen as appropriate, may well reinforce the natural sense of the 'other'.

The influence of the wider social *habitus* is also documented by Willis (1977), between 1972 and 1975, on the transition from school to work of 'non-academic working class boys'. The emphasis on boys, rather than working class girls is a clear omission in Willis's research (a reflection of the time). The work is not about 'working class kids', as the title of his book - *Learning to Labour: How working class kids get working class jobs* - would suggest, but about a particular section of working class society destined to work in the urban manufacturing/heavy engineering industries. In the last two decades these industries have largely disappeared forcing one to reconsider the current relevance of much of what Willis has to say. His methodological approach using case study work, interviewing, group discussions and participant observation with groups of working class boys in their last two years at school and early months at work does,

however, remain a useful model for researchers. Willis sets out to explain the relationship between the culture of working class boys and the process of decision making that leads them to reproduce pattems of working class employment[15].

> 'The difficult thing to explain about how middle class kids get middle class jobs is why others let them. The difficult thing to explain about how working class kids get working class jobs is why they let themselves.' (Willis, 1977: 1)

This quote from Willis, on the opening page of his work, exhibits a glaring naivete. A more obvious question is 'why some don't?' The tendency of 'cultural reproduction' to ensure the transmission of cultural capital from one generation to the next has been described earlier (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990). It should not be wholly unexpected that children carry forward the expectations of their parents and that of the wider community, through school and into employment. Having said that there is, in the latter part of the twentieth century, a general shift in much of the traditional working class towards 'non-working class employment' opportunities[16]; many of the mass manufacturing jobs have disappeared or have been transformed by new technology and partly as a consequence of meritocracy - increasing shift to employment through education/training achievement - in employment.

Willis describes how working class kids do not appear to simply fit into a curve of decreasing work merit following behind the least successfiil middle class kids. Their aspirations and work pattems exhibit discrete limits of expectation. This self-imposed ceiling of expectation is an abstraction of community and

family experience. 'Instead of assuming a continuous shallowing line of ability in the occupational/class stmcture we must conceive of radical breaks represented by the interface of cultural forms' (Willis, 1977: 1). This is a fascinating observation and one which this study pursues within the context of the mral environment. Willis articulates how important 'Labour Power' is in redefining and reproducing particular class stmctures. Labour power is an important pivot because it is the main mode of active connection with the world. Once this basic compact with the future has been made everything else can pass for 'common sense'. The use of 'common sense' as an inevitable consequence of a particular cultural tradition reinforces the point made by Antonio Gramsci earlier last century. Gramsci (1971) expresses the view that *common sense, a* product of cultural tradition and prejudice, should not necessarily be taken for *good sense* which may enjoy a universal tmth.

> 'The specific milieu, I argue, in which a certain subjective sense of manual labour power, and an objective decision to apply it to manual work is produced, this is the working class counter-school culture. It is here that working class themes are mediated to individuals and groups in their own determinate context and where working class kids creatively develop, transform and finally direct them to certain kinds of work.' (Willis, 1977: 2)

Attempts to penetrate this system of reproduction by the articles of the state, media, and more obviously by the school system are often ineffective.

> 'The tragedy and the contradictions that these forms of 'penetration' are limited, distorted and turned back on themselves, often unintentionally, by complex processes ranging from both general ideological processes and those within the school and guidance agencies to the widespread influence of a form of patriarchal male domination and sexism within working class culture itself.' (Willis, 1977: 3)

Again this point may still hold some tmth for some social groups but the expansion of education, particularly post-compulsory education, has penetrated all aspects of community. Finally, Willis argues that the processes of self-induction into the labour process - often through the extended family, community expectation and school - constitutes an aspect of regeneration of working class culture in general, and an important example of how this culture is related in complex ways to regulative state institutions. They have an important role in reproduction of the social totality and therefore Willis poses the question, is it really in the interest of the dominant culture to radically change the order of the working class condition? The question is an interesting one in that it is at the centre of what education of the working class, or indeed any class, is all about. The articles of government talk about improving the prospects of working class people - that is to say employment prospects, ability to cam money, not therefore to be financially dependant on the tax payer - but this programme of education is focused clearly on the needs of industry not the people themselves. Willis's work identifies an interesting trait in working class school culture to mimic the 'work' culture (what he describes as shop floor culture). He describes the notion of a

'counter school culture'; that is to say a culture which has many profound similarities with the culture many of its members are destined for, namely 'shop floor cultiire' (WilHs, 1977: 56).

The credentials for entering the school counter culture are far from those of the defeated. They are credentials of skill, dexterity and confidence and, above all, a kind of presence that adds to the social force; a force which Willis describes as being 'on the move', not supported or stmctured by a formal institution, to which one might make a written application.

Masculinity and toughness - again a central theme of shop floor culture - a form of masculine chauvinism, also typify this counter culture. Despite the large numbers of girls who may join the culture the fundamental ethos of the group is profoundly masculine. Willis also describes the desire of the counter culture to take some form of informal control. He describes the attempts of working class kids, with the aid of the 'resources of their culture' to take control of classes, substitute their own unofficial timetables, and control their own routines and life spaces. These cultures - like others - develop a specialised language that clearly identifies members and non-members[17]. (See Bourdieu's work on 'linguistic practices' described earlier.)

The rejection of school work in general by 'the lads' and the omnipresent feeling that they know better, is also paralleled by a 'massive feeling on the shopfloor, and in the working class generally, that practice is more important than theory' (Willis, 1977: 56). Practical ability always comes first and is a condition of other kinds of knowledge. Alternatively in middle class culture knowledge and

qualifications are seen as a way of shifting upwards the whole mode of practical alternatives open to an individual. Recent examination results at sixteen and eighteen would suggest the 'counter school culture', described by Willis, is alive and well among many boys. Girls are now consistently outperforming their male schoolmates in all areas of the curriculum. The emerging evidence would suggest boys are preoccupied with their image, being 'one of the gang', and not being seen as a 'sissy'. This may well have started life as a working class characteristic but again, twenty-five years on, it appears to be more widespread than Willis claims. The research shows that despite the changing role of career guidance few working class kids receive the level of access described by the services own standards. The counter school culture of working class boys often provokes a reinforcement of these working class values by the institution. These values are often used to disqualify non-conformist behaviour. Willis observes this is often done through a form of blackmail: -

> 'If you are not developing the right attitudes now you will not succeed at work,' and more practically 'if you do not co-operate now you will not get a good leaver's report'. (Willis, 1977: 92)

This non-conformist behaviour shapes the future for many working class children who prefer to follow this behaviour pattern rather than take the official guidance. Although the teachers' notion of the continuity between school and work is rejected by 'the lads', another kind of continuity is profoundly important to them. 'In terms of actual jobs choice it is 'the lads' culture and not the official careers material which provides the most influential guides for the future' (Willis, 1977:

95). Clearly this last point will be central to this study; twenty plus years on since Willis's study is this still the case?

The research methodology employed by Willis focussed on one main study group - twelve non-academic, working class boys, selected on the basis of friendship and membership of an 'opposition/non-conformist school culture' - selected from a large, single sex, non-selective secondary school. Willis describes the area which the school serves as an 'absolutely characteristic working class inter-war estate' ensuring the school receives an 'exclusively working class intake' (Willis, 1977: 4). The school had a reputation as a 'good school' with reasonable standards of behaviour and dress enforced by a competent senior staff. The main group was studied using a variety of data-gathering techniques including: observation; participant observation in class, around the school and during leisure activities; informal interviews and diaries. Willis monitored all of the different subject classes and options attended by the study group at various times and all the 'careers' classes.

As well as the study group parents, senior teachers and class teachers - in regular contact with the study group - formed part of the research data. Later, having left the school environment, the individual members of the study group were visited at work and further data gathered using participant observation and interviews with them and their work-mates.

As a check to the research a series of comparative studies were carried out, over the same period of time, involving groups of three boys chosen from five settings:

- Conformist lads in the same year at the same school,

- A group of working class, conformist lads in a nearby mixed sex secondary school,
- A group of working class conformist lads in a single sex local grammar school,
- A similar group of lads in a mixed secondary school at the centre of a large conurbation (of which the study area formed a satellite town), and,
- A mixed class non-conformist group in a high status grammar school in an exclusive area of the town.

The methods adopted clearly reflect the nature of a 'longitudinal' study conducted over a three-year period; the aims of the study were to follow the young people through their joumey from school to work. The use of 'observation' and 'participant observation' as research tools clearly show a desire to follow a pathway, to give a 'before' and 'after' comparison. These methods allow for a degree of insight and understanding built on the researcher's knowledge of the precise circumstances leading to a particular course of action, but suffer from the problems of most observational data. As the outsider looking in the researcher is interpreting the data without necessarily fully knowing the 'mles' which govem the tribal behaviour. Bourdieu suggested that the very act of observation, in itself, produces a particular kind of understanding: '....inherent in the position of the 'objective' observer who, seeking to interpret practices, tends to bring into the object the principles of his own relationship with the object.' (Bourdieu, 1990a: 27) In this study the need to gather meaningful data reflecting on events will favour the more immediate forms of data gathering such as interviews or life

stories. These methods reflect the aims of this study in looking for precise answers to precise research aims. (See Preface for the Research Aims.)

The methodology used by Willis is in sharp contrast to that used by Richard Hoggart (1957) in his study *The uses of literacy - aspects of working class life*. Hoggart's book sets out to illuminate changes in working-class culture between the 1920's and 1950's in particular, as they are encouraged by mass publications. The book was written with two distinguishable styles: the first where Hoggart uses his own experiences to describe characteristics of working-class relationships and attitudes; the second using a more specific analysis of popular publications. The research data is however secondary in nature, based on a mass survey carried out in 1955 called the 'Hulton Readership Survey'. Hoggart's conclusions are drawn from this study splitting the responses into five sets of social economic groups based largely on household income:

A - the 'well to do' - 4% of informants - (income more than £1300 per annum),

B - the middle class - 8% of informants - (income between £800 and £1300 per annum),

C - the lower middle class - 17% on informants - (income between £450 and £799 per annum),

D - working class - 64% of informants - (income between £250 - £449 per annum), and,

E - the poor - 7% of informants - (income less than £250 per annum).

In making his analysis Hoggart spends a lot of time describing exactly what the defining features are of the 'working class'. He criticises other studies for not precisely identifying the boundaries of class. This element of his work provides a guide for this research study. Clearly times have changed but the need to be precise in the study population remains a constant.

Hoggart begins this definition by outlining how difficult the task is. As he says there is an inevitable overlap between 'class' boundaries, in this case between the working-class and the lower middle-class. One of the keys to Hoggart's definition is the sense of belonging to a discrete grouping, recognized by all those who are members. This leads Hoggart to look for those characteristics solely typical of the working-class, that is to say outside this shared area of 'grey' characteristics.

> '.....those I have in mind still to a considerable extent retain a sense of being in a group of their own, and this without there being necessarily any implied feeling of inferiority or pride; they feel rather they are 'working-class' in the things they admire and dislike, in 'belonging'.' (Hoggart, 1959: 20)

Other key indicators Hoggart uses are listed below: -

- most of the employed inhabitants of these areas work for a wage, not a salary,
- the wage is paid weekly,
- most have no other source of income,
- some may be self-employed but tend to service the needs of others from their cultural group,

- family income is typically nine to ten pounds (1954 rates) for the chief wage earner,
- most were educated at a local 'secondary modem' school, and,
- usually labourers, skilled or unskilled, or craftsmen and perhaps apprentice-trained.

Hoggart uses the less tangible features of working-class life as his main means of definition. Speech, phrases in common use, manner of speaking, urban dialects, accents and intonations would seem an obvious starting point, but Hoggart rejects these factors: as he explains, 'I have not sufficient knowledge to pursue this examination'.

Style, particularly clothes, can still be usefiil as a class indicator although Hoggart recognizes the availability of cheap mass produced clothing has made this characteristic less overt.

Hoggart finishes his rough definition by settling on attitudes as his principle means of definition. The attitudes, set reactions to events and situations which pass from the 'old' to the 'new'.

Reading Hoggart's definition, it is the language, repeated phrases, intonation and these attitudes which pass from generation to generation which may give some classification within this research study. Much of his early indicators - weekly paid for example - have been overtaken by changes in society and banking practice but as described earlier the need to be clear about the defining characteristics of a cultural group are important issues. As Eagleton describes 'the only thing worse than having an identity is not having one' (Eagleton, 2000: 66).

(See also Lewis (1985) on the natural condition of 'ethnocentricity'). This is an interesting concept when set in a context of a declining link with agriculture and an urban majority. Do mral people fear not having an identity in a post-modemist world? As shown in the Preface earlier one of the aims of this research is to gain an insight into the nature of mrality and its affect on young people's decision making. Having reviewed the literature conceming 'culture' and 'cultural reproduction' it is appropriate to now refine that to look at some of the literature as it relates to the concept of 'mrality'.

Rurality

For many years little research was done into the nature of mrality and its influence as a social constmct on mral people; the - much cited - review article by Philo (1992) called for greater academic attention to be paid to social groups in mral settings. Since then a range of studies have been undertaken by 'mral geographers' helping to draw attention to the problems faced by people living and visiting the countryside. As a result of this we now know more about the lives of, for example, mral women (see Little and Austin, 1996 and Hughes, 1997), mral children (see Valentine, 1997 and Halliday, 1997), minority racial groups in mral England (see Agyeman and Spooner, 1997) and travellers (see Halfacree, 1996). Although some of these studies have tended to represent mrality in fairly stereotypical ways they have focussed researchers' attention on this important group in modem society.

Any discussion of mrality is predictably and inevitably drawn to the notion of the mral idyll. Although not a new term or idea - see the work of Pahl (1965),

Williams (1973) and Newby (1979) - it is a term which appears with such regularity that any discussion of mrality appears incomplete without mentioning the 'caring', wholesome', 'tight knit' that is the mral idyll. This theme is also reflected in the way mrality is portrayed in much of the mass media, such as popular television drama. Series such as 'Dangerfield', 'Heartbeat' and 'Peak Practice' are all set in a timeless notion of the countryside and its people. These and other dramas often rely heavily on a class based stmggle between the main characters; perhaps the most successful of these is the world's longest mnning 'soap' drama the BBC's 'The Archers', broadcast daily on Radio Four.

> 'The overall argument of this paper is hence that the mediated mralities of British mral drama programmes are enactment's of social and spatial imaginary, the complexity and effect of what are often ignored in their textual reduction to a middle class idyll.' (Philips, et al. 2001: abstract)

Despite the arguments that this is a romantic fantasy view of mrality that never existed, its appeal seems un-dented. As Williams (1973) observes in his book *The Country and the City* it conjures up meanings and feelings based on a romantic impression rather than on any necessary reference to reality. Williams argument is that the notion of the *rural idyll* is a myth perpetuated by an urban population looking for a link with the past, a time of innocence and a simpler way of life, a contrast to the capitalist economy of their urban lifestyle.

> 'The romantic picture of such a 'simpler way' has little in common with the countryside of the twenty-first century where farming has been

> replaced by the 'agricultural industry', food industrialization and Genetically Modified Crops.' (Atkin, 2001: 2)

The 'capitalist' economy that drove Williams argument has always been present in the raral economy - accepting the way the market has been manipulated by UK/EU subsidy. Wright (1984) makes the point that mral communities often feel disenfranchised from the powerful policy makers and business interests that affect their lives.

> 'The Lincolnshire study of sectarianism and the absence of 'co-ordinating mechanisms' between agricultural and manufacturing sides of the mral economy supported more generalized statements that the distant 'they', who were responsible for major change in the locality, were too big and too far away from any possibility of modifying trends by local govemment, let alone parish action.' (Wright, 1984: 12)

A further - although not unrelated - criticism of some of these studies is their 'static' treatment of mral identity. While geography researchers have generally started to question the nature of identity formation - e.g. Keith and Pile (1993) - mral geographers have made few attempts to unravel what is meant by 'mral identity'. At least in part this reluctance to consider 'mral' as an identity is driven by a fear among some that in defining raral identity researchers will further alienate an already disadvantaged section of society. As Little notes:

> 'Even when research is motivated by a strong desire to address inequalities, real problems exist in presenting output of contemporary cultural research in a manner that is compatible with raral policy and practice. The

inevitable 'messiness' of the experience and presentation of marginalisation makes the framing of policy recommendations difficult and encourages partial and individual responses.' (Little, 1999: 439)

The sense of 'disadvantaged' - in comparison with the urban majority - is central to the UK government's response to the appeals from raral pressure groups and local govemment organisations to address the feeling of 'otherness' associated with mral communities. (See, for example, Cosgrove, et al. 1996.)

In the *Rural White Paper* (MAFF, 2000) the govemment reaffirmed its commitment to the countryside and made 'raral proofing' a part of the formal policy making process for all govemment departments. The intention was to ensure that as policies were developed, policy makers must assess:

- Whether their policy is likely to have a different impact in mral areas from elsewhere, because of the particular characteristics of mral areas: and
- Where necessary, what policy adjustments or compensations might be made to reflect mral needs and circumstances (bearing in mind the likely costs and benefits). (The Countryside Agency, 2001)

The White Paper also established a new series of 'headline indicators' for judging the success of its policy initiatives in raral settings[18]. These were set out under four 'themes': A Living Countryside, A Working Countryside, A Restored Countryside and A Vibrant Countryside. Under the first - A Living Countryside - objective three stresses the need for better education, using qualifications of young people in mral areas as an indicator. This is an interesting indicator to choose given

educational qualification levels in raral England are generally higher than in urban England.

Figure 14: Proportion of working age people with NVQ level three +

	Rural districts	Urban districts
East Midlands	43.39%	38.23%
England	42.79%	41.6%

(Nomis, 2001)

A mral analysis of the Index of Education, Skills and Training Deprivation which combines a number of indicators or poor education attainment or performance also shows that, on average, people in mral wards are less educationally deprived than their urban counterparts. (Chandola, et al. 2001) What is interesting in this research context is that for Lincolnshire these figures are reversed: mral people in Lincolnshire are less well qualified than their urban counterparts (The Countryside Agency, 2002: 30).

This apparent anomaly is perhaps, in part, explained by the way 'mral people' are defined, by central and local govemment, simply in terms of where they live - 'post-code' definition - rather than cultural identify. Inevitably this definition 'skews' the statistics by including large numbers of well educated, wealthy middle class who have moved out of the cities in search of a better/safer life for their family's in the raral fringe of cities. Lincolnshire is perhaps the only raral county in England without a significant urban fringe and hence its statistical figures for education in raral areas better reflect the realities of raral life. Despite the recent attempts by govemment to focus on the needs of mral people there is still a need for more detailed research in this area.

'Much more work is needed on the detail of the various sociological practices and beliefs that underpin (and are part of) dominant representations of mral.' (Littie, 1999: 440)

Another central theme to the research is how these cultural identity issues translate in terms of young peoples' decision-making processes. This next section reviews the literature on 'decision making'; particularly in young people considering post-sixteen options.

Decision Making

According to Murray (1972: 45) the ability to reach a decision, and the nature of the choices considered, depend on a number of factors. He identifies the following three as 'probably' the most important:

First, the amount of information the individual has access to; the analysis would suggest the greater the level of information the more informed the decision and the greater number of options considered [19].

Secondly, the way in which the individual weighs the differing constraints which appear to be operating in the *field.* One thing which stands out very clearly from the study of decision making is that the number of possible constraints is virtually limitless. At the same time, it is clear that some types of constraint are more important than others - as a cmde example economic constraints are mentioned more often than aesthetic constraints (Murray, 1972: 45) - and the individual's reaction to constraints depends very much on the weighting given to one factor rather than another. It is interesting to note that Murray goes on, in his study of

decision making, to describe his belief that it is impossible to describe the 'constraints facing decision making in Britain' and the question can only be addressed at a micro level, e.g. 'the constraints in education or in defence planning' (Murray, 1972: 46).

Thirdly, the standpoint from which the individual views the information. This factor is the one closely linked to Bourdieu's notion *of habitus,* described earlier, the way in which our vision of the world is shaped by our experience of society and its collective history of social order.

The process of decision making begins with the identification of the problem. In the case of young people considering post-compulsory education the problem is one of re-birth, a new start, a right of passage. For the first time since the age of five years the opportunity exists to leave the fijll-time school environment, the decision to consider is what then? Simon (1960) suggests that problem identification leads first to intelligence activity, which involves searching the environment for conditions which reflect on the decision to be made. As outlined earlier the cultural and social environment, to which the individual and group belong, will all influence and inform the range and extent of possible decisions.

Jabes suggests there are 'three basic conditions under which decisions are made: certainty, risk and uncertainty' (Jabes, 1982: 54/55). Certainty exists when the outcomes of altemative decisions can be accurately predicted. This state of certainty is at odds with the social science theatre of decision making. There is however the possibility that some young people are so 'ill informed' or culturally

cocooned that they believe their decisions are made with certainty; this is an interesting issue to identify, as a potential signpost to cultural identification.

Risk involves a state in which the outcomes of the altemative actions can be specified and a probability assigned to the likelihood of the outcome of each. To understand choice under conditions of risk it is important to understand:

1) 'how the individual appraises the probability of the occurrence of each outcome;

2) what personal values the person wants to maximise' (Jabes, 1982: 55), that is to say what kind of satisfaction they want to derive.

Clearly the values identified by Jabes will be a product of cultural membership and link culture with the process of decision making. This study will clearly focus on a link between these two issues.

Uncertainty exists when the probability of occurrence of altemative outcomes is completely unknown. It is unlikely that any of the decision-making outcomes considered by young people, affecting post-compulsory education, will fall into this area. Completely unknown is some distance from the current emphasis given to widening participation and careers advice and guidance given by both the instruments of the state and the social group. The information available to young people, about the potential outcomes of decisions, will vary of course but in general the information available is comprehensive and easy to access by most social groups in society. Schools and the wider community provide both a formal and informal conduit for information and case study material on the consequences of various decision-making outcomes. Indeed decision making can be viewed as a

reflection of the amount of information which is available to the individual. Decisions for which most of the information is known are at one end of the continuum, and decisions for which no information exists are at the other. In order to understand choice under uncertainty it is important to recognize the 'perceptions, needs and belief systems of the individuals. . . . . availability of information helps to reduce uncertainty.' (Jabes, 1982: 58) In the study the availability of information open to the individual will provide an interesting comparison with cultural classification. The cultural traditions of individual schools, as an abstraction of location or status, may well be instmmental in the availability of information open to the individuals. An important consideration in young people's decision-making processes is the cost benefit analysis which again is a term heavily dependent on cultural interpretation. As Olson (1965) puts it, the question is whether the contribution the individual makes increases the benefits they will receive enough to make it worthwhile.

While there has been considerable interest in the subject of choice of school, research to date has tended to focus on parents' choice of schools for their children at eleven plus. For example Elliot (1982), West, Varlaam and Mortimer (1984), Fetch (1986), Hunter (1991) and Ball, Bowe and Gewirtz (1996). There is littie which specifically addresses the decision making process for post-compulsory education from a cultural perspective. Previous research studies concentrating on decision making in this sector of education include: Taylor (1992) who was concemed with awareness, and attitudes to post sixteen education; Foskett and

Hesketh (1996) who focussed on the different educational pathways or 'trajectories' young people choose: two studies completed for the National Foundation for Educational Research which focussed on the reasons young people give for *'leaving at 16'* (Maychell, et al.1998) and *'staying on'* (Keys, et al. 1998) and statistical information provided by the careers service in its report *'Moving on - 1998: Pathways taken by young people beyond 16'* (DfEE, 1998).

Looking at these recent studies in some detail will clearly offer the possibility for the issues they identify to be incorporated into this research. It is however worth restating that this study does not attempt to replicate other work in this field - and their specific research aims - but to examine the cultural influence on decision making within the study area as defined in the previous chapter.

Monica Taylor's work reports a survey of the awareness of, and attitudes to, post sixteen options of young people reaching the minimum school-leaving age as they were assessing the various options open to them in the sixth form, fiirther education colleges and youth training. The research aims were described as:

- 'Examine the reasons for the choices young people make, the extent to which they understand their options (especially in relation to fraining), and their attitudes to these options;
- Provide information to assist the development of provision for 16 - 19 year olds;
- Establish the impact of what is already done in terms of careers education and guidance and make recommendations for improvement where appropriate.' (Taylor, 1992: 302)

Questionnaire data was collected from year eleven - final compulsory year of school attendance - pupils attending ten schools within a single local education authority. The schools were chosen, with the aid of the local education authority, to reflect:

1. Geographical location,
2. Ethnic mix,
3. Single sex and coeducational,
4. Socioeconomic type (rural/mixed/urban),
5. 12 - 16, 12 - 18 and independent,
6. Perception of careers education and guidance system, and,
7. Perception of commitment to equal opportunities.

Criteria six and seven are described as including an element of 'perception'; one area of concem with the research methodology might be the issue of 'whose perception?' It is not clear if the authority identified the schools with an element of historical baggage, which may or may not have any factual basis. 1335 students completed the initial questionnaires - 83% of the total year 11 population - which sought to identify a representative sample which could then be interviewed at length to gain more detailed information. The initial questionnaire provided basic data on the respondent including gender, racial composition, parental employment and expected GCSE performance. 200 pupils were then interviewed as a sfratified sample divided, principally on the basis of their expected GCSE performance, into three typologies:

Low attainment - (less than 8 GCSEs),

Medium attainment - (8 or 9 GCSEs), and,

High attainment - (8 or 9 GCSEs including three sciences or two foreign languages or more than 9 GCSEs)

These interviews were all carried out by trained interviewers and allowed Taylor to conclude - 'the research design thus enabled qualitative perceptual evidence to be presented within a quantitative framework related to attainment, gender and school type' (Taylor, 1992: 301). Pupils chosen for interview were invited to bring a friend along to encourage an exchange of ideas between the pupils as well as question and response between the interviewer and the pupils. Interviews were taped and summarised as pupil record cards, the interview responses were coded and/or used as direct quotations.

The following summary of Taylor's research identifies the importance of various sources of information in shaping young people's decision-making processes. The figures would suggest that by far the most important factor is 'family'. In relation to this study Taylor's claim is central to the research question. The influence of culture - a product of family life and condition - would appear to be very influential.

Figure 15: Young people's views on the amount of help they received from family, peers, teachers, careers officers and employers in deciding on post-sixteen opportunities (n = 1355)

Help from:	Amount of help				
	Lot %	Little %	None %	NR%	Total %
Friends	18	62	20	1	100
Careers teacher	24	52	23	1	100
Other teacher	10	54	35	1	100
Careers officer	13	30	51	7	100
Family	65	31	3	1	100
College teacher	5	23	67	5	100
Employer	7	18	70	5	100

Totals may not acld up to 100 due to roun(ling errors

(Taylor, 1992: 362)

The research does conclude that one the principal factors affecting choice is the need to fit in to family expectations and cultural heritage. Taylor calls for the wider recognition of family importance in this area and greater involvement with schools and career advisers on the possible options available to young people. The research formed part of the diagnostic process of local reappraisal at a time of considerable national and local changes in education and training, and as such tends to focus on the specific influence of local agencies on the decision making process.

In contrast to the qualitative nature of Taylor's study, Foskett and Hesketh's work is mainly empirical and quantitative in methodology. Their work sets out to address two clear aims:

> 'To examine the decision making process of fifteen and sixteen year olds in relation to their immediate post sixteen educational/training/employment trajectories, with particular reference to the nature and timing of decisions,

the role of different information sources, and the factors influencing the choices made.

To examine the nature of post sixteen markets, and their influences on institutional marketing responses and the decision making of pupils about post sixteen trajectories.' (Foskett and Hesketh, 1996: 5)

The research method adopted in the study was a sample based national survey, comprising of questionnaires designed for year eleven pupils, to elicit insight into pupil decision making about their post-sixteen intentions. Semi-stractured interviews with policy makers and marketing managers were also carried out in further education providers. In each of the eight Further Education Funding Council's regions in England a Further Education provider was asked to take part and asked to identify local schools they had strong links with (recraited well from) and those with weaker links. A sample number of these schools were then asked to take part in the study. Equal numbers of both types of school took part.

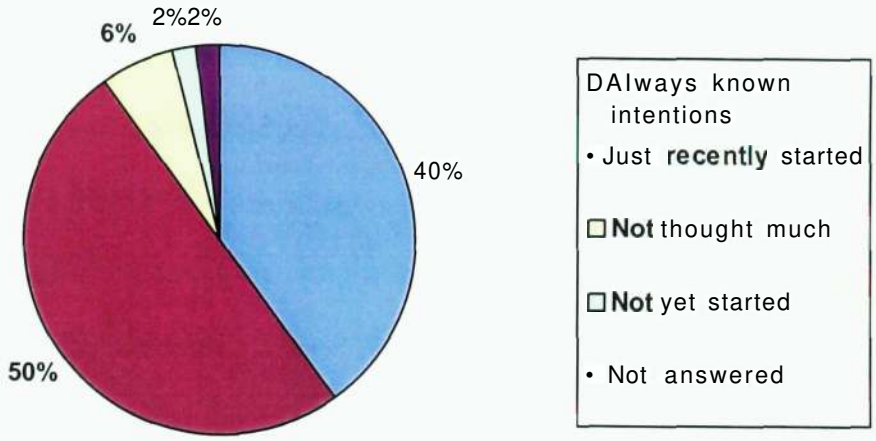
The pupil questionnaires contained an initial sheet asking for the respondent's age, gender, occupation of family members and eighteen questions divided under three headings:

1. The timing of decision making,
2. The influencing factors in the choices made, and,
3. Sources of information pupils had used in making decisions about post sixteen trajectories.

The questionnaires contained a mixture of single response multiple choice, multiple response multiple choice and free response open questions. The

questionnaires were distributed, and completed, during the last week of the summer term before the pupils left school for study leave prior to their GCSE examinations.

Figure 16: The timing of pupils' inauguration of choice-making (%)



(Foskett and Hesketh, 1996: 9)

This data is interesting in that there appears to be a dichotomy between pupils who have 'always known' what they were going to do (40%) and those who had only just begun to think about post-sixteen options (50%). It is likely that the influence of cultural *habitus* is at its most obvious in those who 'had always known what they were going to do'; part of the explanation for this very high level of response must lie in the effect of cultural heritage. As Foskett and Hesketh comment:

'These pupils may have underestimated, or more likely forgotten, the latent role played by their parents over a period of years in shaping both their

perceptions of and decisions about their post-compulsory trajectories.'

(Foskett and Hesketh, 1996: 12)

Their observations at this point are very much in keeping with the data collected by Taylor suggesting the massive impact of 'family' on the decision making process for young people. Foskett and Hesketh reported a chronological relationship between the initiation of pupils' decision making and their chosen trajectories. They concluded that those pupils choosing to pursue an academic programme of study are likely to make that decision at an earlier stage than those opting for vocational courses. The data also highlighted an interesting development in the underlying cultural difference between the decision making of pupils from different social class backgrounds. Foskett and Hesketh observe that the inauguration of decision making amongst middle class pupils is earlier than in working class pupils, but the difference is not as large as expected. The decision making process in different social groups appears to ran in parallel throughout secondary school. Foskett and Hesketh comment that this may reflect changes in pupil expectations, 'post-sixteen education is no longer a middle class aspiration, but an educational expectation across all social classes' (Foskett and Hesketh, 1996: 12 and Fulton, 1991). Secondly, the rising importance of certificated educational credentials in the market place have combined to encourage - or force - many more young people into the further education sector. Finally they conclude the wider changes in society have made the transition from compulsory to post-compulsory education less problematic for working class pupils, as previous research has shown (e.g. Williams and Gordon, 1981). Both Taylor's and Foskett

and Hesketh's research used questionnaires as the research tool, in the case of Taylor to stratify the sample before using interviews.

Working with Foskett and Hesketh , Hemsley-Brown (1996a) was conducting a two-year longitudinal study concentrating on the decisions made by the pupils themselves. The way in which pupils handled the information provided by post-compulsory providers was central to her study. The research was based on interviews with twenty-five fourteen to sixteen year olds attending a variety of schools in the south of England. The study revealed four principal and interrelated factors influencing students prior to their exposure to the marketing and promotion of local colleges.

The first of these was the pupils' preconceptions about post-compulsory options - including family influences and the choice between academic and vocational education. Interviews held with the study population at age fourteen showed most students had already decided the options they were prepared to consider. Pupil's approach to the information provided by post-compulsory providers exhibited a strong prejudice depending on parental attitudes to further and higher education (Hemsley-Brown, 1996a: 268). Students from all social groups, and achievement levels claimed they did not listen to information about post compulsory providers/opportunities they were not already predisposed to. The interviews confirmed the notion of the 'composite consumer', a concept defined by Foskett and Hesketh (1995: 6) which describes the combined decision making process of pupil and parent.

> 'Parents acknowledge that sixteen year olds should choose for themselves - however by the time sixteen year olds have been immersed in the parents' set of values they have developed strong views about the appropriate routes to adulthood.' (Hemsley-Brown, 1996a: 237)

Hemsley-Brown makes the point that one of the most obvious manifestations of this influence is the pupil attitude to academic and vocational pathways. In her research there appeared to be a strong correlation between parental educational heritage and the pupil expectation of options which would be appropriate.

The second factor identified was the pupils' actual or expected level of achievement and performance at GCSE. Not surprisingly those pupils identified as the most likely to be successful in GCSE examinations were also those most informed about the range of post-compulsory options available. Students who had found school study difficult were similarly disadvantaged when they attempted to make sense of the post-compulsory options available to them.

> 'Four low achieving girls were so ill informed about their post sixteen options they were unable to provide any coherent information about colleges, or job training even at the end of the interview period.' (Hemsley-Brown, 1996b: 52)

The third influence on the young people's decision making process Hemsley-Brown describes as social aspirations or group identity. This is an interesting observation from the research in that students placed great emphasis on selecting an option which fitted their self image, socially and academically. Students were aware of the ability and social class of others, and they perceived social class

identities in the local colleges. In practice, this is what economists call the 'demonstration effect' (Donaldson, 1992: 154). The reason that fiiends are so important is not simply that one's own friends are going to the same college, but that people who are already attending are either people whom 'I want to be identified with' or people who are perceived to be 'like me'.

Hemsley-Brown concludes her discussion of this influence by affirming 'students selected within a 'socially defined' range of altematives' (Hemsley-Brown, 1996b: 53).

The fourth factor identified supports the view first proposed by Maslow (1954) that 'needs' influence choices, and can be classified into a simple hierarchy as follows:

- Psychological needs,
- Safety needs,
- Love needs,
- Esteem needs, and,
- Self-actualisation needs

Usually people will try to satisfy these needs in the order they appear in the hierarchy, such that the psychological needs will normally take precedent over all the others. Veblen (1899) argued that many choices were not motivated by 'need' as much as concem for one's social standing and prestige (Baker 1992: 167). This last point has tremendous implications for the marketing of post-sixteen education to school leavers, their perception and need may be far more robust than colleges have realised.

The two studies carried out by Maychell, et al. (1998) and Keys, et al. (1998) both followed a questionnaire based approach to data collection. Both focussed on the reasons young people gave for a given course of action. Maychell's study distributed over 2,000 questionnaires to year eight and year eleven pupils at forty-two maintained schools - with and without sixth forms - in England. In addition schools were asked to complete a questionnaire providing background information on the pupils, the catchment area, etc. For both age groups the response rate was around 75%. The responses indicated that those intending to leave full-time education at sixteen were very much the minority[20]. The responses also highlighted the link between 'staying on' rates and family social class.

> 'It would appear that social class is strongly related to post-sixteen choice: two thirds of year eleven and year eight pupils who plarmed to leave full-time education were from skilled manual or partly skilled backgrounds. In contrast, only one fifth of year eleven pupils and one sixth of year eight pupils who had made this decision has parents with professional or managerial jobs.' (Maychell, et al. 1998: 59)

The single most common reason why respondents intended leaving full-time education at sixteen was a wish to 'earn money' (Maychell, et al. 1998: 60), despite half of those planning to leave recognizing the long term value in continuing their ftill-time education beyond sixteen. This is an interesting observation in that if, despite seeking the financial benefits in 'staying on', another values system must be influencing the young people. This thesis has at its heart

this very issue, what is it about *habitus* for some groups in mral society which leads young people to take particular choices at sixteen.

In parallel with Maychell's study, Keys research focussed on young people in their first year of post-sixteen education in three different settings. Keys study goes fiirther than others in this field in that she makes an attempt to link real choices with possible reasons; the young people surveyed had made their choice. The data will certainly be more valid as a consequence of the decision, having been made, rather than just an expectation but the young people have perhaps had insufficient time living with their choices to make honest reflective responses. Again questionnaires were used to gather the data; responses were received from:

925 students in 21 fiirther education colleges

367 students in 21 school sixth-forms

140 students in nine sixth-form colleges.

Responses identified three dominant reasons why students had decided to stay within full-time education:

1. obtaining a qualification necessary to get a job;
2. the desire to carry on with their studies;
3. to obtain the necessary qualifications for university entrance. (Keys, et al. 1998:47)

Interestingly only half of the students in sixth forms and a quarter of students in further education colleges said they had considered an altemative. Clearly the affect of family, school and society had shaped the options considered to a point were the decision had become *common sense.*

The effect of family, particulariy parents, is further emphasised in the work of Ball et al. (2000) researching pupil choice mechanisms in South West London. Their research study used questionnaire data - distributed to 110 children in year eleven, the last year of secondary school - to select a sub-sample of young people for further investigation. The methods used were mainly qualitative and ethnographic in style relying mainly on unstmctured interviews supplemented by observational and documentary evidence. In the findings they conclude:

> 'The majority of our students, regardless of sex, class or 'race', relied heavily on their (sometimes extended) families for support and advice[21]. In some cases, it was local-family friendship networks which led to employment or the pursuit of particular courses.' (Ball, et al. 2000: 55)

These studies are not necessarily referring simply to the direct process of advice and guidance involved in choice. (Five-year-olds do not choose their own primary school. Their parents do, based on their own values and aspirations for the child.) As Foskett and Hemsley-Brown point out in their book, *Choosing Futures: Young people's decision-making in education, training and careers markets* (2001):

> 'The family context of attitudes and values has huge unconscious persistence in the decision making of 14-18 year olds. . . . . The choices of young people are never free from the influence of their family, with the implication that replication of choice and values from generation to generation is a significant element in understanding broad pattems of choice in education and training markets.' (Foskett and Hemsley-Brown, 2001: 204)

This reference to the 'unconscious persistence' and the 'replication' of choice links to Bourdieu's discussions of 'cultural capital' outlined earlier in this chapter and developed further in Chapter Three. If individual young people are able to operate comfortably within the dominant cultural, social and economic environment - largely a product of family and school - their possible choice options will reflect this shared *habitus.*

These recent research studies clearly all start from an assumption - or at least a suspicion - that cultural heritage has an influence on the process of decision making when young people consider post-compulsory options. The findings of Taylor, Foskett and Hesketh, Hemsley-Brown, Maychell et al, Ball et al, Foskett and Hemsley-Brown and Keys et al all identify the importance of family and more specifically often the influence of cultural tradition on the choices young people make when considering post-sixteen education.

In identifying cultural groups and their post-sixteen destinations - which at least in part will be a reflection of their success, or lack of success, at school - this study will also touch on theories *of cultural discontinuity* (See Ogbu, 1982*)*. Cultural discontinuity is the hypothesis that linguistic and cultural barriers, or differences, between the home environment of a minority group and the school environment in which they are expected to leam the values of the majority, is the primary cause of poor performance by minority groups[22]. Although Ogbu's work (1982) is largely based on racial minorities, and their performance in schools, it will be interesting to see if there is a similar correlation between the attitudes of mral culture(s) and the majority urban culture. Ogbu describes how school success

by minority groups is about the way these groups perceive the linguistic and cultural differences. He identifies the way in which some groups see opposition to the dominant culture as a defining part of their cultural behaviour. He sums up this approach in his idea *of folk theory of success*[23].

Summary

Who are the key figures in this area of research and how does their work influence the theoretical perspective of this study? The work of both Raymond Williams and, particularly, Pierre Bourdieu is central to the definition of culture and the identification of cultural indicators. Williams (1981) definition of culture as a 'signifying system' bound together by an 'informing spirit' and an emphasis on a whole way of life, characterised by language and instinctive behaviour[24], gives a clear link between the theoretical notion of culture and its manifestations in the members' reaction to a given set of circumstances. Given the study area of Lincolnshire, Bourdieu's descriptions *of habitus* are also very important, the idea that *habitus* - an abstraction of social conditions - forms layers of 'intemalised embodied social stmctures' giving meaning to social order and gives a clear typology for cultural definition. Using Bourdieu's ideas *of habitus* it is possible to identify cultural groupings within a society, which at first might appear almost indistinguishable, using *the field* - described as a market place where capital is deployed (Atkin, 2000: *passim).* Both Bourdieu and Williams identify the importance of 'the way things are done', 'the practicalities of life' and the enormous importance of language to cultural groups. To revisit the point identified

earlier in this chapter Bourdieu argued that researchers can never take the answers they are given as a tme representation of the facts. The respondents will inevitably leave much unsaid which is central to the question, an outsider-orientated discourse will tend to remain at the level of the general and the discourse will be bound up by a desire by the respondent to please, to give the 'right' answer. Bourdieu's most constant solution to these problems is in the analysis and interpretation of language. The conventional sociological and anthropological view that culture is unthinkable without language is one which Bourdieu would subscribe to in the strongest terms. He argues that 'standard languages' do not exist and actual language exists as products of complex social pressures. For Bourdieu all speech acts are the outcome of two 'casual series', the linguistic *habitus* and the linguistic market; Bourdieu is thus concemed with linguistic practices from the point of view of their production and their reception; the speech act is not to be reduced to 'mere execution'. Given that, for Bourdieu, speech is firmly rooted in social relationships and interaction.

Bourdieu also argues that issues of 'taste' - one element of 'capital' within *afield* - identify and distinguish cultural groups within society. An example of how social groupings cohere is through cultural capital. Bourdieu uses an example of what he describes as 'tastes'. In cultural capital there is a focus on aesthetic taste. Tastes are the 'acquired dispositions to differentiate among the various cultural objects of aesthetic enjoyment and to appreciate them differentially'. Shared tastes unite people together into social groupings, whereas dissimilar tastes serve to differentiate between groupings. These dispositions for certain objects are created

by people's *habitus* and by *the fields.* Bourdieu states that it is these dispositions 'that forge the unconscious unity of a class'. Some groups try to be exclusive and limiting in their acceptance of new members. They do this by encouraging or discouraging association with certain objects. There may be a conscious effort to determine what may be associated with the grouping.

Bourdieu states that preferences are shaped by people's *habitus.* Through their association with *the fields* they live in, people leam a specific *habitus;* this encourages certain preferences and discourage others. This perspective can be used within this study to identify discrete cultural groupings based on the preferences for particular material and intellectual signposts. In the identification of young people's cultural groupings this does present some difficulties in distinguishing the fashionable from the significant.

The analysis of taste and language offers the study the opportunity to develop and identify distinct cultural types using the respondent's linguistic reaction to interview questions and discussion of case studies. This reinforces Bourdieu and Williams' (1997) view that 'culture is ordinary', that is to say its effects are manifest in the day-to-day activities of cultural groups rather than through significant cultural acts such as the conspicuous creation of art.

The recent research into student awareness of post-sixteen options and student decision making at fourteen to sixteen show the common use of questionnaire and follow up interviews as the principle research tools.

Taylor's results clearly show the dominant position of the family in influencing young people's decision-making processes and importantly the range

of options considered. For this research study the identification of cultural typologies will allow this relationship between family and decision making to be linked to discreet social groupings allowing a greater understanding and response on the part of providers to widening participation in under represented groups in post-compulsory education. The link between family, society and language is central to the view of cultural and social reproduction.

This link between society and available choice will also test Foskett and Hesketh's assertion that a significant number of young people - 40% of the study group - have 'always known what they were going to do'. As Foskett and Hesketh comment in their study this response may simply be a reflection of the cultural expectations rather than 'free choice'. If this is replicated it will also serve to identify those social groups where this level of family influence is most important in the post-sixteen decision making process. Having described the importance of *fields* in determining cultural heritage the next chapter will identify the methodology used in this research study to determine cultural groupings and their experiences of decision making when considering post-sixteen choices.

Notes

' Stocking (1963) points out that Tylor makes little use of his definition of culture, and while his definition implies the possibility of many and various cultures, he never in fact uses the term in the plural form, Tylor's evolutionism distinguishes levels of civilisation very much in keeping with Arnold's approach.

[2] Dewey was able to write about 'culture' in the Encyclopaedia of Education, in 1911, without making any reference to anthropology.

[3] Professors Kroeber and Kluckhohn reject the notion that culture can be defined simply in terms of behaviour. They emphasis repeatedly the point that culture is not behaviour but something abstracted from behaviour. (Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1954)

[4] See Williams (1961) and Morgan (1996).

[5] See: Block, 1986, Geertz, 1980, Ortner, 1989.

[6] This is a recurrent theme in much of Bourdieu's work, see for example:
Bourdieu, P. and Passeron, J-C (1977) **Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture.** London: Sage Publications
Bourdieu, P. (1970) La **Reproduction.** London: Sage

Bourdieu, P. (1984) **Distinction A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste.** London: Routledge & Kegan Paul plc

[7] This intemalised code, called culture, functions as cultural capital since it is unequally distributed and it secures profit of distinction.

[8] The translation is not exact and some commentators might prefer 'idea' to 'vision'.

[9] Reference the introduction of a National Curriculum, Standardized Attainment Tasks in English, Mathematics and Science, a National Literacy Hour, a National Numeracy Strategy and a reduction in the number and variety of National Examination Boards,

[10] In his earlier anthropology Bourdieu had been critical of the holism of functionalism and Durkheimian social philosophy. He was keen to demonstrate the possibility of resistance to cultural pressure through the ability of the individual to devise strategies. See Bourdieu (1977)

[11] See also Gramsci's writing on hegemonic reproduction and the part of education in legitimising the dominant ideology (Gramsci, 1971) or an analysis of the debate presented by Coben (1998),

[12] Eliot described his school in St Louis, Missouri as providing a 'well-balanced curriculum and of a good character'.

'It was a good school. There one was taught, as is now increasingly rare everywhere, what I consider the essentials: Latin and Greek, together with Greek and Roman history, English and American history, elementary mathematics, French and German. Also English! I am happy to remember those days when English composition was still called Rhetoric.'
(Eliot, 1965: 45)

This curriculum, based on a strong academic tradition, complemented Eliot's home life with the expectation that he would follow an academic higher education. The family had a long history of religion and academic involvement, together with some concem for social good works. Thus Eliot was brought up among the: -

'..., Symbols of Religion, the Community and Education: and I think it is a very good beginning for any child, to be brought up to reverence such institutions, and be taught that personal and selfish aims should be subordinated to the general good which they represent,"
(Eliot, 1965: 44)

[13] Anecdotal evidence would suggest that visits to other faith communities are reducing as individual school govemors decide on the best use of limited school budgets.

[14] Maintained schools are those that receive the majority of their funding through central and local govemment. This includes Foundation Schools, Aided and Controlled Faith Schools and Local Authority Schools.

[15] See also **The uses of literacy – aspect of working class life** by Hoggart (1957) *and Poverty: the forgotten Englishmen* by Coates and Silbum (1983).

[16] Many social scientists would argue that the 'traditional working class', described by Willis and Hoggart, have simply disappeared and been replaced by a less definable group of individuals working in new industries which themselves have emerged to replace the heavy manufacturing industries which employed large numbers in the past. The ceilings imposed by class on career prospects have largely been replaced by a belief that educational attainment will provide access to employment at all levels- 'meritocracy',

[17] Willis comments on a distinctive language and the way it denotes belonging.

'As a methodological approach to the study of cultural distinction 'semiotics' is among the most commonly used. The theory of semiotics starts from the notion that language is full of different distinctions and articulations. Theses differences in the way we express ourselves - even about everyday objects or activities - are a product of cultural influence. This leads to the main idea of semiotics, according to which language is 'a system of distinctive signs corresponding to distinctive ideas' (Saussure, 1976: 10). Researchers using this technique, particularly Lévi-Strauss (1969, 1976) have made the assumption that culture consists of certain stmctures which can be identified within language and text. Pierre Bourdieu describes the existence of *'habitus'* as a cultural determinate, in the proposed study of cultural influence on decision making, language and intonation may well prove an indicator *of habitus* within *habitus.*

[18] A number of pressure groups have also established there own 'indictors' for rural deprivation based around similar issues of access to, and provision of, services and amenities, for example, Action with Communities in Rural England (ACRE) (2000)

[19] This appears to offer a simple solution - more information equals greater choice - but as Willis points out there is evidence of 'a self imposed ceiling' (Willis, 1977: 1) in expectation and choice which reflects social and cultural experience.

[20] Figures from the Careers Service, published in the *study Moving on - 1998*, confirm these findings both nationally and within the East Midlands with 68.4% of year 11 pupils continuing into fiiU-time post-sixteen education, (DfEE, 1998)

[21] It would be wrong to think of the family members as having identical roles and influence in this process of choice. The role of mothers in searching and refining and the role of fathers in confirming choices emerges from the research carried out by Foskett and Hemsley-Brown, (2001: 204)

[22] See also Bourdieu's discussion on 'symbolic violence', (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977: 10)

[23] See also Erickson (1987).

[24] Eanofsky described his assertion that an individual's reaction to circumstance is a product of cultural training, specifically the love of particular art forms such as music, without these 'cultural mles' an individual only sees or hears that which is obvious, (Eanofsky, 1955)

Chapter Three - Research Methodology

Theoretical Perspective

What is the effect *of habitus* on the choices made by young people planning their progression from the compulsory phase of their educational career to their eventual destination some two or three years later? As the work of Pierre Bourdieu is used as a perspective on the research it is necessary to examine in more detail what he offers and why his views are important; specifically how his theoretical concepts can be used in this study, using this approach.

Bourdieu's research paradigm should be understood as an effort to go beyond fraditional dichotomies in social science research. The most basic of these, what Bourdieu terms 'the most artificial, fundamental and rainous' (Bourdieu, 1980: 10), is probably that of 'subjectivity and objectivity'. In the latter case Bourdieu originally targeted the formal stracturalism of Levi-Strauss (Bourdieu, 1990b: 129); although subsequently he criticised all overt forms of empiricism and pseudo-scientific objectivity: 'knowledge without a knowing subject' (Popper, 1972) and the 'fetishism of statistics: which leads some people to think that only those things which can be measured are worth consideration instead of attempting to measure what deserves to be known' (Bourdieu, 1963: 9). Bourdieu sees such 'objectivity' as often no more than attempts at 'crashing one's rivals' (Bourdieu, 1989: 9). In the case of subjectivity, 'Bourdieu initially focussed on the existentialism of Sartre, although subsequentiy includes hermeneutics and post-modemism in his critique' (Grenfell, 1996: 3).

'The kind of social research I advocate has little in common .... with the self-fascinated, and a bit complacent, observation of the observer's writing which has become something of a fad amongst American anthropologists who, having become blasé with fieldwork, tum to talking about themselves, rather than their object of research'. This kind of falsely radical denunciation of ethnographic writings as 'poetics and politics', which becomes its own end opens the door to a form of thinly-veiled nihilistic relativism .... that stands as the polar opposite to a truly reflective social science.' (Bourdieu, 1989: 35)

However Bourdieu is not suggesting that the researcher should ignore the complex issues of validity and reliability, rather that the methodology adopted should suit the research focus. This sounds obvious, but Bourdieu is critical of studies where the researcher has neglected the real question in favour of conforming to a predetermined, yet constraining, methodology or comfortable outcome.

In place of these cmde forms of objectivity and subjectivity Bourdieu argues for a relational objectivity, expressed in terms of relational stmctures and the generating principles which constitute them. Such stmctures are seen as mutually constituted, as stmctured and stracturing:

'One must remember that, ultimately, objective relations do not exist and do not realise themselves except in and through the systems of dispositions of agents, produced by the intemalising of objective conditions.' (Bourdieu, 1968:105)

As a means of investigating the relationship between these intemalised codes and dispositions Bourdieu uses two primary concepts: *habitus* and *field.* Bourdieu

refers to this approach as a 'double refusal' or 'double break' against and from objectivity and subjectivity.

Habitus is individually based and represents:

> 'systems of durable, transposable dispositions, stmctured stmctures predisposed to function as stracturing stractures, that is principles of the generation and stracturing of practices and representations which can be objectively "regulated" and "regular" without in any way being the product of obedience to rales, objectively adapted to their goals without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary to attain them and, being all this, collectively orchesfrated without being the produce of the orchestrating action of a conductor.'
>
> (Bourdieu, 1977: 72)

Field, on the other hand, is the social space occupied by *habitus,* and is:

> 'a network or a configuration of objective relations between positions. These positions are defined objectively in their existence and in the determinations that they impose on their occupants, agents or institutions,... (and) by their objective relations with other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.)'. (Bourdieu, 1992: 73)

Bourdieu has referred to the relationship between *field* and *habitus* as one of 'ontologic complicity' (Bourdieu, 1982: 47), and:

> 'The relationship between *habitus* and *field* operates in two ways. On the one side, it is a relation of conditioning: *the field* stmctures the *habitus,* which is the product of the embodiment of immanent necessity *of afield* (or of a

hierarchically intersecting set of *fields).* On the other side, it is a relation of knowledge or cognitive constmction: *habitus* contributes to constituting the *field* as a meaningfùl world, a world endowed with sense and with value, in which it is worth investing one's practice.' (Bourdieu, 1989: 44)

Field and *habitus* offer two basic analytic constracts as philosophically grounded theories of practice for research methodology. The theoretical stance relies on the 'way things are done', the practicalities *of habitus.* The research methods used in this study strive towards the realities of people's lives rather than to present an abstract view of social conditions. How are decisions made, who has been influential and what are the events that have been important in people's lives? To address the research question - the possible link between *habitus* and post-sixteen directions - it was necessary to engage young people who had taken different post-compulsory school options. The strategy identify a group of young people two/three years after the end of their compulsory school career - at age eighteen/nineteen - 'bom and 'bred' in Lincolnshire who reflect a range of altemative post-sixteen options[2]. These included those who:

1. Left school at sixteen and gone directly into the workforce (with or without fiirther training).
2. Left school at sixteen and gone on to study fiill-time in the further education sector.
3. Stayed in education beyond sixteen and progressed to further study at university/higher education.
4. Left school at sixteen and remained largely unemployed.

In this study the interviewees were inevitably self-selecting within the target groups. Although this is likely to affect the information the respondent will be willing to share with the researcher - the 'reactivity of measurement' (Bemard, 1988: 150 and Dooley, 1990: 106) - the life-story interview activity is generally accepted as needing a 'humanistic' approach (Alasuutari, 1995: 52). The key concept in the humanistic method is 'rapport' (Berg, 1989: 29-30 and Georges and Jones, 1980: 63-64). It is thought that if the researcher demonstrates to the informants honesty and openness about the purpose of the study, the informant is likely to be honest and frank in retum.

Having identified individuals, who meet the criteria, a representative sample was interviewed using the 'life-story' technique. The choice of the life-story as a basis for the research data gives the opportunity to gain an understanding of the relationship between *habitus* - family traditions, social priorities, school(s) attended, cultural expectations - and the post-sixteen pathway(s) considered and subsequently taken. This is an important point. The sample will - at age eighteen/nineteen - have actually made those choices, i.e. they represent actual behaviour rather than aspirations or intentions. As discussed in the literature review, the work of many researchers in this field - Taylor (1992), Foskett and Hesketh (1996) and Hemsley-Brown (1996b) - based their findings on data gathered from year eleven pupils coming to the end of their compulsory school career and therefore their responses were always 'intentions' rather than necessarily the realities of post-sixteen life. The realities of life two/three years

after making those choices again link to Bourdieu's notion *of habitus* and the practicalities of how things happen and work.

It is important to stress that there is no definitive 'tmth' to any social research based on interviews, more a sense of tmth for the individual interviewee. The findings are based on the use of Bourdieu's constract *of habitus* to analyse the interview transcripts and could be viewed with altemative perspectives to give other interpretations. It is claimed that the use of life-stories does offer an opportunity to illuminate the complex issues of motivation and choice in a far more complete way than data based on a questionnaire 'snap shot' of views at a certain time.

Life Stories

The life stories were recorded and subsequently transcribed to allow analysis[3]. The validity of life story methods of research are about the extent to which the questioning will yield the 'correct' answers or a quality of fit between information received or observed and that expected' (Atkinson, 1998: 58). Life stories have an inherent validity in the context of letting the storyteller speak in their own words; if the researcher is sufficiently skilled and honest as a facilitator, their potential as a research tool to address the whole rather than the discreet is high. The central importance given to Bourdieu's notion *of habitus* as a cultural indicator is reflected in the nature of the 'indicator' questions used to stimulate the interviewee's responses (Alasuutaril, 995: 53-54). Indicator questions are designed to stimulate the interviewee into describing key concepts to the interviewer

without being directly asked to address the research question. For example in this case the interviewee might be asked to describe areas of their life-story that demonstrate the family *habitus* - Do you have a family car? If so what? How many? Which are your favourite types of TV programme? (Bourdieu, 1984: 517), all this without directly asking for a history of the informant's experiences. Being aware of, and understanding, how the narrative process unfolds in the interview can be as critical as the content of the specific questions chosen to ask (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995). It is claimed that the most effective life story interviews, accordingly, are those where the researcher and the storyteller develop a relationship which allows both an objective overview and the 'storyteller to do so on a deep, feeling level' (Atkinson, 1998: 40). To facilitate this the interviewer is more personally involved in this type of interview, compared to many other techniques, as it might include some degree of mutual disclosure. This could mean sharing with the storyteller the researcher's deep thoughts and feelings about a particular part of the story.

As described earlier indicator questions are a useful link between the story and the theoretical perspective but the real aim is to ask just enough to allow the storyteller to tell the story in their own words and in their own style (e.g. very happy, sad, miserable, etc). The most helpful questions are the open-ended descriptive, stmctural, and contrast questions, which encourage more thoughtful, developed answers.

A descriptive question would be one that gives a 'grand tour' response, such as, 'How would you describe your childhood?' A stractural question gets at the

organization of knowledge activities, such as, 'what were some of the things you did as a child?' A contrast question evokes dimensions of meaning, such as, 'How was you childhood different from your adolescence?' (Spradley, 1979)
The more interest, care, empathy, warmth and acceptance that can be shown the deeper the response level is likely to be. Questions such as 'How did that feel to you?' or comments like 'You seem to be saying. . . . .' will go a long way to assisting the storyteller to share his or her deep story. It is also claimed that if the storyteller can provide a brief written summary of their story before the interview process takes place the result is likely to be far more rewarding (Atkinson, 1998: 42).

In his guide to *The Research Interview* (1998), Atkinson suggests a series of questions which can be used to guide the researcher through the interview process. In suggesting a basic framework he does not advocate a list of questions or prompts which should be taken one after another during the interview; to the contrary, he reminds the would be researcher to ensure 'the person telling his or her story has control over what goes into the story, how it is said and how it reads at the end' (Atkinson, 1998: 41). A list of possible questions are shown in Appendix One. One of the commonest ways the life story researcher addresses this need for ownership is to ask the storyteller to confirm that the written narrative is what they meant after the taped story has been transcribed. Having agreed the text the researcher can then begin to analyse the story. Life story interviews can be transcribed in a variety of formats, some of which only give an outline of what was said while others give a complete catalogue encouraging researchers to make their

own interpretations. In this research project it will be necessary to transcribe the whole accurately to ensure stmctures and connections can be seen and made. As a general rale it is acceptable to use 'standard spelling' but not to change the words used or their order. If necessary any additional text inserted by the researcher to complete sentences or highlight key issues should be contained within brackets to show its origin (Atkinson, 1998). Such analysis could be enhanced by the use of basic semiotics as a *habitus* indicator. In brief, the way we see an object and distinguish it as a separate entity depends on the concepts we use. This view of language leads to the main idea of semiotics, according to which language is 'a system of distinct signs corresponding to distinct ideas' (Saussure, 1966: 10).

The interviews, or the transcripts of the conversations, could also be analyzed using a factor analysis technique such as a 'membership categorisation device' (MCD) (Sacks, 1992: 126-137 and Silverman, 1993: 80-86). This system gives a hierarchy to groups of responses and will tend to develop coding groups within the interviews. Coding is a common system of grouping responses to questions or problems into larger more generic typologies. The life story interviews are likely to facilitate the 'emic' approach to coding (Pike, 1954). According to Kenneth Pike, an American anthropologist, rather than begirming the research process with pre-determined codings - 'etic' coding - a technique where the codings flow from the text should be followed. Alasuutari (1995) suggests this is not so much coding as analysing how emic distinctions link to others to form

stractures of meaning. See Bourdieu's earlier description *of habitus and field:* The link with forms, stmctured and objective relationships, the positioning of cultural capital. As described earlier when interpreting life story data normal measures of validity and reliability are not particularly useful. Cohler (1998) suggests a method of internal consistent interpretation; that is to say does the life story contradict itself as it unfolds? Another suggestion comes from Riessman (1993) who asks, is the story plausible? Does the story strike accord?

In any research the question is has the researcher seen, done or heard enough to draw valid findings from the data? In such a method of research, life story researchers often refer to a point *of saturation* (Bertaux and Bertaux-Wiame, 1981 and Bertaux and Kohli, 1984). The collection of new stories can be stopped where nothing new comes out; when the new cases already repeat familiar pattems. 'In other words when we reach a point of diminishing retums from our data collection efforts, we can be reasonably assured we have conducted a thorough study' (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994: 62). Alasuutari describes how the saturation point is a distinctive experience. 'One starts to guess what the interviewee's answer to a question is going to be before hearing it' (Alasuutari, 1995: 59). Does the saturation point in data collection mean that all the interviewees are, after all, very much alike? There is certainly some tmth in that, but the repeated form the interviews begin to take as an interactive process produces the saturation process.

However the researcher does need to guard against orchestrating the questions and prompts in the narrative, which appear to say that the respondents are saying the same thing. As Alasuutari points out:

> 'People do not usually invent facts of their life-history in an attempt to please the interviewer, but the view of their life may be very much guided by the themes covered in the interview.' (Alasuutari, 1995: 59)

As described previously this can, at least in part, be addressed through the use of techniques of 'specimen perspectives', where the researcher is interested in *how* things are said rather than *what is* said and the clear link with the interviewee's *real* life. In applying Bourdieu's work as a theoretical perspective it is important to move from the *part* to the *whole*. Life stories are an interpretation of the whole rather than a collection of discreet events. An example of this might be the emergence of altemative broad values within the sample groups e.g. valuing the past, the importance of family or community.

Triangulation

The qualitative data provided by life story research is open to interpretation and debate. Any findings are only really valid on the basis of the method used to view them. At a basic level 'triangulation is supposed to support a finding by showing that independent measures of it agree or, at least, do not contradict it' (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 266). Webb, et al. (1965) seemed to have first coined the term triangulation in a research context: They spoke of validating a finding by subjecting it to 'the onslaught of a series of imperfect measures'.

The aim of the researcher is to select triangulation sources that have different biases and different strengths so that they may complement each other. Examples might include:

1. Comparing the research findings with other studies of a similar type,
2. Comparing the research findings with independent quantitative data, e.g. school exam results, local employment statistics, and,
3. Comparing interview data from altemative sources e.g. parents, schools and employers.

The basic point is that 'triangulation is not so much a tactic as a way of life' (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 267). If the researcher self-consciously sets out to collect and double check findings, using a variety of data sources, the verification process will be an integral part of the data collection process. A practical step (cited in Miles and Huberman, 1994: 267) might be to try and constmct a matrix of preliminary findings by data source, method and type to see how well supported they are, and to note any inconsistencies and contradictions.

Difficulties of the Life Story Methodology

Many of the difficulties in judging the validity and reliability of life story research methodology are shared with the other strands of qualitative research. Oral testimony is difficult to validate with any degree of 'certainty'. All scientific research is striving for some notion of 'trath' yet for the social scientist 'tmth' is often what the subject believes - rightiy or wrongly - trath to be. Dishonesty and prejudice, or perhaps more commonly selective memory, are often part of oral history. As Marcombe describes they remain an important part of the life story:

> 'Some of these *(dishonesty and prejudice)* can be instantly seen through for what they are - and they should not be discouraged since they are part of a person's individuality, something to be represented and amplified on tape - but others, particularly those hidden in the distant past, are more difficult to detect and penetrate.' (Marcombe, 1995: 34)

Having said that 'corroboration' and 'triangulation' can establish reasonable trath without claiming certainty. As Miller points out in his discussion of the work of Karl Popper:

> 'Popper is of course a fallibilist. But his central achievement, in my view, has been to recognize that, in contrast to the idea of trath, the idea of certainty is quite barren if it is not fully attainable. Science, according to Popper, is not, need not be, and should not be, dominated by this idea of certainty.' (Miller, 1982: 22)

Any method of investigation which is to lead to greater understanding of the individual in society inevitably includes elements of interpretation and abstraction. Yet is this necessarily something to be ignored or minimised, if in doing so the real issues of the research are not fully explored?" Central to these difficulties is the relationship between the researcher and the life storyteller. The relationship is seldom one of equals and this imbalance needs to be considered and addressed by the researcher (as far as this is possible). The question is really one of would the storyteller give the same answer to the same question if asked by another? In this study this power relationship is likely to be present - at least initially - as the storytellers are all young people and the researcher an academic from the

University of Nottingham. These difficulties can at least be challenged by openness and honesty within the interviews and the researcher identifying himself as one of the *tribe,* bom in Lincolnshire, educated in Lincolnshire, living in Lincolnshire.

Reassurances about the eventual readership of the report, the opportunity for the interviewee to add or remove text from the final transcript and the option of complete anonymity will also challenge the natural fears in the storyteller. Within the humanist approach described earlier these precursors to the research process are part of the researcher's ethical responsibility to the storytellers.

Ethical Issues

As with all social research, the researcher needs to consider two key ethical issues: -

a) For what other purpose could the data be used?

b) Can any of the respondents be identified?

In the proposed study the researcher will try to overcome the potential concem, as much as is possible, by: -

a) being honest about the purpose of the research,

b) ensuring confidentiality of respondents,

c) telling respondents who will see the report, and,

d) telling the respondents whether the results will be published.

It is vital that the researcher not only recognises people's concems about ethical issues but acknowledges that their responses will be coloured by these concems. Some general headings taken from *A Teacher's Guide to Classroom Research* by

Hopkins (1993) and *Action Research Planner* by Kemmis and McTaggart (1988) are shown below and provide a useful checklist for the would be researcher.

'Observe Protocol

Involve Participants

Negotiate with those affected

Report progress

Obtain explicit authorisation before you observe

Obtain explicit authorisation before you examine files, correspondence or other documentation

Negotiate descriptions of people's work

Negotiate accounts of others' points of view (e.g. in accounts of communication)

Obtain explicit authorisation before using quotations

Negotiate reports for various levels of release

Accept responsibility for maintaining confidentiality

Retain the right to report your work

Make your principles of procedure binding and known.'

(Hopkins, 1993: 221 - 223) and (Kemmis and McTaggart, 1988: 43 - 44)

As described earlier the whole process of life story research relies heavily on the relationship between the researcher and the storyteller. Many of the general headings listed above would form part of the initial discourse in seeking the co-operation of the individual storytellers. Atkinson (1998) suggests the use of a 'cover sheet' (see Appendix Two) to note down any immediate feelings, as well as

the factual information and a 'release form' (see Appendix Three) as a way of guaranteeing the basis on which the life story might be used. The release form is the final guarantee that the interviewee is willingly to participate in the research and agrees to the use of the data by the researcher. There is also the difficult ethical issue of paying the research sample for their time and trouble. Although this adds further to the power relationship between the researcher and the interviewee these are young people, many of whom will be in full-time education or unemployed, and a nominal fee for participating is not unreasonable[5]. All of the interviewees were eighteen years of age, or older, and therefore able to give consent, as adults, to the interviews taking place.

Justification

The research question has at its heart the two concepts of culture - linked to the *habitus* of mral Lincolnshire - and student choice at the end of the compulsory school system. The research methodology must therefore seek to illuminate the relationship between culture - in this case defined using Bourdieu's notion *of habitus* - and the range of options considered and, perhaps more interestingly, the possible reasons why some options were not considered and, ultimately, what actually happened.

The question of at what age should young people be presented with the range of options to be considered, which were their preferred options and what options were never considered are difficult. Recent studies by Foskett and Hesketh (1996) and Hemsley-Brown (1996b) would suggest that the majority of young people start to consider their post-school options between years nine and eleven (Foskett

and Hesketh 1996: 9-10), but that a significant minority begin before that stage in their school career. This would suggest that at any point a *snap shot* approach to choice and culture will only show, almost by definition, what is considered as the strongest option at that time. For this study it is important to know the process of choice as well as the final outcome; to know what has been considered, what choices have been disregarded and at what stage, who has been instmmental in advising or as a point of reference. The study centres on these variables and their relationship to culture.

This is not simply about that moment when the question is asked, but what has gone before; particularly issues of social expectation, possible selection at year six - Lincolnshire still retains a grammar school system outside the City of Lincoln which defines children's secondary school options by exam result - and any family traditions. In choosing to focus on young people after they have made these choices, rather than in their final year of compulsory education, the research will benefit from the reality of what happened and the interviewee's ability to reflect - with high insight - on key issues affecting the choice process. To achieve this the life-story approach to interview is clearly the best option; it allows the researcher to follow up on elements *of habitus* and choice as they emerge in the individual's narrative.

> 'In the telling of a life story, we get a good sense of how and why the various parts of a life are connected and what gives the person meaning in life. There may be no better way to answer the question of how people got from where

they began to where they are now in life than through their life stories' (Atkinson, 1998:20).

The life story also fits well with the more subtle *habitus* indicators which may not be as obvious as written submission might show, language is after all one of the key elements *of habitus.* The life-story methodology also cuts to the heart of Bourdieu's focus on the way things are done, the everyday realities of people's lives. The methodology fits the purpose rather than the purpose fitting the methodology. As highlighted earlier it is important to ask what needs to be known rather than simply seek that which can be easily measured. Having arrived at a method that fits the question the process was piloted to ensure its effectiveness as a research tool.

Pilot Study

Piloting is the term given to 'trying out' the research tool, or tools, to assess its suitability for the intended purpose. With all research the methodology adopted for data gathering must be piloted before engaging the main research population. Those who neglect this important stage risk generating, although interesting in its own right, unusable data. The purpose of a pilot scheme is therefore really about getting the bugs out of the system. The key questions the researcher needs to address are:

1. How long did the data gathering process take?
2. What were the major themes in the respondents' answers?
3. Were any of the questions or prompts misleading or difficult to answer?

4. Which questions or prompts generated the most useable data and could any of these have been expanded to produce fiirther data?
5. Did any of the questions or prompts yield unuseable data? (It may be appropriate to include a number of such questions as icebreakers or conversational questions which will facilitate the process rather than generate useable data.)
6. Did the pilot group object or refuse to answer any of the questions? (This may include questions that the interviewees answered but were clearly upsetting or dismptive to the research process.)
7. Were any major topics or themes omitted from the interview process?

In this pilot two young men in their second year of full-time fiirther education were used. Both were bora and bred in Lincolnshire; both interviewees' parents were also bom and bred in Lincolnshire. The interviewees' were both studying a National Diploma in Horticulture at a residential agricultural college and the interviews were carried out in their respective 'halls of residence', no other people were present during the interview process.

Both interviews took just under an hour to complete and generated around three and a half thousand words of franscript. Following the transcribing process a copy of their respective transcript was retumed to the interviewee, with a stamped addressed envelope, for correction or comment. Both of the interviewees retumed the transcripts with corrections and grammatical adjustments.

The interview process went fairly smoothly although both interviewees found it difficult at times to see exactly what they were being asked to consider;

this can be seen in the transcripts from the long pauses and the number of prompts the interviewer was required to make. Some of this was perhaps a reflection of the topics considered - remembering back to childhood - and some the clarity of the questions asked. There was also a tendency for the interviewees to seek continual reassurance from the interviewer that they were saying the 'right' things. This is a point already mentioned which Bourdieu lists as a flaw in all interview situations. (See page 42/43.) None of the questions proved impossible to answer although the language used in the asking is clearly very important. There appears to be a trade-off between the tightiy packaged question, likely to reciprocate a rapid, if shallow, response, and the looser, more open question likely to require a more considered reply. Based on the pilot it would appear that the latter is likely to prove more productive and certainly worth the occasional pause. Clearly a pilot study is not simply a hurdle to be overcome by the researcher; if taken seriously it should act as a catalyst for reflection and action. In this study the following were highlighted as action points:

First, the importance of setting aside enough time to fully brief the interviewee about the nature of the life story interview process. Although this was done during the pilot study the interviewee's need to seek constant reassurance from the interviewer that they were 'saying the right thing' is perhaps evidence that they were not as relaxed or confident with the process as the interviewer had assumed. The process is always going to contain elements of reassurance and encouragement but sufficient time at the beginning of the interview needs to be planned to minimise the effect.

Second, ensuring the questions are clear and only contain one variable. For example 'what sort of cultural values have been passed on to you, what's still important to you?' This is really two questions in one which although connected may have very different answers. The interviewee's responded by giving a combined answer; those values which were passed on and still important rather than necessarily all the cultural values passed on.

Third, the responses indicated a number of key themes but do not directly link these to mral Lincolnshire. To make this connection more information needs to be gathered about the interviewee's view of mrality and Lincolnshire. This would fit in towards the beginning of the interviews with the questions addressing family origins and social factors. For example:

1. What does raral mean to you?
2. Do you consider yourself raral?
3. What are the characteristics of a raral culture?
4. What are the characteristics of an urban culture?
5. How has this affected your life?

The inclusion of this topic area sounds obvious - the thesis focuses on raral *habitus* specifically, Lincolnshire - yet the pilot has shown the need to address these issues directly rather than relying on them emerging under more generic questions.

Fourth, the importance of key questions which combine elements of reflection with *habitus.* A good example is 'if you went back to your school now what advice would you have for those still at school?' This question in particular cuts right to

the heart of the interviewee's attitudes to education and school. Positioned towards then end of the interview process it almost acts as a summary of the interviewee's views.

Fifth, the richness of the interviewee's responses would suggest that the informal nature of the interview process was appropriate in this study.

The interviews clearly identify a number of themes which are central to the interviewee's life story. In brief these are:

1. The importance of family and friends.
2. The importance of family based knowledge and values.
3. Clear views on the importance of education - importance of key educators - and the individual curriculum areas.
4. Clear notions of what post-sixteen options were available.
5. Evidence of cultural reproduction within the family and community group.

An obvious difficulty with the pilot process is that both the interviewees are from only one of the possible post-sixteen trajectories (full-time further education). At first this may appear difficult to reconcile with the need to test the process, but full-time further education students are an ideal pilot group because they are in the middle of the academic spread of possible post-sixteen options. Hence the questions and responses are likely to be generalisable to the other groups. They have made a decision, that is to say they have left their family and community to study full-time in a residential setting, qualities that make this group

well placed in a pilot study. The following Chapter begins to identify the life story data following *the field* work process of interviews and visits.

Interview Process

As described earlier the interviewees were largely self-selecting from groups of possible candidates. Interviewees fitting the four possible post-sixteen trajectories were sought using a variety of methods:

- Posters - simple adverts alerting possible interviewees to the research project and asking them to contact the researcher if they felt able to participate. (Used in institutional settings e.g. Boston and Grantham College, De Montfort University, The University of Lincoln and the Employment Services.)
- Targeted letters of introduction - individually addressed letters inviting possible interviewees to participate in the research process. Individuals were identified by key staff within an institution based on the criteria discussed with the researcher e.g. post-sixteen frajectory, age, gender and 'bom and bred' in Lincolnshire. (Used by Employment Services and to contact the Employed group.)
- Word of mouth - following meetings between the researcher and key institutional staff eligible individuals and groups were asked to consider participating in the process. (Used in both the further and higher education institutions and employers.)

Of the three methods the first generated almost no response at all. The success or failure in reaching interviewees appeared to rest with the researcher's relationship with key staff members, within institutional settings, and individual interviewees[6].

Having selected the candidates, and checked their willingness to take part, the interviews were conducted during 2001/02 in a range of settings to minimise the inconvenience to the interviewees. For the majority this meant within an institutional setting - North Lincolnshire, Boston and Grantham College, De Montfort University, the University of Lincoln and the Employment Services[7] - for others the interviews were conducted at their homes; this was particularly important for the employed group of interviewees.

The number of interviewees in the research population compared favourably with other similar investigations outlined in the review of literature. For instance Hemsley-Brown and Foskett (1999) used focus group interviews with a total of five boys and five girls in three separate schools in their study of young peoples' perceptions of 'Modern Apprenticeship Programmes'. Hemsley-Brown (1996b)[8] used in depth interviews, over a two-year period, with twenty-five fourteen to sixteen year olds in her study into decision making among sixteen year olds in the further education market place. Maychell and Evans (1998) study of the 'factors affecting young people's decision to leave full-time education' used qualitative interviews with thirty-three year eleven pupils to extend and illuminate basic questiormaire data. Willis (1977) used five groups of three boys taken from different social and school settings in his study of the movement from school to work in the East End of London.

Set against the sample size that one might expect of a quantitative investigation - using questionnaires or shorter more stmctured interviews - the numbers are small but this study is not about numbers, but about detailed, specific, in

depth investigation. When transcribed the life story interviews generated over 170,000 words of rich data high-lighting the key influences and events that had shaped the lives of the interviewees. The sample size in each of the four post-sixteen groups reflects the discussion contained earlier in this chapter dealing with 'life stories'. That is to say you have done enough when you hear the same story repeating itself and you can accurately predict what is coming next (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994:62 and Alasuutari, 1995:59). The sample sizes also reflect the broad proportions of young people in Lincolnshire in each of the four post-sixteen groups. The only exception to this is the number interviewed in the 'largely unemployed' since leaving school group. As Figure 17 shows their proportion is small in Lincolnshire but they are an important group within the context of this study, having - through choice or circumstance - followed a very different post-sixteen trajectory from the other interviewees[9]. Miles and Huberman (1994) noted that 'qualitative researchers normally work with small samples of people, nested in their context and studied in-depth, unlike quantitative researchers, who aim for large numbers of context-stripped cases and seek statistical significance.' (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 27) They go on to point out that qualitative studies often are not pre-specified, but rather evolve once fieldwork begins. They refer to this pattem as 'conceptually driven sequential sampling' (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 27) to support derivations in the grounded theory. Although the life story sample did not actually evolve, the balance between the methodological plan and what is possible - who is prepared to take part and who turns up on the day - could certainly be described as fluid.

Figure 17: Year eleven destinations of 2001 - at 01-11-01

	Proportion of young people in Lincolnshire	Numbers interviewed in this study
Stayed on at School (6^{th} Form)	38.6%	9
Went into full-time further education	36.3%	(2 pilot study) 10
Employed (with or without further fraining)	13.3%	7
Unemployed	5.6%	6
No information available	6.2%	

(Connexions, 2002: 3)'°

In terms of the gender balance within the research sample the proportions again generally map against general figures produced by Connexions" for Lincolnshire. (See Figure 18 below:) It was however difficult to maintain the balance in all groups; girls seemed less willing to take part in the interview process although those that did provided some of the richest life story accounts.

Figure 18: Gender Balance in the Research Population

	Numbers interviewed in this study	Gender balance in this group in Lincolnshire
Stayed in formal education and now at university	Males - 4 Females - 5	Taking these two group together[12] females are slightly more likely to stay in fiill-time education post-16. Males – 71% Females - 76%
Went into full-time further education	Males - 6 Females - 4	
Employed (with or without further training)	Males - 5 Females - 2	Males are more than twice as likely to enter work at 16 (particularly work without fiirther training) 3.9% of males 1.9% of females
Unemployed	Males - 4 Females - 2	Males are more likely to be 'unsettled' - the term used by 'Connexions' to describe the unemployed - than females, 6,7% of males 4.4% of females

(Connexions, 2002: 28)

The interviews themselves took approximately one hour to complete with a further period to complete the necessary documentation (See Appendix Two and Three). The

life stories were conducted in a very relaxed and open manner following the guidance discussed earlier. This style gave the interviewees every opportunity to tell their story in their own words. This is an important point to emphasise; the interviews and transcripts are their life stories, what they wanted to say. Although there is no real 'tmth' here, it is what the interviewees recall as the trath. Within the context of this study it is this - a product *of habitus* - that is important. Having transcribed the interviews each interviewee received a copy of their franscript for approval. Interviewees were asked to consider the transcript and make any adjustments to the text they felt they wished to make. Very few - six - took up this opportunity to retum their comments for inclusion in the final transcript.

Data Analysis

Life story transcripts are complex and difficult to analyse using *'etic'* coding approaches. Researchers working with this type of data have generally adopted the '*emic*' style where coding flows from the data rather than from any pre-determined typologies imposed by the researchers' anticipated findings (Pike, 1954 and Foskett and Hemsley-Brown 2001). In a similar way the over use of 'factor analysis' has also raised concem amongst researchers in the field of young people's decision making. In attempts to impose too much order on life story data, factor analysis has tended to over simplify the processes involved into objective events rather than understand them as a complex process of cultural relations.

> '. . . .concems have been raised that using factor analysis imposes an assumption of logical rationality on choice that may not be valid, and ,worse

may suggest that researchers have themselves been captured by the rhetoric and discourse of rational choice.' (Foskett and Hemsley-Brown 2001: 45)

If choice, and the process of choice making, is itself a process that brings together emotions, values, personal history, ideology and tradition - key components of Bourdieu's description *of habitus* (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990: 31 - 33) - then trying to identify individual objective events will be almost impossible. The analysis in Chapter Five is therefore based on the theoretical perspective outlined in earlier chapters that choice is heavily influence by *habitus;* not the timing of individual events but the relationship between events.

Given that the analysis will focus on relationships, or links, within the life stories - and the quantity of data - a computer-assisted coding and analysis package QSR's Non-numerical, Unstmctured Data Indexing, Searching and Theorising (NUD*IST) Vivo is used. (Nvivo for short.) The NUD*IST software package is designed to enable the qualitative researcher to link, code, shape and model complex data. It comprises a Document System, with facilities for organising, linking and exploring documents, and a Node System with stmctured and unstmctured ways of representing concepts, topics and ideas relevant to the research project. 'Generally the nodes are generated from the documents by the researcher, taking account of the data, features and themes that emerge' (Marshall, 2001: 1). What the software is not, is an answer to the researcher's responsibility for analysing and interpreting qualitative data. In fact it cannot do anything that could not be done with a handful of marker pens and time. What it can do however is look across a range of data files - in this case transcripts - code and stmcture consistently.

> 'At the heart of the theory-building procedures in NUD*IST is the fact that all codes are arranged into hierarchical stmctured trees. In contrast to the simplest systems of coding , therefore NUD*IST arranges codes in relation to one another, with orders of generality or specificity__The arrangement of codes into hierarchical relationships is not automatic. The analyst must initially specify the relationship with other codes.' (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996: 178)

Consistency is the real advantage the software offers in this context, with large volumes of text - in this case over 170,000 words of transcript - the software identifies precise relationships between text taken from different source files without making unsupported interpretations of meaning. That is not to say the researcher is somehow subordinate to the software, quite the opposite, but what it does mean is that the analysis of the transcripts must be rationalised and justified by the researcher. If the claim is made that although the interviewee said this what they really meant was something else then that must be justified in the thesis. Analysis is always a matter of interpretation; as described earlier, taking another theoretical perspective the transcripts could be interpreted differently. In presenting the data the findings are organised around four of the eight methods of franscript analysis identified by Kitwood (1977) and cited in Cohen and Manion (1994: 209/210). The first four are largely in line with approaches used in questionnaire analysis: 'The total pattem of choice, Similarities and differences, Grouping items together and Categorisation of content'. The second four are more in tune with ethnographic principles - that life story data should be seen as a whole - and therefore it is these that will be used

here: 'Tracing a theme, The study of omissions, Reconstmction of a social life-world and Generating and testing hypothesis.'

Summary

The study is set within the context of England's most 'agricultural' of counties, Lincolnshire. The research data will be gathered using in depth ethnographic life story interviews with a representative group of young people - aged eighteen to twenty years, 'bom and bred' in Lincolnshire - who have followed four altemative pathways from school:

1. Left school at sixteen and progressed into full-time fiirther education at college;
2. Left school at sixteen and remained largely unemployed;
3. Left school at sixteen and progressed into the workforce (with or without further training);
4. Stayed within formal education and progressed to university.

The theoretical perspective underpinning the research is based on Bourdieu's concept *of habitus.* That is to say the respective roles family, school and community play in post-sixteen decision making mechanisms. Following this framework the research will also investigate the concept, and role, of mrality in young people's lives. The justification of both the perspective and method is discussed focussing on the detailed and contextual nature of the study.

The life story technique was 'piloted' with two fiall-time fiarther education students. Subsequent analysis showed the method to be appropriate for this study

and highlighted the need for some refinement in the interview prompts,

particularly the need to address issues of mrality overtly.

Notes

[1] He probably had Clifford Geertz in mind!

[2] I have adopted the broad four post-sixteen categories used by Ball et al (2000) in their study of decision making in Southwest London. They identified the following possible options:

> 'Briefly, in the post-16 education and training markets, students can choose to stay at school (if the school is 11-18), transfer to a sixth-form, tertiary or FE college, undertake various forms of vocational training or look for employment or, indeed, retreat into the home and pursue a 'domestic career', (Ball, et al 2000: 50)

In this study Ball et al's first option 'students can choose to stay at school (if the school is 11-18)' becomes 'further study and university': the second 'tertiary or FE college' becomes 'fiill-time further education': the third 'undertake various forms of vocational training or look for employment' becomes 'in employment with or without fiirther training' and fourth 'retreat into the home and pursue a 'domestic career' becomes 'largely unemployed'.

[3] Individual transcripts were sent to each of the interviewees for their approval and/or correction.

[4] Bourdieu points out that for some 'only those things which can be measured are worth consideration instead of attempting to measure what deserves to be known.' (Bourdieu 1963: 9).

[5] These concems were also discussed with Professor Morgan, thesis supervisor and member of the School of Continuing Education's Ethics Committee,

[6] Although there is a danger in building too much of a relationship with the interviewee to the point where they will be unduly influenced in their responses - to say what they expect the interviewer wants to hear or to show themselves in a good light - the openness and honesty present during the interviews certainly contributed to their success and richness,

[7] Employment Services were unwilling to participate in a facilitation capacity unless all the interviews were conducted at their offices.

[8] This paper was based on Hemsley-Brown's own Ph,D, submission at the University of Southampton.

[9] In the same way that Bourdieu over-represented in his study of 'taste' in French society the middle and upper-class to ensure adequate sample numbers without distorting the composition of the group, (Bourdieu, 1984: 503)

[10] The data categories have been adjusted to better reflect the four post-16 trajectories identified in this study,

e.g.

'In training without employment (3.7%)' have been combined with the group 'College (32.6%)' to give a total proportion of 36,3% 'went into full-time further education'.

Also

'Moved out of contact (5.8%)' have been combined with the group 'No response/Unknown (0.4%)' to give a total proportion of 6,2% 'no information known',

(Connexions, 2002)

" Connexions is a non-profit making organisation funded by central government to provide support and guidance to young people aged thirteen to nineteen in Lincolnshire and Rutland. It has replaced the Lincolnshire Careers and Guidance Service previously provided firom within the Local Education Authority.

[12] These groups are taken as one in the gender balance information provided by Connexions to the Department for Education and Skills - what they are focussing on is the numbers in leaming rather than specific options preferred. The movements in proportions also tends to reflect the approximation as the participation rates are very similar e.g. males entering further education is higher than females, females entering higher education is higher than males in 2001 but the proportions were reversed in data for 2000.

Chapter Four - Research Findings

In this chapter the thesis begins to pick out the emerging themes and issues bound up in the life story interviews described in Chapter Three. subsequently the chapter moves from the 'broad brash' themes - taking the interview population sub-groups as a whole - to the detail contained within the individual sub-groups. The rich data flowing from the life stories is organised and presented under the themes used as general prompts for the life story interview process (See also Appendix One):

1. Family life and cultural influences
2. Community influences
3. Experience of education
4. The nature of rarality; is mrality a defining ethnic' *habitus?*
5. Influences on post-sixteen decision making.

Detailed analysis of the data is presented in Chapter Five using the research question and sub-questions as a focus outlined in the Preface.

Presentation of Data

Family Life

The first thing to reaffirm is just how important family context appears to be in relation to choice and the range of options considered. All of the interviewees spoke at length about their families and without exception how influential they had been and continue to be in their lives (not necessarily always in a positive way but certainly influential). To begin the interview process, the interviewee's were asked to

simply describe their childhood. With the exception of three (Working - Nadene - 1015, HE - Laura - 1025 and Unemployed - Joanne - 1041) all of the interviewees described their childhood as 'happy' or 'normal'. This in itself is interesting as 'normal' in this context is a very subjective comparison and has no real established meaning other than their comparative meaning. A selection of answers are shown below taken from the four post-sixteen categories:

> 3 MS '1 suppose it was quite good really.
> 5: CA Quite good
> 7: MS Yes, can't see any places where they faltered, it was quite happy, I didn't have too many upsets. Mum and Dad never argued or shouted in front of us, that's quite good. Because of it being a little village as well you can wander about, you've got a bit more freedom without worried about getting ran over or something, so quite happy.' (FE - Mark - 1003)

> 5: LS 'It was good; I was quite sheltered because I didn't really live in the City, so 1 didn't really get out much. My parents didn't have a car until I was a lot older, so I didn't really get to do very much but what I did do just a lot of things at home.' (HE - Laura - 1025)

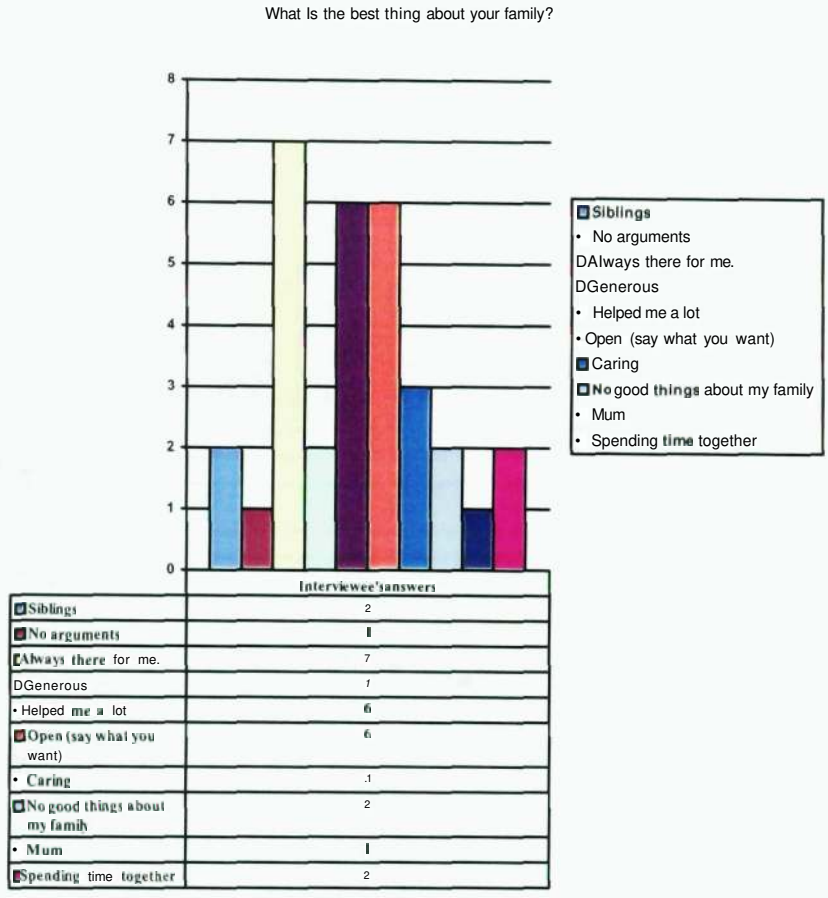
> 5: JP 'My childhood. It was a bit rough with my Mum and Dad splitting up sort of thing, I found it quite hard other than that I managed quite well.' (Unemployed - John - 1042)

> 5: RC 'Oh, I'd say I had quite a happy childhood, well I've got a lot of brothers and sisters and everything so I'm like always someone to be there well up until I was eleven 'cause that's when one of my brothers died, so like, sort of messed things up a bit but I'd say childhood was pretty good, yeah.' (Working - Rebecca - 1016)

The answers are very honest and set the frend for all of the interviews which were all very open and 'rich'. Mark and Laura's answers also link a positive family life with a sense of place. Mark makes a link between village life, a sense of 'safety and 'freedom' while Laura makes a clear link between 'sheltered' and mral village life both themes are discussed in much more detail in Chapter Five. In response to 'what

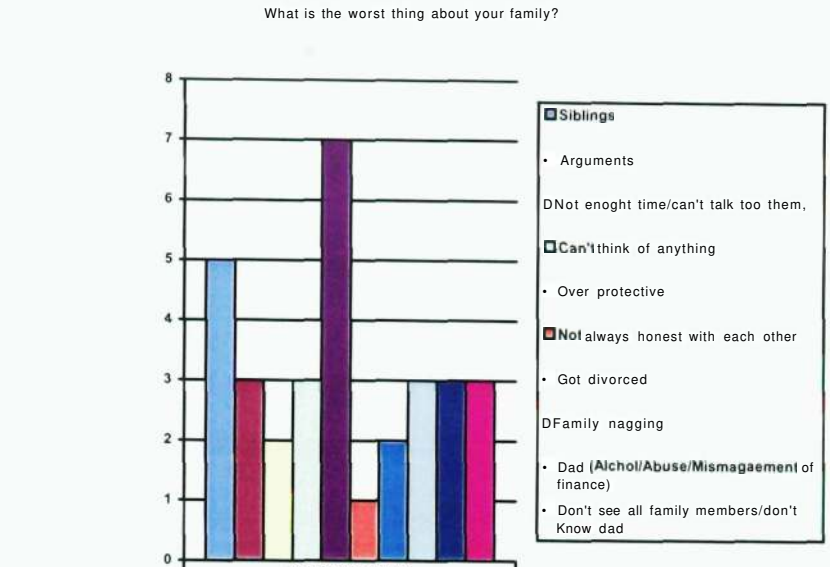
is the best thing about your family?' and 'what is the worst thing about your family?' the responses are shown below in figure 19 and 20.

Figure 19: What's the best thing about your family?



Clearly the most popular answers reflect the caring and supportive role played by most parents. Listening to the interviews what became clear was that the very family trait identified as 'what's best' also appear in the 'what's worst' if- in the view of the interviewee - taken to excess. Arguments, family nagging and over protective are all bound up in the changing power relationships within the family as children grow older and begin to exert their own will and engage in the choice process.

Figure 20: What's the worst thing about your family?



	Interviewee's answers
Siblings	5
Arguments	3
Not enoght time/can't talk too them.	2
Can't think of anything	3
Over protective	7
Not always honest with each other	1
Got divorced	2
Family nagging	3
Dad (Alchol/Abuse/Mismagement of finance)	3
Don't see all family	3

Across the four categories interviewees talked about their families in terms of three key areas or functions:

Firstly, Stability - this is the 'always there for me' and the 'you can always say what you think'.

> 64: MS 'It was quite nice 'cause most people stayed around and so the friends that I've had since 1 was six or seven I've still kept until I'm sixteen, so you've got quite a good background. My next door neighbour's got a swimming pool in their back garden, which is quite nice, so all of us every summer get together in the swimming pool and now there are more of us as well, 'cause some of them drive, it's quite nice. You remember growing up

with those people and you look at old photos and see what they look like.' (FE - Mark - 1003)

In this passage Mark makes the connection between stability - living in the same village and knowing the same people - and 'quite nice'. This is a theme picked up from the opposite direction by James:

5: JF 'It was a good upbringing. I don't particularly have any definite memories of circumstances or anything but I remember we moved house about three or four times before I was eleven and then I started big school, we have moved twice since. My Mum has changed her job three or four times from what I can remember.' (HE - James - 1021)

James continued to talk with this backcloth of having moved repeatedly for much of his life story. Interviewees generally seemed to value the feeling of permanence families give and regretted things that were seen to undermine this function; particularly family break up, death of a family member or serious illness. Clearly these are traumatic events for anyone and their influence is likely to be long-term but they appeared to be often significant as springboards for life changes. Often in a direct motivational way:

82: CA 'You said you had inherited 'stubbornness' and 'go for goal', why do you think you've inherited those?
84: MD Just sort of through my Mum, I mean the things she's got at the minute, I mean she's got ME at the moment and it's all just like a waiting game, it's just she hasn't given up on it, she hasn't like become depressed over it or anything like that, she is still the same person what she used to be. I mean it's been six, I know that I would be straggling to I would have gone mad by now if I had been in the house for six years but yeah she has not given up on anything it's just like a motivated flight test. I think, well at least I'm out here and you know.
86: CA So that's been, she has always been a bit of an inspiration?
88: MD Yeah, I mean if she can hack sitting there for six years waiting to get better I mean I'm damn sure that I can hack whatever I've got I mean it's not even half the problem'. (HE - Matthew - 1020)

And occasionally in providing an opportunity to bridge family rifts which had built up over the years:

77: RP 'Describe my family. Got better, they're a lot better now my Dad's died I hate to say it but we, we connected with him if you know what I mean, we always I don't know. He did things for us if you know what I mean and we wasn't too good with he'd organise 'an outdoor' but we didn't go but now if we organise things we'd go.' (Unemployed - Richard- 1043)

Many of the interviewees also described the influence of other members of their extended families. Many lived near their extended family members and saw them on a regular basis.

80: SM 'Loads, I've got loads of aunties and uncles and cousins and things like that. There's a lot of us.
82: CA Right.
84: SM And they all live around the same area.
86: CA Around Market Rasen?
88: SM Yes.' (FE - Sarah - 1032)

This may be linked to the nature of raral life in Lincolnshire - that is to say its inherent stability - or could be a product of individual family *habitus*[2]. What is clear is that for many young people the wider family is a valued source of advice and support.

157: RP 'With my Dad dying I reckon I became mature, 'cause I wasn't, it took a while but I don't know, I started having problems of not getting up, didn't sleep at night I started coming to bed at five o'clock in the moming but then my uncle kind of took me down to Manchester with him, he sorted me out 'cause he had a garage and everything got me into motor mechanics. He made me more mature, I don't know how to say it but he changed me and I started sleeping at night and I started getting up in the moming, getting back to normal.' (Unemployed - Richard - 1043)

267: CB 'My Grandparents, they helped me financially. They have advised you of loans and stuff if I have needed it.' (Working - Chris - 1012)

Secondly the values that families share. When asked to consider the values the interviewees believed were important to them and their families the answers included:

'Good manners (FE - Mark - 1003), being polite (FE - Simon - 1004), (HE – Damien - 1023)

A good experience of things to make decisions (FE - Simon - 1004)

Money's important but not the only thing in life (FE - Rebecca - 1005), (HE – Amy – 1026)

Don't be quick to judge people (FE - Sarah - 1032)

Work at relationships, stay together (FE - Christopher - 1006), (Working - Kevin – 1030)

Honesty/be tiiithfiil (FE - Charlotte - 1033)

If you want to well you must get a good education (FE - 1010 - Louise), (HE - Kirsty - 1028), (Working - Rebecca - 1016), (Working - Nadene - 1015),

Stand up for your rights/value of money (FE - Christopher - 1009), (HE - Jenny - 1026), (HE - James - 1021)

Work hard (FE - Ian –1007), (HE - Jenny - 1026), (HE - Laura - 1025), (Working – Alan – 1011), (Working – Ben – 1014)

Get on with other people (FE - Ian –1007), (FE - Wayne - 1008)

Patience (HE - Robert - 1022)

Do things properly (Working - David - 1013), (Unemployed - John - 1042)

Dad's good with his hands (HE - Damien - 1023)

Stubbornness (HE - Matthew - 1020), (HE - Amy - 1026), (Unemployed - Sam – 1045)

A clear sense of 'right' and 'wrong' (HE - Michael –1024)

Love of the countryside (Working - David - 1013)

Knowledge/Skills (Working - Christopher - 1012)

Trast (Unemployed - Jennifer - 1044)

Family is important but you always need friends (Unemployed - Lee - 1040)

These can be grouped in line with the general themes that emerged during the interviews into three areas: a strong sense of justice, the importance of relationships and the place of education in developing both economic and cultural capital. Some of the interviewees mentioned the value of education as part of their cultural inheritance directly while others believed they had inherited the work ethic but used education as an example.

> 47: BG 'Both mum and dad have always been hard workers, I think I am. I have worked on the farm and on neighbouring farms, driving tractors from about the age of nine. A lot of skills I have leamt on the farm come from spending time with dad.' (Working - Ben - 1014)

> 136: LS 'They've always told me to be honest, they've always taught me things like that like working hard they've always encouraged me work and that I think. My Dad did is 'A' levels and I've always been taught to work hard and I've always done that, I've tried my best and everything.' (HE - Laura - 1025)

This is interesting to reflect on, is it 'trying to say what the interviewer wants to hear'? Using the test mentioned in Chapter Three 'does the life story make sense' the examples are in keeping with the rest of their stories.

Thirdly, the role of the family in providing direct guidance and support. This fiinction is the most tangible in many ways and is present in almost all of the interviews. Examples included driving their children to college, work and providing a foram for debate and discussion.

> 17: IB 'That she is always there for me and my Dad will do anything for me now, he drives me, as I do athletics and my Dad drives me all around the country and he'll pretty much do anything for me as far as athletics are

> concemed. My Mum and Dad are both there for me all the time, it's really nice.' (FE - Ian - 1007)

The influence of family was evident in all of the life stories to some extent, in one or two cases the influence had clearly been less than positive although even these stories recognised the lasting influence of family members both collectively and individually.

Community Influences

When talking about the communities they grew up in the interviewees were less clear of any direct influence on their lives, other than through specific friends. Again many of the answers have a strong link with the nature of mrality and what growing up in Lincolnshire is like. For some 'community' was bound up in a sense of place, their village, their place, for others it was less about place and more about shared interest(s). This interest was often sport but for many 'community' was almost the same as the extended family. This association of community with almost 'family' responsibility and obligation is difficult to conceptualise in much of modem, urban Britain yet in many isolated mral villages its tme meaning is both shared and understood; A meaning which the young Raymond Williams understood moving from mral Wales to Cambridge University in 1939.

> 'He recalls hearing a lecturer by Professor L. C. Knights on the meaning of the word 'neighbour' in Shakespeare. Knights stated that it indicated something that no twentieth century person could understand, because it signified a whole series of obligations and recognitions over and above the fact of physical proximity. The young Williams got up 'straight from Pandy, so to say' and asserted that he knew perfectly well what neighbour meant in

the full sense, a remark that was received with incredulity and hostility'.

(Morgan and Preston, 1993: 7)

This is an important point to make because it illustrates a different interpretation of commonly used language based on the shared nature *of habitus.*

Place

100: LOR 'Not really too easy growing up on Birch wood[3] 'cause it is well it's the second biggest estate in the world[4] so there's a lot of people there and it's very crowded. When I was younger there was quite a lot to do actually around the comer, we used to have a park and a big bit of waste land and then it all got taken over by builders and then we used to have a couple of other parks and they got knocked down and built on and we used to have other bits of waste land and it all just gets built on. 1 think it's such a shame 'cause my kids in generation will have nothing to do. I've seen what it does to people 'cause when you're bored and you've got nothing to do I mean not me personally but quite a lot of people tum to crime and tum to doing wrong things to entertain them because there is just nothing else to do that's legal for them, if you can understand what I mean.' (Unemployed - Lee - 1040)

80: MS 'Oh yes, I think apart from anything all of the village values each other's thoughts, I mean our village has meetings and stuff to discuss what's happened and there doesn't seem to be arguments, seems to be alright and the younger generation are invited as well, which is quite good. I mean we didn't use to have a playing field; well we did have a playing field but nothing in it, just used to be a field, now we have goal posts and getting together.' (FE - Mark - 1003)

Interest(s)

111: LH 'No, I don't think they held me back, they always said or if I said I'm going to try this they would usually sort of support me because 1 used to play squash a lot, my Dad played squash as well and I think one day I said Dad I want to play squash, so he used to take me down, me and my brother and even paid for coaching lessons at the squash club, then when I was thirteen they paid for me to join the tennis club. My brother was in the Scouts and 1 was in the Guides so they never held us back from anything I don't think, not that 1 can remember. Don't feel they held me back, I think if I wanted to try something they were reasonable.' (FE - Louise - 1010)

Clearly coming through the interviews what was clear was that interviewees from mral villages certainly felt a strong sense of linkage to the location. The life stories

also tend to suggest that village life includes a heightened respect and value of friendship. That's not to say urban life does not, but many of the life stories from village based interviewees included passages about friendships which were important - because of the small numbers of children - and have continued post-sixteen.

> 125: CA 'Well, what sort of characteristics do you think you've taken from that sort of background? What's important to you?
> 127: DC All my friends, I've known some of my friends since playgroup and we still see each other now and all my fiiends from Farmer's School we still see each other.' (Working - David - 1013)

This confrasted with many of the life stories from more urban environments that claimed to have lost contact with friends more easily. A good example of this is those living in towns - Boston, Grantham - where the young people separated out in to those who had passed the eleven plus and those that had not. In the town environment there are large numbers of each and fiiendship appears to have followed school trajectory. For those in the village environment 'place' seems to have been a much more influential determinant of friendship.

An example of this perceived hnkage is shown below:

> 194: CA 'Right, so how do urban people live differently then, what do you mean?
> 196: CH I think it's probably a more closer knit community, the way they live and make friends with people around their houses, like neighbours and things like that.' (FE - Christopher - 1006)

Those interviewed from the more urban environment of Lincoln also recalled friends and place in a way that appears to associate 'place' with a 'stereotype' rather than necessarily individual friends. This is particularly tme when life stories include encounters with 'crime' or 'drags', its as if these issues are not personally attributable more an abstraction of the place.

89: JP 'I have been in trouble a few times, yes; just minor thefts and stuff.
91: CA Right. Did you get caught?
93: JP Well I got grassed on - it's only minor sort of things.
95: CA What did your family think about that?
97: JP Disappointed but then you talk it through the stuff and you know it's just phase you're going through.
99: CA Where did you grow up?
101: JP Grew up on the Moorland, Boultham area.
103: CA Right. Moorland at Boultham?
105: JP Yeah.
107: CA Did you say it was a phase that people went through did the people, your friends, did they go through a similar sort of thing?
109: JP Yeah, they all go through it. You're like bored, nothing to do and then you end up messing around and daring each other to do stuff.
111: CA Right.
113: JP And that's the way it goes.
115: CA Right. What was it like growing up, you grew up at Boultham?
121: JP It was an alright area and that, it wasn't too bad, but you get the odd fights going on and that sort of stuff, like that really.
123: CA Did you have many friends?
124: JP Yeah, I knew just about everyone round the area, sort of thing.
126: CA Right.
128: JP Hanging round with someone one day and then I'd be walking down the street and end up hanging round with someone else.
130: CA Right. Were you part of the gang? Do you see yourself as being the same as all the other kids?
132: JP Basically yeah, near enough.
134: CA Yeah. Do you still see many of the fiiends?
136: JP Not really friends from that area, but I do see one or two.
138: CA Right.
140: JP I've got a load of different mates, sort of thing.
142: CA Yeah, times move on.
144: JP Yeah, absolutely.' (Unemployed - John - 1042)

This impression of difference between mral communities and their urban counterparts is a theme that is included in a number of life stories from slightly different perspectives. This again sheds light, in a subtle way, on the sub-conscious nature *of habitus* - predetermined reaction to particular circumstances and events - in relation to mral and urban communities. Two examples are shown below:

81: AT 'Yes, in my second half of primary school I didn't have a lot of friends because everybody was becoming "cool" and my parents were very traditional and . . . I'm still in long socks and T-bar sandals. Then saying that all the people that came from raral areas parents tended to be more traditional and so we all sort of stuck together 'cause children at that age are very cruel. It was sort of us versus them, you know it was only when you got older that everybody makes it back together again at secondary school.' (HE - Amy - 1027)

Clearly in this example Amy is making some fairly sweeping statements about the conservative nature of raral families but is clear about her feelings *of tribal* division.

119: CA 'Right. What was it like growing up then in your village?

121: JT It was OK, I don't think it was the most exciting place for a kid but it was very much go to a friend's house and you find something to do at a fiiend's house, you know they'd have different toys, you'd go and play at theirs for a bit and then they'd come back to yours and play something else that you had and they didn't. It was very sharie community.

123: CA Right.

125: JT So, it was quite a nice little community.

127: CA Yeah, but not the most exciting?

129: JT Not in terms of things to do for kids, clubs or parks or anything. I mean they had a park but it was pretty pathetic while 1 was little to be honest. They haven't got much more now, they've improved the park but other than that bit rough up there now anyway, so you probably wouldn't want your kids to go up there now.

131: CA Why is it now rough?

133: JT It seems to have become the sort of arrogant teenage smokers hang out that sort of thing that generally tend to pick on people smaller than themselves. I wouldn't send a kid up there on their own. In that respect it's changed a hell of a lot.

135: CA The whole village has changed or that particular playground?

137: JT I think most of it there's just all these littie hang out at the bus stop, there's the wall at the church and there's all these little groups that ride motorbikes up and down and generally cause havoc. It just wasn't like that while I was growing up, it was a very quite place and you could trast most people, we knew of the odd ones that could be anywhere but now I don't know just seems to have gone down hill a bit. I think perhaps because there are more estates, there are more people from different backgrounds.

139: CA When you say from different backgrounds?
141: JT Maybe some people that originally lived in the city that are used to having graffiti or whatever, that's kind of their way of life and then they lead other people into it. I don't know I might be wrong but that's the way I see it.' (HE - Jenny - 1026)

In this case Jenny is making the connection between a steady decline in community feel within the village and the increasing influx of those with a different cultural fradition; to quote Jenny 'some people that originally lived in the city'. There may be a sense of 'class' division wrapped up in this sense of tension. This issue again is used to categorise 'urban' and raral'; for some the association is itself a reason for conflict:

112: LS 'I think there's a lot of like class difference in our school because it was kids from the estate and then there was kids from the smaller villages, which were perhaps middle class. I don't know everyone just mixed together, so I don't think it really matters 1 was sort of in-between.
114: CA Right, but you were conscious of that when you were at school?
116: LS Yes, I was.
118: CA Right. How did that manifest itself, how did you, why would you be conscious of that?
120: LS Because my Mum, my parents, may of made it obvious.
122: CA Right.
124: LS But some kids were maybe rough but made obvious and other kids may be posher.
126: CA And what did your Mum, what did your family have to say about that?
128: LS I don't know, I think my Mum didn't really like me mixing with people that were going to get me in to any trouble or anything.
130: CA So you would stay clear of those 'cause they're from the 7
132: LS But 1 still mixed with everyone anyway.' (HE - Laura - 1025)

Despite generally painting a favourable picture of raral village life issues of concem and regret did emerge during the life stories. These largely focussed on two key issues: first, a perceived lack of opportunity associated with mral isolation, lack of

amenities. Second, the lack of privacy associated with small communities where everyone knows everything and everyone.

> 104: MD 'It was good growing up in my house with my family and everything I couldn't have wished for anything better. It was a bit different in Hicksville 1 mean everybody knows everybody and it's just too close knit if you know what 1 mean. I mean you know everybody and it's just it's you don't get a chance to meet different people until you are old enough to start going out doing things and it's all, if you can't drive or anything I mean it's just there is nothing for people to do out there. Well, there is and there isn't I mean once you're old enough you can go drinking in the pubs and things but I mean for the kids growing up they have a youth club but it's no good I mean nobody goes to it.' (HE - Matthew - 1020)

Linked to the communities described in the life stories interviewees all spoke at some length about their experiences at school and the ways in which education has influenced their subsequent actions and motivations.

Experience of Education

All of the interviewees spoke with affection for their time at primary school with the exception of one interviewee - (Unemployed - Lee - 1040) - who described a leaming difficulty which eventually led to his removal from 'mainstream' education and placement in a special school, Lincoln Close. Lee went on to say how this had been a low point in his time in school but the move to Lincoln Close had worked for him and he subsequently enjoyed school. Interviewees typically remembered many 'nice' teachers and favourite lessons (e.g. Art, (HE - Michael - 1024)).

Contrasting with this is the interviewees' experiences of secondary education which were less universally enjoyed. Secondary school was a very different place:

> 235: DC 'Yes, try about 1300 people I think were there. There were lots more teachers. Different to primary school you get to know one teacher

for a year, at secondary school you get seven or eight different ones and they change every so often.' (Working - David - 1013)

From the interviews the key themes are:

1. The effect of transition from primary to secondary school. (There is also some overlap with the process of transition from child to adolescent.),
2. The pressures of school life, and,
3. The pressure to succeed.

Taking the first of these themes 'transition' this proved to be a key moment in the life of the interviewees. Many talked about the sense of apprehension and worry involved in moving school and, in some cases, loosing friends. This is a feature of the life stories from the raral areas of Lincolnshire which operate a grammar school system of selection at year six, age eleven. In their final year at primary school children are entered for the eleven plus (11+) examination from which the scores will be used to allocate grammar school places. This system is used across Lincolnshire with the exception of the City of Lincoln and its immediate surrounding area that adopted a comprehensive system of secondary education in the early 1970's[5]. Of the thirty-two interviewees thirteen went to school in areas of the county which retain the selection process. Of those thirteen, six failed, four passed and three didn't sit the exam because their parents opted out of the process.

For the interviewees the process of fransition often meant the separation of friends and the forming of new relationships in a new environment. From Michael's story:

267: CA 'How did they feel about you not passing your eleven plus?
269: ML Not bothered, not really bothered a lot of people didn't do it.
271: CA Right. Some of your friends at primary school presumably did pass?

273: ML Yes, two of them passed.
275: CA Two of them?
277: ML Yes, they went to King's, a few girls passed.
279: CA Did you drift apart or did you remain friends?
281: ML Didn't see any of them, no.' (HE - Michael - 1024)

And again in Rebecca's story:

188: CA 'How did you feel about passing?
190: RF I was over the moon.
192: CA Were you?
194: RF Yes, because all my friends had passed, so I wanted to go. There was one person that didn't pass, one of my friends and she like had to go on her own.
195: CA How did she feel?
197: RF She was upset.
199: CA Did you keep in contact with her at all?
201: RF No, lost contact.
203: CA It was quite important to you then that, so passing the eleven plus wasn't just about going to High School, it was about staying with your mates?
205: RF Yes.' (FE - Rebecca - 1005)

This is an important - although regrettable - product of the selection process. Throughout the life story interviews interviewees repeatedly cited friends as amongst their 'best thing about school'. The interviews also highlighted how important the selection process had been in the young peoples' lives. A good example of this are the stories of Christopher (FE - 1009), Robert (HE - 1022) and Michael (HE - 1024) who, despite saying how pleased they were that they had not gone to the grammar school, were all able to recall how many marks they were short of reaching the pass mark.

Christopher:

248: CA 'Did you take you eleven plus?
250: CM Yes I did.
252: CA How did you get on?
254: CM It was like a 330 pass mark and I got 319 but in a way I'm glad I did go to St Wolfram's 'because if I went to King's I just couldn't

I'd rather get a mix of, I don't know, different people really' '(FE – Christopher- 1009)

Robert:

481: CA 'Did you take the eleven plus?
483: RM Yes.
485: CA How did you get on?
487: RM I was about four off passing for King's School, 1 think.' (HE – Robert – 1022)

Michael:

248: CA 'Did you do the eleven plus?
250: ML Yeah.
252: CA How did you get on in that?
254: ML I was close to passing it I was like five off it.' (HE - Michael - 1024)

The second theme that emerged in many of the stories were the pressures of school life; both academic pressure to succeed and peer pressure to fit in. One of the most shocking of outcomes from the interviews was the number of people who talked about their experience of being bullied at school, with many highlighting this as their worst experience of school. For most of these this was a temporary and thankfully short-lived experience but for some it emerged as an on-going barrier to school life. A few examples are shown below.

Jennifer highlighting how important bullying was to her and how she believed the problem is not taken seriously:

752: JM 'It is important, but the schools I don't think are doing enough to make sure people aren't getting bullied. I think it is making people not wanting to go to school it is making their exam results slip, I think.' (Unemployed - Jermifer - 1044)

Matthew talking about his time at primary school and his first year at secondary school:

160: MD 'Some of the straggles. In primary school I didn't really get on with the so-called top group in the village type thing. I suppose when I was at primary school and the first year of secondary school 1 was bullied a little bit so that was a bit of a shock. I've never been used ... well I've never had anything like that before.' (HE - Matthew - 1020)

Sarah reminds us that for most children bullying is 'verbal' and 'social' rather than physical.

199: SM It wasn't physical bullying, it was just verbal really. They just weren't very nice to me and left me out of things and just said things about me behind my back and then my other friends would like tell me what they had been saying and things like that and they were just horrible and they just weren't very nice people. (FE - Sarah - 1032)

The third theme is about the pressure to do well, to succeed. The interviewees talked about this pressure coming from family, friends and teachers. While many recognised this was simply part of social interaction - people wanting what's best for them - they also gave the impression that this was not always helpful.

CA 'Well did you feel under pressure at school?'

147: CM 'Yeah, it was at school doing GCSE's and that sort of thing I was under quite a bit of pressure to do well, as my parents wanted me to do well. I did the best I could really.' (FE - Christopher - 1009)

93:IB 'Yes, my sister is really academic, she is really clever and I felt she went to High School, passed her 11+ and at one point 1 wasn't sure what secondary school I wanted to go to and didn't know whether it was worth taking my eleven plus.' (FE - Ian - 1005)

127: LH 'When it was exam time. Mum pressurised me a lot to revise I remember that, we fell out a lot because of that.' (FE - Louise - 1010)

192: MD 'Only to perform at school really, get the grades. I was scared of disappointing my family and letting them down but once 1 realised that I wanted to go onto university there was obviously quite a pressure on to get the results type thing. 1 mean every time exams came

around there was a pressure on to getting results and to perform in school.' (HE - Matthew – 1020)

120: RC 'My older sisters, none of them especially well at school so 1 always had that pressure on me as well to do really well at school 'cause I was bright as a little child and then 1 was going to a teaching career as well and I had a lot of pressure on me from my GCSEs well I don't think they meant to but I thought that I did, 'cause I beat all my older brother and sisters and then my A'levels as well I felt a lot of pressure then to stay and stick at it and go into teaching and things like that. It was my childhood dream to be a teacher, but then when I sat down and thought about it when I was a bit older 1 realised that I didn't really want to that, but because they was like expecting me to I sort of like carried it on until I realised I couldn't do it anyway, so I felt a lot of pressure there.' (Working - Rebecca - 1016)

Linked to these is the interviewees' general attitude to education, the value they placed on education in people's lives. Interestingly when asked 'what role does education play in a persons life?' everyone - with the possible exception of Jenny (HE - 1026) - interpreted education as certificated formal leaming. Opinions on this were far from universal with many of the interviewees questioning the value of 'formal education'. Interestingly this was also tme for those in higher education who had consumed the greatest amount of formal education. Answers broadly fell into four categories:

1. It's very important because..... (linked to economic capital)
2. It's very important because..... (linked to social and cultural capital)
3. It's important if.....
4. It's not important because.....

The first of the categories - and the largest group - made a direct link between 'jobs', 'economic prosperity' and education. Examples of this can be found across each of the four post-sixteen choice categories.

193: CA 'What role has education got do you think in somebody's life. How important is it?

195: WB I think it's very important because you need qualifications to get a good job. If you haven't got qualifications then you could end up doing a job that you don't want to be doing and not very good pay, so I think it's important for you to get your grades, get what you need to get to qualify for the job you want to do.' (FE - Wayne - 1006)

The second category linked education with social and cultural capital[6]. For this group education was about forming the rounded, well educated person, for Mark (FE - 1003) it was about being able to 'speak well' in conversation and for Kirsty it was the 'making of the person'.

232: KN 'A lot I think. I think, yeah, the years you're at school I think make you the person that you are what you're going to do at school and you come out as at the end. It can, you know plague some people I think at school, it can change them, it make them shy or either build your confidence up or it can take it away.' (HE - Kirsty 1028)

The third group generally agreed that education was important but added a series of qualifying caveats.

323: DC 'If they want to like study for 'A' levels or university then I suppose it is important. I know people who haven't had problems as they've known exactly what they want to do, gone straight into work and done training, didn't give a monkey's whilst at school, gone out straight into work, done the training, happy with it, good at their job. It works both ways, if you're interested in doing it, it's good like, but if you're not then it's a waste of time.' (Working - David - 1013)

The fourth category believed formal education was of limited value:

340: JP '1 don't know really, it sounds strange but as far as education is concemed I haven't really leamt much at school, you know from being at school I feel like I've leamt more since I've left school than when I was actually at school.' (Unemployed - Joanne - 1041)

The interviewees all talked at length about their experience of education with many also linking this to the raral nature of Lincolnshire, for example the size of their

school. During the life stories interviewees were all asked their views on rarality and its impact on then; their answers provide a fascinating element of this research.

What is Rurality?

In many ways this section of the life stories is amongst the most revealing, not simply because it focuses on an under-researched field but because it paints a significant backcloth to the decision making process that has taken place in the young peoples' lives. Rurality is an example *of habitus* and Bourdieu's discussion of the way *habitus* is constracted - largely through family and school - using a network of objective positions, Bourdieu describes as *fields,* is what gives the interviewees' world both sense and values. In studying the affect of regional culture within Lincolnshire mrality is the dominant theme. Their impressions, feelings about mrality, strike at the heart of this research 'To what extent does the cultural heritage of an individual affect decision making processes when considering post-compulsory education?' (Preface). Within the research population sixteen considered themselves to be mral, eleven perceived themselves as not being mral people - although some accepted that others may perceive them as raral because they live in Lincolnshire - and five did not feel comfortable being considered raral or urban (they believed they were both at different points in their lives).

In this context does rurality create a significant and distinct cultural group, an ethnic minority in Eriksen's definition of the term? (Eriksen, 1993: 2-5)

When asked to describe what raral meant to them the interviewees outlined a range of characteristics. (During this part of their stories interviewees' inevitably crossed over into describing the characteristics of urban people and therefore the

characteristics shown below are a combination of their perceptions of both mral and urban society.)

1. Rurality is about size. Specifically 'small', small villages, small schools, small churches. In saying this interviewees were not necessarily talking about a lack of amenities, simply their more immediate relationship to the people they served. (FE - Wayne –1006 and HE - Michael - 1024)

> 299: CA 'What does the word mral mean to you?
> 301: ML Small village.
> 303: CA Small village?
> 305: ML Fields, village shops, village pub.
> 307: CA Right, yeah.
> 309: ML Small school, small church, park, the comfields.' (HE - Michael – 1024)

2. Rurality is about isolation. Answers in this group focussed on the disparate nature of mrality, the distances between places in Lincolnshire (FE - Louise - 1010, HE - James - 1021 and HE - Matthew - 1020). With this isolation also came security, this was a feature of a number of the characteristics of mral and by abstraction the lack of security associated with urban. (Working - Chris - 1012, Unemployed - John –1042, HE - Jenny - 1026 and Unemployed - Jennifer - 1026.) The countryside is not only safer but also cleaner. (HE - Laura –1025 and FE - Simon - 1004)

> *Distance* - 151: LH 'Rural, when I think about mral it springs to mind fields and farming. I mean if you ride around you see loads of fields and from where we're from it's quite contrasting, like the Lake District and that from where we are used to going. Another thing about Lincolnshire I don't know if it's anywhere else but towns seem really isolated from each other and then you get long stretches of road and loads of fields in between that's what I always think about Lincolnshire anyway.' (FE - Louise - 1010)

> *Security* - 147: CB 'It's changed a lot since, since being around Nettieham, it's changed, I've known quite a lot more older people, quite a lot more retired, it's just you can just stop and talk to them in the street, you can just get along with all of them really, and when you live in Lincoln

sometimes you didn't walk up certain streets because you know that gangs hang around up there. In Nettieham you can walk anywhere, you don't have any problems to worry about, you don't have to worry about who's behind the next comer or anything like that.' (Working - Chris - 1012)

Distance and Security - 209: JT 'I think it sort of, it's quite a close community although it's what I see as raral being very spread out. Houses would be quite far apart, farm houses that sort of thing. But if someone is in need of something then everybody rallies around, and I don't think you get that so much in Lincoln, people are very much their own person.
219: CA Do you think living in Lincolnshire has affected your life?
221: JT I guess so, because it was fairly quiet place, I think it was a town, but now it's a city centre, what with the Cathedral and stuff, but its been relatively safe for me I think it has been recently anyway. But I think compared with London or Birmingham or something it's sort of maintained its 'safeness' to a greater extent than a lot of urban areas.' (HE - Jenny - 1026)

3. Rurality is about agriculture and the environment it generates. Most of the interviewees at some point mentioned 'fields', 'crops' and 'tractors'; not very surprising given the agricultural nature of Lincolnshire. What was interesting was the link with the agricultural industry rather than the environment itself Some interviewees did talk about hills and wide-open spaces but the vast majority used the local to express their views of rarality e.g. they reflected the arable nature of farming in Lincolnshire. Comments focussed on crops rather than livestock. (HE - Matthew - 1020, FE - Wayne - 1008, FE - Ian - 1007, HE - Michael - 1024, HE - Rob - 1022, HE - Laura - 1025, and FE - Simon - 1004.)

109: CA 'Right, OK, so think about raral again. Is raral simply the flip-side of urban?
111: IB Not so much the flip-side but definitely a lot quieter and 1 think of farms and tractors and harvesting and things like that.
113: CA So mrality is definitely linked with agriculture.
114: IB Yes.' (FE – Ian – 1007)

4. Rurality is about community. Interviewees spoke about the importance of community in the notion of rarality. Communities which were somehow sfronger

than their urban counterparts despite being further apart[7]. With this impression came the feeling that raral people were 'friendlier', more likely to talk to each other, and to strangers, than urban people. (Working - Ben - 1014, FE - Wayne - 1006, HE - Jenny- 1026 and Working - Chris - 1012)

> 207: CA 'What do you think the characteristics are of raral culture?
> 209: JT I think it sort of, it's quite a close community although it's what I see as raral being very spread out. Houses would be quite far apart, farm houses that sort of thing. But if someone is in need of something then everybody rallies around, and I don't think you get that so much in Lincoln, people are very much their own person. Other than that I'm not sure.' (HE – Jenny 1026)

> 139: CB 'The people are usually more friendly in, like, Nettieham village, quite often, it's got quite big now, but it used to be everyone knew each other, knew each other's business, it was really friendly, whereas in a big city you probably know your neighbours or a few other people around, whereas in Nettieham, you can know the whole street, it's really friendly.' (Working – Chris – 1012)

> 137: CA 'What do you think are the characteristics of raral people?
> 139: BG Like around here all the farmers know each other, they have all grown up together. They are always helpful, willing to help you when and if you need them. Like we are always willing to help them out if they need us. Fairly close I would say.
> 141: CA Right, you have already said something about "townies", people from urban areas, what do you think are their characteristics?
> 143: BG A lot of them have office jobs or wear suits not all of them, but most of them. Like in Lincoln you get a lot of people working for Alstom's or industry based. 1 don't think there are many people in the towns who actually work in the countryside.' (Working - Ben - 1014)

5. Rurality is about fradition and conservative attitudes. A lot of the interviewees commented on the relatively conservative attitudes of raral people. Examples included 'they don't move house' (FE - Wayne - 1006), 'they are stuck in the way they do things' (HE - Kirsty -1028) and 'they don't like to be adventurous' (FE - Christopher - 1009). Charlotte also makes the link between conservative attitudes and 'reserved', less 'out going'.

284: CA 'How would you describe the characteristics of raral people are?
286: CM Someone probably who keeps themselves to themselves. Someone not wanting to say a lot really. Quiet.
288: CA Right and similarly if you were describing the characteristics of urban people, how would you describe them?
290: CM Somebody with quite a bit to say. People like to talk about themselves a lot.' (FE - Chariotte - 1033)

This is an interesting point as it may suggest raral people's norms of behaviour prevent raral people from 'speaking out' or 'making as much fuss' as their urban counter parts. For raral young people this may also adversely effect their confidence at interview or other contexts where personal presentation is important. Conservatism was also mentioned in terms of gender roles with some interviewees implying it was harder for mral females to break out of the traditional 'women's role' than their urban counterparts. (HE - Amy - 1026 and Working – Ben 1014)

159: CA 'How would you describe the characteristics of a raral person? What you've talked about raral so far has been about the place really, homes that kind of thing what about the people that live there?
161: KN I would say they are very stuck in a way, not very open to new things.
163: CA Right.
165: KN Quiet, very narrow minded, not in bad ways, but see in a lot of bad ways really, they're not open to different suggestions they have their way and that's the way they do things.
169: KN From what I know I mean my boyfriend then works on the land he has ever since he left school, 'cause he went to the same school and he is very, he does things how he does it and that's how it is. Very traditional in a way but the way in which family is very tradition in life the wife stays in the house, the husband goes out to work and that is how life is really. Whereas in the city 1 think you know you're more sort of flexible whereas I think in the county the people are very unable to leam different things, whereas at the end of the day if they want to stay at home which in a way is bad I think because the world's changing isn't it and things in farming aren't going brilliantly. People are open to change and things you

know maybe save it you don't know and some people are quite as willing to leam as others are.' (HE - Kirsty- 1028)

Other interviewees described raral people in terms of their innocence, their lack of 'street wise' experience; less broad minded.

201: CA 'What are the characteristics of a mral person?
203: JF Rural person?
205: CA Yes.
207: JF Typical raral person would be from my point of view would be someone who's quite shallow in terms of what they know about city life really. Until 1 discovered going out in Lincoln City and what went on between different estates like rivalry, you don't get none of that where I come from, so you know it's only sort of two miles outside the city. Don't know you just seem quite shallow to the open world apart from you only know your way of life you know going down the local shops for your paper.
209: CA Right.
210: JF It's more relaxed.
212: CA So it's a kind of naivety in a way about those things?
214: JF Yes, in a way until you visit a big city. I mean that's what happened to me when I first went down to London and I just thought this is just a fantastic place compared to where I live I mean Lincoln is nothing really compared well it's nothing compared to London. I mean I love Lincolnshire it's a lovely place but I like going out in Lincoln, it has some nice beaches I suppose.
216: CA What do you think are the characteristics of an urban person?
218: JF The urban person; the people I've met in terms of the way I look at it from outside of Lincoln mral in the city they seem to be, I'm speaking about the people that I've met and the estates from sort of roughish estates if you know what I mean. They are more confident they are not they're more street wise that's quite a key word I think "street wise" well they have to be they leam from their mistakes rather than like my parents taught me what's not good and what's bad and what to do and what not to do, they haven't been taught they've had to find out for themselves, that's my experience.
220: CA Right.
222: JF So they tend to be more street wise and confident.' (HE - James – 1021)

6. Rurality is about a slower, less pressurised existence where physical labour is still valued. Many of the interviewees commented on the slower pace of raral life

compared to urban communities. (FE Mark - 1003, HE - Robert - 1022 and Working - Chris - 1012). When asked to characterise urban people most mentioned 'busy', 'business like' and 'hustle and bustle'. The physical labour comments are particularly interesting in that they reinforce Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital receiving legitimacy from those who share the *habitus* rather than necessarily seeking legitimacy from the dominant social group. Interviewees talked with a sense of pride about the value of 'hardwork'. In this extract from Amy's story she describes her perceptions of both raral and urban people and then goes on to describe her impressions of what each group perceives to be of value.

157: CA 'What about the people that live in it? What are the characteristics of raral people?
159: AT They are all quite hard I would say. We tend to joke amongst ourselves about town people being 'whiffy' and 'whaffy' you know, they don't like spiders you know it's all very airy fairy 'girlie' sort of thing and it's much colder in the middle of nowhere than it is in the town and you just I suppose the whole thing is people in the country sort of look at you a bit strangely if you're being sort of really 'whaffy' and the whole sort of ethos is you've just got to get down and do it, you know, it's not it's a really sort of much stronger attitude, I'm not quite sure how to describe it.
161: CA Right, when you say you've just got to get on and do it, is that about a task or is that about life?
163: AT Both really I suppose there is not a lot of people are keen on the idea of you know if there is something wrong with you, you know when I came back from Northampton it was like OK so you didn't like it you're back now and everything's fine. It was like, 'no everything's not fine,' you know 'cause you can't go through something that traumatic and then be fine it doesn't just happen like that you know. People put on a brave face everything just has to be got on with you know you know you don't worry about minor things you just get on with life, get on with what you're doing and get on with your task you know not worry about anything else.
169: CA What are the characteristics of urban people?
171: AT What I would see of urban people?
173: CA Yes.
175: AT Probably much more like people would describe the American idea, you know of councillors and people like that they're very involved in the country you know the idea of seeing a councillor if you're depressed while other people are sympathetic the person who is having that

would think you know their going mad. You know it's very "I'll be alright" you know. Whereas in the city, it's much more I don't know people are kind of, if you ask if they are all right instead of saying "Yes, I'm fine" you almost expect them to say "No, I'm not". Yeah, I mean I don't know characteristics of town people. Town people tend to be very interested in what they're wearing and how they look, how their houses look and that sort of thing. I think town people actually judge each other a lot more by what they look like and what they wear all that sort of thing.

179: AT Whereas people in their sort of raral people tend to judge each other by what they can do for each other, you know you're a good bloke 'cause you're a blacksmith you can do my horse kind of example, rather than you know you're a good bloke because you're wearing Armani jeans, because nobody in the country would care where you got your jeans from so long as they protected your knees when you bent down you know and kept you warm. You know it's totally different.' (HE - Amy - 1027)

What's interesting about all of these descriptive groups is the tendency to focus on the 'way of life' rather than the current official definitions of rarality which are focussed on population density, employment pattems and access to facilities (Countryside Agency, 2001). Having said all that only two interviewees believed living in raral Lincolnshire had affected their lives (FE - Wayne - 1008 and FE - Christopher - 1009). Both did not consider the affect to have been significant but believed they were in many ways very fortunate to have grown up in a 'quiet' fairly 'isolated' environment.

Almost all of the interviewees believed they would be unable to tell a 'raral person' from their urban counterpart without being told. Contrasting this a small number believed they would be able to tell almost immediately because of their taste in music, clothes and confidence.

239: MD 'I would consider people, I mean this is probably stereotyped but I consider people my age who live in town as just mad on going out clubbing all the time and they are a different type of person they're not reserved at all, they are more forward and you know sort of they're more up front you know they're a different type of person with the way they dress, their characteristics just general things like that. I mean

you would just, I mean I would associated the word because they have been brought up in a city type thing, hanging around the city and not really having that many opportunities to explore sports or anything.
241: CA Right. So if you were to meet somebody that you had not met before, how long would it take you to work out whether they were from an urban background or from a raral background?
243: MD Not too long, probably the first thing that would hit me would be the way that they dress and another thing would probably be the music they listen to, just things like that.' (HE - Matthew - 1020)

147: WB 'I think I'm not sure really. You can always tell the difference between urban and the raral people, it's a very difficult thing really whereas like you expect a farm worker to be in his wellies and cap and everything, whereas, I don't know really. I was always brought up around it, I was never interested in farm work myself personally, but I obviously know a few people around other than friends and cousins and that, like they've gone into it and they don't seem to have much of a, like, I mean I go out quite a lot I've got quite a big social life, I call it that but my friends and that, they seem to stay in the village, they seem to stay around what they know, whereas I like to sort of expand and get out and meet new people, whereas they seem to want to stick with their roots.
149: CA And stay put?
151: WB Stay put is where they are, yes.
153: CA You said you can always tell the difference between mral and urban.
155: WB You can't always but I mean I don't know there's always something there. I mean it may sound strange but like the way they talk and the way they perceive things, you can tell that their, I don't know it's hard to describe really how you could, I can't always obviously, but you can always tell the difference from like somebody who has been brought up in a village I think and someone who has been brought up in town. I think there is a difference there, I don't know really, it's hard to describe really I'm not sure how to put it into words.' (FE - Wayne - 1008)

The link between these characteristics and *choice* are drawn together in the next chapter which will analyse the findings, but it is easy to see how the characteristics described by the young people are likely to affect their decision making processes when considering post-sixteen options. The next section of this chapter looks at the process of decision making in the life stories and what the young people believe to have been instmmental in shaping their choices.

Influences on Decision Making about Post-Sixteen Education

In this section the data is presented using Kitwood's suggested technique of trying to show the data - in this case choice - within an overall social context; 'Reconstmction of a social life-world' (Kitwood (1977) and cited in Cohen and Manion (1994: 209/210)). At this stage in the thesis the data is being presented rather than analysed in great detail but some emerging themes are highlighted. Taking the four post-sixteen groups in ttim is also useful at this stage in showing any category trends which again are be picked up in the following Chapters.

1. Left school at sixteen and gone on to study full-time in the further education sector.

FE – Mark – 1003

Mark suggested that his lifelong passion for tennis had really shaped his choice process in considering post-sixteen options. He links this with his earlier decision not to take the eleven plus examination and follow an academic education at grammar school. Mark wishes to become a professional 'tennis coach' but was unable to pursue this option until reaching eighteen years of age, in his words:

> 192: MS 'To tell you the trath, my tennis coach thought I couldn't teach until I was eighteen; I think it has something to do with insurance that's why you can't be insured to look after kids until your eighteen. So I'd got to do something for two years.' (FE - Mark - 1003)

Mark makes it clear that he only ever considered a sports science course at Boston or Lincoln, his final choice appears to have had little to do with career plarming:

> 192: MS 'I remember choosing the course to go to whether I went to Boston or Lincoln and my girlfriend goes to Boston, stupid me decides I'll go to Boston as well. I wish I hadn't now I wish I was in Lincoln really, but I'm half way through the course so I'm going to stay here. What I've heard from some lads that have gone to Lincoln is it's much better, the facilities and everything.' (FE - Mark - 1003)

Mark believes he has made his own decisions about post-sixteen choices but clearly believes his parents and 'tennis coach' have been influential.

> 196: MS 'I suppose it's Mum and Dad's influence because of letting me do sport when I was younger, so that's my main reason for being here really, doing sport when I was younger.' (FE - Mark - 1003)

FE - Simon - 1004

Simon suggests in his life story that he was heavily influenced by friends who were also going to Boston College from school. Like many of the interviewees Simon never considered staying at school to sit A' level examination courses. His main influences appear to have been his friends and teachers at school who suggested he attend an 'open day' at college.

FE - Rebecca - 1005

Rebecca considered college or going into the job market at sixteen; again staying at school into the sixth form appears to have not been considered an option. The final decision was linked to her final GCSE grades that were better than expected and hence college became a viable option:

> 393: RF 'I did apply for a secretary job, but that's before I found out my GCSE results and then when I got them they wasn't as bad as what I thought, so I came to college.
> 395: CA Right, so was college your first choice?
> 397: RF Yes, depended on the GCSE results and Mum said as you have five A's to C's, which this course needed, you might as well go for it and if you don't like it then go for a job'. (FE - Rebecca - 1005)

Rebecca also hints at the lack of choice for young people in Boston. Like others her decision to rale out staying at school is, at least in part, a belief that school is for the 'brightest' and not likely to offer the support found in the college environment.

341: RF 'Teachers cared more about the ones who got A's and A*'s. They would say, "Oh you've got a D" whatever and carried on, didn't really give us enough help, I don't think. Especially at the end of the GCSEs, I dropped one subject, so it would help me more with the others, but they just didn't seem to care, just like they would say "you'd drop bla de bla" and you didn't do a lot better. That didn't really help.' (FE - Rebecca- 1005)

FE - Christopher - 1006

Chris, like Mark (FE - 1003), believed he was unable to work in his chosen area - the 'care sector' - until he was eighteen and therefore looked for 'something to do' until he reached eighteen years of age. School was an option but he considered they freated you like a 'kid' and saw no likelihood this would change in the sixth form. He was influenced by individual teachers and the 'careers authority' but went against the wishes of his parents who were keen for him to stay at school and pursue A'levels.

268: CH 'Well, I had a lot of interviews with the careers authority and sort of Deputy Head. I think my family wanted me to do A'levels either at college or to stop on, I think at the end of the day it was my choice and I think if I had gone with my parents I would have been doing A'levels, so I think, I chose to do this.' (FE - Christopher- 1006)

FE - Ian - 1007

Ian was heavily influenced by his family's experience of education and work. He describes how his mum has a good job because she is well educated and this has been important in his post-sixteen thinking.

202: IB 'Yeah, my dad admits now that he didn't do as well as he could have or should have in school, he didn't like school so he didn't ti^ harder. Whereas my mum went to quite a strict school and had to do well otherwise she would have been thrown out or something. She has done well and she used to be a radiographer, went to university and got all her degrees and things, I think my dad is a bit jealous of her as well.' (FE - Ian - 1007)

Ian's mum suggested he look at college as an altemative route into education because Ian was not very good at 'examinations' and therefore the GNVQ approach to

continual assessment would suit his needs better than school and A'levels. Ian has also applied to Leeds Metropolitan University to continue has studies to degree level when he completes his GNVQ course very much in line with his family's wishes.

FE - **Wayne - 1008**

Wayne suggests he has always had his sights set on going to college and actually tumed down an offer of a job with part-time study to go to college fiill-time. He appears to have been driven by a desire to become 'qualified' but believed sixth form was not an option for him. In his own words 'it never really crossed my mind' despite being advised to stay at school by the school 'careers officer'. Wayne talked to his parents about what he wanted to do but they gave no clear preference about what would be best. Part-time study was an option but he decided full-time was the best way to get qualified.

> 219: WB 'Well we had a careers officer who used to come in, she came in at the end of the forth year before the last year and asked us what we would be interested in doing. She actually said I should apply to school, apply for jobs at leisure centres but I personally didn't think I would have a lot of chance with the grades. I knew I wasn't going to get great marks at school, so 1 thought it better to come to college and build them up a little bit and go for a job afterwards.' (FE - Wayne - 1008)

FE – Christopher – 1009

In this case the parental influence is very clear with Christopher suggesting that the idea of college had been overtly encouraged as a likely post-sixteen route:

> 316: CA 'OK. So thinking about what you've said you are keen on sport did you ever think about leaving and getting a job straightaway?
> 318: CM Not really because my parents had put in my mind that they wanted me to go to college and I didn't want to go into work straight away at that age, 'cause I was still fairly young.
> 320: CA Right.
> 322: CM Still felt I wanted to go to college for a bit longer, but I think at the end of this year I'm going to look for a job, carry on working at McDonald's for a couple of months, get myself some money and then like

while looking for a decent job like a Leisure Assistant in say the local hotel which is quite close. The thing that puts me off is the wages 'cause while training you get £70 per week, so for a lot of hours, you are getting trained but tt's the wages.' (FE - Christopher - 1009)

Christopher went on to say that he had never really considered 'school' as a post-sixteen option. (Chris did not attend the grammar school so would have had to move schools anyway to continue into the sixth form.)

336: CA 'Did you think about going to the grammar school or to do A'levels anywhere else?
338: CM No, I didn't really want to stay in school anymore I just wanted to get to college and do what I could and it is very good.
340: CA You've said that you've thought about getting a job when you've finished your course. Have you thought about going to university?
342: CM Well, everyone says the life's good but a lot of people get into debt and I can't really do with debt, I don't like to be in debt at all, I hate it.
344: CA Who have you talked to about all this?
346: CM I talked to my parents about it and what I'm going to do. Mum's quite keen, she's always asking what I'm doing but I haven't got a dead certain thing where I want to work and that but I wouldn't mind going into the sports industry definitely 'cause I mean I did work experience at school at Nottingham Indoor Tennis Centre. I was there everyday it was really good and I enjoyed it and they said like if you come back, there may be a job.' (FE - Christopher - 1009)

Clearly in this section there is some indication that Chris's mum may well have hopes that he will move from Grantham College to university. However he indicates this may well be his final year before taking up a post as a 'Leisure Assistant '. It would be interesting to have an indication from 'mum' about her view of a 'decent job'. This last exfract from Christopher reflects his view that its time to make up his own mind.

356: CA 'So you've thought about things, who do you think has been the most influential in helping making those choices?
358: CM Definitely my parents, like I'm not now listening to what my parents are saying and that, I'm trying to think for myself I think I'm old enough now I'm eighteen I'm trying to think what I want to do for

myself, 'cause I'm going to be the one working the rest of my life or go to university or whatever.' (FE - Christopher - 1009)

FE – Louise – 1010

In this interview Louise makes it clear she did not wish to continue with her studies at school; like Ian (FE - 1007) she cited 'not liking exams' as one of the factors in leaving the school environment. Louise's father works at Grantham College and clearly she has been influenced by his views, particularly in the choice of course.

> 245: LH 'Well 1 didn't think about what I was going to do after college at that point but was always going to do a sporty thing, 'cause I was going to do the 'A' level PE but Dad said it would be better for you to do, like in his opinion, to do the GNVQ, just think about it. I thought about it, because we do sporty stuff in the leisure and tourism anyway like coaching and stuff so I'm doing the GNVQ but I'm also doing the 'A' level in PE as well.' (FE – Louise - 1010)

Louse is clear that she had no real idea what she wanted to do at college or what she intends to do next. This is an interesting point; many of the themes that emerge could - individually - be put down as luck or coincidence it is only when the pattem repeats itself that any tentative links can be raised.

> 259: CA 'Are you sure that's what you are going to do?
> 261: LH No, I'm not sure, I've never been sure. It's like when I left school I was never sure what I was going to do and now I'm at college I'm not sure what I'm going to do now. So, if I do another college course I won't be sure when I've finished that one either.' (FE - Louise - 1010)

Her decision-making pathway reflects her parent's view that education has a high cultural value. As she goes on to say when asked if she had ever consider an altemative pathway into employment:

> 247: CA 'Did you ever think about leaving and getting a job?
> 249: LH No, I just thought I would get out and do some more education.' (FE - Louise - 1010)

FE - Sarah - 1032

Sarah's life story suggests she was largely unhappy at school - she claims to have been bullied throughout her school career - and was glad to leave at the earliest opportunity. Despite her troubled school life Sarah appears to have always expected to continue with post-sixteen education or training in some form.

> 471: CA 'Thinking about education, what role do you think it plays in a persons life?
> 473: SM A big role really. It sets you up for your life doesn't it really 'cause when at school you come to college and you get grades and go to University and then you can get a good job and everything so a big role I would think.
> 475: CA So, the role of education is about getting a good job?
> 477: SM No, it's part of leaming about things isn't it really and it just sets you up doesn't it, it just gives you knowledge and things.
> 479: CA Sets you up in what way?
> 481: SM Well, it just I don't know. Well yeah, it's partly because you'll get like a job and things like that because you don't want to be like on the dole for the rest of your life, things like that, you want to have a trade or something.' (FE - Sarah - 1032)

Having left school she originally hoped to find employment with training as part of the job - NVQs or a Modem Apprenticeship - but was advised by her brother to continue her education, full-time, at college.

> 536: SM 'I wanted to do an apprenticeship, where I could just train and leam.
> 538: CA That's the modem apprenticeship?
> 540: SM Yes.
> 542: CA NVQs, that kind of thing?
> 544: SM Yes, but then, my brother said "Oh why don't you give college a go" the more I thought about it the more I wanted to come.' (FE - Sarah – 1032)

University education is now a goal for Sarah and she is considering her options at the end of her college programme. She has investigated possible university places

although going to university seems to be more important than what course or which university.

> 580: SM 'Well, 1 was looking at Plymouth.
> 582: CA Right.
> 584: SM Because they do a course that I would like to do, but I'm not, I'm not really bothered to be honest with you, I just want to go to university.
> 586: CA OK. Presumably then it will be one that accepts you and has the business studies course.
> 588: SM Yes.'

None of Sarah's family has been to university before although they appear to be 'delighted' with her aspirations to study in higher education. Sarah appears to have been heavily influenced by her brother rather than her parents (she believes they 'know nothing about university').

FE - **Charlotte - 1033**

Charlotte had expected to stay on at school into the sixth form but failed to gain the necessary GCSE grades, hence she 'thought of college'. She did consider getting a job after leaving school but was advised by her family that college would be a better pathway to take.

> 513: CA 'Did you ever think about leaving and getting a job?
> 515: CM I was thinking about that, but then I thought I might as well stick to the education, try and get as much out of it while I'm still young really.
> 517: CA Right. Who did you talk to about this?
> 519: CM I spoke to my mum and my dad, my brother and my sister about it. It was my sister that suggested maybe a business course because she thought that would be quite useful.' (FE - Charlotte - 1033)

Charlotte is a somewhat reluctant college student and for her the study is about getting a 'good job'. Having achieved a GNVQ Intermediate in Business Studies

in her first year Charlotte is now half way through a two-year GNVQ advanced award in business studies. During the interview Charlotte suggested she might not be retuming after the summer to complete the second year and was actively seeking employment.

> 589: CA 'And what are you going to do at the end of this?
> 591: CM I don't know if I'm going to stop on next year, I'm not too sure. I'm not really enjoying the course as much as I did do last year.
> 593: CA Right.
> 595: CM Last year the Intermediate Course, it was interesting because you leamt all about business, then you leamed about computers and I've got some qualifications in using computers and it was fim the course last year. This one is more down to the 'nitty gritty' where you are sat writing all the time and it's getting a bit laborious. I don't think I'm going to stop on next year.' (FE - Charlotte - 1033)

2. Left school at sixteen and have remained largely unemployed

Unemployed - Lee - 1040

Lee seems to have drifted into a series of short-term jobs and longer periods of unemployment since leaving school. He believes he considered all the options available although admitting he did not really give it much thought until he was just about to leave:

> 329: CA 'When you were in school and thinking about leaving what are the sort of things you considered?
> 331: LOR It didn't dawn upon me until a couple of months before I was actually leaving school, sort of hello, you know what I mean, going to be in the big wide world soon and what are you going to do. The only thing that ever impressed me all the way through my life was cars so I just decided to study as much as I can on mechanics; I'm still trying to be a mechanic today.' (Unemployed - Lee - 1040)

His options were really about leaving and getting a job - mechanic - or studying 'mechanics' at college. What seems to have made the difference is money; Lee describes how he considered college but believed he could find work and get paid.

Lee now believes this to have been unrealistic and blames his poor educational qualifications for not finding work:

> 325: CA 'OK. What role do you think education has then in a person's life?
> 327: LOR It's very important. I mean as I found when I was growing up I didn't think I needed an education and thought I would be alright when I left school I'd still go and do my mechanics job or whatever but it's not I really, really, wish I'd done more at school, a lot more.' (Unemployed – Lee – 1040)

His parents have been influential in getting Lee to reconsider college - on the basis that he hasn't found a job so ... - but there is little evidence of any earlier guidance being offered. Lee attended one of the Local Authority special schools although the staff are not mentioned in Lee's story.

Unemployed - Joanne - 1041

Joanne's story is tragic in style, she describes a fairly successfiil school career in which she had plans to study at university and become a primary school teacher. Her post-sixteen choices appear to be almost entirely linked to a turbulent relationship with her boyfriend. Joanne started at De Montfort University, School of Art, and then gave it up because her boyfriend became jealous and believed she/they would be better off if she found work in an office environment. Joanne's parents where also unsure that university education was the best option:

> 352: JP 'I wanted to go to Art College, I did go when I left school and went for a bit but due to my 'Ex', he didn't want me to do it, I ended up quitting but I'm going back in September I've already been for some Tutors help and I want to do that and hopefully do a BTEC National Diploma.'
> 381: CA 'What did your Mum and Dad think about you leaving 'cause you left school at 16, yeah with your GCSEs. What did your Mum and Dad think about that?
> 387: JP I don't know just said what are you going next. I don't think they was really that into me going to Art College, they knew that was

interesting but they wasn't sure what I'd do next. They thought you know go to Art College, she'd just doss about and not go to lectures and stay in bed all time.
389: CA You should get a proper job?
391: JP Yeah.' (Unemployed - Joanne - 1041)

Having left university she seems to have continued with her relationship and remained at odds with her friends and family. The relationship is now over and Joarme is restarting her course at De Montfort.

Unemployed - John - 1042

John never really considered anything other than leaving school and finding work. He did not do particularly well at school and moved from school into a series of low paid unskilled jobs.

477: CA 'What have you been doing in that four years'?
479: JP Well, I did window cleaning when I first left school that was for about a year. I found that extremely boring and I didn't like that at all, then I did a bit of packing and stuff like that. I was a labourer for brickie, but they moved sites and I ended up going and applied again and generally packhouse and that but can't stand I just want a job where you're doing something, you go off by yourself and then you get on with it sort of (Unemployed - John - 1042)

John eventually did enrol at the local college although he only attended for a couple of weeks. The school careers advised John to leave and consider college although he believes the advice was mshed and not personal. His family appears to have been fairly silent in offering guidance.

497: CA 'Did you talk to your Mum and Dad about leaving school or staying on?
499: JP I talked to them but they kind of just said 'get on with what they want to do really', they don't really take you seriously.' (Unemployed – John – 1042)

Unemployed - Richard - 1043

Richard was a long-term traant from secondary school and only managed a handful of appearances during the final years. His academic performance suffered and hence Richard left hoping to continue his studies at college, in his words 'a new start'. Richard left school and started a mechanics course at college. He describes how an accident with a cycle left him unable to take up a placement and hence after some debate he left the course. Advice seems to have come from the school careers adviser and from discussions with his older brother.

> 554: CA 'Who did you talk to then about these choices? Did you talk to your mum?
> 556: RP Not really 'cause she kind of knew nothing about it, if you know what I mean. I told her what I was doing.
> 558: CA Right.
> 560: RP I don't know she just_____my brother understood me more, if you know what I mean, more a 'man's work', mechanic.
> 562: CA Right.
> 564: RP Talking about mechanics and things. She knew I was doing good at college and she was happy for me.
> 566: CA Yeah.
> 568: RP Apparently getting sorted out. Brother said go for it, if you know what I mean, you've got nothing to lose now.' (Unemployed - John -1043)

Unemployed - Jennifer - 1044

Jennifer seems to have had a reasonably successful school career although she claims to have been badly affected by persistent bullying and had originally wanted to pursue an academic pathway and study veterinary medicine. Jennifer also makes references throughout her life story to her parents divorce and her father's subsequent remarriage (until leaving home she lived with her father and his second wife and her children). Her GCSE results were not as good as she had

hoped and she left school to re-sit her examinations at a local further education college. Advice seems to have come from the school careers service and her father (in the interview Jennifer recalls her father had talked her out of leaving school and seeking employment at sixteen).

> 646: JM 'I spoke to my dad about going into veterinary but he didn't think 1 would do well enough to do that; I'd say I'm about average I'm not excellent or intelligent or anything.
> 648: CA So, what did he suggest?
> 650: JM He suggested that I would go on to do my A'levels if I passed my GCSEs at school, but I wanted to go to college.
> 652: CA Right.
> 654: JM 'Cause I didn't get high enough GCSEs I went to college and did my re-sits.
> 658: JM For about 6 months' and I found it a lot harder than I did at school there wasn't any bullying or anything like that, I just found it I don't know it was a lot harder to concentrate on the work 'cause it was somewhere new it wasn't I wasn't used to being there if you know what I mean 'cause I'd been at school for five years and it's just a sudden change and I didn't enjoy it really, so I gave it up.
> 660: CA So, when you were thinking about what you wanted to do you were clear that you wanted to do 'A' levels if you could?
> 662: JM Yeah.
> 664: CA Did you ever think about leaving school and getting a job?
> 666: JM 1 did but my Dad always pestered me into getting a proper career.' (Unemployed - Jennifer - 1044)

Having found college difficult Jennifer left college without completing her re-sits and drifted into a job at a local 'childcare nursery' and began an NVQ level 2 in childcare. Jennifer describes how she had no particular interest in this area but it was a job. Continuing difficulties at home eventually meant Jermifer left her family home and moved in with her boyfriend's parents. Clearly this was a fraumatic time in Jennifer's life; she left her job and has remained largely unemployed since then. Jennifer's boyfriend has been supportive since their relationship started and has in Jennifer's words:

722: CA 'OK. Coming to the end of the interview Jenny, is there anything else that you think's been really important in your life, which has perhaps influenced some of the choices you've made?
724: JM Meeting my boyfriend, he's helped me a lot he's helped me look for jobs and he helped me get my placement in the first place.
726: CA Right.
728: JM So, he gave me I don't know a push in the right direction I'd say. Stuck by me.' (Unemployed - Jennifer - 1044)

Unemployed - Sam - 1045

Again Sam had quite a troubled time at school and with a complicated home life - he describes looking after his disabled brother and dealing with an alcoholic father - and dealing with a life threatening heart disease during his time in secondary education. Sam left school at sixteen and has tried two periods of study at college dropping out from both courses without completion. Advice seems to have mainly come from his family who wanted him to go to college and study for a qualification.

520: CA 'What did your mum and dad think about you leaving school?
522: SM They thought it would be a good idea for me to go to college 'cause like I say anything nowadays are always usually wanting qualifications for you wanting to get into a job so my parents thought it would be a good idea that I did.' (Unemployed - Sam - 1045)

Sam believes he has wasted the last three years and has no real direction in his post-sixteen choices:

506: SM 'So that's why I took that path but like I say 'cause I seem to be one of them people who doesn't really I don't really have a clue what I want to do in life. I need to find something that I enjoy doing that I'm capable of doing.' (Unemployed - Sam - 1045)

3. Left school at sixteen and gone directly into the workforce (with or without further training)

Working – Alan – 1011

Alan lives in a very raral part of Lincolnshire - there are no other houses visible from his house - and worked part-time on a local farm while still at school. He originally left school at sixteen and enrolled on a full-time course at Grimsby College to study as an electrician. Alan had considered staying at school but considered his GCSE results would not be good enough.

> 445: AL 'I had thought of staying on and doing A'levels. Then I decided that I won't make them because I wouldn't have got the grades to go into there anyway, mainly because I didn't really listen to the teachers properly, they just basically gave me low grades at the end of the year.' (Working – Alan – 1011)

Having dropped out of college Alan got a fiill-time job working on the farm he had worked on as a boy. He is now attending a part-time NVQ programme in agriculture that he is enjoying. Despite saying he would never take a job without further training he was unaware of the NVQ programme until the farmer brought it to his attention.

> 402: AL 'Well, Robert, my boss, he put me on the course, he spoke to Trevor[8] and Trevor sent me forms through to me so I didn't know about it until they came to me, and I just filled the form and sent it back and I'm on the course
> 404: CA So you didn't know about the course?
> 406: AL Not until the forms came, and Robert explained.' (Working – Alan – 1011)

Alan is sure he did not take any advice from family or friends about his decisions simply did what he thought would be best.

Working – Chris – 1012

Chris left school at sixteen and went to work with his father in a new business venture mnning a family 'plant nursery'. His father had discussed buying a piece of land with Chris during his final year at school.

> 221: CA 'When did you start thinking about what you were going to do when you finished school?
> 223: CB 1 think it was about a year before by GCSE exams, I had already chosen my options I had done them for a year and had a year left before I did my exams. My parents were saying what would you like to do, as my dad was thinking about buying a plot of land to start a nursery up. I used to help him quite a bit and he wondered if I would want to be part of it, so it was only really a year before my GCSE exams.
> 225: CA So you did your GCSE's, you left school, went to work in the nursery and went to college part time?
> 227: CB Yes.' (Working – Chris – 1012)

Chris considered staying at school to do his A'levels but did not want to go to university and therefore considered the two-year A'level courses a waste of time.

> 229: CA 'Did you ever think about staying at school and doing A'levels?
> 231: CB A few times I did, 'cause I had some friends who all stayed on. Yeah, quite often I thought I should have stayed on for another two years, but I wanted to go into agriculture into the nursery side and there was not really a lot at school that they teach you about that side of work. So the options that were left for me at A'levels were not really anything I wanted to do, there was nothing that was really going to help me in my work afterwards.
> 233: CA Did you ever think about doing A'levels and going to university?
> 235: CB No, not really.' (Working - Chris - 1012)

Chris mainly discussed his post-sixteen options with his father and appears to have been integral with his father's plans to establish the nursery.

Working – David – 1013

David originally left school at sixteen and went to college fiill-time in Lincoln. He left the course after only two weeks and went into fiull-time work.

281: CA 'Did you ever think about staying at school?
283: DC No.
291: DC I just wanted to leave, I wanted to work but I wanted to play at the same time.
293: CA Right.
295: DC I've always had to work for what I wanted, like when I was 12 or 13 1 used to have a bakery round and had to go in at the weekend.
297: CA So, you never thought for instance of going fiill-time to college?
299: DC I did, yeah. I did do it for about two weeks, but I couldn't hack it as it was like being back at school. Like I say it was the way school pushed me into it, all the careers information at school was to like do that. My brother had done that as well and he is a bit more into office type work, just sit there and do things on a computer, whereas 1 like to be out doing manual work.' (Working - David - 1013)

When asked about why he enrolled at college David believes he was pressed into it by the school and its careers service[9]. David talked to his mum and dad about post-sixteen options and was influenced by his father's links with the local farming community. David cites 'examinations' as the worst thing about school and wishes he had left school and gone sfraight into work.

Working - Ben - 1014

Ben seems to be clear that he had always intended to leave school at sixteen and move into employment with a local engineering company (dealers in agricultural/ horticultural equipment and off-road vehicles). His family had advised him to 'try hard' at school and clearly supported Ben in his studies. Ben believes he was not the 'brightest' student at school and comments on the way in which teachers supported the most able students to the detriment of the less able. Like David (Working- 1013) Ben attended a school with a clear academic expectation for its pupils (Lincoln School of Science and Technology). Although Ben's reflections may be prejudiced

he could be picking up the school *habitus* and its consequential focus on academic rather than vocational achievement.

> 193: CA 'Did you ever consider staying at school?
> 195: BG No, 'cause I always from when I started I always knew that when sixteen came I wasn't going to stop. Because the school in a way was like being in the army, it was strict and I don't think teachers helped you either. The teachers were with the kids that were bright they helped them; they weren't interested in the people who weren't bright.
> 197: CA So you never thought of staying at school or university, you had already decided?
> 199: BG I think I had always decided from the start of school until I finished and getting in with Chandlers, the time which I did it was always going to be sixteen, leave and go to agricultural college.
> 201: C A What did your mum and dad think?
> 203: BG Mum and dad always used to say try hard at school, you can't do anymore than what you are capable of as long as you put 100%, we can't ask for anymore than you can give and I think they always knew I wanted to go into agriculture, well at the time it was farming and they stood by me. I didn't want to go to Arthur Adams but I didn't make the GCSEs, my mates had gone to Caythorpe, they told me what is was like and I chose to go there.' (Working - Ben - 1014)

Ben describes how he had always expected to study part-time, while working, and get 'qualified'. (Perhaps a reflection of his family's and school's view of 'education' as cultural capital - 'qualified'.) Ben cites his family and the school's careers service as influential although he does mention the role of talking with friends on possible post-sixteen options.

Working - Nadene - 1015

Nadene describes how she has always seen herself studying at college or school and has a very clear aspiration to work in business management. She is currently attending a course in business at a local college and working as a part-time secretary to fund her studies. In her life story Nadene is unsure about university as an option but appears to now consider this as a possible progression route from college.

276: NM 'I never thought I would go to university but you just never know I suppose until.
278: CA What would your mum and dad think if you did go?
280: NM I think they'd be pleased, but I just, I know people that have said you know if you go to university choose Lincoln 'cause you wouldn't move out of Lincoln. But, I don't know I think they would be pleased about it.
284: NM They'd miss me but they'd be pleased.' (Working - Nadene -1015)

This passage is interesting as Nadene refers to friends who have chosen to attend the University of Lincoln because it means staying in Lincoln. Although this research does not specifically address cultural differences between those who leave Lincolnshire to attend university and those who choose to stay, anecdotal evidence - talking to those who have chosen to study outside the county - would suggest *leavers* share a family and school *habitus* which values education and ranks the best providers, to the point where unlike many that attend *local* universities they have been working towards a specific university place for many years. Both her family and friends have advised Nadene but she singles out a key adviser from the careers service as highly significant.

286: CA 'Right, have you spoken to anybody about, you know what you're going to do next?
288: NM Not recently. I did speak to, I had a lot of careers interviews at 'Science and Technology'; we had a careers adviser who actually taught at school but we had careers advisers come in from Lincoln who actually worked at the Careers Office.
290: CA Yes.
292: NM And I actually spoke to one lady, can't remember her name now but she was the one that really helped me to get to college. So, if I ever was to speak to anybody again I probably want to speak to her again, you know to help me in the direction to go I mean she was ever-so helpful. I always thought that if I hadn't have actually spoken to her I wouldn't be at college now 'cause she was actually really, really helpful and any decisions we had to make she helped us make at time there and then she, you know get on the phone to ring them up and everything so I had to do it there and then, so she was really, really, good.' (Working - Nadene - 1015)

This is interesting in that it appears 'key events' or 'key people' can be almost life changing events. Having said that this needs to be considered within the *habitus* context; people are always making decisions with parameters. These may be very pragmatic parameters, such as cost, distance from home or less tangible parameters driven by *habitus* norms.

Working - Rebecca - 1016

Rebecca stayed on at school into the sixth form and then left before completing her studies to find work in an office environment or study at college. Rebecca continues to work part-time to fund her secretarial course at Lincoln College. In her life story she describes how her family had always expected Rebecca to stay on at school and move on to university to become a 'teacher'. Her parents were 'disappointed' she left school but supported her eventual move to college.

> 263: RC 'I started talking to my mum about it first 'cause I thought she would be less disappointed than my dad would be, told my Mum basically that I didn't want to go and teach anymore. She thought it was a bit of a stupid idea at first but her saying was it's a flash in the pan but I was serious about it so then I looked on the Intemet myself, showed her this course like it what involved 'cause she said that it needs to like be good so I can fill out my potential and stuff 1 showed her it and she was quite happy and then 1 spoke to my dad about it, he was a bit disappointed but he said he'd back me up whatever I wanted to do, it was my choice. He was better than I thought he would be about it all, but now I've started they're alright now 'cause I'm enjoying it and doing well.' (Working - Rebecca – 1016)

Rebecca was heavily influenced by her family - their obvious valuing of education - but also describes how a friend, moving from school to college, was influential in choosing a specific college.

> 249: CA 'What made you think about North Lincolnshire College?
> 251: RC All that might have had an influence is I've got a friend actually my friend was in sixth form with me and she left after a year and then like I spoke to her and she said she was at college and she's really

enjoying it. It was a lot better and more laid back but not 'cause not like school environment you know all your teachers which probably could be a good thing but also the pressures of being like having to set an example for the younger ones I think that was quite difficult it wasn't as laid back as school is, I mean as college is. She said she was really enjoying the course that she was doing so then I sat and thought about and it and thought about it and I would get in contact, came in and then I really liked it so I stayed.' (Working - Rebecca - 1016)

Working - Kevin - 1030

Kevin left school at sixteen having not enjoyed his time yet achieving seven GCSEs at grade C or above[10]. Having left school Kevin worked for eight months as a receptionist for a local software company, two years 'fixing computers on the phone' and now works as a sales person travelling door to door selling plastic 'fascia boards'. In Kevin's story his decisions seem to have at least in part been finance driven, 'get out and eam some money'. When asked about his decision to leave school:

519: CA 'What was the kind of process you went through to leave school and go into employment? Did you ever think about staying on at school?
521: KD I thought about it for two minutes and thought no definitely not.
523: CA Why?
525: KD I just didn't like school that much and didn't want to go back. I had the chance to leave and that was me gone.
527: CA Right, you didn't see the value of that?
529: KD I just wanted to get out and get some money.
531: CA Right.
533: KD And start enjoying myself, start growing up.
535: CA Who did you talk to about this?
537: KD Well I spoke to my sister and my mum and dad really.
539: CA Right.
541: KD To see what options I had, what I could do.
542: CA And what options did you consider then?
544: KD The options were get a job.
546: CA Yeah.

548: KD I think the other option was going back to school so basically I took the option of getting a job.
550: CA Did you think about going to North Lincs. College or something like that?
552: KD Yeah, 1 did.
556: KD 'Cause when I was at school in the holidays I worked with a plumber/gas fitter.
558: CA Right.
560: KD A friend of ours and we planned for when I leave school to go through North Lincs. College and get an apprenticeship like a one day release scheme.
562: CA Yeah.
564: KD But then just before I left school he stopped being self-employed and went back to work for the Gas Board, so that was that idea out of the window really.' (Working - Kevin - 1030)

For Kevin the options he considered were limited to 'work or school'. Kevin describes some contact with the schools careers service and being influenced by his family. He is unsure of their feelings about him leaving school but the options that included 'staying at school' may well reflect their preferred pathway.

582: CA 'Right, what did your mum and dad think about you leaving school and going to work?
584: KD I don't know really, 1 think they thought as long as I knuckle down, get on with it they wouldn't mind.
586: CA Right.
588: KD But, if I'd just been stupid say lost a job by just sitting around, they would definitely push me into getting a job.' (Working - Kevin – 1030)

4. Stayed in education beyond sixteen and progressed to further study at university.

HE – Matthew – 1020

Unlike many of the other life stories Matthew describes how he has been working towards this - studying at university - since he was thirteen or fourteen years old. He explains how he considered other post-sixteen options but believes all

his efforts will be 'worth it in the end' in terms of securing a job in his area of interest.

> 334: CA 'Right. You've talked at length about some of the issues which have been important in your life. Lets think about how you ended up at university, what sort of age did you start working towards this?
> 336: MD Probably when I was thirteen or fourteen.
> 338: CA Right, and you said you'd seen something?
> 340: MD Yeah, I saw a brochure. It was the first one that came out when they first started mnning the course about this course that was on and it just looked exactiy what I was looking for. I mean god knows where I'd have been now, I mean I've always wanted to work in golf, but I don't know where I'd be now if I hadn't have seen the booklet.
> 342: CA Did you ever consider any other choices, for instances going?
> 344: MD Absolutely, absolutely.
> 346: CA What did you consider then?
> 348: MD Police Force, Hairdresser just general things like that. I mean you go through little crazies don't you of what everybody else seems to want to do.
> 350: CA Did you ever consider for instance getting a job where you'd just do the job and you wouldn't engage in any further training necessarily?
> 352: MD Yeah.
> 354: MD Everybody at school was getting jobs and talking about the money they were eaming, being able to go out on Friday nights and things. I mean I've always thought to myself in the long ran that I was better off.
> 356: CA Right.
> 358: MD I mean its like I suppose it's the same as taking out a student loan I mean you obviously think to yourself well I will take it and once you have your degree and that you just know people who have passed degrees and the sort of money that they're on, so I mean you're not going to be fussed about that paying it back. I have always thought to myself in the long ran you know if you straggle until you're like twenty-one or twenty-two at university. If you can get yourself through that I mean then its all once you've got your job it plain sailing from there on.' (HE - Matthew - 1020)

Matthew spoke to his family about his plans and has taken advice from school and college career advisers but is clear he always knew what he wanted to do and what he needed was advice on how to achieve it. Matthew was not very successful at school; by his own admission he 'scraped four GCSEs to get into college'. At college his

grades improved rapidly and he left college with a GNVQ in Sport and Leisure at distinction level. Using this as an entrance qualification he moved to De Montfort University to study 'Golf Management'.

HE – James – 1021

Like Matthew, James left school at sixteen with fairly poor examination results; three GCSEs at grade C or above.

> 326: JF 'You do have to do well at school. I mean from my experience not so much I suppose it's more higher education I find is more valuable than your GCSEs because like I've proved it I mean I didn't get that greater GCSEs but tumed out three C's, which is not great at all in terms of the standard what people get now gets them onto university. I went on to do an advanced GNVQ I fast-tracked it so I did it in a year, then I was straight onto the course that I'm doing now, so it proves that school grades probably aren't as important as what you did after school I think is more important.
> 328: CA Right.
> 330: JF 'Cause you have got to make a decision whether you are going to apprenticeship or training or you go to college or university so I think the next step after school is most important.' (HE - James - 1021)

James clearly believes his experiences in post-sixteen education have been more important and successfùl than school. Having said that James has reflected on his time at school and wishes he had tried harder. He is though very clear that you can be successfùl without necessarily doing well at school.

> 366: JF 'The only thing I'd change if I could go back to school, although I've said it's not that important to me I think if I'd have done better it would be, you know. I'd probably think about it a bit more, done a bit better; but I've proved to myself that you don't have to do that well at school to be successfiil.' (HE - James - 1021)

James's father seems to have been the major influence in the decision making process with James commenting on his father's longer-term view of his son's future.

> 350: JF 'My dad really to be honest was the biggest influence on what I was to do. I mean he tried to get me into the places that would give

me a good career you know, he wasn't thinking short-term, he was thinking long-term to set myself up for when I'm older.' (HE - James - 1021)

HE – Robert – 1022

Robert left secondary modem school in Grantham and went to Grantham College to study 'Art and Design'.

673: RM 'I went to college then, I was unhappy at school.
675: CA Where did you go for that?
677: RM Grantham College.
737: RM Did a GNVQ.
739: CA Right.
741: RM In art and design. Did a year intermediate and then two years advanced.
743: CA And then what did you do, you could have got a job?
745: RM Just felt in myself that 1 hadn't leamt enough to get into a job. I wanted to leam more, confidence as well I think I wasn't confident enough to go to a job.' (HE - Robert - 1022)

Robert never really considered A'levels as an option, this would have meant moving to the grammar school and he was sure this was not for him. His parents have been influential in supporting Robert through college and university following the example of his elder brother who also went to university. Neither of Robert's parents went to university and the opportunities offered by the newer university sector seem to have provided new possibilities.

707: CA 'Who do you think was the most influential?
709: RM My parents.
711: CA And where they keen for you to carry on with your education?
713: RM Yeah, they were happy both my brother and I went to college.'
725: RM 'They (meaning mum and dad) probably pushed me more as well, thinking of where they are now, where I want to be now or then.
727: CA Right, so you kind of thought they went into jobs and their now kind of in jobs, which they're not very good, jobs or they're not very happy in?
729: RM They're both happy in their jobs yeah but if I was in that kind of job I'd think it would be completely different for me.'

753: RM 'Talked to mum and dad as well and my brother as well 'cause he went off to Staffordshire University a year before I did so it was kind of visiting him and seeing what was going on.' (HE - Robert - 1022)

HE - Damien - 1023

Damien suggest he has always known what he wanted to do in his life and left school at sixteen - having done GCSE Graphic Design - to avoid studying A'level art which would have included a broader study of the art curriculum. Instead he enrolled at De Montfort University to study a BTEC National Diploma in Graphic Design. His decision appears to be driven by his desire to work in a specific occupational sector not be a broad, academic, interest in art.

404: DM 'Well, I did graphic design and art GCSEs at Robert Pattinson School and then I had the choice to stay on and do A'levels.
406: CA Yeah.
408: DM Or come here and do a National Diploma straight from school.
410: CA Right.
412: DM Which I did on my work experience when I was at school. 1 already knew about the National Diploma for graphic design through work experience during school. 1 chose this option.
414: CA Why?
416: DM 'Cause I knew it would be just graphic design whereas if I did A'levels I'd have to do something else along side it.' (HE - Damien - 1023)

Having completed his National Diploma Damien stayed at university to successfully complete a two-year Higher National Diploma and then transferred to the final year of the degree programme in graphic design. Damien's parents have encouraged him to continue in education as long as possible. Having said that Damien's motivation for leaming is very 'job driven' the justification for all his effort is firmly routed in developing human capital rather than cultural capital.

372: DM 'Because you need to know what's going on around you, make you aware of things and if you want to get a good job then you need a good education.
374: CA Right, so you mentioned two different things there, there's so you know what's going on around you and there's getting a good job. Which do you think is the most important?
376: DM 1 probably would say getting a good job.
378: CA And you think you'd need to get a good education to get a good job?
380: DM Yeah, well I think you have to have a reasonable education to do anything nowadays, don't you?
382: CA Right, do you think it's become more important?
384: DM I would say become more important because there's less jobs around than there would have been years ago.' (HE - Robert - 1023)

HE - Michael - 1024

Michael is also very clear about the linkage between 'a good job' and staying in education. Like other interviewees he gives the impression he has not really planned what he wants to do, more tried hard at whatever opportunities have presented themselves.

387: CA 'What's the most important lesson you've leamed in life?
389: ML Just take everyday as it comes. Every time you try to plan something, it's easier just to plan as you go along.
391: CA Right. So you haven't got a grand plan then for life?
393: ML Not really, I just aim to do what I want to do and see what happens as it goes along.' (HE - Michael - 1024)

Michael left school at sixteen and enrolled on a GNVQ Advanced award at college as an entrance qualification to university. In his life story Michael describes how he considered leaving school and looking for work but decided he was not ready for this. (He describes how he always anticipated staying in education post-sixteen.) His parents have always supported his wish to stay in education and have been the major influence on his decision to stay in education. He believes his father in particular wanted Michael to 'do better than he did', that is to say 'get qualified'.

478: CA 'Which was the most important?

480: ML Parents probably.
482: CA Right, why?
484: ML They give me, you know, the backing to carry on and do it.
486: CA Did they go college?
488: ML My Mum did, she went into nursing.
490: CA Right.
492: ML And my dad, I think my dad didn't do anything; he kind of messed around at school and didn't get hardly any qualifications.
494: CA Right.
496: ML H's backing me partly because of that.
498: CA Right.
500: ML He wants to see me do well and improve on what he did.'
(HE – Michael – 1024)

HE – Laura – 1025

Laura's life story again deals with the nature of post-sixteen choices against the backcloth of 'getting a good job'.

396: LS 'Because you leam new things and you get a good job at the end of it.
398: CA Right. So the emphasis is about jobs?
400: LS Yes.
404: LS Working towards getting a good job.
406: CA A good job? What's a good job?
408: LS Something that you enjoy, something also that pays well.'
(HE - Laura - 1025)

Laura originally wanted to study veterinary medicine after school but changed her mind towards the end of her school career to focus on 'graphic design'. (Something she was good at during her school life.) Her change of heart may have been the result of advice, encouragement or - like Michael - simply a decision to concenfrate on something she was good at without really thinking long-term.

334: LS '1 went through this bit where I wanted to be a vet and I went and did work experience and I hated it so I just decided not to do that because I was doing really well in art I decided to go for a graphics, but they didn't have that course at my school, so I couldn't stay on for 6th Form. My parents tried to persuade me to stay 'cause they really wanted me to do A' levels but didn't want me to come and do this course here.
335: CA Right.

337: LS But that's what I really wanted to do, so in the end, right at the last minute, after I had done my GCSEs. I changed my mind and came here for an interview.
339: CA Right. Why did your parents want you to do A'levels?
341: LS I think it was mainly my mum she didn't realise that what I was going to do here was just the equivalent to A' levels, which it is. I think she wanted just to be broader because so I couldn't put off anything else that I might change my mind to do.' (HE - Laura - 1025)

With this in mind she left school at sixteen and went to De Montfort University to study a BTEC National Diploma in art as a possible entrance award into higher education. Her parents advised Laura to stay at school - believing A'levels would provide a broader platform for subsequent choice - but have supported Laura's decisions to enter university via an altemative route. She never considered getting a job at sixteen.

434: CA 'Did you ever think about getting a job at sixteen?
436: LS No.
440: LS Never crossed my mind really.
444: LS No, I wasn't ready to for a job, I wanted to carry on with education.
445:
446: CA Right. Had you got in your mind that you'd go to university?
448: LS I hadn't thought that far.' (HE - Laura - 1025)

HE – Jenny – 1026

Jenny stayed at school into the sixth form before going to university in Lincoln. Her life story suggests this decision was again not so much conscious as just what everyone did. The *habitus* of the school and family - she had an elder brother at university - clearly shaped Jenny into feeling sixth form and university was the normal cause of action.

288: JT 'I did think about going straight up to the art school and doing some sort of art course, I didn't really look into it that far as I decided not to. I was kind of guided in a sense that the tutors felt that doing A'levels gave you slightly more rounded subjects to fall back on if you

decided you didn't want to do what you had led yourself into, where as doing an art course all you had was the art course and your work at GCSEs if you change your mind where do you go from there?
290: CA Did you ever think about getting a job leaving at sixteen?
292: JT No, I didn't, I wasn't ready to be working. I was quite happy getting my free education.
294: CA What did your mum and dad think?
296: JT I think it was just a thing to do where 1 lived, well nearly everybody stays for 'A' levels now they've got the sixth form.
298: CA Right.
300: JT 1 mean obviously there're the ones that go to North Lincs. College or go and get a job if they want to.
302: CA But it wasn't within your circle of friends?
304: JT Within our social group?
306: CA Yes.
308: JT I think those capable of doing A'levels did.
310: CA Right, OK and your mum and dad, that was their expectation?
312: JT I think it was only their expectation because that's what I sort of said I'd do. I don't think they'd be fussed if I went off and did

something else.' (HE - Jenny - 1026)

HE – Amy – 1027

Amy stayed on at school to complete her A'levels before moving to university in Lincoln. Her mum appears to have been influential in Amy staying at school post-sixteen believing that A'levels would provide a 'good start' in life, 'a safety net'.

268: CA 'Did you every consider anything else other than going on to do 'A' levels?
270: AT Yes, I considered going straight on to BTEC in fashion but I wasn't certain and sort of asking careers officers and parents and things for advice and the general advice was, and mainly from my Mum was, well you've just got to think what happens if you can't do fashion. Because at the time I wasn't very good at it and mum suggested that I did A'levels, there's no harm in it, it's not going to cost you a fortune or anything 'cause if it all goes wrong at least you've got some academic qualifications to fall back on you know, it's a good start. So I thought that a fairly good argument.' (HE - Amy - 1027)

Amy describes how her family would have supported her whatever she had decided to do but A'levels were the preferred option.

276: CA 'What would her reaction have been if you said I'm going to get a job?
278: AT She wouldn't mind, my brother's got a job, he went to college to do some engineering thing, gradually dropped all his options and got a job. All she's ever wanted for us is to be happy.
280: CA Right.
282: AT She'd be happy for us being bin men if we were happy being bin men. Their advice on me doing A'levels was that she thought they would be of use to me, not because, you know, she wouldn't have forced me to do it.' (HE - Amy - 1027)

Certainly the school supported Amy's decision to stay into the sixth form although Amy's desire to study 'making and doing' subjects caused some concem. (Like Jenny, Amy attended a school with a very clear academic focus - Homcastle Grammar School - with high expectations of its pupils.)

355: CA 'What about the school, how would the school have felt if you had left to get work at sixteen?
357: AT They would have been very disappointed, they anybody that left at sixteen didn't go on to somewhere else they always viewed them. It was quite an academic school, they didn't like the fact that I wanted to do art and textiles for A'level, that was too many 'making and doing' subjects, you know and I'd only got maths and general studies. A very bizarre combination of art, textiles and maths but for ages they said I could do art or textiles but not both. But now when I go back they're all so happy you know, but at the time it was you can do better than fashion, you know they always regarded it as a bit of an art things were a bit down there somewhere.
359: CA And what was up there?
361: AT Maths and Physics and anything that required vast quantities of formulae and stuff, but particularly maths and physics, but quite a few in my year who were doing maths, further maths, physics and something else physics related you know for A'level and they would go off and apply for further physics at Cambridge and things and they'd all get in you know and they were always like you know we've got odd people but they were a lot of the teachers were very human you know they could see what was good for you. It was always the Headmaster who, 'you're off to do fashion', you know but the actual teachers were very supportive.' (HE - Amy - 1027)

HE – Kirsty – 1028

Kirsty's life story shows her mother's influence throughout. Kirsty believes she was always destined for university (both of her older sisters went to university). She left

school at sixteen in Boston - she was a pupil at the secondary modem school in Boston which does not have a sixth form - attended Boston College and them moved to university in Lincoln.

> 248: CA 'Let's think then about what you're doing now, you said you'd been at school and the expectation, from your family, was that you'd end up at university.
> 250: KN Yes, I never thought that I wouldn't.
> 252: CA Right, never?
> 254: KN Never.
> 256: CA Was that ever said you will go to?
> 258: KN Not really but I've always known that if sounds bad but better option. You gain more and you have more experiences and basically university life is set out to be you know, fun, full of fun and you know leam a bit at the same time and come out with a degree and then you've got your rebellion and your fim bit and going out and getting drank and things there's never I don't think it's always been seen as a bad thing to do I think it's more of seen as an opportunity to take rather than you know. I've seen that you'd be lucky to go to university rather than you chose not to.' (HE - Kirsty – 1028)

Her mum clearly supported Kirsty through her decisions and is 'very pleased' she is now at university. Kirsty appears reluctant to consider moving far from her mum and prefers living in Boston to moving up to Lincoln. (Although both her elder sisters have moved away from Lincolnshire.)

> 296: CA 'Anything you'd change?
> 298: KN In a way, as much as I like being in Lincoln, I like being close to home and I feel comfortable here, sometimes like my sisters have always lived away since they've been at university, sometimes you feel you don't have the same not opportunities but the same you don't get as many of the same experiences. My sister lives in London and my other sister she lives in Loughborough and in a way they've had a change, they've seen what it's like in both and whereas I've always seen Lincolnshire and so really I've not had as much experience as them but different ones.' (HE - Amy - 1028)

One of the final questions each of the interviewees was asked was to consider what advice they would pass on to children currently attending their secondary school. The question seemed to cause a great deal of thought and in many ways their answers

almost act as a summary of themes which emerged during the life stories. The two major themes were:

1. Try harder, revise and take advantage of the opportunities school provides.
2. Do what you want to do; not necessarily what others want you to do.

There seemed to be little variation between the four post-sixteen groups although individuals did reflect particular issues for them, (e.g. 'Don't judge other people by how they look' (Unemployed - Jennifer - 1044), Jermifer described in her life story how she had been persistently bullied because of her appearance.) Table 15 shown below shows a summary of the answers.

Figure 21: If you were addressing the children in 'assembly' at your old school, what advice would you give them?

Answer	Interviewees	Number of answers
Try harder, revise and take advantage of the opportunities school provides.	FE – Christopher – 1009 FE – Wayne – 1008 FE – Mark – 1003 FE - Rebecca - 1005 HE – Laura – 1025 HE – Kirsty - 1028 Working – Chris -1012 Working - Rebecca - 1016 Unemployed - Richard - 1043 Unemployed - Sam - 1045 Unemployed - Lee - 1040 Unemployed - John - 1042	12
Do what you want to do; not necessarily what others want you to do.	FE-Louise-1010 FE – Charlotte - 1033 HE – Matthew – 1020 HE – Robert – 1022 HE – Michael – 1024 HE – Jenny – 1026 HE – Amy – 1026 Working – David – 1013 Working - Nadene - 1015 Unemployed - Joanne - 1041	10
Make as many friends as possible, get involved.	FE – Christopher – 1006 FE – Ian - 1007	2
Go to college/university.	FE – Simon – 1004 HE – Damien - 1023	2
Keep the teachers 'sweet', show them respect. Listen to the teachers.	HE – James – 1021 Working – Alan - 1011	2
Pick a job you enjoy and like doing - you will be doing it a long time.	Working – Ben - 1014	1
Not to judge others by how they look.	Unemployed - Jennifer- 1044	1
Don't let other people intimidate you, stick up for yourself	FE – Sarah – 1032	1
Just look after yourself; enjoy life as it is.	Working – Kevin – 1030	1

Although the top two answers stand out they were also often intertwined with each other e.g. 'Try harder, don't give up, do what you want to do' (Unemployed - Lee - 1040). The ' try harder' advice is also clearly linked to Simon and Damien's advice to go on with their education.

Summary

In presenting the data this chapter draws heavily on the transcripts to show how life story material can paint a detailed and rich picture of the interviewees' lives and the influences on their post-school choice mechanisms. This summary is intended to remind the reader of key issues to be looked at in more detail in Chapter Five rather than repeat all of the themes shown throughout Chapter Four.

All of the interviewees clearly showed the powerful influence of parents and other family members. The support and guidance given appears to have a link with family *habitus* and will become a key theme in further analysis. The extremes of this can be shown in examples where parents have been instrumental in highlighting particular pathways; particularly into further and higher education. Although this is not unexpected there are also examples where interviewees have been encouraged into fiirther study because the opportunity was not available to their parents. Another clear influence is that of dysfunctional family backgrounds; almost the entire unemployed group of interviewees described family difficulties somewhere in their life stories.

Community influence appeared to be less prominent than expected. However where it is present the obvious influence is profound e.g. everyone I knew went

into the sixth form. The relationship between family, community and school are sometimes blurred together suggesting that the elements are far from discrete. (What you get is a package of contextual elements rather than isolated spheres of influence.)

The interviewees' experiences in school and post-compulsory education were enlightening and highlighted some issues of general concem, these included the debilitating affect of bullying and peer pressure. Retuming to the 'cultural shift' associated with the government's drive for 'lifelong leaming ' a surprising number of young people - including those in higher education - were reluctant to describe education as necessarily a 'good thing'. Those that did generally added a caveat about its usefiilness in life. The majority of those engaged in study beyond school were driven by 'economic' reason rather than education's role in social and cultural capital development. The motivation was very firmly routed in 'getting a good job'.

The section on mrality picks up on six characteristics of mrality and mral society: rarality is: small, isolated, agriculturally based, centred on community, traditional and conservative in its values and slower, less pressurised. These characteristics are all based on life style rather than the government's' 'headline indicators' which tend to focus on access to services and opportunity.

The section on decision making and influence shows just how complex and simple the process can be. For some progression into further and higher education is simply 'what everyone does' and for others an aspiration the family has been working towards since passing the eleven plus examination. For others a life of

unemployment and indecision appears to link to dysfunctional family life and low expectations from school.

The intertwining nature of the life stories appears to establish the link between post-sixteen pathway and *habitus.* The next Chapter develops this theme in its analysis of the life story data.

Notes

[1] 'Ethnic in the social anthropological use of the term in defining minority or majority groups in society who consider themselves, and are regarded by others, as culturally distinctive.' (Eriksen 1993: 4) It is interesting to think about how this word has developed over the years to its contemporary association with 'minority interests and race relations.' (Eriksen, 1993: 4) The term is derived from the Greek ethnos that originally meant any heathen or pagan (Williams, 1976: 119). In the current discussions surrounding rural issues such as 'hunting with dogs' and 'the decline in traditional rural employment sectors' perhaps the original understanding of the term is how rural communities are perceived by an urban majority?

[2] Anecdotal evidence would support the nature of rurality and stability. Farming is an industry which has built its traditions on the idea of the family and succession from 'father to son'. Key power brokers are also often linked to land owning families in rural areas that have an element of timelessness about them. South Holland District Council is almost entirely made up of local farmers and business owners who are taking the place of their fathers and in some cases grandfathers.

[3] Birchwood is a large Council housing estate on the south-west side of Lincoln with many social problems associated with high crime rates and low educational attainment.

[4] Although this comment has little to do with facts it does highlight the context in which this interviewee lives. Although Lincolnshire is very rural within the context of England individual interviewees reflect the diversity one would expect in a study of this type. However despite living in 'the worlds second biggest housing estate' they are surrounded by 'rurality'. That is to say for those living on Birchwood rural Lincolnshire is the other side of the road, unlike people living in urban Manchester or London, rurality is always there, obvious and tangible,

[5] In 1973 I was the second year of pupils not to take the eleven plus in the Lincoln area.

[6] See the discussion in Chapter Two dealing with Bourdieu's theory of *field* and their part in *habitus* formation,

[7] See the implied obligation of community in Williams understanding of the term described earlier in this Chapter - 'it signified a whole series of obligations and recognition's over and above the fact of physical proximity' (Morgan and Preston, 1993: 7).

[8] Trevor is a Training Adviser for the 'Gateway Agency', part of De Montfort University, School of Agriculture.

[9] There is an interesting link with the school's own *habitus* in his observations, David attended William Farr (Church of England) Secondary School in Welton, In June 2001 William Farr had the highest average A'level points score in England and Wales for any non-selective secondary school. Its three year average A'level points score places it eleventh in England and Wales

School	City/Town	Three year average A'level points score
1. Hills Road Sixth Form College	Cambridge	28,4
2. Blanche Nevile School	London	28
3. Welbeck College	Worksop	27
4. Roundwood Park School	Harpenden	26.3
5. Greenhead College	Huddersfield	25,6
6. The Coopers' Company and Cobom School	Upminster	25.5
7. The King's School	Peterborough	25.3
8. Beverley High School	Beverley	25.1
9, Old Swinford Hospital	Stourbridge	24,9
10. St Martin's School	Brentwood	24.5
11. William Farr (Church of England) Comprehensive School	**Lincoln**	**24.2**

http://www.goodschoolsguide.co.uk (Accessed 20th July 2002)

[10] Although the analysis of the life stories comes in Chapter Five the GCSE examinations taken by the interviewees at the end of the compulsory school age don't obviously reflect the different pathways taken. In Kevin's case seven GCSE's at grade C or better is a creditable achievement and would have allowed him to continue at school into A'levels or move directly into full-time college. The point is that these are real decisions - taken within a *habitus* context - not simply a reflection of school examination performance. Decisions which owe much to *habitus* rather than simply reflecting performance criteria.

Chapter Five - Discussion of Findings

The Preface outiines the anecdotal evidence that *habitus* continues to exert a powerful influence on individual choice and post-sixteen educational directions after school. This chapter (using Bourdieu's theoretical perspective as an interpretative tool kit) provides a detailed analysis of the life story data summarized in Chapter Four. As discussed earlier in the thesis Bourdieu offers the researcher a middle way between the dichotomies of social science research. The most basic of these, what Bourdieu terms 'the most artificial, fundamental and rainous' (Bourdieu, 1980: 10), is probably that of 'subjectivity and objectivity'. However Bourdieu does not suggest that the researcher should ignore the complex issues of validity and reliability; rather that the methodology adopted should suit the research focus. This sounds obvious, but Bourdieu is critical of studies where the researcher has neglected the key question in favour of conforming to a predetermined, yet constraining, methodology which may lead to a predictable, even comfortable outcome.

In place of these crade forms of objectivity and subjectivity Bourdieu argues for a relational objectivity, expressed in terms of relational stractures and the generating principles that constitute them. Such stractures are seen as mutually constituted, as stmctured and stracturing:

> 'One must remember that, ultimately, objective relations do not exist and do not realise themselves except in and through the systems of dispositions of

agents, produced by the intemalising of objective conditions.' (Bourdieu, 1968:105)

As a means of investigating the relationship between these intemalised codes and dispositions Bourdieu, as has been shown, uses two primary concepts: *Habitus* and *Field.* (See Chapter Three pp. 94/95.) The theoretical stance relies on the 'way things are done', the practicalities *of habitus.* In this study this translates into the way decisions were not only made but arrived at. What is it about the individual's *habitus* and prioritisation of *fields* that led to particular post-sixteen choices?

In applying this perspective to the data the chapter is stmctured around the research questions outlines in the Preface; these are addressed individually and then collectively, using Kitwood's technique of 'social life-world reconstruction', to draw the characteristics *of habitus* together for each of the four post-sixteen trajectories. (Kitwood, 1977 cited in Cohen and Manion, 1994:209/210)

What are the cultural indicators useful in the definition and analysis of the sample population?

In answering this question, Bourdieu's discussion and description of *fields* provides the defining characteristics. *'Afield,* in Bourdieu's sense, is a social arena within which straggles and manoeuvres take place over specific resources or stakes and access to them.' (Jenkins, 1992: 84) In this study the *field* areas include mainly issues of 'family', 'place' and 'education'. *Fields* are defined by the stakes that are at stake, cultural goods (life style), housing, intellectual distinction (education), land, power (politics) or whatever, and may be of different specificity

and concreteness. Each *field,* by virtue of its defining content, has a different logic and 'taken-for-granted' stracture. (In the same way that Gramsci describes 'common sense' as a product of cultural exposure rather than necessarily 'good sense' (Gramsci, 1971: 322 - 523)).

Afield is, by definition, 'a field of straggles' in which agents strategies are concemed with the preservation or improvement of their positions with respect to the defining capital *of the field.* Using Bourdieu's concept of *field* in social research entails three distinct operations (Jenkins, 1992: 86). First, the relationship *of the field* in question to the 'field of power' (politics). The field of power is understood to represent the dominant or pre-eminent *field* within society; (e.g. 'widening access to education is a good thing'). Second, within the *field* in question one must constmct an analysis of the competition for place within the specific forms of capital. The priorities which are given to particular positions and the subsequent playing out of those positions, (e.g. you should get a job at sixteen and eam some money). Thirdly, the *habitus{es)* of the agents within *the field* must be analysed, along with the trajectories which are produced in the interaction between *habitus* and the constraints and the opportunities which are determined by the *fields.* (Individual *habitus* - natural inclination - may be compromised by circumstances, (e.g. family stracture or health). Using these three operations cultural characteristics in the research sample begin to show through the life stories.

Taking the 'family', the first prompt in the life stories, it is easy to see the emergence of defining characteristics. The most overt of these is the role of the

family in providing stability and safety within which individual freedom is valued and nurtured'. Interviewees described the importance of family life and the way in which family had shaped their values and expectations of the world (their *habitus).* This important element *of habitus* also appears to be closely linked with a sense of *place* and hence *community.* Place in the sense of geographical association and a hierarchical schools stracture. Many of the interviewees commented on the 'standing' of the secondary school they attended; both good grammar schools and poor secondary-modem schools were described. This is particularly clear in interviewee's description of how 'crime' and 'drags' were a product of place or stereotypes rather than individuals within the community. (Unemployed - John - 1042.) Those that had the greatest freedom within the family context to discuss and consider their options (the most '*democratised*') appear to have progressed furthest within the formal education sector.

The field appears to value the position of personal autonomy and self-direction rather than the dominant position of continuing participation in post-sixteen education. (As examples FE - Simon - 1004 and HE - Michael - 1024.) That is not to say that self-determination does not result in individuals continuing in post-sixteen formal education, rather the opposite; it does however closely link to the *habitus* shared with family and, importantly, school. The life stories do show a relationship between 'freedom' within the family unit, to talk about options and issues, and 'post-sixteen education' participation. In those families where little

open discussion appears to have taken place individuals appeared more likely to leave school and enter work or remain unemployed.

Almost all of the interviewees believed *they* had been instramental in making the choice to stay in education or leave - accepting the role of others in providing advice - yet they themselves are clearly operating within *fields* in which they feel most at home. Bourdieu describes how *habitus* enables an individual's collusion with the society of which he/she is a member. He calls this *fit,* or the sense of being at home in a family milieu, an 'ontological complicity' between embodied history and institutional roles. (Bourdieu, 1981) Bourdieu confirms this by affirming his belief that to some extent individuals 'fall into practice that is theirs rather than freely choosing it or being impelled into it by mechanical constraints'. (Bourdieu, 1990a: 132) Within this context those who 'protest their choices' as being a product of free will and/or undue influence, by family and school, are to some extent deluding themselves that they are operating outside *the field* that predisposes the individual to particular life choices.

This can be seen overtly in examples like Jenny (HE - Jenny - 1026) who stayed on at school to complete A'levels before going to university because 'that's what everyone does' and covertly in those who left school to move into the work force or college to acquire 'economic capital' immediately or at some later stage. These two characteristic indicators appear to be defining *habitus* indicators within the population sample. One group who are 'working towards a predetermined pathway' of cultural capital (largely education for it's own worth) and another group who are working towards aspirations of economic capital (linked to

developing human capital) which are grounded *infields* of more immediate usefulness. (Work/training and education very closely linked to a specific job at the end of the process. As examples FE - Louise - 1010 and Unemployed - Lee - 1040.)

What is rurality?

This part of the life story interviews was interesting, not only for content but also in the feelings that flowed with the spoken word. For many of the interviewees, who had been brought up in Lincolnshire's raral villages, the memories of childhood provided a clear link with happy, carefree times in a safe, comfortable, environment. (FE - Mark - 1003 and HE - Laura - 1025) Although those from urban areas talked about their town or district they never spoke with the same warmth as those describing their village childhood - linked with freedom and solidarity. The discussion about rarality provided six general characteristics of mral life and social stracture:

1. Small scale - small schools, small villages, small churches, small communities.
2. Isolated - separated from services and amenities (also safer by dislocation from urban settings).
3. A product of agriculture and its environmental activity.
4. Strong community feeling, friendlier than urban communities, tightly knit.
5. Conservative and traditional values.
6. A slower, less pressurised way of life.

For both those who considered themselves raral people and those who did not, the sense of identity associated with their description *of rural* was real, although they were largely unwilling to say they could necessarily tell - without explanation - if someone was from a raral or urban background. For many their only point of reference was the cathedral city of Lincoln as an urban environment, hardly a cosmopolitan urban environment in the national context. Lincoln has the feel of a 'county town' rather than the 'cosmopolitan', 'bustiing' feel of many of Britains larger cities. An example is Sarah's contrast between raral and urban people.

> 255: SM 'Don't know. Well they're just typical aren't they, really like, you know farmers and things like that and just really quiet people, like everyone knows each other and everyone knows everything about each other and that kind of thing.
> 257: CA Right, and you don't think that would be trae in an urban context?
> 259: SM No. That's like living in Lincoln or something.'
>
> 285: CA 'OK, that's interesting. The flip side of that then is characteristics of urban people. How would you describe those?
> 287: SM I don't - my friends that live in Lincoln they're just like really kind of loud and kind of outgoing and things like that. Whereas I'm more, keep myself to myself
> 289: CA Right.
> 293: CA More reserved?
> 295: SM Yes, I'm more reserved.' (FE - Sarah - 1032)

In analysing the six themes it is useful to consider the context as well as the text itself The first characteristic is a good example of this, in describing the '*small*' the interviewees were not regretting the lack of size or population but describing the freedom and safety associated with living in an 'out of the way' place; free from heavy traffic and 'strangers'. The smaller the community the easier it is to define a sense of identity, particularly in a homogeneous population typical of

many raral areas of Lincolnshire. The feeling of safety is also often a feature of stable, homogeneous communities, where 'everybody knows everything and helps each other'. This small, and therefore manageable in a community context, was perceived as what was missing in many urban settings - high crime rates, nobody knows their neighbours.

Safety - comfortable - was also mentioned as part of the second characteristic of rarality, i.e. its relative *isolation.* For some this was perceived as a good thing and meant they were able to get on with their lives without the interference of urban people with altemative life styles. (HE - Jenny - 1026 and HE - Amy - 1027) The freedom associated with less 'risk' also appears in many of the life stories. Transport would be an obvious issue for interviews to discuss at this point but very few - two - mentioned it during the life story interviews. Rural people's reluctance to complain about poor transport infra-stracture is confirmed by Hammond and Dennison's study (1995) of 'school choice' in raral areas of north-east England. Their study showed the low influence of transport issues while Coldron and Boulton (1991), working with parents in Sheffield, show how proximity to home and the choices made by friends are more important in urban areas where transport is less problematic. This almost 'stoicism' in the face of lack of resources may itself be a characteristic of mral people and links with the 'value of hard work' and 'traditional values' described as other characteristics of mral society. The isolation described as a characteristic may lead mral people to believe they are the 'other' and hence become more self-reliant, taking this self-reliance as a virtue in its own right. It certainly does not reflect the high priority given to raral

transport needs given by govemment policy makers. (DEFRA 2001 cited in Lincolnshire Development 2002: 33/34)

The third characteristic relates to *the physical environment* of Lincolnshire's predominantly arable agricultural economy. Although specific elements of the agricultural industry were singled out in some life stories - crops and tractors for instance - the majority focussed on the 'land', the physical space. The association with 'land', the physical environment, is a common theme in many studies of 'peasant' life around the world - see as examples Geertz, (1961) and more recently Sinclair, (2002) - the relationship between cultural identity and the land appears strong. (See also Hawkes, (1951) and Hoskins, (1955))

The fourth, fifth and sixth characteristics of rarality all address the nature of 'raral people' rather than the place itself Although these are an abstraction of place they are also durable, 'individual' characteristics likely to persist in another setting. The fourth characteristic refers to *'sense of community'*. This is bound up in the scale of village life and the interdependence of its members, a product of isolation and poor infrastracture, appears in a number of the life stories where interviewees picked out the friendly, willing to help, attitude of raral people. What is not clear is whether the 'willingness to help and be friendly' is towards other raral people or to all people. Listening to other parts of the life stories it is likely this friendliness is confined to those who share the *habitus* rather than 'all comers'. Certainly raral deprivation and a sense of 'other' (HE - Amy - 1027) is likely to build tight knit communities but the life stories would suggest this is more than a reaction to a

'shared problem' more a genuine difference in people's behaviour. Having said that a 'sense of belonging' is central to many peoples lives - both raral and urban - as Simone Weil observes cultural roots are one of the most important human needs and a product of '...real, active and natural participation in the life of the community which preserves in living shape certain particular treasures of the past and certain particular expectations of the future' (Weil 1952: 41)[2]. The link in this extract between 'treasures of the past' and 'expectations of the future' reinforces the link between *habitus* and likely post-sixteen pathways. If 'treasures of the past' are themselves selected by *field* position - what is considered a 'freasure' - then the same prioritisation process will inform the choice process at sixteen.

Rural *traditions and conservative values* were also seen as a key characteristic of mrality. These characteristics not only appeared as direct answers to the question, 'what is rarality?', but throughout the interviews. Interviewees mention a less tolerant society, with firmly held views of behaviour and , in some life stories, gender roles within the family. (As examples HE - Amy - 1027 and Working - Ben - 1014.) Although the interviewees gave the impression these could be seen as a negative aspect of mral life they also inferred the sense of security in 'stability'; clear guidance on 'right' and 'wrong'. (As examples see HE - Michael - 1024 and FE - Christopher- 1009.)

The final characteristic was about the pace of mral life - *a slower, less pressurised place* - this appears to stem from the link with resource based industry. Agriculture and forestry being the obvious examples where work is hard, often physical but also govemed by the passage of time and conditions rather than the

urban picture of mass production and wealth generation[3]. The value of 'hard work' also appears in the life stories and is an example of what Bourdieu refers to as the legitimisation of cultural capital by those who share the *habitus* rather than the dominant *habitus.* This is also reflected in the emphasis a number of life stories make to 'value for money', itself perhaps thought of as 'traditional and conservative'. This general theme about usefiilness and value has been observed by other researchers in raral people's dress and figures as a common difference between raral and urban youth in the life stories.

> 'In Lincolnshire evidence of poverty can be seen in people's clothing, and to some extent their demeanour, but you have to know what you are looking for. People do not talk about it explicitiy (with the exception of some young people), but often accept it with a degree of resignation.' (Simmons, 1997: 34)

Simmons makes an interesting observation on clothing in raral Lincolnshire; but using Bourdieu's work of *field* and legitimisation of *field* from within the *habitus* this observation might well be reinterpreted to reflect the importance of practical use or value for money. Clearly clothes which are 'falling apart' are a clear sign of hardship but not sporting the latest fashion is easily misinterpreted by those outside the *habitus* as something it is not.

The views on mrality are a mixture of those who consider themselves mral and those who do not. However within the context of this study those who consider themselves not to be raral cannot fail to have been influenced by mrality (having been 'bom and bred' in Lincolnshire). Their answers tend to represent the first three characteristics - the more tangible characteristics of the physical environment -

rather than the more 'people' based cultural characteristics of mral communities. Having said that it is therefore not surprising that the official indicators of 'mrality' - largely drawn up by a govemment representing the majority of the UK population based in an urban context - focus on the physical characteristics (DEFRA 2001 cited in Lincolnshire Development 2002: 33/34) of rarality rather than the less tangible cultural indictors.

What effect has rurality on cultural identity?

The answer to this research question is clearly an abstraction of the preceding discussion on 'what is rarality?' The life story interviews would suggest that rarality - or rather long-term exposure to its cultural characteristics - does have an influence both on identity and behaviour; a social constract rather than Marx's description of raral as simply an economic constract from which a social and ideological superstracture rises (Marx and Engels, 1967).

> 'The bourgeoisie has subjected the country to the rale of the towns. It has created enormous cities, has greatly increased the urban population as compared with the raral, and has thus rescued a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of raral life' (Marx and Engels, 1967: 84).

Despite Marx's obvious disdain for raral 'idiocy' it remains, across the world, at the centre of national identity - a position which appears to have been strengthened in the emerging 'green movement' across much of the developed world - particularly in times of national crisis such as war, when combatants are often reminded of the picture of mral life they are fighting to preserve.

Within the life stories three raral 'identity' typologies can be constracted to represent the emerging themes. The first of these could be described as an *Arcadian* typology that reflects the somewhat 'idealised' view of raral life, indeed the raral idyll. A simple, uncomplicated life, grounded in the 'caring', slower nature of community life which being part of the tribe affords. (As examples HE - Jenny - 1026 and FE - Mark - 1003.)

A second is focussed on the *'Stewardship'* responsibility of country dwellers. The contemporary concems with ecology and environment where individuals are bound together in their straggle against the injustice of the 'modem', urbanised life style which values wealth generation, and individualism, over the continuity of mral life with its link to the 'timeless' nature of resource based production and harvest. This is perhaps best shown in the way interviewee's described the closeness of village life, its feeling *of safety* and the interdependence of its members. This identity is linked to the strong traditions of hierarchy and certainty within *habitus,* where *fields* are shared among its members. This identity also draws heavily on the traditional values bom of interdependence and mutual belonging to the land and those who work on it, and with it. This not only includes those who work in direct food production but those who share a lifestyle which reflects 'peasant' virtues of honest toil and rewards[4]. (As examples see Working – Christopher - 1012 and Unemployed - John - 1042.)

The third is that of the *'Entrepreneurs'* who see the countryside in terms of its potential as an economic resource. Traditionally in Lincolnshire this has been through its agricultural enterprises and coastal tourism but may increasingly

include other leisure based activities. This typology is also characterised by its feeling of 'mistrast/misunderstanding' with urban communities. 'We live here, we know what's good for the countryside'. This group is almost at the other extreme of a philosophical continuum from the *Arcadian's*. It's not so much that the raral idyll doesn't exist more that it is an idyll because of the activities of farmers and raral people. Therefore fürther development is simply a continuation of an age-old tradition and the attempts of an urban majority to freeze the countryside in time are an injustice that raral people can ill afford[5]. (As examples see HE - Amy - 1027 and FE – Wayne – 1008.)

Does culture influence the range of options considered by young people at the end of compulsory education? If so to what extent?

From the life story data the answer is emphatically 'Yes it does!' The obvious question is why wouldn't it? There are two interrelated aspects to this issue, the first is whether immediate family exert an influence, and secondly what effect, if any, has the ambient culture (extended family, school and rarality)? Bourdieu is quite clear about the impact of family and school on *habitus* formation. Bourdieu describes *habitus* as largely a product of family and schooling (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 97). However, family and school are products of a wider social context, in this case rarality, which must also be considered a key player in defining *habitus,* the 'mental or cognitive stractures through which people deal with the social world' (Atkin, 2000: 258). Of course, Bourdieu is clear that *habitus* can change over time, through different associations and experiences,

yet the residual influence of rarality on these 'internalized, 'embodied' social stmctures' (Bourdieu, 1984: 468) is likely to remain a powerfiil backcloth to subsequent *habitus* development. What is important here is the pace *of habitus* change relative to other social change. As *habitus* is largely a product of family and school its ability to respond quickly to change is limited. A point not lost on those working with immigrant communities and refugee groups. (See Eriksen, (1993: Ch. 3) and Adelman, et. al. (1994: Volume two, Part three.))

The direct influence of family, (Working - Chris - 1012 and FE - Ian - 1007), and school, (HE - Jenny - 1026 and HE - Amy - 1027), show through in a large number of the life story interviews. A good example of this are school traditions of post-sixteen progression, e.g. HE - Amy - 1027. The continuing importance of school tradition and expectation is clear throughout many of the life stories, the 'shop floor culture', described by Willis (1977: 56), appears to be equally trae in its influence in promoting transition between school and further study. Willis describes in his study a 'counter school culture', a culture which has many profound similarities with the culture many of its members are destined for - 'shop floor culture'. In the life stories interviewees described their prioritisation of education through the family and school culture. The credentials for entering the counter school culture are far from being one of the defeated. They are credentials of skill, dexterity and confidence and, above all, a kind of presence that adds to the social force; a force which Willis describes as being 'on the move', not supported or stractured by a formal institution, to which one might make a written application. The link with Willis's observations is also clear through the suggested

prioritisation of 'hard work' - a sense of a 'fair day's pay for a fair day's work - by mral people which came up as a characteristic of rarality. Willis describes a 'massive feeling on the shop floor, and in the working class generally, that practice is more important than theory.'(Willis, 1977: 56) Practical ability always comes first and is a condition of other kinds of knowledge. This may also be a another defining issue for raral people exposed as they are to the largely practical consequences of agricultural endeavour; in short you can see what you have achieved in a very practical way.

The range of choices also appears to link strongly with both family and school. The vast majority of interviewees dismissed, out of hand, the choice(s) which were at odds with their *habitus* inclinations to particular post-sixteen trajectories. (As examples HE - Damien - 1023 and Working - Christopher - 1012.) The majority of life stories showed that even when the interviewee claimed the fijll range of options had been considered the reality meant only one or two where favoured as *real* possibilities. Another interesting issue here is how these options had been refined during the interviewee's life story. The influence of particular 'life changing' moments appear to have been cracial in shaping the individual *field* positions of particular options; particularly the priority of education and career trajectory. Examples of this are the importance of the grammar school selection process at age eleven for those who were encouraged to sit the exam by family and/or school and key family events, such as parental separation or bereavement and bullying at school; themselves potentially linked to *habitus.* (As examples the motivational effect of parental separation on HE -

Kirsty - 1028, the traumatic effect of parental separation - and subsequent abuse - on Unemployed - Jennifer - 1044, the negative effect of bullying at school on Working - Alan - 1011 and FE - Christopher - 1006 and the effect of bereavement on Working - Rebecca - 1016 and Unemployed - Jermifer - 1044.) The effect *of habitus* - gained through cultural exposure - is fiirther reinforced by triangulation using the National Statistics Standard Occupational Classification - for the main family income provider - to establish the National Statistics Social-Economic-Categories present in the research sample.

Figure 22: National Statistics Socio-Economic-Classification (NS-SEC 2000) - Analytical and Operational Categories and Sub-categories of NS-SEC 2000

Analytic classes	Operational Categories		
1.1	L1	Employers in large organisations	
	L2	Higher managerial occupations	
1,2	L3	Higher professional occupations	
		L3.1	'Traditional' employees
		L3.2	'New' employees
		L3,3	'Traditional' self-employed
		L3,4	'New' self-employed
2	L4	Lower professional and higher technical occupations	
		L4,1	'Traditional' employees
		L4,2	'New' employees
		L4.3	'Traditional' self-employed
		L4.4	'New' self-employed
	L5	Lower managerial occupations	
	L6	Higher supervisory occupations	
3	L7	Intermediate occupations	
		L7,1	Intermediate clerical and administrative
		L7.2	Intermediate sales and service
		L7,3	Intermediate technical and auxiliary
		L7,4	Intermediate engineering
4	L1	Employers in small organisations	
		L8,1	Employers in small organisations (non-professional)
		L8.2	Employers in small organisations (agricultural)
	L9	Own account workers	
		L9,1	Own account workers (non-professional)
		L9.2	Own account workers (agriculture)
5	L10	Lower supervisory occupations	
	L11	Lower technical occupations	
		L11.1	Lower technical craft
		L11.2	Lou er technical process operative
6	LI2	Semi-routine occupations	
		LI2,1	Semi-routine sales
		LI2.2	Semi-routine service
		L12.3	Semi-routine technical
		L12.4	Semi-routine operati\e
		L12.5	Semi-routine agricultural
		L12.6	Semi-routine clerical
		L12.7	Semi-routme childcare
7	L13	Routine occupations	
		L13.1	Routine sales and serv ice
		L13.2	Routine production
		L13.3	Routine technical
		L13.4	Routine operative
		LI3.5	Routine agricultural
8	L14	Never worked and long term unemployed	
		LI4.1	Never worked
		LI4,2	Long term unemployed
	LIS	Full-time students	
	L16	Occupations not stated or inadequately described	
	L17	Not classifiable for other reasons	

(Office for National Statistics, 2000a)

Using the National Statistics Socio-economic-categories (NS-SEC) shown above as a reference point to compare post-sixteen educational choices with family employment pattems a basic correlation appears to be present[7]. The NS-SEC Categories can be derived in three ways (full, reduced and simplified) depending on the level of detailed employment status information available. In this case the employment data stems from the information provided by interviewees at interview. Before each interview the interviewee completed a 'cover sheet' (See

Appendix Two) giving basic contextual information; it is their answers to 'who is the principle family wage eamer?' and 'what do they do?' which is used below in Figure 23. The information is basic and therefore the 'simplified method for determining socio-economic-categories is most appropriate[8]. The National Statistics Standard Occupational Classification (NS-SOC) categories used to determine the NS-SEC do not refer directiy to 'skill' levels but to 'employment patterns' (e.g. levels of responsibility, educational attainment, degree of autonomy, etc) (Office for National Statistics 2000a). The relationship between SOC and SSEC is given using the *National Statistics Socio-Economic-Categories Simplified and reduced deprivation table 2000* (Office for National Statistics 2000b).

Figure 23: Simplified Socio-Economic-Classification (SSEC)

Largely Unemployed		Working (with or without training)		Full-time Further Education		Full-time Higher Education	
SOC 2000	SSEC	SOC 2000	SSEC	SOC 2000	SSEC	SOC 2000	SSEC
5496	7	9111	6	1122	2	3567	2
5215	7	5113	5	9211	6	8211	7
5211	7	8135	6	1161	2	9221	6
5315	4	5223	5	5315	4	5231	5
6115	6	5422	5	8212	7	3211	2
4133	6	7111	6	8222	6	1211	2
		5223	5	2132	1.2	4113	3
				2312	2	5111	4
				8211	7		
				9111	6		
Median							
	6.5		5		5		2.5

SOC 2000 - Standard Occupational Classification (NS 2000)

(Office for National Statistics 2000b)

Although the numbers of interviewees is relatively low to make any great claims for correlation between family employment pattems - itself linked to *habitus* and the value of education within *the field* - the exercise does appear to show a general link.

How do those in the study population perceive formal education?

As the presentation of data on this suggests in Chapter Four the interviewees had generally a favourable impression of primary education (rising five to eleven years of age), but a more varied experience of secondary education (eleven to sixteen/eighteen years of age). The number of interviewees that described the difficulties they experienced at the hands of school bullies was more than anticipated and further reinforces the important part the school ethos - the term used by Ofsted (Office for Standards in Education) to describe the culture of the school - plays in supporting pupils through issues likely to affect their educational achievement. Nine of the interviewees described bullying as a significant problem during their school careers, and although there is no independent corroboration available to support their claims it was, for some, the reason given for underachievement and their desire to leave school at the earliest opportunity. The difficulty experienced by the interviewees at the hands of school bullies seems to be at odds with the description of rarality as a safe and secure environment. Perhaps the very separation of village/home life from school is a contributing factor in its description as secure.

The value of education - one of Bourdieu's *key fields* in relation to cultural capital and *habitus* - was clearly not seen by many of the interview population as necessarily a good thing for its own worth. The vast majority of those who believed education to be a good thing saw it in terms of 'what it could do for them in economic terms'. The link with employment prospects and economic stability

was clear. For others the value of formal education was not clear at all, some interviewees believed they had leamt much more from family or since leaving school. (This is not an unusual charge levied against 'compulsory' education. For many young people their school years simply do not 'fit' their need(s). See the 'de-schooling' debate of the 1960's e.g. Goodman, (1972).) The value of education again appeared to be tightly linked to the interviewee's experience at school; those that had had a successful, enjoyable time at school were more likely to accept formal education as inherently 'good'. Having said that interviewees from each of the four post-sixteen pathways gave a breadth of answers to the question 'what role does education play in a persons life? The answers fell into four categories:

Firstly, 'It is very important because.....' This group of interviews linked education to the building of cultural capital and by abstraction - at some point in the fiiture - social and human capital. For them education was inherently a good thing 'common sense' and the option of leaving school at sixteen without further study was never really considered as an option. (As examples FE - Mark - 1003 and HE – Kirsty – 1028.)

Secondly, 'It is very important because.....' this was the largest group of interviewees and linked education to human capital, getting a good job, a career that would provide a decent income and stable fiiture. For this group the value of education was about skills; skills which had currency in the market place, not *habitus* forming - although they are - but tradable credentials. This is an interesting perception because education equips the individual to operate within an

environment where others share the *habitus* - the positioning of education as a *field* - and hence the likelihood of success within that *habitus* is, at least in part, linked to success in education. These interviewees were looking to the future and saw education as a way of improving their life chances but without recognising the effect on their cultural heritage. Education is for this group an opportunity to get out, get on in life. The feeling the education is a 'ticket out' of raral areas rather than a opportunity to stay and improve the social conditions for raral communities is common across many other parts of the world. (Atkin, 2002) (As examples FE - Wayne - 1006 and HE - Damien - 1023.)

Thirdly, 'It is only important if. . . .' this group of interviewees recognised the importance of 'a good education' but only accepted its formal worth if the individual had a use of the credentials, for most this was linked to further or higher education. This group saw a great deal of value in non-formal education, particularly those interviewees with a direct link to work in the agricultural and horticultural industry who described leaming from their fathers and/or other colleagues. (As an example Working - David - 1013.)

Fourthly, 'It is not important because …' Only a few interviewees dismissed the importance of formal education altogether but for them school had largely been a 'waste of time'. Their attitude to education was linked to its value within the *habitus* group they occupied; they valued the non-formal education they had received in the family and community above 'certificates'. Having said that they were clearly interested in 'training' for a specific outcome. This group - and possibly the third group - seemed to make a sub-conscious distinction between

'education' and 'training'. Education with its academic heritage seemed of little use in their context while training appeared to be much more acceptable as a legitimate post-sixteen option. This group reflected those individuals who had least enjoyed school and left 'at the earliest opportunity'. (As an example Unemployed - Joanne - 1041.)

The breadth of answers to this question reflects Bourdieu's discussion of 'symbolic violence'; the imposition of symbols and meanings (i.e. culture; or at an individual school level, acceptable post-sixteen options) in such a way as to make them appear legitimate. The legitimacy obscures the power relations that allow their imposition to be successful. The mainstay of the exercise of symbolic violence is 'pedagogic action', the imposition of cultural arbitrary, of which there are three modes: *diffuse education,* which occurs in the course of interaction with competent members of the social formation in question (e.g. informal meetings with teachers or peer groups), *family education,* which involves the passing on of previously acquired cultural traditions, and *institutionalised education* which sets age based institutional rituals (e.g. examinations, 'prefects').
Pedagogic action, in reproducing culture in all its arbitrariness, also reproduces the power relationships which underwrite its own operation. This is what Bourdieu describes as 'the social reproduction function of cultural reproduction' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977: 10). Pedagogic authority is a necessary component or condition of successful pedagogic action. This authority is not uniform within or between all groups and *habitus.* Ideas have the most effect when they encounter

and reinforce existing dispositions - *field* positions. What this means is that pedagogic action, 'school' and education, is much more successfiil when it coincides with family and community *field* positions. Because of the importance of pedagogic action it takes time and consistency, stability is key to its overall effectiveness.

Within the research sample school culture - pedagogic authority - was received with varying degrees of acceptance. Those interviewees whose family, and community, *habitus* meant the school simply reinforced existing *field* positions for scholastic achievement clearly progressed with the least difficulty within that environment. Differences between schools also affect this position; those interviewees who attended grammar schools in Lincolnshire, received an experience likely to reinforce the merit of scholastic endeavour to the point where academic subjects were seen in a hierarchy of importance (HE - Amy - 1027). The importance of family in setting out the framework for pedagogic authority to fiinction successfully is cracial to scholastic achievement and polarises the extremes of the *habitus* groups. Within educational policy planning family involvement is becoming more overt (DfES, 2001: Chapter Summary: 8.4) although schools still largely function as institutions outside the community. This is particularly trae for secondary schools in raral areas where children may well travel quite long distances to attend school[9], further separating family life and school life. This separation is a product or raral tradition and values which may well make raral communities less participating in their children's education. (Believing that education is best managed by the teachers and those in authority.)

Are **some cultural groups in society more likely to be influenced by cultural tradition?**

The answer to this question seems remarkably clear; all of the interviewees appear to have been influenced by the cultural traditions of their families and schools. Just in the same way as pedagogic action advantages those who occupy the *same field* position(s) it disadvantages those who do not. As Bourdieu argues 'the scholastic yield from educational action depends on the cultural capital previously invested by the family' (Bourdieu, 1986: 244). The effect is most striking at the extremes of the continuum, with those who see scholastic achievement as not for them gaining little from their experience of formal education while those whose *habitus* is already most closely aligned with that of the pedagogic authority gaining the most. Interviewees who attended the grammar schools in Lincolnshire describe the importance given to academic study and success. Linking this with the interviewee's characteristics of rarality it is possible to see how rarality may well support much of the traditions of the pedagogic authority - traditional values, respect for authority - yet other characteristics would appear to undermine the chances of raral youngsters (e.g. the value of physical labour over intellectual endeavour). Those with a family and community heritage that best reflects those of the pedagogic authority are at an immediate advantage in the educational system which has competition for places - the best schools and the best universities - at its heart. This position is made more acute by the publication in local and national media of performance tables for schools and

universities. This process has encouraged institutions and parents to seek out the school which best suits their needs; in other words most closely matches their *habitus.* This reinforces the position of schools and universities at both ends of the scale as 'which school and which university' become increasingly important as credentials in the employment sector. Politicians often see schools as the seedbeds for great social and cultural change (see for example the introduction of 'citizenship' into the national curriculum (DfES. 2002)'") but, for most, the role remains one of reinforcing the established position rather than changing it.

> 'The school institution, once thought capable of introducing a form of meritocracy by providing individual aptitude over hereditary privileges, actually tends to establish, through the hidden linkage between scholastic aptitude and cultural heritage, a veritable state nobility, whose authority, and legitimacy are guaranteed by the academic title.' (Bourdieu, 1998: 22)

This tendency to extenuate the virtue of scholastic achievement may also be less established in raral schools - less subject to the pressures of 'market forces' because of the distance between schools - and hence less likely to focus on the educational *habitus* building perhaps more common in urban schools fighting to attract the brightest pupils. Isolated raral primary schools are also likely to cater for a broader age and ability cohorts of pupils within individual classes" than their urban counterparts where parental choice tends to gravitate similar children to particular schools.

Are initiatives designed to widen participation and opportunity in post-compulsory education reaching all cultural groups within the study area?

The answer to this research question is - like most - a mixture of success and failure. Many of the interviewees had taken advantage of altemative ways into higher education progressing from school, with fairly poor GCSE results (HE - Matthew - 1020 and HE - James - 1021) into college where they then flourished in a more vocationally based course (BTEC National Diploma in Art and Design and GNVQ Sports Science) which provided them with the entrance credentials for their local university. Having said that these are the youngsters who might well have progressed from school to college with or without government initiatives. What's changed is that they now have the opportunity to progress from college to university using more vocationally focussed qualifications as an entry award. The question therefore is are the new initiatives working as intended or are they simple moving participants in the post-sixteen sector up the educational hierarchy.

The interviewees supported the assertion that the initiatives are not so much 'widening participation' as providing more of the same. Consequently increasing the length of time those young people who would be most likely to continue their studies are in the system. This may, of course, be no bad thing and those youngsters interviewed were all grateful for the opportunities that altemative approaches to higher education had afforded them; in fact several believed they were better off having studied at college first rather than staying on at school and

following a traditional A'level route into university. This comment also links with the valuing of physical labour among raral people. It was not that the interviewees believed that the education on offer in school was less likely to get them a place at university, more that, the practical skills acquired at college would better equip them for finding work than academic credentials. Perhaps this is also a reflection of what they see themselves doing when they finish studying. Most of the interviewees at college and university appeared to have fairly low expectations of their eventual career paths. Others were sure about the direct influence *of habitus* on the choices they had made with some interviewees recognising that they had been 'moulded into going to university', following in the footsteps of other family members. (As examples HE - Robert - 1022 and HE - Matthew - 1020.)

Those leaving to join the work force directly at the end of compulsory education were always likely to choose the pathways that combined work with further study. The importance of the fiirther study was difficult to assess with many of the interviewees suggesting they were unaware exactly what was involved in training but now valued it as part of their commitment to work. For this group the link with 'eaming a living' and 'working hard' for a fair wage seemed more important than any link to education as cultural or symbolic capital. For this group it was simply part of the job, although for some an important part of the job, for most a right of passage.

In response to the question about new initiatives and participation the main conclusions from the life stories is that they are working for some and not for others.

Those that would have gone to college and left with their award are now tending to stay in education through into new degree programmes designed to follow on from the traditional vocational fiirther education programmes. Most of those interviewed at college were there partly because they had a genuine interest in the subject they were studying but also because they couldn't really think of what else to do. This then replicated itself in some of the interviewees at university who also were there because they felt college qualifications on their own would not be sufficient in the jobs market and they could not think of anything else to do.

> 'Other motivational factors were the prospect of better employment opportunities or advancement within existing employment. Comments included 'This will help me get a better job', 'You need a degree to get any job these days' and 'My line manager has a degree so I need one'. The emphasis appears to be centred on what the outcome will do for them rather than the intrinsic value of the leaming.' (Atkin, 2000: 259)

Those that did leave at sixteen to find employment are now very much the

12

minority of young people in Lincolnshire, 18.9% (Connexions 2002: 3). Talking to the interviewees - including those that had found work and those that were unemployed - one could easily be persuaded that the official school leaving age had moved from sixteen to eighteen.

For the group of interviewees currently unemployed the new initiatives - e.g. New Deal designed to get the long term unemployed back into work and improve their prospects of remaining in sustainable employment (See Terry Hyland's work in this area)[13] - were generally welcomed and interviewees were keen to participate.

The issue for this group is the reality of the rhetoric. The interviewees describe their willingness to get back into training and employment but fail - at least so far - to fiilly engage in the opportunities offered. They recognise the merit of the opportunities yet their life stories paint a picture of emotional and scholastic breakdown that has established a *habitus* at odds with further education. This group appears to recognise the place of education in providing economic and employment opportunities but fail to see how they can participate in practice. This group also includes those with the greatest barriers to employment - typically poor levels of basic skills, minor criminal convictions and lack of work experience (see also Nicholls and Morgan, 2000: 64) - many of which could be addressed through further education and training. In short those with the most to gain from the new initiatives to encourage youngsters to stay in education and training are the least likely to take them up, not because they don't recognise the opportunities participation may bring but because they simply do not register within their *habitus* as worthwhile. As Gorard commented in his study of participation rates in continuing education in South Wales:

> 'Non-participation is a result of not seeing education or development and training as appropriate, and it is unlikely that a leaming society can be encouraged in the UK by simply making it easier for people to participate in more of what is already on offer. This will only change non-participants to credentialists.' (Gorard. et al, 1998: 409)

As described earlier in this chapter using Kitwood's (Kitwood, 1977 cited in Cohen and Manion, 1994:209/210) technique of 'social life-world reconstruction',

to draw the characteristics *of habitus* together to form a 'typical life story' for each of the four post-sixteen educational choices, the following reconstmction's are helpfiil in showing the major life story themes that characterise the four choice groups.

Social life-world reconstruction

Stayed in education beyond sixteen and progressed to further study at university

In attempting to reconstract the *habitus* occupied by the typical interviewee in this category it is helpful to show two examples rather than one. Although many *of the field* positions are shared there are significant differences which require two reconstractions.

The first is the youngster who lives in a *habitus* which accepts and shares the pedagogic authority which places education high in the market place of cultural capital. Encouraged by family and community the youngster does well at school and continues into the sixth form to study A'levels. The transition from compulsory education into A'level study is not really ever questioned 'it's what everyone does'; it is an intrinsic part of the shared *habitus.* For this teenager the debate is about which university and about what to study not whether to study. (As examples HE - Jenny - 1026 and HE - Kirsty - 1028.) For this group the choice in post-sixteen pathways is usually taken early in their school career - they are working towards a particular academic pathway, (e.g. successful eleven plus examination, particular GCSE subjects, specific A'levels and one of a group of

leading universities, favoured by the school or attended my other family members.)

The second youngster grows up in an environment where education is generally accepted as a good thing but closely linked to economic capital rather than cultural capital. The youngster does consider leaving school and entering the work force but concludes that further education would better equip them for work. The family is happy for them to continue either at school or at the local college. College is better than school - more grown up - and allows the individual to study the subject that more closely matches their particular interests, typically vocational in nature. Not that they are altogether sure what they really want to do when they eventually leave and find work but they think it is likely to be in a particular occupational area. Having done well at college they consider leaving and finding work but decide that they would like to, and would be capable of, studying in higher education at the local university. The pedagogic authority has become more accepted and they are beginning to position *the field* of education more prominentiy in their thinking. (As an example HE - James - 1021.)

For this student the local university is the favoured option and the question of 'which university' with all the cormotations of prestige and tradition is not important. For this student the whole process has been less planned and more organic in the way it has transpired. They are likely to value the raral ideal of hard work rather than education as an end in itself Their outlook on life is shaped by their raral origins and considers urban life something to be avoided or feared. The close association of raral with family values remains important in their life and

they are likely to limit their options to those that reflect their *habitus* origins. That is not to say they are less able to operate in the higher education environment but that they are more likely to remain in an environment where they share 'common ground' with the people around them. The 'local' availability of the provision is an important factor in the decision making process. (As examples HE - Robert - 1022 and HE - Kirsty - 1028.)

The two social constractions shown are not meant to incorporate all of the minutiae of the choice process but reflect the key elements in the process. The first the 'typical white middle class' student, who sees transition for school to university as a 'natural progression' (Major, 1997: i); something they had always expected to do, been working towards through years of compulsory education. The second a student who has taken advantage of the opportunities afforded by changes in admissions policy but in reality got there by chance; almost accidentally. The second student progressed from school, to college and on to university without really planning it; the life stories suggested for many of the interviewee's they are there because they could not find anything else to do and they knew they were not ready to enter the job market. (As an example HE - Laura – 1025.)

Left school at sixteen and gone on to study full-time in the further education sector

Again with this group of interviewees it is appropriate to use two social life constractions to illustrate the characteristics.

First the youngster whose family background is one that values education as a means to job security and economic stability, but not for its own sake. Encouraged by family to do well at school, success or failure appears to have little influence on their desire to go to college. (Some of the interviewees could easily have stayed on to do A'levels and follow an academic career if they had wished.) The motivation to go to college is often vocational and linked to their expected area of work, examples given included sports, business studies and art. The decision to go to college is often taken late in their school career, rather than planned or seen as a goal, and heavily influenced by family, friends and school advisers. A key influence appears to be friends' advice; not will the person they sat next to at school be going to the same college, but, will 'people like us' be at the college? As Hemsley-Brown points out in her study of decision making in the further education sector:

> 'The reason that 'friends' are important is not simply that one's own friends are going to the same college, but that the people who are already attending are either people whom 'I want to be identified with' or people who are perceived to be 'like me'.' (Hemsley-Brown, 1996b: 53)

Fear of not fitting in - conflict *of habitus* –ruled many out of staying on in the school sixth form or moving to another school with a sixth form. (As examples FE- Christopher - 1009 and FE - Wayne - 1008.) This group of interviewees did seriously consider leaving school and seeking employment but decided further study was necessary in today's job market. Because the process is essentially unplanned the final destination for this group is far from certain, what is clear is that their aspirations of what college will do for them are fairly low.

Secondly, the typical life story is a youngster at college because they could not think of anything better to do. That's not to say they do not know what they would like do but circumstances currently prevent them doing it. A number of the interviewees described how they could not enter the area of employment that interested them until they were older and had gone to college 'to fill-in time'. (Examples given included working in the care sector and working in school(s) as a tennis coach.) They share with the first example a family *habitus* that positions education as usefiil - rather than inherently valuable - and never expected staying on at school or studying at university. This group again values hard work above academic achievement and shares many of the values inherent in the characteristics of raral people.

Left school at sixteen and gone directly into the workforce (with or without further training)

For this group school was something of a chore; not intolerable but equally not very enjoyable. This group was not necessarily unsuccessful at school - e.g. Working - Kevin - 1030 achieved seven GCSE's at grade C or better - but was limited in the options to leave or stay at school/college; none of the interviewees in this category considered university as an option. In the same way as others were encouraged by their school's *habitus* - to believe they would naturally progress to university - where a clash *of fields* exists, between home and school, the school can actually put people off attending university. As Ben describes in his life story 'it was like being in the army', 'the teachers spent all their time with the kids that were bright' and 'I think I'd always decided I would leave at sixteen' (Working - Ben - 1014). For this group their families supported their school studies and clearly placed a great deal of importance on 'trying hard' and 'doing your best', yet despite doing well at school for many the natural progression was into work or work and further study. None of this group seriously considered staying at school into the sixth form. The importance of further education as part of entering the work force is clear in some of the life stories, (as an example Working - Nadene - 1015). Yet for others any further training was coincidental rather than an essential part of their choice process, (As an example Working - Alan - 1011).
This group reflected very strongly the values' of rarality described by the interviewees, the values of hard work rather than necessarily academic

achievement, although within this group 'credentials' also seem important. Particularly the traditional value of 'paying your way'. With the abolition of maintenance grants young people are leaving university with large debts owed to the 'Student Loan Company' or to commercial banks. Because of this raral people are perhaps less likely to participate in the higher education sector than their urban counterparts. For many the purpose of further education was clearly about employment credentials, certification which would allow them to operate within that environment. This is an interesting issue because their lack of credentials - *habitus* - appears to have been the limiting factor in their academic careers. As described earlier in this section it is not that these individuals were academic failures they simple opted out of a system they felt uncomfortable in. The characteristics of rarality also place great importance, indeed reliance on community and place. For this group one of the factors in dismissing university was the prospect of leaving 'their place'. Again this appears to be closely linked with family and school. School's, which have a clear tradition of movement - e.g. Lincolnshire's mral grammar schools - clearly develop an expectation of progression. In fact this progression is celebrated and forms a sense of pride and purpose in their mission.

Left school at sixteen and remained largely unemployed

For this group the *habitus* is quite clear, their life stories are characterised by dysfiinctional family circumstances and unhappy experiences at school. These led to a tendency towards combination of non-attendance, poor relationships and flirtations with petty crime, all of which produced poor GCSE examination results

and an overwhelming desire to 'leave' at the earliest opportunity. (Interestingly this group regretted not 'trying harder', 'doing better' at school more than any other.) These interviewees seem to have also had the least family support through school in terms of expectation and possible further direction. Their life stories drift into unemployment and many regret having 'wasted' their time in the past. Having said all that one or two of them were now hoping to go back to college, supported through the New Deal programme, to engage in further training. It will be difficult for them and the experience of others in this group would suggest they are likely to drop out within a few weeks or months without sustained support and encouragement.

The clash between family *habitus* and pedagogic action and pedagogic authority is the most extreme in this group of interviewees. Their lives simply do not *fit* the model assumed, and taken, as a backcloth by the schools sector in Lincolnshire. That is to say a high degree of deference to symbols of authority and community. For these youngsters the isolation of raral schools meant that an altemative school environment was simply not an option. The government's much trampeted aim of parental choice and mobility is in practice not an option in an environment where provision is disparate and transport links difficult.
This is a general point about the nature of raral life, if services and facilities are separated by great distance then raral communities rely heavily on single providers. This is just as trae for education as it is for petrol stations or groceries. The difficulty is if individuals do not fit in, there is no viable altemative, so

individuals are left either outside the system - traant - or do not establish the necessary working relationship within the school authority to facilitate success.

Summary

The link between family *habitus* and post-sixteen options and directions appears clear across the four possible destinations. The determining cultural indicators are defined by Bourdieu's description *of fields* as competitive market places where positions straggle for supremacy as capital. With the interview sample those who's family *habitus* places educational achievement as having a high value were more likely to succeed and participate in post-compulsory education than those who did not value its role in the same way. The life stories also highlighted the importance of 'symbolic violence' in the young peoples school careers. Bourdieu argued that 'pedagogic action' and particularly 'pedagogic authority' are vital parts in the success of an individual's academic career at school or university. What he means is that the more closely the *habitus* of family, community and school coincide the more easily the pupils will operate with the school and hence the more successful they will be. This is certainly confirmed within the life story data and a key finding of this research.

The range of options considered by young people at sixteen was also heavily influenced by the *habitus* they occupied, generally only one or two options were really considered.

The importance of school and family tradition is dominant throughout the interviews and the significance of these two cannot be overstated. The

interviewees described rarality by using six broad themes that fell into two categories, the first describing the place: small, isolated, fields, agriculture, the second describing the characteristics of the people that live in mral Lincolnshire: sense of community, traditional and conservative values and a slower way of life.

Most interviewees were uncertain about how, or if, mrality had affected their post-sixteen decision making process but if Bourdieu's description *of habitus and field* is extended to include the importance of the 'ambient culture' - in this case raral Lincolnshire - then it is easy to see how the characteristics described in the life stories would effect individual choice. What is clear from the life stories is the way rarality is central to many of their lives without being something they are able to articulate explicitly. If you stopped a group of young people in one of Lincolnshire's small market towns and asked 'what are your views on rarality?', they are just as likely, as any group of urban young people, to think that 'Rurality' must be a new pop group they haven't heard of But get them talking about their lives and the importance of rarality implicitly shows through.

The key choice issues include the value of 'hard work' rather than 'scholastic achievement', is college/university worth it? Particularly with the abolition of student support grants, do the traditional raral values described in the life stories prevent young raral people going to university and getting into dept?

The chapter concludes by reconstracting typical social life pictures for each of the four post-sixteen options to highlight the key characteristics.

The next and final Chapter will draw a series of conclusions from the data and its analysis. It will also propose a range of key issues for fiirther investigation and

shows how the thesis meets the criteria set by the University of Nottingham for the award of Doctor of Philosophy.

Notes

[1] The role of the family in preserving and passing on family tradition is analysed in detail in other studies of 'family and kinship' relationships - see Young and Willmott, (1957) and Marsh and Arber (1992) as examples,

[2] See also: Morgan, W, J. and Tuijnman, A, C. (2000) 'The Challenges of Adult Education in Europe: Deconstruction and Reconstruction of Nations and States.' Bron, A. and Schemmann, M. (Editors) **Language Mobility, Identity. Contemporary Issues for Adult Education in Europe,** Germany, Munster: Literature Verlag. pp. 47 - 62

[3] A difference that Williams believes perpetuates the myth of the rural idyll in urban people's perception of the countryside. He argues that the notion of the 'rural idyll' is a reaction to mass production and capitalism, dominant in many urban people's lives, rather than a love of the natural environment. (Williams, 1973)

[4] See Geertz, (1961) and Keith and Pile (1993)

[5] This is also a common cause of dispute between people who move from urban settings to the countryside and older residence. It's as if having moved to the countryside for 'lifestyle' reasons they then want to freeze it, as they think it should be, or change it to reflect the services they left behind in the city.

[6] For complete coverage, categories L15, L16 and L17 are added as 'Not classified'. The composition of 'not classified' will depend on the data source (Office for National Statistics, 2000a)

[7] Because the numbers within each post-sixteen category are relatively small it is not possible to claim the correlation is necessarily reliable in any universal way more a reflection of this particular context. Its use is as a fiirther triangulation data source in supporting the qualitative data drawn from the life story interviews themselves,

[8] Both the 'full' and 'reduced' method both require much more detailed information about employment roles and this information did not form part of the interview process unless given freely by the interviewee as part of their life story. (Office for National Statistics, 2000a)

[9] Two of Lincolnshire's larger secondary schools still offer residential accommodation for children unable to travel daily: De Aston, Market Rasen and Skegness Grammar School, Residential accommodation was also offered at Cordeaux School, Louth, until 1998,

[10] On its citizenship web page the D/ES highlight the values of making young people aware of their rights and responsibilities.

> 'Young people need support and encouragement to help them develop values, attitudes and opinions that inform their view of the community in which they live, their rights and responsibilities and how they are able to become involved and make a difference to the world around them. These are important elements of citizenship.' DfES (2002)

" Out of 289 primary schools in Lincolnshire, 32% have 100 pupils or fewer, 13% have 60 pupils or fewer and 7% have 50 pupils of fewer. (Lincolnshire County Council, 2002: 8)

[12] The data is taken from Cormexions Lincolnshire and Rutland publication **Year 11 Destinations 2001.** The data categories have been adjusted to better reflect the four post-16 trajectories identified in this study,

eg-
'In training without employment (3.7%)' have been combined with the group 'College (32.6%.)' to give a total proportion of 36,3% 'went into full-time further education',
and
'Moved out of contact (5.8%)' have been combined with the group 'No response/Unknown (0.4%)' to give a total proportion of 6.2% 'no information known'.
Connexions - Lincolnshire and Rutland (2002)

[13] Hyland, T. (2000 and 2001)

Chapter Six - Conclusion

This final chapter begins by giving a brief summary of the thesis highlighting the key themes from the previous chapters. This is followed by the conclusions - what does all this mean? - drawn from the interview data and the existing body of knowledge; these conclusion also serve to identify possible areas for further research. The chapter ends by showing how the thesis meets the criteria identified by the University of Nottingham for the award of Doctor of Philosophy.

Summary

The political context (Chapter One) for this study is one where 'widening participation' rates and 'broadening access' opportunities to both further and higher education have dominated both post-sixteen education and economic policy debate. The past decade has seen a massive expansion in the numbers of young people remaining in formal education beyond the limits placed by legislation on school attendance. This expansion is set to continue with the current Labour govemment establishing a target of fifty percent of young people entering higher education by 2010 (The Labour Party 2001: 5)'. Underpinning much of the policy debate is an acceptance that for these targets to be achieved there must be a 'cultural shift' in attitudes to post-compulsory education and training - lifelong leaming - amongst groups traditionally under represented in fiirther and higher education (Blunkett, 1998: Section 6 Paragraph 28). One such group is the mral

young people of Lincolnshire. It is their experiences and traditions that have informed this study.

The review of literature (Chapter Two) identifies the key authors and work in the area covered by this study. These are presented under three broad headings: the concept of culture, cultural reproduction (including recent work on rarality) and decision making. The literature is reviewed - working from the past to the most recent - identifying the most useful techniques and findings for this research. Despite the growing number of investigations into the choice process in young people considering their post-sixteen options little research has been done in a raral context.

The methodology is described in detail in Chapter Three; it begins by affirming the use of Bourdieu's notion *of habitus and field* as the theoretical perspective in this study. (A detailed discussion of this is presented at the beginning of Chapter Three.)

The study is set within the context of England's most 'agricultural' of counties, Lincolnshire (Payne, 2000: 5). The research data was gathered using in depth ethnographic life story interviews with a representative group of young people - aged eighteen to twenty years, 'bom and bred' in Lincolnshire - who have followed four altemative pathways from school:

1. Left school at sixteen and gone on to study full-time in the further education sector.
2. Left school at sixteen and remained largely unemployed.

3. Left school at sixteen and gone directly into the workforce (with or without further training).
4. Stayed in education beyond sixteen and progressed to further study at university.

Following this framework the research also investigates the concept, and role, of 'rarality' in young people's lives. The life story technique was 'piloted' with two full-time further education students. Subsequent analysis showed the method to be appropriate for this study and highlighted the need for some refinement in the interview prompts; particularly the need to address issues of rarality overtly.

In presenting the data (Chapter Four) the text draws heavily on the transcripts to show how life story interviews paint a detailed and rich picture of the interviewee's lives and hence the process of prioritisation of objective positions which define *field* and *habitus.* The life stories give both explicit and inferred data on the influence of family, community (including rarality) and school in the choice process. The data appears to support the direct link between *habitus* and post-sixteen pathway; the interviews reaffirm Bourdieu's assertion that the *closer pedagogic action* coincides with family *habitus* the more success the scholastic outcome is likely to be. The influence of rurality as a constituent part *of habitus* is established in the data and confirms its role as a backcloth to *habitus* both for those who described themselves as 'raral' and those who did not. The interviewees described six broad characteristics of rarality, or mral people (Chapter Five); these were arranged into three typologies to show the major themes of the life story data. The characteristics follow two distinct

themes: first, characteristics based on the geographical context of mrality, e.g. landscape, size, isolation, lack of amenities (descriptions largely given by *urban* young people): second, characteristics based on mrality as a social constmct, e.g. community, traditions, values, attitudes (descriptions largely given by *rural* young people). The chapter concludes by reconstracting a typical social life picture for each of the four post-sixteen pathways to highlight the key characteristics.

Research Conclusions

The research conclusions are presented using the research questions (shown in the Preface and Chapter Five) as a framework. This section does not set out to repeat the material shown in earlier chapters but to interpret its meaning and present a series of tentative conclusions based on the application of Bourdieu's theoretical perspective to the data.

1. **What are the cultural 'ndicators useful in the definition and analysis of the sample population?**

The interviews would suggest that the family remains at the heart of cultural identity and as such provides the most significant cultural indicator; the evidence across the four post-sixteen pathways clearly suggests a direct link between family *habitus* and cultural identity. The data also links family *with place* (or community); place as an arena in which members share elements *of habitus and field* position which, in some situations, reinforce the sense of 'other'. This appears to be tme for both urban and mral interviewee's, e.g. the descriptions of crime being a product of place rather than individual choice. The influence *of habitus and field* is most extreme in the

interviewees' descriptions of their compulsory and post-sixteen experiences of education. In considering post-sixteen options families which appeared to encourage the greatest degree of open discussion and debate (democratisation) tended to continue into further or higher education.

This openness was however itself a product *of habitus* - more particularly the degree *of habitus* penetration - and did not necessarily lead to all options being seriously considered. The choice process across each of the four groups appeared to be limited in reality to one or two outcomes, as if the interviewees were playing out a script - loosely at times - which predetermined their pathway in post-sixteen directions. Slight variation in the script did appear in the life stories but this was rare. Individuals were constrained by *their fit* with available options. Those who progressed into post-sixteen education largely saw it in terms of an economic investment - I'll get a 'good job'- rather than a 'good thing' to do for its own sake. Evidence from interviewees talking about friends, siblings and school would suggest youngsters who set out to attend particular universities - e.g. the Russell Group - rather than their local university were more clear about the value of education as cultural capital rather than simple economic capital.

In terms of govemment policy to widen participation a key conclusion reinforces the need to consider family and place rather than appealing only to individual, potential leamers. Another example of the mismatch *hetweenfield* positions can be seen in the emphasis given to progression, particularly among further education providers. For the vast majority of interviewees post-sixteen education was about what it can do

for them in terms of career not the progression opportunities within the education matrix of programmes. The emphasis on this may well prove to put off some young people who may see the prospect of being locked into lifelong leaming as just that, lifelong. The real question this example demonstrates is whether adult educators - acting within their own *field* position that education is inherently worthwhile in its own right - actually dissuade under-represented groups of potential leamers who perceive education from a very different *field* position.

Rurality also emerges as a discrete cultural indicator linked to value systems and standards of behaviour, (the life story interviews were very open and honest and did not suggest a significant level of interviewees 'playing out' predetermined raral stereotype answers on this subject), standards of behaviour which were traditional in character but not necessarily linked to the urban stereotype that raral people are all 'back woodsmen', chew straw and shoot everything. Characteristics such as 'a sense *of place'* appear to afford a sense of belonging to those who considered themselves to be raral. This allowed individuals to draw sfrength from a sense of identity from being part of the tribe rather than an outsider, an *other.* This is also a potential reason why raral people are reluctant to continue with their education post-sixteen. As described earlier in the thesis nationally raral communities are on average better educated than their urban counterparts. But this statistic is based on individual's home addresses rather than any other social definition of mrality. Hence the statistics include the large numbers of wealthy, well educated middle class who have moved to the urban fringe of Britain's large cities as 'mral people'. Their inclusion 'skews' the

figures and tends to mask the under-performance of genuinely raral communities. In Lincolnshire the trae under performance of mral leamers does show through; the figures shown earlier for post-sixteen educational attainment are reversed with raral people significantly less well qualified that their urban counterparts. Because Lincolnshire has no significant urban fiinge - it is far enough away from major urban cenfres to make large scale commuting difficult - figures for educational achievement in Lincolnshire better represent rural people's performance in lifelong leaming. One of the inevitable outcomes of further education - particularly higher education - is that it puts the individual outside the tribe. Within small raral communities this is likely to be a far greater deterrent to continuing education than the possible economic gains additional skills might deliver. This is further emphasised by the limited opportunities to use high level skills in employment without moving away from the community, e.g. seeking work in an urban setting[2].

2. What is rurality?

The interviewees gave six broad characteristics of what they believed rurality or mral people to be. The six were an even mixture of the physical attributes (isolation, small and agricultural) and the social attributes of mrality (sense of community, *or place,* fraditional values and a slower, less pressurised economic and social order). Interestingly those who perceived themselves as urban tended to focus on the physical characteristics of mrality, whereas those who perceived themselves as mral tended to describe rarality as a social constract; preferring to emphasise the sense of place, community, values and *habitus.* This difference in perception is also a

defining cultural characteristic and confirms the earlier observation about the official definitions of rarality, which focus almost exclusively on tangible indicators such as access to services and amenities (The Countryside Agency, 2001)[3]. The evidence from the interviews would suggest these definitions are the product of the urban majority rather than the raral minority. Their intention to act as a checklist for govemment policy debate is therefore of questionable value if they continue to focus on issues which are peripheral to how mral people perceive themselves and their communities. The interviewees were clearly not suggesting the issue of equality and access are not important but what is at the heart of sustainable mral communities are the social and cultural characteristics. An obvious conclusion is that the government's policy debate needs to focus more attention on the further development of its *checklist* to include these less quantifiable characteristics which are central to raral life and potentially vulnerable to unexpected policy outcomes.

3. What effect has rurality on cultural identity?

The interviewees' life stories suggest that rarality has had, and continues to exert, a strong influence on *habitus* formation and hence cultural identity. As described in Chapter Five young people were not always sure what direct impact living in mral Lincolnshire might have had on their lives but they were able to describe many influences, which have their roots in the characteristics of rural life, it provided. This appeared to be trae for all of the interviewees - both those who saw themselves as raral and those who saw themselves as urban - and appears in their life stories in the correlation between their descriptions of the characteristics of rural life

and their descriptions of family, community and school. The same use of characteristics is carried from one part of the life story into the other, (e.g. 'tight knit community' equates with close family/extended family and 'traditional value of hard work' equates with *the field* position given to scholastic achievement.) Rurality clearly has an inferred influence as well as the more obvious examples of direct influence.

An example of this inferred and direct influence is the way in which interviewees described their own cultural identify in terms of 'what they are not', a universal human trait described by Lewis (1985.) For many mral people this is often about distancing themselves from the perceived negative elements of urban society played out daily on our television screens, (reinforced by the gentler way mrality is portrayed in popular television drama). The contrast in character portrayal further reinforces the nature of mrality as a social constract rather than simply a product of geographical isolation. (See the work of Philips, et al. 2001.) These raral characteristics - interdependency, traditional/conservative values, less pressurised life style - make a strong case for a shift in policy orientation from a position where raral people are perceived as essentially urban in culture but disparate in context to a distinct ethnic[4] group.

This position would heighten the need to address raral needs at a much deeper level than the current 'checklist' (The Countryside Agency, 2001) approach to policy formulation. Current policy around post-sixteen education is largely framed around the eighty percent of the population that live in urban settings then rolled

out into the countryside. An example to illustrate the point is the current focus on 'centres of excellence', Beacon Colleges. Under this scheme further education providers are encouraged to access additional funding to become centres of excellence in curriculum or themed areas of their provision (e.g. Sports Science or Basic Skills). This policy may well drive up standards in an urban context where choice and availability ensure students can attend a range of providers offering a breadth of curriculum areas but is of little use in an isolated market town, e.g. Boston College - nearest altemative provision thirty plus miles away - which requires a broad and balanced curriculum to service local needs. 'We are simply delivering an urban curriculum in a raral setting' (Di Pudney, Leaming Development Manager, Leaming and Skills Council Lincolnshire and Rutland).

4. Does culture influence the range of options considered by young people? If so to what extent?

The life stories would support Bourdieu's general claim that 'the scholastic yield from educational action depends on the cultural capital previously invested by the family' (Bourdieu, 1986: 224). In other words the more the family puts into the educational process - support, expectation, *field* position - the higher the scholastic outcomes are likely to be. Bourdieu is not directly referring to 'effort' in his claim more the *family field* position the educational achievement occupies and hence the prioritisation given to particular post-sixteen pathways. The interviews show how only one or two possible options were seriously considered as post-sixteen pathways. The options tended to be grouped into three option combinations:

(a) Leave school and go into work or leave school and go to work with further formal training opportunities,

(b) Stay on at school into the sixth form or go to the local further education college, and,

(c) Stay at school into the sixth form and progress to university.

The first two groupings offer a serious choice that appears to have been influenced by both pragmatic and cultural reasons, e.g. 'The school hadn't got a sixth form and I wasn't going to go to the grammar school sixth form.' And 'I'd had enough of school, they treated you like kids.' This is in marked confrast to those who only ever expected to stay into the sixth form and progress to university. For this group there appears to have been little choice to make, as Jenny (HE - Jenny - 1026) points out, 'it's what everyone I knew did'. Each of the choice options has links with family *field* positions and *habitus.* The *habitus* of family and school are closely linked to eventual post-sixteen pathways. What's interesting here is which came first? Are *good* schools the product *of good* parents/children or do *good* schools produce *good* children. In mral areas the correlation between school and family *habitus* is always likely to be difficult. Without parental choice - due to the large distances between schools - children, or rather their parents are unable to gravitate towards schools with particular characteristics that closely match those of family life. This may serve as a social leveller but it is also likely to disadvantage those who, for whatever reason, do not *fit.* Those children where family *habitus* priorities education as both cultural and economic capital are much more likely to operate successfiiUy within that environment than those from families with altemative priorities. (That is not to say

these young people will not readily engage in post-sixteen training but its pragmatic usefulness appears to be a major influence on motivation. Pragmatic or usefulness of knowledge is itself a key cultural marker.) The link between parental prioritisation is triangulated by applying the National Statistics Office material on Occupational Classification to the interviewee's main family income provider and their post-sixteen pathway.

5. How do those in the study population perceive formal education?

One of the most interesting conclusions to this research question is the small number of interviewees - including those in higher education - which perceived education to be an inherently 'good' thing. Very few of the interviewees spoke about their school days or post-sixteen education in terms *of cultural capital* (primarily legitimate knowledge. (Bourdieu, 1998: 6 - 7)) *or symbolic capital* (prestige and social honour. (Bourdieu, 1998: 102 - 104)). For the majority of the interviewees education was seen as a means to economic capital (values relationships with significant others. (Bourdieu, 1998: 6 - 7)) which could be fraded in for a 'good job' at a later date. The interviewees also appeared to have fairly limited horizons - expectations - of what opportunities post-sixteen education would provide.

Other life stories suggested 'education was only useful if. . . . .' followed by a justification for continuing education on the basis of access to particular careers or further study. These were largely dismissed as unrealistic choices for those in this group and hence education was not really that important for them. This group saw non-formal education as a significant element in knowledge accumulation

particularly the value of family/community knowledge in the farming industry and other strong *habitus* groups[5]. A small number of the interviewees believed formal education was a 'waste of time'. This group reflected the low *field* position given to education within their *habitus* tending to value *other field* positions given legitimacy by those who shared their objective positions rather than the dominant *habitus,* (e.g. anti-school culture including tmancy and minor criminal activity).

The importance and influence of those who share the *habitus* is clear across the four pathway groups. This point supports the conclusion that the closer family and school *habitus* coincides the higher the scholastic achievement and the more comfortable the school experience is for the individual pupil. The process is most effective when the teachers are preaching to the converted; they are reinforcing the framework established through family *habitus.* (For a more detailed discussion of this point see the section on Symbolic Violence and Pedagogic Action shown in Chapter Five, 'How do those in the study population perceive formal education?')

6. Are some **cultural groups in society more likely to be influenced by cultural tradition?**

The life stories would suggest that *all* of the groups interviewed were heavily influenced by *habitus.* For some this was a process they were aware of during their childhood years, within the family and at school, particularly those interviewees who described how they had been *groomed* for staying on at school and going to university. For the majority of young people the process *of habitus* creation appears less overt; not so much specific 'grooming' for a specific outcome more a collection

of objective positions which predispose the individuals to particular choice outcomes. The life stories show the influence *of habitus* to be at its most obvious at opposite ends of any given *field* position. As described above those interviewees whose *habitus* values 'education' as inherentiy worthwhile in its own right - high in cultural, economic and symbolic capital - are most likely to progress through the school system into further and higher education, 'It's what everyone does'. While those whose *habitus* places formal education at a *lower field* position are less likely to do well in the compulsory education system and consequently leave at an earlier age. *This field* position seeks legitimacy for its choice processes from those who share the *habitus* rather than the dominant position that tends to support those who stay in the educational system. That is not to say that those who stay in education do not seek legitimacy from those that share *the field* position. What's different for this group is that those who share the *field* position are the dominant forces in terms of symbolic violence and pedagogic action. This convergence *of habitus* ensures the perpetuation of the dominant position and the power relationships that underpin it. A conclusion of the research must be that this relationship between the apparatus of state education and family *habitus* remains cenfral to the choice making process for young people considering their post-sixteen options.

The experiences of the interviewees would support Bourdieu's belief that far from being the catalyst for social change our school system is designed to maintain the hierarchical stmctures of 'scholastic aptitude' and 'cultural heritage' (Bourdieu, 1998: 22). Within mral communities schools are often seen as the cenfre of village life - along with the church, public house and post office - the tendency to reflect

community values associated with mrality may well equip young people for raral life but not for further and higher education in an urban context. The evidence would suggest that for most of the interviewees their experiences at primary school were positive when contrasted with their experience of secondary education. Part of this process is about the natural difficulties of growing up and finding their role in the world but some is likely to be a product of dislocation from the curriculum on offer. This could be about the academic nature of the traditional school curriculum - at odds with the family *habitus* and notions of 'usefùl knowledge' - or the less obvious nature of the curriculum support material. (E.g. Reading schemes in primary schools that have characters set in an urban environment, case studies for secondary school business study classes which are largely based around urban industries. Although not designed to priorities particular life styles or industries they do undoubtedly have a cumulative effect on young people's attitudes to what is important.)

The process of choice is linked to *habitus* and the evidence of the life stories would support the position that family, community (place) and school are central to the eventual post-sixteen pathway followed by young people in raral Lincolnshire.

7. Are initiatives designed to widen participation and opportunity in post-compulsory education reaching all cultural groups within the study area?

For some cultural groups, yes - there is no doubt many of the interviewees have taken advantage of new opportunities - and for others, no - some cultural groups remain largely outside the formal post-sixteen educational system.

A large number of the young people interviewed were at university having achieved poor - or very poor - academic qualifications at school. They had taken advantage of altemative qualifications to access university education (BTEC and GNVQ awards) and more significantly *local* provision. The life stories would suggest many of those interviewed were at their local university to top up the qualifications they had gained at college rather than to acquire cultural capital. For these students ease of access and localness was a significant factor in their decision to stay in education. Although proud of their achievements they were aware of the vocational - practical - nature of the courses on offer and the type of university they were attending. (De Montfort University and The University of Lincoln both have a mission to widen opportunities for local people.)[6] This model of university appeared *to fit* their *habitus* and brings into question whether they would have ever considered other universities as altematives. (Very few interviewees at university in Lincoln gave any indication they had ever considered studying elsewhere.)

The point made by Hemsley-Brown (1996b: 53) about further education students gravitating to provision which most closely matches their own identity *{habitus)* also appears trae for these university students. This need to be among 'like minded' students is not limited to provision in Lincolnshire. For universities trying to offer both further and higher education a convergence *of habitus* (between college and university) will appeal to those leamers who have used college qualifications as an entry route but may well put off some A'level students,

from academic schools, whose *habitus* expectations of university seem at odds with the mixture of fiirther and higher education offered.

For those at college the ease of entry appears to have aided their decision to remain in post-sixteen education although for many they were there because they 'couldn't think of anything better to do' rather than a genuine interest in what they were studying. The conclusion for this group is that the new initiatives have almost raised the school leaving age to eighteen or nineteen without anyone realising. The majority believed they were simply not ready at sixteen to enter the workforce and hence college seemed the natural progression. Their *habitus* largely raled out entry into the school sixth form and university education was not considered at the point of deciding to go to college. (Although given the life stories of those at local universities this is likely to be a natural progression for some currently at college.) The majority of this group believed post-sixteen education to be more important than what had been experienced at school and saw usefiilness as important to the curriculum.

For those interviewed who had entered the workforce at sixteen the initiatives to increase the level of training - NVQ and Modem Apprenticeships - appeared to have been largely welcomed. Interviewees saw the pragmatic benefits of further training in their given employment sector and welcomed the opportunities to study part-time while employed. *Their field* position for post-sixteen education and training was always likely to value useful knowledge and skills above academic qualifications and one conclusion from the study is the

importance of maintaining the link between training and employment. Over the past decade greater emphasis has been placed on 'Key Skills[7]' as part of the further education curriculum; at its heart Communication Skills (literacy), Application of Number (Mathematics) and Information Technology (Computer Skills). While the majority of people would recognise the need for basic skills in these areas there is a risk that those interviewees who share a *habitus* which is firmly routed in pragmatism may well be put off fiarther education by the prospect of 'more school work', (often something that led them to leave school at the earliest opportunity). For the interviewees training and employment was closely linked and seen as a 'fresh start' in the real world not a continuation of an unhappy school career.

Where the new initiatives appear to be having little impact was on the long-term unemployed whose *habitus* is most at odds with the pedagogic action that underpins further and higher education. The long-term unemployed interviewed clearly knew about the initiatives and opportunities available to them yet remain largely disengaged. Those that had taken up opportunities to continue with their education at college had dropped out without completing their programmes of study for a variety of reasons. The reasons given included difficult personal relationships, the course not living up to their expectations and difficulties in finding placements; each no-doubt factual but each linked to family *habitus* and the prioritisation given through *the field* position to further education and training. In short it simply was not important enough for the youngsters to

'stick at it'. For this group the conclusion is that family and school *habitus* - or rather the clash between them - meant the youngsters left school without the necessary motivation to continue their post-sixteen leaming careers. That is not to say initiatives to aid participation have no effect on this group but they cannot succeed long term without family and school *habitus* laying the foundations which encourage further education and training post-sixteen.

These conclusions are a distillation of the material shown in the transcripts; the life stories confirm the anecdotal evidence mentioned in the Preface that some cultural groups remain limited in their post-sixteen choices and aspirations as a direct consequence of family and school experience - in short their *habitus.* The influence of mrality is present throughout the life stories and provides an interesting outline of mrality as a social constract rather than a product of geographical position. The discussion and conclusions are revealing about the young people and their experiences growing up in Lincolnshire. They paint a picture of an ethnic minority, under pressure to conform to urban norms and values without, necessarily, the cultural heritage to support such a change. If lifelong leaming is to engage the under represented group in mral society it will need to reconsider its purpose and more importantly the values of self- advancement which underpin much of the current drive for certification. Some of these points can of course be equally applied to other minority groups in society, but as 'rarality' retreats - under the developers' plans and the movement out of urban conurbation's by the middle classes - lets spare a thought

for the *rural* people of Lincolnshire for whom post-sixteen education may well be *fields* apart.

Suggestions for Further Research

The research process has established a theoretical perspective which is robust in its design and capable of being used in fijture studies in the UK and in the intemational context. The author of this thesis is currently working with colleagues in both Europe and North America to develop collaborative research approaches to issues affecting mral communities. Specific research proposals have been made to the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) in the UK and to the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRCC) in North America. In the UK the proposal is made with colleagues at the Department of Environmental Plarming, University of Strathclyde, Queen's University Belfast and the Welsh Institute of Rural Studies, University of Wales, Aberystwyth. The research bid is entitled 'Lifelong Leaming Policy and Social Capital: the impact on mral communities' and builds directly on the research methods used in this thesis and other research involving longitudinal studies of raral communities. In Canada working with colleagues at the Centre for Public Policy Research at Memorial University, St John's, Newfoundland on a study focussing on policies effecting raral renewal (following the aftermath of the 'Cod Moratorium' imposed by the Federal Govemment in 1992) entitied 'Lifelong leaming Policy and Rural Social Capital: Developing a Collaborative Research Programme'.

Areas that require further investigation also include the extent to which these conclusions are tme for urban young people who have followed similar post-sixteen pathways from school. Is the influence *of habitus* as strong in urban settings or less strong. As described earlier in the thesis much of the existing research on choice mechanisms in young people has been carried out in urban settings and therefore the mral aspect of this research offers the greatest potential for further work.

Opportunities exist for a larger comparative study of mrality and lifelong leaming policy with colleagues in other parts of the European Union. Researchers working in the Republic of Ireland, Greece and France have expressed interest in a detailed study of European policy in this field. Funding opportunities are also likely to flow from Europe as the EU prepares itself to accommodate the next group of succession countries from Eastem Europe each of which have large mral populations e.g. Poland.

On a smaller scale the Lincolnshire Leaming and Skills Council has offered funding for research into Basic Skills levels in mral Lincolnshire. Very little is currently known about the trae scale of Basic Skills in raral areas and this research offers an opportunity to shed light on this important gap in current understanding.

Criteria for Ph.D.

First, the work is a contribution to the existing body of knowledge. It uses Bourdieu's theoretical perspective *of habitus and field* to explore the decision-making processes of young people bom and bred in Lincolnshire specifically

highlighting the influences of regional culture. This is the first study of this type using Bourdieu's concepts as a theoretical framework in mral England and adds to the way 'mrality' can be conceived, as a social constract, and in its influence on participation rates in post-sixteen education.

Secondly, the work is of a publishable standard. The research is sound in its methodology and many of its findings are suitable for publication in academic journals and elsewhere. The material is likely to be of particular interest to joumals focussing on lifelong leaming and continuing education, the influence of culture on young people, anthropological perspectives on rarality and on decision making among young people. These are possible areas for future publication but some of the initial findings have already been presented through publication and conference proceedings in England and overseas (See Appendix Five).

Thirdly, the thesis is a substantial piece of original work. Clearly the research tapes and transcripts identify the authenticity of the thesis along with the existing publications and conference proceedings listed in Appendix Five. The thesis was undertaken over a five-year period of detailed study with fieldwork engaging young people and educators in Lincolnshire.

It is submitted that the thesis is worthy of acceptance and meets the criteria demanded by the University of Nottingham for the award of Doctor of Philosophy.

Notes

' The fifty per-cent target is first mentioned in the Labour Party manifesto of May 2001 and has appeared in ministerial speeches and policy documentation from their subsequent general election victory. (The Labour Party, 2001)
See also:
(Morris 2001) and (Higher Education Funding Council for England, 2001)

? The reluctance to engage in post-compulsory education with its inevitable risk of social dislocation is a theme emphasised by Pavis, et al (2000) looking at pathways to social exclusion in rural Scotland,

[3] These characteristics of rurality are given as guidance to support the rural proofing checklist, providing some information about the fourteen rural characteristics and a few examples of solutions. The fourteen are shown below and in full in Appendix Four

Rural characteristics

1. Few service outlets:
2. Higher service delivery costs:
3. Greater travel needs:
4. Few information points:
5. Small (economic) markets:
6. Weak infrastructure:
7. Small firm economy:
8. Land-based industries:
9. Needs not concentrated:
10. Different types of need:
11. Low institutional capacity:
12. Few sites for development:
13. Landscape quality and character:
14. Countryside amenity and access.

(The Countryside Agency, 2001)

[4] As stated before in this thesis 'ethnic' in the anthropological sense of the word rather than its more commonly used meaning linked with racial characteristics.

[5] This is an interesting point; with the demise of the large heavy engineering industries - e.g. Ship Building in the North East of England - and the once mighty mining industry is farming one of the few strong *habitus* industries left?

[6] University of Lincoln mission statement see the vice-chancellors welcome at: http://www.lincoln.ac.uk/vc.html (Accessed 26th June 2002)

De Montfort University aims/vision statement see: http://www.dmu.ac.uk/Aims/vision_values.html (Accessed 26th June 2002)

[7] Key Skills are the generic skills that individuals need in order to be effective members of a flexible, adaptable and competitive workforce and for lifelong leaming. They cover:

1. communication
2. application of number
3. Information Technology
4. working with others
5. improving own leaming and performance
6. problem solving.

The first three key skills listed above are included in the new Key Skills Qualification. Introduced in September 2000 across England, Wales and Northem Ireland, the Key Skills Qualification can be taken at levels 1 to 4. These three key skills can also be taken separately and are qualifications in their own right.

The Govemment sees key skills as a priority and wants to move to a position where they are a normal and integral part of everyone's post-16 education and training.'

http://www.dfes.gov.uk/a-z/KEY%5FSKILLS_ba.html accessed on 26th June 2002

References

Action with Communities in Rural England (ACRE) (2000) **Developing Indicators of Rural Need.** Cirencester: ACRE

Adelman, H. Borowski, A. Bumstein, M. and Foster, L. (Editors) (1994) **Immigration and Refugee Policy: Australia and Canada Compared.** Melboume: Melbourne University Press

Agyerman, J. and Spooner, R. (1997) 'Ethnicity and the raral environment' Cloke, P. and Little, J. (Editors) **Contested countryside cultures: otherness, marginalisation and rurality.** London: Routledge pp. 197 - 217

Ainley, P. (1999) **Learning Policy, Towards the Certified Society.** London: Macmillan

Alasuutari, P. (1995) **Researching Culture, Qualitative Method and Cultural Studies.** London: SAGE

Apple, M. (1992) 'Education, Culture and Class Power: Basil Bemstein and the Neo-Marxist Sociology of Education'. **Educational Theory.** Vol. 42 No. 2 pp. 127-145

Amold, M. (1869) **Culture and Anarchy.** London: John Murray.

Atkin, C. (2000) 'Lifelong leaming: attitudes to practice in the mral context: a study using Bourdieu's perspective *of habitus'.* **International Journal of Lifelong Education.** Vol. 19 No. 3 pp. 253 - 265

Atkin, C. (2001) 'Continuing Education in Rural England' **European Manual of Continuing Education.** Neuwied. Germany: Luchterhand 50.30.180 pp. 1 -16

Atkin, C (2002) Keynote speech given at Memorial University, Newfoundland, Canada. **The opportunities for lifelong learning in rural Newfoundland and Labrador.**

Atkinson, R. (1998) **The Life Story Interview.** Sage University Papers Series of Qualitative Research Methods, Vol. 44. Thousand Oaks, Califomia: SAGE

Baker, M. J. (1992) **Marketing Strategy and Management** (2nd Edition). Hong Kong: Macmillan

Ball, S. Bowe, R. and Gewirtz, S. (1996) 'School choice, social class and distinction: the realisation of social advantage in education'. **Journal of Educational Policy.** Vol. 11 No. 1 pp. 89 - 112

Ball, S. Maguire, M. and Macrae, S. (2000) 'Worids apart - Educational markets in the post-16 sector of one urban locale 1995 – 98'. Coffield, F. (Editor) (2000) **Different visions of a learning society.** London: Policy Press pp. 39 - 70

Bantock, G. H. (1965) **Education and Values.** London: Faber and Faber

Bantock, G. H. (1970) **T.** S. **Eliot and Education.** London: Faber and Faber

Bantock, G. H. (1971) 'Towards a theory of popular education'. Hooper, R. (Editor) **The Curriculum, Context, Design and Development.** London: Oliver and Boyd pp. 251 -264

Banton, M. (1983) **Race and Ethnic Competition.** Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Berg, B. (1989) **Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences.** Boston: Allyn & Bacon

Bemard, H. (1988) **Research Methods in Cultural Anthropology.** Newbury Park, Califomia: SAGE

Bemstein, B. (1975) **Class, Codes and Control. Vol. 3 Towards a Theory of Educational Transmission.** London: Routledge and Kegan Page

Bemstein, B. (1990) **Class, Codes and Control. Vol. 4 The Structuring of Pedagogic Discourse.** New York: Routledge

Bertaux, D. and Bertaux-Wiame, I. (1981) 'Life-Stories in the Baker's Trade'. Bertaux, D. (Editor) **Biography and Society: The Life History Approach in Social Sciences.** Beveriy Hills, Califomia: SAGE pp 169 - 190.

Bertaux, D. and Kohli, M. (1984) 'The Life Story Approach: A Continental View.' **Annual Review of Sociology.** 10, pp 215 - 237.

Bloch, M. (1986) **Blessing to Violence: History and Ideology in the Circumcision Ritual in the Merina of Madagascar.** Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Blunkett, D. (1998) 'Forward' (D*f*EE) **The Learning Age; a renaissance for a new Britain.** London: HMSO

Billington, R. Strawbridge, S. Greenside, L. and Fitzsimons, A. (1991) **Culture and Society.** London: Macmillian Education Ltd

Bottomore, T. (1993) **Élites and Society** 2nd Edition. London: Routledge

Bourdieu, P (1963) 'Statistics and Sociology', first published as 'Statisques et Sociologie', pp. 9 - 12 of **Travail et Travailleurs en Algérie.** Paris: The Hague Mouton. Translated by Derek Robbins in G.R.A.S.P. Working Paper No. 10. University of East London. 1994.

Bourdieu, P. (1966) 'Systems of education and systems of thought'. Paper presented to the Sixth World Conference of Sociology, Evian, 1966 and published. **The International Social Science Journal,** Vol. 19 No 3, 1967. pp. 338 - 358

Bourdieu, P. (1968) 'Stracturalism and theory of sociological knowledge'. **Social Research** No. 35 Vol. 4, pp 681 -706.

Bourdieu, P. (1970) **La Reproduction.** London: Sage

Bourdieu, P. (1973) 'Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction'. Brown, R. (Editor) **Knowledge, Education and Cultural Change.** London: Tavistock pp. 71 - 112

Bourdieu, P. (1977) **Outline of a Theory of Practice.** Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P. and Passeron, J-C. (1977) **Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture.** London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Bourdieu, P. (1980) **Le Sens Practique.** Paris: Les Editions de Minuit. Bourdieu, P. (1963) 'Statistics and Sociology', first published as 'Statisques et Sociologie',pp. 9-12 of **Travail et Travailleurs en Algérie.** Paris: The Hague Mouton. Translated by Derek Robbins in G.R.A.S.P. Working Paper No. 10. University of East London. 1994.

Bourdieu, P. (1981) 'Men and Machines'. Knorr-Centina, K. and Circourel, A. V. (Editors) **Advances in Social Theory and Methodology: Towards an Integration of Micro and Macro Sociologies.** Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul. pp. 304-317

Bourdieu, P. (1982) **Lecon sur la Lecon.** Paris; Les Editions de Minuit (Cited in Grenfell, M. (1996) Bourdieu, Epistemology and Research Practice. Paper presented at the Conference of the British Educational Research Association, Lancaster: Lancaster University)

Bourdieu, P. (1984) **Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste.** London: Routledge & Kegan Paul

Bourdieu, P. (1986) 'The Forms of Capital' Richardson, J. G. (Editor) **Handbook of Theory and Research in the Sociology of Education.** London: Greenwoood Press. pp. 241 - 258

Bourdieu, P. (1989) 'Towards a reflexive sociology: a workshop with Pierre Bourdieu.' Wacquant, L. (Interviewer) **Sociological Theory.** Vol.7 No.1 pp 26 - 63.

Bourdieu, P. (1990a) **The Logic of Practice.** Cambridge: Polity

Bourdieu, P. (1990b) **In Other Words: Essays Towards a Reflective Society.** (Translator - Adamson, M.) Stamford: Stamford University Press

Bourdieu, P. and Passeron, J. (1990) **Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture** (2nd Edition). London: SAGE Publications Ltd

Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L. (1992a) **An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology.**

Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L. (1992b) **Reponses.** Paris: Seuil.

Bourdieu, P. (1993) **Sociology in Question.** London: Sage

Bourdieu, P. (1998) **Practical Reason.** Stanford: Stanford University Press

Brooks, R. (1998) **Staying or Leaving? A literature review of factors affecting the take-up of post-16 options.** Berkshire: National Foundation for Educational Research (nfer)

Burtonwood, N. (1986) **The Cultural Concept in Educational Studies.** Windsor, England: NFER-NELSON

Bush, P. (1985) **Class, National Culture, Individual Identity.** London: University of London

Chandola, T. Lloyd, M. Wright, G. and Wigglesworth, R. (2001) **Rural deprivation: an analysis of indices of deprivation 200 for rural areas.** Oxford: Social Disadvantaged Research Group, Department of Social Policy and Social Work, University of Oxford.

Coates, K. and Silbum, R. (1983) **Poverty: the forgotten Englishman** (4* Edition). Nottingham: Spokesman

Coben, D. (1998) **Radical Heroes, Gramsci, Freire and the Politics of Adult Education.** London: Garland Publishing.

Coffield, F. (1996) **A Tale of Three Little Pigs: Building the Learning Society with Straw.** Paper presented at EU Conference at Newcastle University, November 1996 - Research on Lifelong Leaming: Implications for Policy and Practice.

Coffield, F. (1999) 'Education and Employment: The Polarisation Impact of the Market'. Heinz, W. (Editor) **From Education to Work: Cross-National Perspectives.** Cambridge: Cambridge University Press pp. 284 - 297

Coffey, A. and Atkinson, P. (1996) **Making Sense of Qualitative Data.** London: SAGE

Cohen, P. (1968) **Modern Social Theory.** London: Heinemann

Cohen, L. and Manion, L. (1994) **Research Methods in Education** (4th Edition). London: Routledge

Cohler, B. (1982) 'Personal narrative and life courses'. Bates, P. B. and Brim, O. G. (Editors) **Life span development and behaviour Vol. 4.** New York: Academic Press pp 205 – 241

Coldron, J. and Boulton, P. (1991) 'Happiness as a criterion of parents' choice of school.' **Journal of Educational Policy** Vol. 6 No. 2 pp 169 - 178

Connexions - Lincolnshire and Rutland (2002) **Year 11 Destinations 2001.** Lincoln: Connexions - Lincolnshire and Rutland

Cosgrove, D. Roscoe, B. and Rycroft, S. (1996) 'Landscape and identify at Ladybower Reservoir and Rutiand Water'. **Transactions, Institute of British Geographers** No 21 pp. 534 - 551

Department for Education and Employment (1996) **Lifetime Learning: a policy framework.** London: HMSO

Department for Education and Employment (1998) **Moving on - 1998: Pathways taken by young people beyond 16.** London: HMSO

Department for Education and Employment (2000a) **1998 - 2000 National Curriculum Test Results: Lincolnshire and Statistical Neighbours.** London: HMSO

Department for Education and Employment (2000b) **Learning to Succeed.** London: HMSO

Department for Education and Skills (DfES) (2001) **Achieving Success.** London: HMSO

Department for Education and Skills (DfES) (2002) http://www,dfes,gov,uk/citizenship/pare_home.cfm Accessed 18th June 2002

Department for the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFREA) (2001) cited in Lincolnshire Development (2002) **The Emerging Rural Agenda.** Lincoln: Lincolnshire Development, Lincolnshire County Council

Dirks, N. B. Eley, G. and Ortner S. B. (Editors) (1994) **Culture/Power/History A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory.** Chichester: Princeton University Press

Donalson, P. (1992) **Economics of the Real World.** London: Penguin

Dooley, D. (1990) **Social Research Methods** (2nd Edition). Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall

Durkheim, E. (1895) **Rules of Sociological Method.** New York: The Free Press

Eagleton, T. (2000) **The Idea of Culture.** Oxford: Blackwell

Eanofsky, E. (1955) **Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art, Meaning in the Visual Arts.** New York: Doubleday

Eliot, T. S. (1948) **Notes on the Definition of Culture.** London: Faber & Faber.

Eliot, T. S. (1965) 'American Literature and the American Language' An address delivered at Washington University, Department of English. **Language and Literature** No. 23 Washington: University of Washington.

Elliot, J. (1982) 'How do parents choose and judge secondary schools'. McCormick, R. (Editor) **Calling education to account.** Milton Keynes: Open University Press pp. 36-43

Eriksen, T. H. (1993) **Ethnicity and Nationalism - Anthropological Perspectives.** London: Pluto Press

Erickson, F. (1987) 'Transformation and School Success: The Politics and Culture of Educational Achievement.' **Anthropology and Education Quarterly** No. 13 pp. 335-356

Fieldhouse, R. (1996) **A History of Modern British Adult Education.** Leicester: NIACE

Foskett, N. H. and Hemsley-Brown, J. (2001) **Choosing Futures: Young people's decision-making in education, training and careers markets.** London: Routledge and Falmer Press

Foskett, N. H. and Hesketh, A. (1995) **Interpreting 15 and 16 year olds' demand for Further Education: A Market Ideology.** Paper presented at the BERA Conference: University of Bath.

Foskett, N. H. and Hesketh, A (1996) **Student decision making and the post sixteen market place.** Report to the post sixteen markets project. Centre for Research in Education. University of Southampton: Heist Publications

Freire, P. (1972) **Cultural Action for Freedom.** London: Penguin books

Fulton, O. (1991) 'Slouching towards a mass system: society, govemment and institutions in the United Kingdom'. **Higher Education** Vol. 21 No. 4 pp. 589 - 605

Furlong, A. and Cartmel, F. (1997) **Young People and Social Change.** Buckingham: Open University Press.

Fumivall, J. S. (1948) **Colonial Policy and Practice.** Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Galeski, B. (1972) **Basic concepts of rural society.** Manchester: University of Manchester Press

Geertz, C. (1961) 'Studies in peasant life: Community and society' **Biennial Review of Anthropology.** Vol. 2 pp. 1 - 41

Geertz, C. (1973) **The Interpretation of Culture.** New York: Basic Books

Geertz, C. (1980) **Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author.** Stanford, Califomia: Stanford University Press

Georges, R. and Jones, M. (1980) **People Studying People: the human element of fieldwork.** Berkeley, Califomia: University of Califomia Press

Goodman, P. (1972) **Compulsory Miseducation.** London: Penguin

Gorard, S. Rees, G. Fevre, R. and Furlong, J. (1998) 'Learning trajectories: travelling towards a leaming society' **International Journal of Lifelong Learning** Vol. 17 No. 6 pp. 400-410

Gramsci, A. (1971) **Selections from the Prison Notebooks.** London: Lawrence and Wishart

Grenfell. M. (1996) 'Bourdieu, Epistemology and Research Practice'. Paper presented at the Conference of the **British Educational Research Association,** Lancaster: Lancaster University.

Griffin, C. (1999) 'Lifelong leaming and social democracy'. **International Journal of Lifelong Education.** Vol. 18 No. 5 pp 329 - 342

Griffiths, M. and Troyna, B. (Editors) (1995) **Antiracism, Culture and Social Justice in Education.** Stoke-on Trent: Trentham Books

Halfacree, K. (1996) 'Out of place in the countryside: travellers and the raral idyll' **Antipode.** No 28 pp. 42 - 72

Halliday, J. (1997) 'Children's services and care: a raral view'. **Geoforum** No 28 pp. 103- 119

Hammond, T. and Dennison, W. F. (1995) 'School choice in less populated areas'. **Educational Management and Administration** Vol. 23 No. 2 pp 104 - 113

Harrison, J. (1961) **Learning and Living 1790 - 1960: A Study in the History of the English Adult Education Movement,** London: Routledge and Kegan Paul

Hawkes, J. (1951) **A Land.** London: Cresset Press

Heinz, W. (Editor) (1999) **From Education to Work: Cross-National Perspectives.** Cambridge: Cambridge Uni\'ersity Press

Hemsley-Brown, J. (1996a) **Marketing Post Sixteen Colleges.** University of Southampton, Ph.D. Thesis (Unpublished)

Hemsley-Brown, J. (1996b) 'Decision making among sixteen year olds in the Further Education market place'. Foskett, N. H. (Editor) **Markets in Post-Compulsory Education.** Volume 2. Southampton: University of Southampton. pp.49 - 56

Hemsley-Brown, J. and Foskett, N. H. (1999) **An analysis of perceptions of Modern Apprenticeships in Wiltshire.** Southampton: University of Southampton, Centre for Research in Education Marketing.

Higher Education Funding Council for England (2001) **Partnerships for progress.** London: Higher Education Funding Council for England. pp. 7 par. 7

Hobsbawm, E. and Ranger, T. (Editors) (1983) **The Invention of Tradition.** Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Hodgson, A. and Spours, K. (1999) **New Labour's Educational Agenda: Issues and Policies for Education and Training from 14+.** London: Kogan Page

Hoggart, R. (1957) **The** Uses **of Literacy.** London: Chatto and Windus

Holstein, J. A. and Gubrium, J. F. (1995) **The active interview.** Qualitative Research Methods Series, Vol. 37. Thousand Oaks, Califomia: Sage

Hopkins, D. (1993) **A Teacher Guide to Classroom Research.** Milton Keynes: Open University Press

Hoskins, W. G. (1955) **The Making of the English Landscape.** London: Hodder and Stoughton

Hughes, A. (1997) 'Women and rarality: gendered experiences of 'community' in village life'. Milboume, P. (Editor) **Revealing rural 'others': representation, power and identity in the British countryside.** London: Pinter pp. 167-188

Hunter, J. B. (1991) 'Which school? A study of parents' choice of secondary school'. **Educational Research.** Vol. 33 No.1 Spring pp. 31 - 41

Hyland, T. (2001) 'Unpacking the New Deal for Young People: promise and problems'. **Educational Studies.** Vol. 27 No. 1 pp. 55 - 67

Hyland, T. (2000) 'Vocational Education and Training under the New Deal: towards a social theory of lifelong leaming in the postschool sector.' **Journal of Vocational Education and Training.** Vol. 52 No. 3 pp. 395 - 411

Jabes, J. (1982) **Decision Making: Approaches and Analysis.** McGrew, A. G. and Wilson, M. J. (Editors) Manchester: Manchester University Press pp. 53 - 60

Jenkins, R. (1992) **Key Sociologists: Pierre Bourdieu.** London: Routledge

Jessup, G. (1991) **Outcomes - NVQs and the emerging model of education and training.** London: Falmer Press.

Kallen, D. (1979) 'Recurrent education and lifelong leaming: definitions and distinctions.' Schuller, T. and Megarry, J. (Editors) **Recurrent education and lifelong learning.** London: Kogan Page. pp.45 - 54

Keane, P. (1982) 'Early workers' in Britain'. **International Journal of Lifelong Education** Vol.1 No. 4 pp. 353 - 361.

Keith, M. and Pile, S. (1993) **Place and politics of identity.** London: Routiedge

Kemmis, S. and McTaggart, R. (1988) **The Action Research Planner.** Australia: Deakin University Press

Kennedy, H. (1997) **Learning Works - Widening Participation in Further Education.** Coventry: Further Education Funding Council

Keys, W. and Maychell, K. (1998) **Staying on: a study of young people's decisions about school sixth forms, sixth-form colleges and colleges of further education.** Slough, Berkshire: National Foundation for Educational Research

King, R. (1976) 'Bemstein's sociology of the school - some propositions tested'. **British Journal of Sociology of Education** Vol. 27, No. 4 pp. 430 - 443.

Kitwood, T. M. (1977) **Values in adolescent life: towards a critical description.** Unpublished PhD thesis, School of Research into Education, University of Bradford.

Kroeber, A. L. and Kluckhohn, L. (1954) Review of Culture: A critical review of concepts and definitions. **American Anthropologist.** No. 56 pp. 461 - 486

Leicester, M. Modgil, C. and Modgil, S. (2000) **Education, Culture and Values. Vol. 1 Systems of Education: Theories, Policies and Implicit Values.** London: Falmer Press

Leicester, M. Modgil, C. and Modgil, S. (2000) **Education, Culture and Values. Vol. IV Moral Education and Pluralism.** London: Falmer Press

Lengrand, P. (1989) 'Lifelong education, growth of the concept'. Titmus, C. (Editor) **Lifelong Education for Adults: An International Handbook.** Oxford: Pergamon pp. 5-9

Lévi-Strauss, C. (1969) **Structural Anthropology.** London: Penguin Books

Lévi-Strauss, C. (1976) **Structural Anthropology. Vol. 2.** Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Lewis, I. M. (1985) **Social Anthropology in Perspective: The relevance of social anthropology.** (2nd Edition) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Lincolnshire and Rutland Lifelong Leaming Partnership (LRLLP) (2000) **The Lincolnshire and Rutland Learning Plan.** Lincoln: Lincolnshire County Council

Lincolnshire County Council (1995) **Lincolnshire State of the Environment Report.** Lincoln: Lincolnshire County Council

Lincolnshire County Council: Local Education Authority (2001) **The Agreed Religious Education Syllabus for Lincolnshire.** Lincoln: Lincolnshire County Council

Lincolnshire County Council: Local Education Authority (2002) **School Organisation Plan 2002 - 2007.** Lincoln: LCC

Lincolnshire Training and Enterprise Council (1998) **Getting Results: Drivers for Change.** Lincoln: Lincolnshire TEC

Lincolnshire Training and Enterprise Council (1999) **Making it Happen: Drivers for Change.** Lincoln: Lincolnshire TEC

Little, J. and Austin, P. (1996) 'Women and the mral idyll'. **Journal of Rural Studies.** No 12 pp. 101 - 111

Little, J. (1999) 'Othemess, representation and the cultural constmction or mrality.' **Progress in Human Geography.** No 23 Vol. 3 pp. 437 - 442

Lowerson, J. and Thompson, A. (Editors) (1995) **Out of Sight, Out of Mind? Barriers to Participation in Rural Adult Education.** Brighton: Centre for Continuing Education, University of Sussex

Macdonald, D. (1946) 'A Theory of Popular Culture'. **Politics** Febraary 1946 (New York) pp. 20 - 23

Major, L. E. (1997) 'A foot in the door' **The Guardian,** 10th June 1997

May, S. (Editor) (1999) **Critical Multiculturalism: Rethinking Multicultural and Antiracist Education.** London: Falmer Press

Marcombe, D. (1995) **Sounding Boards: Oral Testimony and the Local Historian.** Nottingham: Continuing Education Press

Marsh, C. and Arber, S. (Editors) (1992) **Families and Households: Divisions and Change.** London: Macmillan

Marshall, S. (2001) **Using NUD*IST Vivo and hypermedia in the analysis, presentation and representation of research on distance education in Swaziland, Southern Africa.** Paper presented at the Higher Education Up Close Conference, Lancaster University 16-18th July 2001

Marx, K. and Engels, F. (1967) **The Communist Manifesto.** Introduction by A.J.P. Taylor. London: Penguin Books. (Originally published in 1848)

Maslow, A. H. (1954) **Motivation and Personality.** New York: Harper and Row

Maychell, K. and Evans, C. (1998) **Leaving at 16: a study of factors affecting young people's decision to leave full-time education.** Slough, Berkshire: National Foundation for Educational Research

Maykut, P. and Morehouse, R. (1994) **Beginning Qualitative Research: A Philosophical and Practical Guide.** London: Falmer Press

Miles, M. B. and Huberman, A. M. (1994) **An Expanded Sourcebook: Qualitative Data Analysis.** London: Sage

Miller, D. (1982) 'Conjetual Knowledge: Popper's solution to the problems of induction' Levison, P. (Editor) **In Pursuit of truth: Essays on the Philosophy of Karl Popper on the occasion of his 80th birthday.** New Jersey: Humanities Press. pp. 17-49

Mingay, G. E. (1989) **The Rural Idyll.** London: Routiedge

Ministry for Agriculture, Fishery and Food (2000) **Rural White Paper.** London: HMSO

Modgil, S. Verma, G. Mallick, K. and Modgil, C. (Editors) (1986) **Multicultural Education: The Interminable Debate.** London: Falmer Press

Morgan, W. J. and Preston, P. (1993) **Raymond Williams - Politics, Education, Letters.** London: The Macmillan Press

Morgan, W. J. (1996) 'Antonio Gramsci and Raymond Williams: Workers, Intellectuals and Adult Education.' **Convergence.** Vol. XXIX No. 1 pp. 61 - 74

Morgan, W. J. and Preston, P. (1993) 'Introduction' Morgan, W. J. and Preston, P. (Editors) **Raymond Williams: Politics, Education and Letters.** London: Macmillan Press pp. 1 - 13

Morgan, W. J. and Tuijnman, A. C. (2000) 'The Challenges of Adult Education in Europe: Deconstraction and Reconstraction of Nations and States.' Bron, A. and Schemmann, M. (Editors) **Language Mobility, Identity. Contemporary Issues for Adult Education in Europe.** Germany, Munster: Literature Verlag. pp. 47 - 62

Morris, E. (2001) Secretary of State for Education and Skills - Estelle Morris - confirms the fifty per-cent target for young people in higher education by 2010 at a speech at London Guildhall University on 22nd October 2001. http://www.dfes.gov.uk/speeches/22_10_01/01.shtml (accessed 19th April 2002)

Moveriey, J. Atkin, C. and Mitchel, A. (1997) **Lifelong learning - the rural challenge.** University of Sunderland - Community, Opportunity and Higher

Education, Fomm for the Advancement of Continuing Education (F.A.C.E) Conference

Murray, D. (Chairman) and Course Team working group (1972) **Patterns of decision making?** Milton Keynes: Open University Press

National Advisory Group for Continuing Education and Lifelong Leaming (NAGCELL) (1997) **Learning for the Twenty-First Century.** London: HMSO

National Advisory Group for Continuing Education and Lifelong Leaming (NAGCELL) (1999) **Creating Learning Cultures: Next Steps in Achieving the Learning Age.** London: HMSO

National Online Labour Market Statistics (Nomis) (2001) Labour Force Survey 1998. Cited in The Countryside Agency (2001) **The State of the Countryside 2001 - The East Midlands.** London: HMSO

Newby, H. (1979) **Green and Pleasant Land? Social change in rural England.** London: Penguin

Nicholls, R. and Morgan, W. J. (2000) **Client Perceptions of the New Deal Initiative in Greater Nottingham.** Nottingham: Continuing Education Press, University of Nottingham

Office for National Statistics (2000a) http://www.statistics.gov.uk/methods_quality/ns_sec/analytic_operation_cat_subcat.asp Accessed 30th March 2002

Office for National Statistics (2000b) **Standard Occupational Classification 2000 (SOC 2000) Volume 2.** London: Office for National Statistics

Ogbu, J. (1982) 'Cultural Discontinuity and Schooling: A Problem in Search of an Explanation.' **Anthropology and Education Quarterly** No. 13 pp. 290 - 307

Olson, M. (1965) **The Logic of Collective Action and the Theory of Groups.** Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press

Ommer, R. (Editor) (2002) **The Resilient Outport: Ecology, Economy, and Society in Rural Newfoundland.** St John's, Newfoundland: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland

Ortner, S. B. (1989) **High Religion: A Cultural and Political History of Sherpa Buddhism.** Princeton: Princeton University Press

Pahl, R. (1965) **Urbs in the rure: the metropolitan fringe in Herefordshire.** London School of Economics geographical paper No. 2. London: LSE

Paice, J. (Minister for Training) (1996) Stuart, N. Research on Lifelong Leaming: Implications for Policy and Practice. Coffield, F (1997) **A National strategy for Lifelong Learning.** Newcastle: University of Newcastle.

Payne, J. (2000) **Rural Learning: A practical guide to developing learning opportunities in the countryside.** Leicester: The National Institute of Adult Continuing Education (NIACE)

Fetch, A. (1986) 'Parents reasons for choosing schools'. Stillman, A. (Editor) **The Balancing Act of 1980: Parents, Politics and Education** Slough: National Foundation for Educational Research. pp. 28-35

Philips, D. and Williams, A. (1984) **Rural Britain: A Social Geography.** Oxford: Blackwell

Philips, M. Fish, R. and Agg, J. (2001) 'Putting together mralities: towards a symbolic analysis of mrality in the British mass media filing cabinet' **Journal of Rural Studies** No. 17 pp. 1 - 27

Philo, C. (1992) 'Neglected raral geographies: a review'. **Journal of Rural Studies** No 8 pp 193-207

Pike, K. (1954) **Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behaviour.** Glendale, Califomia: Summer Institute of Linguistics

Popper, K. (1972) **Objective Knowledge: An Evolutionary Approach.** Oxford: Oxford University Press

Reay, D. (1995) 'Using habitus to look at 'race' and class in primary school classrooms.' Griffiths, M. and Troyna, B. (Editors) **Antiracism, Culture and Social Justice in Education.** Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books Limited pp. 115 - 132

Riessman, C. K. (1993) **Narrative analysis.** Qualitative Research Methods Series, Vol. 30. Newbury Park, Califomia: Sage

Ritzer, G. (1996) **Modern Sociological Theory.** (4th Edition) New York: The McGraw-Hill Companies Inc.

Rose, J. (2001) **The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes.** New Haven: Princeton University Press

Sacks, H. (1992) **Lectures on Conversation.** Vol. 1. Oxford: Blackwell

Sadler, M. E. (1907) **Continuation Schools in England and Elsewhere: their place in the educational system of an industrial and commercial state.** Manchester: Manchester University Press

Saussure, F. (1976) **Course in General Linguistics.** New York: McGraw-Hill

Short, G. and Carrington, B. (1999) 'Children's Constractions of their National Identify: Implications for Critical Multiculturalism' May, S. (Editor) **Critical Multiculturalism: rethinking Multicultural and Antiracist Education.** London: Falmer Press pp. 172 - 190

Silverman, D. (1993) **Interpreting Qualitative Data: Methods of Analysing Talk, Text and Interaction.** London: SAGE

Simmons, M. (1997) **Landscapes of Poverty: aspects of rural England in the late 1990's.** London: Lemos & Crane

Simon, H. A. (1960) **The New Science of Management Decision.** New York: Harper and Row.

Sinclair, P. (2002) 'Leaving or Staying' Ommer, R. (Editor) **The Resilient Outport: Ecology, Economy and Society in Rural Newfoundland.** St John's, Newfoundland: Memorial University of Newfoundland, Institute of Social and Economic Research. pp.289 - 318

Social Exclusion Unit (1999) **Bridging the Gap: New Opportunities for 16 - 18 Year Olds not in Education, Employment or Training.** London: HMSO

Spradley, J. (1979) **The ethnographic interview.** New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston

Stocking, G. W. (1963) 'Mathew Amold, E. B. Tylor and the use of intervention'. **American Anthropologist.** Vol. 65 No. 4 pp. 783 - 799

Tate, N. (1994) 'Off the fence on common culture' **Times Educational Supplement.** 29th July

Taylor, M. J. (1992) 'Post 16 options: young people's awareness, attitudes, intentions and influences on their choice'. **Research papers in Education** Vol. 7 No. 3 pp. 301 - 334.

The Countryside Agency (2001) Rural proofing - policymakers' checklist. http://www.countryside.gov.uk/ruralproofing (Accessed 10th January 2002)

The Countryside Agency (2002) **The state of the countryside 2001 - The East Midlands.** London: HMSO

The Labour Party (2001) **Ambitions for Britain: Labour's Manifesto 2001.** London: The Labour Party

The National Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education, (1997) **Higher Education in the Learning Society.** London: HMSO

Tight, M. (1998) 'Bridging the 'leaming divide': the nature and politics of participation'. **Studies in the Education of Adults.** Vol. 30 No. 2 pp. 110 - 119

Tylor, E. B. (1871) **Primitive Culture: Research into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art and Custom.** London: John Murray

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (1972) **Learning to be: the world of education today and tomorrow.** (The Faure Report) Paris: UNESCO

Valentine, G. (1997) 'A safe place to grow up? Parenting, perceptions of children's safety and the mral idyll.' **Journal of Rural Studies** No 13 pp. 137 - 148

Van den Berghe, P. L. (1973) **Power and Privilege at an African University.** London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Vincent, D. (1998) **Literacy and Popular Culture.** Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Veblen, T. (1899) **Theory of Leisure Class.** New York: Macmillan

Weil, S. (1952) **The Need for Roots. Prelude to a Declaration of Duties Towards Mankind.** London: Routledge and Paul

West, A. Varlaam, A. and Mortimer, P. (1984) 'Attitudes to school: a study of the parents of first year pupils'. Hargreaves, D. (Editor) **Improving Secondary Schools. Research Studies.** London: Inner London Education Authority pp. 43-64

Whitty, G. and Edwards, T. (1998) 'School Choice Policies in England and the United States: an exploration of their origins and significance'. **Comparative Education** Vol. 34 No 2 1998 pp. 211 - 227

Williams, G. and Gordon, A (1981) 'Perceived eamings functions and ex ante rates of retum to post compulsory education in England'. **Higher Education** Vol.10 No. 2 pp. 199 - 227

Williams, R. (1958) **Culture and Society.** London: Chatto & Windus

Williams, **R. (1961) The Long Revolution.** London: Chatto & Windus

Williams, R. (1973) **The Country and the City.** London: Chatto & Windus

Williams, R. (1976) **Keywords.** London: Fontana Press

Williams, R. (1977) **Marxism and Literature.** New York: Oxford University Press

Williams, R. (1981) **Culture.** Glasgow: William Collins Sons

WilUams, R. (1983) **Towards 2000.** London: Chatto & Windus and Hogarth Press

Williams, R. (1997) 'Culture is ordinary.' Gray, A. and McGuigan, J. (Editors) **Studying Culture: an introductory reader.** London: Amold. pp. 5 - 14
Originally published in:
Williams, R. (1958) 'Culture is ordinary'. McKenzie, N. (Editor) **Convictions.** London: MacGibbon and Knee.

Willis, P. E. (1977) **Learning to Learn - How working class kids get working class job.** London: Saxon House

Worsley, P. M. (1984) **The Three Worlds. Culture and World Development.** London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson

Wright, S. (1984) 'Rural Communities and Decision Makers' **RAIN** (Royal Anthropological Institute) Vol. 0 No. 63 pp. 9 - 13

Young, M. and Willmott, P. (1957) **Family and Kinship in East London.** London: Routledge and Kegan Paul

Appendix One: Life story interview questions

Family origins:

How would you describe your childhood?
How would you describe your family group?
What are the best things about your family?
What are the worst things about your family?
What do you think you inherited from your family?
What is your earliest memory?

Cultural tradition

What was it like growing up in your house or village?
Was your childhood different from that of other children in your village?
What cultural values were passed on to you?
What cultural values are still important to you?

Social factors

Were you encouraged to try new things, or did you feel held back?
What were some of the stmggles of childhood?
What pressures did you feel as a teenager, and where did they come from?
What clubs, groups or organizations did you join? Are you still in any of the above?

Rurality/Lincolnshire

What does rural mean to you?
Do you consider yourself as rural?
What are the characteristics of a mral culture?
What are the characteristics of an urban culture?
How has this affected your life?

Education

What are your earliest memories of school?
How was secondary school different from your earlier school?
What are your best memories of school?
What are your worst memories of school?
What has been your most important lesson in life, outside the classroom?
What role has education in a person's life?

Work/post-16

How did you end up doing this?
What is unique or different about the people you currently study/work with?
Are you satisfied with the life choices you have made?
If you could what in your life would you change?
Do you have any advise/wisdom for those still at school?

Closure questions

Is there anything else you would like to add to your life story?
What are your feelings about this interview and all that we have covered?

Appendix Two: Life story cover sheet

Name: (Interviewee)	Transcript Accession Number:	Sex:
Interviewee's date of birth:	Birthplace:	Current Address:
Ethnic Background: white ☐, Black Caribbean ☐, Black African ☐, Black other ☐, Indian •, Pakistani •, Bangladeshi •, Chinese •, Asian ☐, Other ☐.	Marital status:	
Educational qualifications:	Employed/employed - in training/unemployed/FE students/HE students	

Father's occupation:	Mother's occupation:
Paternal grandfather's occupation:	Patemal grandmother's occupation:
Matemal grandfather's occupation:	Matemal grandmother's occupation:
Number of brothers and or sisters?	
How would you describe where you live?	
How would you describe your taste in clothes?	
How would you describe your taste in music?	
Major life story themes (to be filled in after the interview).	

Appendix Three: Interview release form

In consideration of the work being done by Chris Atkin - a lecturer and doctoral candidate PhD student at the University of Nottingham - to record the life stories of young people in Lincolnshire I would like to deposit with him for his use the item(s) represented by the accession number given below.

This tape or tapes and the accompanying transcript are the result of one or more recorded voluntary interviews with me. Any reader should bear in mind that he or she is reading a transcript of my spoken, not my written, word and that the tape, not the transcript, is the primary document.

Interviewee:

Signed:

Date:

Accession Number:

Appendix Four: Rural proofing guidance

This guidance supports the rural proofing checklist, providing some information about the 14 mral characteristics and a few examples of solutions. Further advice can be sought from staff at the Countryside Agency [link to further information section of raral proofing]

Rurality

1. Few service outlets:

Key facts: many raral areas have few local services for people or businesses and reaching service centres can be difficult for certain groups eg. those without their own transport, on low incomes, the young, the less mobile and the infirm. For example, in 1997 49% of raral parishes had no school, 83% had no GP surgery and 91% had no bank or building society.

Rural solutions: innovative approaches to service delivery can be particularly suited to raral areas eg. mobile or outreach provision; via the Intemet; sharing buildings or staff with another service provider (often called joint provision). Reducing the need to visit services or offices may also be an option, for example, some New Deal advisers visit remoter mral clients (instead of the client travelling to them).

2. Higher service delivery costs:

Key facts: a considerable body of research has found higher unit costs facing service providers when they are supplying to a scattered population or to small settlements. This has covered such things as the extra cost to social services departments of delivering meals on wheels to the raral elderly and the higher cost per pupil of ranning small village schools, where economies of scale disappear.

Rural solutions: many policies try to compensate for the extra (unit) costs incurred by building in a 'sparsity factor' to the fiinding mechanism. For example, there is a sparsity factor within the education Standard Spending Assessment for local education authorities. Similarly, policies seeking cost-efficiency (particularly if a criterion for bid assessment) can make some allowance for higher raral unit costs. Sharing a building or outlet with another organisation can also be a way for both parties to reduce their costs.

3. Greater Travel Needs:

Key facts: average joumey lengths for raral businesses and people are longer than urban equivalents. This is especially so for shopping and leisure trips, though joumeys to work are of similar length. Rural residents travel, on average, 52 miles (or 42%) further than urban residents each week. Those in the bottom income decile are twice as likely to ran a car in mral as in metropolitan areas, maybe at a substantial cost to them. Rural dwellers with no access to their own transport (e.g. the 13% of households with no car, others who don't have use of their household's car, the less mobile and the young) may face particular limitations, given the paucity of public transport in some areas. In 1997 three-quarters of mral parishes had no daily bus service.

Rural solutions: the availability of public or voluntary sector transport and the

travel costs and time involved can be considered within any assessment of policy options, especially where relocation or a rationalisation of service outlets is envisaged. It may be that transport improvements can be negotiated to help mral people reach a service eg. frequency, re-timing or re-routing. Other options include reducing the need to travel by taking services to people and using telephone or IT-based services. In certain cases, it may be appropriate to recompense travel costs incurred by users.

4. Few information points:

Key facts: mral areas contain fewer formal outlets for information and advice. Mobile libraries are quite common, but only 10% of raral parishes contain a permanent library, only 6% contain a permanent or mobile Citizens' Advice Bureau and only *2%* contain a Jobcentre (with another *4%* having a Jobcentre noticeboard). Public intemet access points are also few, since most of locations in places like libraries and intemet cafes are unlikely to be found in small settlements. Outlets offering business advice (e.g. Business Link offices) are also generally based in urban centres.

Rural solutions: although formal information points are scarce, there are often opportunities to make use of information boards at raral shops, post offices, churches and the like. In future, the post office is expected to grow its role as a place for public information and advice, and intemet points are planned for the future (starting with a pilot in Summer 2001). Whilst not ideal for every use, telephone and intemet based information services may be well suited to mral circumstances, though evidence from NHS Direct is that their availability needs to be promoted to mral people. Other innovative examples include making use of local radio stations and information buses, containing staff from 3 or 4 different agencies and circulating round different villages. Business Links often reach mral firms by having mobile advisers who visit their clients.

***Rural** Economies*

***5.* Small (economic) markets:**

Key facts: the market for privately-provided public goods and services can be commercially unattractive, because of the combination of a small customer base and long supply distances. Even where provided, there may be no benefits from competition. The paucity of public transport, concems about next generation telecommunications infrastracture and the supply of some basic utilities are examples. Around half of raral parishes have no households connected to mains gas.

Rural solutions: many privately-provided public goods and services are regulated. These can include a Universal Service Obligation to supply the whole population (eg. BT, postal delivery) or could include targets for developing the mral service, possibly as part of the licence conditions. The awarding of licences might also be undertaken in a way which does not allow bidders to cherry pick the most lucrative urban markets eg. mixed urban-rural licence areas, offering different areas at different market rates. In some instances direct public subsidy or cross-subsidy may be appropriate eg. funding for raral bus routes. The public sector may also be able to offset some of the costs in raral areas for private sector operators, to help

them survive. An example of this is rate relief for raral shops, and soon for petrol filling stations and pubs.

6. Weak infrastructure:

Key facts: transport and telecommunications infrastracture are generally less well developed in raral areas, especially remoter areas. Projections for 2003 indicate that over 15% of the population, predominantly in raral areas, will not have access to any of the main developing broadband telecommunications networks - ISDN/ADSL, cable and wireless. Competition between these networks is expected to be heavily focussed upon urban centres. Away from the trank networks, local transport infrastracture can also be slow.

Rural solutions: possible policy options will be similar to those for small (economic) markets - see above - including innovative use of regulation and operating licences, and various forms of subsidy (perhaps involving partnership with the private sector). Whilst not a solution itself, the Government's broadband strategy contains some interesting interim raral measures. These include close monitoring of how far broadband is (or is not) reaching raral areas, research to measure likely private and public sector demand for broadband to assess its commercial viability and pilot demonstration projects.

7. **Small firm economy:**

Key facts: more than 9 out of 10 firms in raral areas are micro-businesses, with fewer than 10 employees. At the other end of the scale, fewer than 1% of raral firms have 50 or more employees, and would be classified as medium-sized or large businesses. Proportions of self-employed and sole traders are above the national average. Any assistance aimed at or operated solely through larger firms is, therefore, unlikely to make much impact in raral areas. Equally, smaller firms can generally be expected to have less time and fewer resources to engage with public policies or initiatives (such as local regeneration or offering job placements for those on the New Deal).

Rural solutions: ensuring that small and raral firms are within the target group for a policy is almost certainly the starting point. The use of mobile or outreach business advisers (as the new Business Links are expected to do) should help achieve this. It may be possible to provide a 'hub and spoke' service, based upon outreach provision of basic services to firms in remoter locations, yet retaining an outlet and additional services in the nearest market town. In some cases telephone or the intemet may help provide information to firms or let firms network, but it is unlikely wholly to replace the need for face to face contact. A linked issue is that reaching smaller and raral firms may incur higher unit costs, which can be allowed for in service funding and by avoiding rigid targets for the number of clients visited. Finally, policies imposing similar cost or bureaucratic burdens upon all businesses, will of course impact more upon small firms. Whilst this is not just a mral issue, the fact that more raral firms are small means it will have a disproportionate effect upon mral economies.

8. Land-based industries:

Key facts: agriculture shapes most of our landscape - 70% of the land surface is farmed - and so is cracial to the countryside's appearance and for its impact on biodiversity. It's economic significance has been declining and it now comprises

just 4% of total raral employment (though ancillary industries provide further jobs). But there are some raral areas where agriculture is a still a very significant employer e.g. 16% in South Holland (Lincolnshire) and Torridge (Devon). The mining, extraction and water industries have also made significant impacts upon the landscape in some areas eg. parts of Durham, Comwall, Nottinghamshire and South Yorkshire.

Rural solutions: when considering policy developments it should be possible to identify particular sectoral impacts that are likely to arise and, especially, whether they could impact adversely upon the fragile agricultural sector or could help to regenerate and restore areas scarred by former mining and extraction industries. Policy measures which will help to further diversify mral economies will be usefiil, making them less vulnerable. It may be that policies aimed at re-skilling, training or providing other support to sections of the workforce, could be adapted to be suitable to mral land-based industries.

Rural Communities

9. Needs not concentrated:

Key facts: with some exceptions (e.g. former coal pit villages) the raral disadvantaged are not concentrated into neighbourhoods, like those found in urban areas. There are no large social housing estates. Instead, raral disadvantage is scattered and, particularly in more accessible mral areas, may be masked by living alongside relative affluence. This makes it less obvious to the eye and more difficult to measure with deprivation statistics, since rich and poor in the same neighbourhood can give a very average statistic. It also makes it difficult to address with small area-based initiatives of the type suited to many urban areas (e.g. New Deal for Communities).

Rural solutions: options include designating larger areas or zones within which to address the issues and targeting disadvantaged population groups, rather than geographic areas. It may be that aiming for better delivery of mainstream programmes (in ways which reach the deprived) is a more suitable approach in raral areas than special area-based initiatives. Care also needs to be taken when interpreting statistics, given the scattered pattem of disadvantage eg. not measuring solely at a neighbourhood scale, but across larger areas too. The statistical averaging problem (with rich and poor) may be partially addressed if statistics used measure the bottom end rather than the average eg. the poorest 20%).

10. Different types of need:

Key facts: the main facets of raral deprivation differ somewhat from those facing urban communities. Unemployment, poor health, low educational attainment, crime and poor quality housing are more associated with urban deprivation (though obviously not absent from mral areas). Particular mral issues include access to services (like healthcare and shops), access to job opportunities, poor quality and low paid local employment and housing affordability.

Rural solutions: it is important, therefore, when deprivation indicators are being used to target policies, that a range of indicators are included, reflecting the various facets of deprivation found in different types of area. The DETR's Indices of Deprivation 2000 include an access to services measure and the Countryside

Agency has fiirther data from its Rural Services Survey and some work conducted for it on mral disadvantage indicators.

11. Low institutional capacity:

Key facts: low institutional capacity impacts upon an area's ability to forge partnerships, prepare bids and deliver initiatives. As noted at 7 above, mral economies are particularly dominated by small firms. The statutory and voluntary sectors are also generally small and fragmented and the voluntary sector, in particular, has few funds. Local govemment is split into 2 tiers (county and district) in the great majority of raral areas and raral districts (in particular) may have very limited resources, in terms of staff and budgets. However, most raral areas are parished. Although many parishes may be inactive, they do provide a very local statutory tier and they are being encouraged to develop their role.

Rural solutions: one option is to include support for capacity building within initiatives or policy developments, as with some National Lottery funded programmes. This could be via dedicated fiinds for building capacity and/or allowing for an early capacity building phase which precedes the main initiative. Avoiding tight deadlines for bid submissions will assist those with lower capacity and there is often scope to simplify bidding processes. Allowances can also be made in the assessment of partnership arrangements, recognising that raral bids may straggle to find private sector partners and the statutory sector may have to compensate by playing a larger role.

Rural Environment

12. Few sites for development:

Key facts: Govemment planning guidance, including Planning Policy Guidance note 7, has traditionally steered development to the market towns and larger villages, which generally provide the most sustainable option for meeting people's needs. This is reflected in Regional Plarming Guidance and local development plans. However, a growing awareness that raral economies (and particularly the farming economy) needs to be diversified, means that this long held policy is being clarified to explore how towns, village and farms can best contribute to raral vitality. The Government's target of 60% of all new housing to be on previously developed land will be difficult to approach in raral areas, where brownfield sites are scarce.

Rural solutions: used positively, the plarming system can enable the sorts of development that raral areas require. This tends to comprise small scale, well designed proposals that meet local housing, employment and service needs. Many communities have undertaken village appraisals or prepared Village Design Statements, the best of which have become Supplementary Planning Guidance, to help define and direct development. The re-use of existing buildings is also encouraged. Larger scale developments are best located in market or country towns. The emphasis upon small scale, well-designed developments, means policies may need to allow for higher costs. The Housing Corporation go some way to recognising this by applying a small raral multiplier in their funding calculation for raral housing.

13. Landscape quality and character:

Key facts: public concem about the countryside is high, both among raral and

urban dwellers. 84% of people expressed concem about things that may happen to the countryside, especially from development. The finest landscapes have special protection - National Parks (8% of England's land area), Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty (16%)) and Heritage Coasts (35% of the coastline). Other areas are designated to protect habitats and biodiversity e.g. the more than 4,000 Sites of Special Scientific Interest and 197 National Nature Reserves. But local landscape character - the natural and built components of the countryside - is also an important aspect. Landscape diversity is portrayed in the Countryside Agency's map of England's 159 countryside character areas.

Rural solutions: the land use planning system offers special protection to high quality landscapes, so where any development is proposed design, precise location and scale are key issues (see 12 above). Development may also offer possibilities for compensating environmental enhancements: the replacability of an asset should be considered. Village Design Statements can help ensure that development matches local building styles. The growing resource of detailed local landscape character assessments, based on the Countryside Character map, describe the key landscape features in an area and indicate which of them can or cannot be replaced. Landscape character assessments are used by a growing number of local plarming authorities as Supplementary Planning Guidance. The Green Ministers' checklist is the appraisal system which covers biodiversity issues in detail.

14. Countryside amenity and access:

Key facts: the countryside is a source of fresh air, exercise and well-being. There are 1.3 billion visits to the countryside each year, with 40% of the population being regular visitors. More than 30%) visit to go for a walk. The public rights of way network is estimated to contain some 169,000kms of footpaths, bridleways and other networks, and there are 10 National Trails. Following legislation, open land which will have public right of access (mountain, moor, heath, down and registered common land) is being mapped. Recreation and tourism are also major sources of countryside employment - it supports an estimated 380,000 jobs and 25,000 mainly small businesses.

Rural solutions: policies should ensure that they will not reduce (and may be able to enhance) people's physical access to the countryside, whether along rights of way or to open land. Even where development takes place, it is often possible to design access to countryside and well-maintained greenspace into the development. Transport, especially public or voluntary sector transport, can increase access opportunities to the countryside for both visitors and residents. Requirements for access can often be built into other programmes (e.g. historic building grants, agri-environment schemes) and policies (e.g. regeneration or even IT developments, by improving information about countryside amenity and access). It may also be possible to include countryside activities into urban policies (eg. visits for inner city children) or include relevant knowledge into an education curriculum.

Aside from the 14 points above, mral proofing can be enhanced through monitoring, evaluation and pilot initiatives.

15. Monitoring

Given the characteristic features of mral areas, policy outputs and outcomes may differ from those in other types of area. Close monitoring should allow any raral differences to be identified quickly (so policy adjustments can be made, if necessary). Monitoring systems can be set up to produce a raral subset of results. The Countryside Agency's research team holds a list of raral wards and postcodes or, for data which is not available at such a small area level, a list of the most raral local authority districts/unitaries.

16. Evaluation

Similarly, the characteristic raral features can mean that longer term policy impacts may differ from those in other types of area. It will help to include raral results and/or raral case study areas within policy evaluation studies. If there are particular raral issues or questions associated with a policy, these can be examined in detail as a stated evaluation objective. As noted at 15 above, the Countryside Agency holds standard definitions of raral areas.

17. Pilots

Many policies and initiatives are piloted, before being rolled out more widely. Since the results of a policy may differ in raral areas, one useful way to test this is to ensure that raral areas are amongst any pilots. It may be useful to include a few different raral areas from different parts of the country, to ensure that features more prevalent in some raral areas than others, are not missed.

(The Countryside Agency, 2001)

Appendix Five: Research publications

Journal Publications

(2001) 'Continuing education in raral England.' **European Handbook of Continuing Education.** Neuweid: Luchterhand Verlag. 50.30.180 pp. 1-16

(2000) 'Lifelong leaming - attitudes to practice in the raral context: a study using Bourdieu's perspective *of habitus.'* **The International Journal of Lifelong Education. Vol. 19 No. 3** pp. 253 **-** 265

Conference papers and book reviews

(September 2002) British Association of Intemational and Comparative Education Research Conference 6 - 8 September 2002 **Rural communities: fields apart.**

(March 2002) **The Opportunities for Lifelong Learning in Lincolnshire and Rutland.** Keynote address - Lincolnshire and Rutland Leaming and Skills Council

(Febraary 2002) **The Opportunities for Lifelong Learning in Rural Newfoundland and Labrador: Comparative Perspectives.** Keynote Address. Memorial University, St John's, Newfoundland

(January 2002) **Barriers to learning in rural areas.** Skills for Life: Building Skilled Communities. LSC Regional Conference. Keynote Address

(September 2001) Book review - 'Rural Leaming - A practical guide to developing leaming opportunities in the countryside' **International Journal of Lifelong Education.** Vol. 21 No. 1 pp. 69 - 70

(October 2000) ***Fields*** **apart: rural adult learners.** University of East London (Dockland Campus). Intemational Conference: Bourdieu in the 21st century - October 14"' 2000

Planned publications

(2003) Rurality as a social constract: a barrier or aid to continuing education in raral England?

(2003) The nature of choice in post-sixteen pathways: a study of young people's choice processes in raral Lincolnshire.