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Cultures, Colleges and the Development of Ideas about Teaching in English Further Education

This article examines the development of new teachers' practice and conceptions of teaching in English Further Education (FE). Drawing upon data from observations and interviews involving both trainee and serving teachers at a large FE college it discusses and applies a restricted conceptualisation of culture to investigate the influence of local cultures on new teachers. The paper concludes that while experiences of sections of teachers within the institution may diverge, they share much greater commonality. Even in the few instances where distinctive and sustainable local cultures existed these did not necessarily lead to distinctive teaching practices suggesting that the most powerful influences on teaching in FE may derive from dominant ideas in society, not from local workplace settings. The paper argues that research that concentrates on the local, such as the Transforming Learning Cultures in Further Education project, risk understating the significance of wider cultural influences on learning, in this case on learning to teach in FE.

Introduction

This article considers teacher education in the English further education (FE) sector and in particular the cultures trainee teachers experience while on their work-based learning (WBL) placement in FE colleges. It examines these cultures in relation to the development of ideas about teaching in this sector by identifying cultural influences at a local level and evaluating these in comparison to broader influences on teachers and teaching. The English FE sector is characterised by the wide diversity of its provision and learners but FE colleges like the one at the centre of this study bear some resemblance to Australian TAFE institutions or American community colleges. They provide the majority of vocational education and training, adult and community learning as well as academic courses from the age of 16 up to and including some degree level courses. The political importance of this once neglected sector was demonstrated in 2001 when the former New Labour government instigated a statutory requirement for FE teachers in England to hold or be working towards a teaching qualification. Data for this study were collected between 2005 and 2008 during which time around 1800 FE trainee teachers in England were on full-time, one-year pre-service courses delivered at a Higher Education Institution, which led to an FE teaching qualification. This number included the trainee teachers who participated in this research. These initial teacher-training courses included at least 120 hours (rising to 150 in 2006) of WBL during a placement and this element is the context for this study of the cultures and teaching. Given that the statutory requirement for teacher qualifications is set to be removed in the UK, and that most FE teacher training is in-service, as in Finland and elsewhere, what new teachers learn from their experience in college is significant.

The article starts by the discussing what constitutes a culture before describing the study and its context in more detail before looking at data collected from the college. The article finishes by suggesting other cultural influences on new teachers and assesses which may be most powerful on the development of teachers and teaching in FE. It argues that even where distinguishable local cultures existed within the college, these may exert less influence on the trainee teachers' identity and practice than their prior experience of education or than ideas widely held in society about the role of the teacher.

Defining and analysing cultures

This location of the development of ideas about teaching within a cultural context was broadly informed by Marx's (Marx and Engels 1968, 96) formulation:

> Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past.

This recognises the importance of individual agency as well as how that agency may be promoted or constricted by environment, including the prevailing culture. Not every social entity or gathering can, however, meaningfully constitute a culture, so not every social entity or gathering can exert cultural influence. Consequently, a study of the influence of workplace cultures requires clarity about how the term culture is being employed. Bathmaker and Avis (2005a) use Lave and Wenger's (2001) concept of communities of practice to analyse the situation of placement trainees in English FE and maintain that the concept is a useful analytical tool. This conceptualisation does not, however, easily comprehend cultures where conflict rather than participation is characteristic (Fuller *et al* 2005, 65) and that may include cultures in FE. Moreover, Wenger (1998, 82) isolated three identifying elements for a community of practice: mutual engagement; joint enterprise; and shared "routines, words, tools, ways of doing things, stories, gestures, symbols, genres, actions and concepts". Applying these elements, communities of practice barely existed in the sections of the college examined here, which necessitated a wider definition for culture. Jarvis's (2007, 24) definition of culture is an all-encompassing sweep that sees culture as what is shared:

> It is a social phenomenon; it is what we as a society, or a people, share and which enables us to live as a society.

Again, such a definition is inadequate here because it tends to emphasise consensus when domination, tension and conflict may be inherent and even formative of the values in a culture. Jurasite-Harbision and Rex (2010, 268) in a study of informal school-teacher learning describe how cultures are rendered "visible in the webs of meanings explicit in utterances or implicit in conversational moves". Culture is also discernable in how lives are lived through actions and social relationships (Geertz 1993). What people say about themselves and the meanings attached to their utterances are important in understanding culture but so is what people *do* or as Hargreaves (1995, 25) put it: "the routinised solutions that become 'the way we do

things around here'". Richardson's (2001, 3) formulation that "culture is the material form assumed by humanity's social activity" that has evolved over a period of time is more illuminating for the context of this study because this recognises sustainable cultures do not evolve instantly. Richardson's "material form" can be perceived in language, artefacts or habitual practice, which are both an expression of culture and a means by which people reproduce culture. James and Biesta (2007, 23) express this succinctly:

> Cultures … are both structured and structuring, and individuals' actions are neither totally determined by the confines of a … culture, nor are they totally free.

This conceptualisation describes a dialectical process that accounts for how both cultures and individuals can form and evolve through interaction. James and Biesta were lead researchers in the Transforming Learning Cultures in Further Education (TLC) project, which studied English FE between 2002 and 2005. The project team used the term "learning culture" (James and Biesta 2007, 4) to express the formative interaction between an individual student and the environment of the college. They argue that learning cultures exist:

> through the actions, dispositions and interpretations of the participants. They exist through the interaction and communication and are (re)produced by individuals just as much as individuals are (re)produced by learning cultures. Individuals' actions are therefore neither totally determined by learning cultures, nor totally free.

The focus of the TLC project, which is further discussed and critiqued below, was mainly on students not teachers (though see Gleeson and James 2007). Nevertheless, their understanding of the formative influence of the specific and local culture, captured in the concept of learning culture, is helpful in consideration of the professional development of teachers. Situating a discussion of culture within a defined economic and social formation, as did the TLC project, demystifies humanist notions about the inherent, a-temporal, and occasionally almost metaphysical value of culture found in some literature. An adequate definition of culture that can direct research in the workplace has to transcend essentialism and include a situation's particular relationships, power and social constraints. Similarly, the size of the social group is less significant in defining a culture than the coherence, extent and stability of its common history, because these factors determine whether or not the culture will

persist even when individuals leave. The definition of a culture adopted for this case study was adapted from Schein (2004, 17):

A dominant pattern of shared basic assumptions held by a group as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, that has had stability and so can withstand tension and conflict. It, therefore, arbitrarily exists as the correct way for new members to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems and is apparent in the language, behaviour and artefacts used by members.

This complex formulation can apply at local and societal levels and, significantly in relation to professional training, recognises that within a culture there is a right and a wrong way to behave.

'Influence' is central to this paper and Bourdieu and Passeron's concept of cultural legitimacy through domination explains how cultural influence occurs. Sometimes it is overt, for example through the statutory compulsion for FE teachers to record 30 hours of professional development each year; but more normally this domination is unseen as the imposition of cultural norms may be internalised and become a feature of *doxa.* Such domination and imposition, both apparent and hidden, are important in comprehending cultural influence, both generally in an unequal society and in the workplace where, for instance, trainee teachers have a marginal position. A methodological issue remains as to what studies of culture can distinguish, especially since this study considered small groups and cultural influences at a local level (see also Hodkinson *et al* 2007a, 418). What the researcher perceives is partly determined by the scope of the research; if a study's methodology focuses on the specific it may miss the significance of the general. Initially during this study the precise context of trainees' placements seemed of overwhelming importance in what the trainees learnt about teaching. At a later stage when the whole college and wider society were considered, the precise context appeared relatively less important.

The context
This study concentrates on a large FE college, referred to here as City College. City College is in a major post-industrial conurbation in the north of England and the history of the college reflects that of the city. A bell from the original Sunday school founded on the site in the early 1800s hangs in one of the college buildings. Three

miles away, the newly-built main college campus is partly situated on land that had belonged to the local council where previously had stood an armaments factory; and partly situated on the former land of a philanthropic Victorian factory owner. By the main entrance is a newly landscaped area complete with fountains and inside is a vast, bright, busy atrium, more airport than FE college. Here, there are sofas, easy chairs and a smell of coffee, and at the end of this space is the open-plan library. This flagship college building makes a strong first impression suggesting a modern, well-resourced, business-like institution.

Policy reforms had shaped the architecture of City College through a well-funded construction programme closely tied to central government's priorities and each of the college's many sites had to varying degrees been recently re-built or refurbished. The college had a new Skills Zone devoted to basic numeracy and literacy and an impressive new Higher Education centre; furthermore, the college broadly divided adult from 14-19 provision on different campuses, all following national initiatives. The then New Labour government's discourse that emphasised learning and the learner over teaching (see Biesta 2009) was made concrete in these new buildings with their huge communal areas for students and, in rather stark contrast, staffrooms for teachers which were crowded, cluttered and dingy.

At the time of the data collection, City College employed over six hundred teachers within departments that often straddled several sites around the city, and within these departments there were smaller groups of staff, often referred to as sections. The art department, for example, had around sixty staff on different campuses; within that department the fashion section, which is examined more closely later, had nine staff based in one small suite of rooms.

The study

The intention of using a case study was to "produce a coherent and illuminating description of and perspective on a situation" (Schofield 2007, 183). Avis (2006) has criticised the use of case studies in research into FE because, he argues, individuals can become separated from their broader political circumstances. In response, Colley (2006, 109) has pointed out that a case study approach does not necessarily preclude

critical theoretical analysis of society and that the "unique 'close-up' experiences…offer a fractal expression of the whole set of social relations", which larger scale analysis might overlook or misrepresent. This case study attempts to offer such a "fractal expression" of the cultural influences on new teachers in FE (for a fuller discussion see).

The interview and observation data for this article come from serving teachers at City College as well as pre-service trainee teachers on a full-time, one year teacher education course at a university in the north of England, who were on placement at the college (see tables below for brief biographical details of the participants). As mentioned above, a major part of this course is the work-based placement and the eight trainee teachers in this case study were placed in sections in the art, sports, business and social care departments at City College. The eight serving teachers were based in these same sections as well as in the construction department. The inclusion of serving teachers within the research was to expose existing practices and relationships in the college in order to better understand what new teachers encountered. This small theoretical sample of serving and training teachers was chosen to identify relevant issues and themes as part of an instrumental case study of the formation of ideas about teaching in a typically diverse FE college.

The trainee teachers were all interviewed twice, once at the beginning and once at the end of their placement; the serving teachers were interviewed once. In addition both groups were individually observed in their classroom or workshop and in their staffrooms. Interviews were transcribed and along with the fieldnotes from observations the data were analysed with a priori codes that derived from the existing literature on WBL and teacher education as well as those that derived from the adopted definition of culture, outlined above. These codes related to agency including control over practice, institutional expectations, identity, day-to-day experience, communication with colleagues and managers and common artefacts. In addition, themes of isolation and the impact of rapid staff turnover evolved from the data. These data were firstly examined to distinguish cultures before the influence of these cultures on the participants' professional development and conceptions of teaching were considered. Following convention the term teacher is mainly used here as shorthand for the variety of similar job roles in FE, such as tutor or trainer.

[Tables 1 and 2 to be placed in the above section]

Isolation and Distinctiveness

A striking feature from the data was the isolation of both individuals and sections within City College. Mark, a plumbing teacher at the college for four years, referred to the "*north and south divide*" between his and the main campus, which was only a few hundred metres away. Andrea, a special needs teacher well-established in the college, described how she and her colleagues "*are working within a little bubble within a massive bubble*" and how even within this group of teachers she felt unable to share resources or discuss students due to the lack of shared space or time. That isolation was apparent throughout the college, but it did not imply distinctiveness. The experiences described in the sports, construction, business, arts or social care departments were more similar than different: heavy workload; coping with disaffected students; the burden of bureaucracy; the ethical value of teaching. Observation of teachers in their staffrooms revealed similar preoccupations. This certainly suggests "a pattern of shared basic assumptions" but shared beyond the college section or even beyond the college. Similarly, "the language, behaviour and artefacts" were common across all parts of the sample, both trainee and serving teachers: for instance, lesson plans; interactive whiteboards; external verifiers; managers. During observations of lessons, similar classroom techniques were apparent throughout the college, though some techniques were more often used in one section than in another. The messy experiences of finding a mentor; coping with a range of students; keeping up with course work; isolation or integration were all general for the trainees on placement. Moreover, in observations of both trainee and serving teachers the evidence for distinct approaches to teaching was thin.

There were, though, differences between the groups of teachers. The language heard in some staffrooms was coarser than in others and the technical terms used by plumbing teachers were obviously different from those used by art teachers and their dress was different too. Some of these differences may be described as conventions related to a group but they do not meaningfully represent cultural differences. In all but two of the situations within the sample at City College, as explained below, it

would be misleading to argue that small differences of dress or classroom practices existed as 'the correct way for new members to perceive, think and feel in relation to [problems of external and internal integration]' except in a rather superficial way. Certainly, dress, language and behaviour are evidence of different socialisation, but these are more likely to be related to class, gender and race beyond the direct influence of the workplace (Colley *et al* 2003, 49). On their own these conventions are not evidence of a sustainable local culture that may affect developing ideas about teaching. Moreover, the study revealed rapid turnover of staff and similarly rapid promotion of new staff to positions of responsibility away from their original sections, which meant that there were limited history and stability within the majority of the parts of the college investigated. Consequently, in the terms of the adopted definition, distinctive sustainable cultures relating to specific parts of the college seemed to have barely existed. The significant exceptions to this generalisation were the fashion and city-centre business sections at City College, both of which had long-term staff and cultural longevity. These distinctive sections are described below.

Distinctive cultures

The cramped and cluttered fashion staffroom was full of tailor's dummies, textiles, tassels and files of papers. The walls were lined with cuttings, photographs, posters, timetables and messages. There was one computer between the nine staff who used this space. Close by there were two classrooms and one other room with rows of sewing machines. The smaller classroom, normally used for what were referred to as "theory lessons" (for example on the history of fashion), contained around twenty desks. The main classroom, which was shabby and still small for the number of students, contained dummies with work in progress pinned on them, scraps of materials as well as drawers and boxes of threads and accessories; the walls displayed student-made posters. Though formal classes were timetabled in the main classroom, other students and staff came and went and there was a hum of sewing machines and chatter in this space. The staff, who were all female, and students, who were mainly female, talked enthusiastically about texture, colour and fit and the staff would illustrate techniques by showing garments that they had themselves made. Many of the staff had worked at the college for a long time and had even been students in the same department. They did not have a shared sartorial look, but several wore subtly

unusual clothes and during her time placed there one trainee, Paula altered what she wore from being very formal, even staid, to being informal and well accessorised. Here was more than just a group of people sharing a workspace. The membership of the group had maintained stability over several years; there was a collective capacity to absorb new members; and above all, there was evidence of shared values and a shared approach to teaching as suggested by the literally open classroom and fluid timetable. Using the adopted definition, this small group may be considered as a distinctive culture by contrast to elsewhere in the college.

The business section in the city centre campus had similarities to the fashion department. Some of this group of nine business teachers had been at the college for more than twenty years and most were at least well established. They were mainly based in one extraordinarily cluttered staffroom; they shared the teaching on their courses; and they had a common approach to students. They gossiped together, went out socially and every day they had drinks and lunch together in the college's coffee bar where Constance, a trainee placed with them, would join them while on her placement. Constance soon *"felt part of the group"*. Interestingly, her mentor Ian was less definite about Constance's integration after six weeks of her placement. When asked if Constance had become like a City College teacher he replied:

> *she has a way to go yet, partly because there is a non-teaching element to being in the team which is about being around and having a natter and going for coffee. I think part of being a team is that recognition that you're part of the team … and the nature of the student tutor's role is that she's here for the day when she teaches and then she's here for the morning when we're talking and preparing for the afternoon so she's not around as much as you would want her to be.*

Ian's reference to *"recognition that you're part of the team"* is significant. This group of business teachers held a sustainable set of practices and values related to teaching and to patterns of social-interaction but they also held a self-conscious sense of belonging that was lacking elsewhere in the college.

Although these groups of staff in business and fashion were small, each nine people, there were discernible features of the material form of a self-sustaining culture. Each had a core of long-term staff and had maintained distinctive characteristics over several years even as staff had come and gone. There was a shared pattern of work so

that colleagues often co-taught; regular socialising; similar attitudes to students; a shared bank of resources; and common classroom practices. Yet, the cultures of the fashion and business sections were not necessarily dominant in determining what the trainees placed there learnt about being a teacher and teaching. The trainee teachers placed in business and fashion experienced coherence or frequency of practices, they did not experience a set of practices that were distinct from those found elsewhere. Those same teaching practices were observable in other sections and they had not specifically derived from the groups of teachers who had adopted them. Significantly, the trainees placed in business and fashion were as susceptible to wider cultural influence on what it is to teach and be a teacher in FE as the trainees placed elsewhere. In other words, distinctive local cultures did not apparently lead to distinctive teaching nor distinctive ideas about teaching.

Wider cultural influences

This study focused on localised cultural influence and so discussion of any wider cultural influence is more speculative. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that several previous analyses of teacher training in FE have emphasised the continuing influence on FE teachers' practice of the vocational area from where they came (for example Lucas 2004 and Robson *et al* 2004). Viskovic and Robson (2001, 234) stated that, "Most vocational teachers do not become fully participating members of a wider teaching community" precisely because they never break from their former occupational identity. The evidence from this study, however, suggests that the influence of previous professions can vary widely. After four years working as a teacher, Mark considered himself still a plumber and he stressed the need for continuing vocational expertise. Similarly, some of the fashion teachers retained close links with former employers. By contrast, Andrea no longer considered herself a youth worker and Pat explained that how he taught woodwork was quite different to how he had himself been taught. Furthermore, he emphasised his developing teaching skills over his former craft. How these people identified themselves does not automatically or directly relate to their former careers and nor do their former careers sustain current cultures, though this is not to suggest that previous vocational practice is unimportant.

There is, moreover, an associated point to be made about the particular cohorts of

trainee teachers investigated for this study, many of whom have now gone on to work in colleges. Of the eight trainees, only two had spent significant time working in the vocational area that they were then teaching. Some had come straight from university or only spent a couple of years working in a gym, for example. The trainees' relative inexperience suggests that any vocational cultural influence will be weak simply because they had spent so little time, if indeed any, in a previous vocational setting.

All of the trainees articulated a perception of the teaching role as benevolent and worthy. One trainee placed in the sports department expressed this worthiness in a hackneyed phrase, which suggests positive cultural connotations attached to being a teacher in English society. *"Let's face it. You don't go into teaching to get rich. You go into teaching because you love it."* Mark, Pat and Rick, all formerly construction workers, each independently described how they had taken a wage cut to work in education precisely because of its perceived higher social status. This perception of relative cultural status may only be adequately explicable in the context of society's inequalities beyond the campuses of City College.

Similarly, the explanation for the enormous imbalance between men and women on the teacher training course needs to be sought in wider society. This imbalance, almost two women to every one man in the period studied, reflects the statistics for all FE teachers covering the year 2007-2008. These indicate that just under 60% of teachers in FE were female (LLUK 2008). FE teaching in England is now, arguably, perceived as a female occupation. Of course, there are exceptions. The gender imbalance on the teacher training course and in colleges is partly a result of colleges teaching more courses leading to careers considered 'female' such as childcare and the concurrent decline of courses in 'male' vocations like engineering. A focus restricted to the local situation alone might ignore these important reasons for those men and women's position in the college in the first place. Again, the cultural influence shaping the decision to become FE teachers apparently lies beyond the workplace.

The trainee teachers had also learned a great deal about the practice of teaching before their university course. Several of the sample explained how they had reverted to the practice of their own educational experience, most frequently at school, especially where this matched the practice of teachers they encountered while on placement.

This influence from schooling strongly echoes the findings of Bathmaker and Avis (2007) and once again these pre-existing constructions of teaching practice must derive from the previous biography of trainees through wide cultural influences. This influence of prior experience is also discernible in conceptions of being an FE teacher. Though notions of teaching mostly relate to school teaching, FE has its own preconceptions. Other writers (see for example Wallace 2002 and Bathmaker and Avis 2005) have mentioned the misconception among trainee FE teachers, including several in this study, that their students would all have chosen to be there in contrast to those at school. These perceptions are not without foundation; even young students are generally treated differently at college than they might be at school. Teachers in FE colleges are usually called by their first name and students in FE have more freedom than at school, for instance. FE's difference to school, however insignificant or exaggerated, is what distinguishes the sector in popular perception and some respondents, serving and trainee teachers alike, are people who had appreciated that difference in their own educational experience and sought it out as teachers in FE. For many of the respondents belonging to the wide community of teachers, in FE or elsewhere, was more influential on their developing professional identity and professional practice than what they learned from the particularities of participation in their narrower workplace community. Wider culture appeared to have influenced the trainee teachers' learning more than the particularities of the setting where they were placed.

Discussion

The size of this study's sample means any generalisations need be cautious, but the study suggests the relative significance of factors that influence teachers' practice and ideas. The trainee teachers in this study stressed the significance of their WBL experience in their own professional development, which is mirrored in Maxwell's (2010, 191) findings in a similar setting. As Thies-Sprinthall (1986, 14) put it, a trainee teacher's placement experience has "a quality similar to an indelible print". The influence of the local cultures they encountered is, though, less easily discerned. The individual trainees' experiences of placement differed greatly depending upon with whom and where they were placed and likewise, the accounts of serving staff were diverse in their detail. Nevertheless, distinctive and sustainable cultures by the

limiting definition adopted above existed in only two of the sections studied in City College and even these were distinguished mainly by the coherence and consistency of behaviour or attitudes rather than their having markedly diverse patterns. Nor were these two cultures apparently dominant in the mediation of ideas about teaching practice or being a teacher, which suggests that localised influences on the trainee teachers' development are either weak or that these localised influences reflect wider structural ones.

This wider perspective is important if the development of teaching in the FE sector is to be better understood, especially given the proposal to deregulate teacher training in the sector (Lingfield 2012). As noted above, the stated approach of the TLC project informed the conceptualisation of culture used in this study. James and Biesta (2007, 11), wrote that "teaching and learning cannot be decontextualised from broader social, economic and political forces, both current and historic" and nor can teachers or learners themselves. In a list of factors that interact to influence student learning they identify (13) "wider social economic and political contexts, which interpenetrate all of the other points". The project's prodigious output and its findings are insightful of the FE sector, which remains less well researched than its size and importance warrant. Nevertheless, the approach of the TLC team, in their own words, "was in keeping with many other studies of learning as participation, which tend to focus on the localised setting" (Hodkinson *et al* 2007b, 25). As Avis (2006, 350; see also Avis 2009) recognised, the TLC project was inter-disciplinary and some accounts within the project emphasise structural issues more than others (see Colley et al 2003, for example). Avis's (2006, 348) particular critique remains cogent that some references to class, ethnicity and gender from the TLC project are used "ritualistically". Despite the ambition and sophistication of the TLC project's analysis, the findings of this case-study add weight to Avis's general criticism that their focus on individual learning sites overstates the significance of local differences and displaces more powerful and wider structural influences on learning. The most powerful influence in FE as elsewhere may not be the particular learning site, but the dominant cultures in which that learning site exists. The same can be said of what influences trainee teachers' ideas about teaching. In this study of trainee FE teachers cultural influences from outside the college appeared dominant among the factors that shaped the development of ideas about teaching in FE. This comprehension resonates with

Daniels and Warmington's (2007, 389) call for the "general working hypothesis of learning" to be expanded to include a "coherent analysis of the wider structuring of society as an inseparable part of the analysis". In the absence of such contextualisation, local differences may seem to exert stronger cultural influence and so assume more importance over situated and workplace learning than those differences merit.

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Table 1 Trainee teachers

Respondent and subject specialism	Age	M/F	Previous professional experience; experience of FE
Precious (Early years)	36-40	F	Worked in early years; education in southern Africa; recently migrated to Britain; no experience of FE.
Linda (Skills for Life)	36-40	F	Worked in business in west Africa; migrated to Britain; no FE experience
Martin (Fashion)	20-25	M	Straight from university; no FE experience
Paula (Fashion)	35-40	F	Worked in fashion in west Africa; studied for MA in Britain before Cert. Ed. (as a foreign student); no experience of FE.
Sean (Sports)	20-25	M	Straight from university; FE experience as student
Danny (Sports)	20-25	M	Straight from university; no FE experience
Ivana (Photography)	31-35	M	Worked in photography; experience of FE as student (hairdressing) and p/t teacher.
Constance (Business)	41-45	F	Worked in business in southern Africa and Britain; no experience of FE.

Table 2 Serving teachers

Respondent and subject specialism	Age	M/F	Length of service in FE at time of interview.
Andrea (Special needs)	40-45	F	12 years (5 as a teacher, 7 in support roles)
John (Arts department manager)	26-30	M	3 years
Mark (Plumbing)	31-35	M	3.5 years
Mike (Woodwork)	25-30	M	4 years
Pat (Woodwork)	25-30	M	4 years
Ian (Business)	35-40	M	8 years
Dave (Sports)	20-25	M	1 year
Ruth (Skills for Life)	40-45	F	10 years (7 in other colleges)