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A Bourdieusian interpretation of Ghanaian doctoral education, socialisation and disparate student experiences

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in Education

The University of Auckland

2018

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis has not been presented to any institution for a degree. I state that this thesis is the result of my independent and original work and where contributions of other authors were used they have been duly acknowledged by means of references. I hereby give permission for my thesis to be made available for photocopying with the understanding that references and quotes made from it will be acknowledged.

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ABSTRACT

Drawing on Bourdieu's theoretical oeuvre, I provide both a theoretical and empirical understanding of the organisation of doctoral education as an institution and a practice oriented towards the production of knowledge and doctoral student training. The theoretical discourse draws on Bourdieu's concepts of *field*, *habitus*, *capital*, *illusio*, *libido*, *doxic order*, and *pedagogic authority* to construe the organisation of doctoral education and socialisation at the global and national levels and as oriented by inter- and intra-relationships between social institutions and agents. The empirical section of the study employs *habitus*, *capital*, and *pedagogical authority* as methodological and analytical tools to understand disparate lived experiences of Ghanaian doctoral students. This offers original insight as there is little research connecting a Bourdieu oeuvre to doctoral education and socialisation in an African context. Using interpretive phenomenology as my research design, and interviews as the data collection approach, I contacted and gathered data from 32 doctoral supervisor and supervisee participants who were not in the same supervisory relationship. Analytic induction was used to analyse the data gathered from participants. The theoretical discourse revealed that doctoral education as a *social field* is characterised by *struggle* as well as *collaborations* and *partnerships* among institutions and social agents. The research revealed that *capital* is the object that drives the struggle, collaborations, and partnerships that occur in the practice of doctoral education and socialisation. This study argues that doctoral candidates can overcome the doctoral education and socialisation process if they embrace a habitus that is attuned to the dictates, policies, and practices promoted during the doctoral trajectory. The empirical study reveals that through the doctoral socialisation process, doctoral students experience the *development of the academic habitus* generically and distinctively. The development of the academic habitus involves the *acquisition and enhancement* of a set of attitudes and skills relevant for surmounting the activities, demands and challenges associated with the doctoral training. The students reported they had distinct access, distribution, and volume of economic, social, and cultural capital needed in the doctoral process. The study revealed that the manifestation of pedagogical authority in the supervisory relationship was mainly skewed towards a domineering style of supervision with little collegial relationship.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my mum (**Juliana Addo**), my sister (**Wilhelmina Anyane-Addo**), my family, and my exceptional friends **Daniel Atuobi Ansong** and **Shulamite Mensah**.

To my late grandmother (**Grace Serwaa Annor**) and the late **Dr. David Abudulai** (aka ‘Mad Doctor of Tamale’). How I wish to have had an interaction with these two individuals before their death. Dr. Abudulai, your good work and service to mankind, especially for disadvantaged individuals, are virtues I yearn to imitate. Your zealousness and willingness to help people despite your limited resources are an inspiration to me.

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To my late grandmother, **Grace Serwaa Annor**, I am thankful to you for caring for me and teaching me survival skills and being a cheerful giver. I wish I could have seen you for the last time before you died.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	i
ABSTRACT	ii
DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENT	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: <i>PhD enrolment and graduation from 2001–2007</i>	11
Table 2: <i>Distribution of PhD students based on gender, nationality, and the collegiate system</i>	12
Table 3: <i>Distribution of faculty based on the collegiate system and credentials</i>	12
Table 4: <i>Collegiate System in the University of Ghana</i>	18
Table 5: <i>Distribution of doctoral participants</i>	90
Table 6: <i>Distribution of supervisory participants</i>	90
Table 7: <i>Coding system for analysis transcripts</i>	97

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: <i>Map of Africa</i>	3
Figure 2: <i>Doctoral education as a field characterised by struggle or competition</i>	48
Figure 3: <i>Attitudes and skills acquired and enhanced in the doctoral journey</i>	109
Figure 4: <i>Conceptualisation of success in doctoral study</i>	198

CHAPTER ONE

ENCOUNTER AND ENTRY INTO BOURDIEU'S THEORETICAL WORLD

1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 An Expedition into a Bourdieusian Realm	2
1.3 Problem Statement and Rationale for the Study	5
1.4 Importance of the Study	8
1.5 History and Profile of the PhD at the University of Ghana	10
1.6 Bourdieu's Influence and Critique in Academic Discourse.....	13
1.7 Research Question	16
1.7.1 <i>Related Questions</i>	16

1.7.2 <i>Theoretical Question</i>	17
1.7.3 <i>Empirical Question</i>	17
1.8 Scope of the Study	17
1.9 Definition of Key Concepts	19
1.10 Organisation of this Study	19

CHAPTER TWO

CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF CURRENT THINKING ON DOCTORAL EDUCATION AND SOCIALISATION

2.1 Introduction	23
2.2 Graduate socialisation model as an interpretive tool for doctoral training	23
2.3 Perspectives of the Graduate Socialisation Model	26
2.3.1 <i>Linear perspective of doctoral socialisation</i>	30
2.3.2 <i>Core elements of doctoral socialisation</i>	31
2.4 Dimensions of the graduate socialisation model	33
2.5 Illuminating doctoral socialisation through the cognitive apprenticeship model ...	35
2.6 Recounting differences, similarities and shortfalls of the socialisation theories.....	38
2.7 Conclusion	40

CHAPTER THREE

DOCTORAL EDUCATION AS A SOCIAL *FIELD* CHARACTERISED BY *STRUGGLE*, COLLABORATIONS AND PARTNERSHIPS

3.1 Introduction	42
3.2 Doctoral education as a <i>field</i> directed by struggle and a doxa	43
3.3 Gaining entry into the doctoral education field as a participant or social actor	49
3.4 Significance of the <i>illusio</i> and <i>libido</i> in the doctoral enterprise	52
3.5 Thinking beyond Bourdieu struggle: Exchanges in the doctoral enterprise	54
3.5.1 <i>Institutional exchanges in the doctoral enterprise</i>	54
3.5.2 <i>University-industry exchanges in doctoral education and training</i>	57
3.6 Conclusion	58

CHAPTER FOUR

PLAYING THE ACADEMIC ‘GAME’: THE ROLE OF HABITUS AND CAPITAL IN DOCTORAL EDUCATION AND SOCIALISATION

4.1 Introduction	61
4.2 Playing the academic ‘game’ with the requisite habitus	61
4.3 Role of the supervisor’s habitus in the doctoral experience	64
4.4 Forms of capital valued in the doctoral enterprise	66
4.5 ‘Battle’ over capital among social actors in the doctoral space	70
4.6 Conclusion	73

CHAPTER FIVE

‘SHEPERDING’ THE DOCTORAL ‘FLOCK’: AN ANALYSIS OF PEDAGOGICAL AUTHORITY AS A CONTRIBUTOR TO THE DOCTORAL EXPERIENCE

5.1 Introduction	75
5.2 Pedagogical authority, action and work in doctoral training process	75
5.3 Models of supervision and the exercise of pedagogical authority	79
5.4 Inevitability of the ‘doxic order’ and symbolic violence in the supervisory space ...	81
5.5 Conclusion	85

CHAPTER SIX: RESEARCH METHOD

6.1 Introduction	87
6.2 Research design	87
6.3 Interview participants	87
6.4 Contacting participants for interviews	88
6.5 Selection of participants	89
6.6 Data collection	90
6.7 Data analysis	94
6.7.1 <i>Thematic content analysis</i>	94
6.7.2 <i>Analytic Induction</i>	97
6.8 Trustworthiness of data	98
6.8.1 <i>Credibility and dependability</i>	98

6.8.2 <i>Transferability</i>	100
6.8.3 <i>Conformability</i>	102
6.9 Ethical considerations	102
6.9.1 <i>Before fieldwork</i>	102
6.9.2 <i>During fieldwork</i>	103
6.10 Conclusion	104

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE HABITUS IN THE KNOWLEDGE JOURNEY

7.1 Introduction	105
7.2 Construing uniformity in the doctoral experience using the concept of habitus ...	106
7.3 The individual habitus in the knowledge journey	112
7.3.1 <i>Making sense of the doctoral experiences through the individual's habitus</i>	112
7.4 Habitus as a perceptual tool to frame supervisors' feedback	116
7.5 Individual habitus as a dispositional tool for construing supervisory experiences...	118
7.6 The influence of motivation-an engine in the doctoral journey	121
7.7 Habitus and its role in navigating challenges	127
7.8 Conclusion	134

CHAPTER EIGHT

HAVES, HAVE LESS AND HAVE NOTS: THE PLACE OF BOURDIEU CAPITAL IN THE DOCTORAL JOURNEY

8.1 Introduction	136
8.2 Economic capital fuels the doctoral journey	137
8.2.1 <i>Strategies for garnering economic (monetary) capital</i>	142
8.2.2 <i>Distribution and volume of economic capital amassed in the doctoral journey</i>	145
8.3 Cultural capital acquisition as the bedrock of the doctoral experience	158
8.3.1 <i>Publishing as a form of cultural (academic) capital in the doctoral journey</i>	158
8.4 Possessing social capital creates dissimilar doctoral experiences	164
8.5 Conclusion.....	170

CHAPTER NINE

MANIFESTATION OF PEDAGOGICAL AUTHORITY, PEDAGOGICAL LOVE, AND TACT IN DOCTORAL STUDENT’S SOCIALISATION

9.1 Introduction	173
9.2 Manifestation of pedagogical authority in the supervisory space	173
9.3 Balancing pedagogical authority with pedagogical love and tact	183
9.4 Conclusion	188

CHAPTER TEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

10.1 Introduction	190
10.2 Summary of key points related to the discourse and findings	190
10.3 Contribution of the study	194
10.4 Implications for research and practice of doctoral education and socialisation... ..	195
10.5 Limitations and challenges of the study	200
10.6 Conclusion	203
References	206

APPENDIX A: Question guide for doctoral student

APPENDIX B: Question guide for doctoral supervisor

APPENDIX C: Consent form for doctoral student

APPENDIX D: Consent form for doctoral supervisor

APPENDIX E: Participant Information Sheet for doctoral student

APPENDIX F: Participant Information Sheet for doctoral supervisor

APPENDIX G: Ethics Approval letter from University of Auckland

APPENDIX H: Ethics Approval letter from University of Ghana

APPENDIX I (PART I): Advertisement poster for student participants

APPENDIX I (PART II): Email to supervisors

APPENDIX J: Introductory letter from researcher’s main supervisor

APPENDIX K: Letter to the University of Ghana

CHAPTER ONE

ENCOUNTER AND ENTRY INTO BOURDIEU'S THEORETICAL WORLD

1.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the thesis, which firstly seeks to use Bourdieu's concepts to interpret the organisation of doctoral education and the socialisation of doctoral students at the institutional, national, and international levels. Secondly, the study seeks to 'lift the veil' on the practice of doctoral education and socialisation, which appears to be shrouded in secrecy within the Ghanaian context. Since no literature exists that explicates how universities in Ghana socialise their doctoral students to acquire the requisite academic habitus and cultural capital needed to succeed, research on the subject is long overdue. This study therefore provides a snapshot of such concerns at a Ghanaian public university. The problem statement outlines the rationale behind focusing on a public university in Ghana, the need to periodically assess the disparate lived experiences of doctoral students, and how doctoral students are socialised to gain insight into practices, activities, and processes related to the doctoral process.

This introductory chapter discusses my encounter and engagement with Pierre Bourdieu's thinking tools. I recount the antecedents that led me to use his concepts as the theoretical backdrop for this thesis. I reveal the extent to which Bourdieusian theory and concepts have been used to construe diverse social, cultural, and political issues as well their application within the social sciences – particularly education. I also discuss criticisms levelled at Bourdieu's theory. I focus particularly on its application within the context of doctoral education and the associated socialisation process because the doctoral enterprise is the conduit through which stewards of the disciplines are trained to produce and share advanced knowledge. I highlight the scarce application of Bourdieusian theory and concepts to interpret diverse issues related to doctoral education within the African context. I also indicate my position in applying such theory and concepts to understand the organisation of doctoral education, socialisation, and disparate doctoral experiences. I discuss the rationale for using Bourdieu's concepts to study doctoral education and the diverse socialisation experiences of students within the Ghanaian context as part of my problem statement. The chapter highlights the importance of my study in the scheme of prevailing discourse on doctoral education. The chapter also outlines a brief history and some general characteristics about PhD studies in the public university in question.

1.2 An Expedition into a Bourdieusian Realm

I vividly remember when I commenced my undergraduate education in the year 2000 at a public university in Ghana, which is located in the Western part of Africa (see Figure 1). I was offered Economics, Psychology, Political Science, and Sociology. Out of the four disciplines, I had a fondness for Sociology. This interest motivated me to read copious Sociology textbooks to gain a deeper understanding of the discipline. In my third year, I was required to take *Foundations of Social Thought* as a core course. While a lot of students dreaded the course because it was perceived as abstract and difficult to assimilate, coupled with the fact that students kept failing yearly, my preliminary readings gave me adeptness in the foundation of sociological thought. I was able to grasp the basic tenets of the theories of Durkheim, Weber, Comte, Spencer, Marx, Hegel, Simmel, Radcliffe-Brown, Malinowski, Mead, Goffman, Garfinkel, Parsons, Giddens, and Merton. Surprisingly, I never came across the works of Bourdieu in my reading or heard anything about him in the lectures even though some of Bourdieu's ideas are similar to those of Marx.

At the Master's level (2006–2009), while pursuing a Master of Philosophy in Adult Education, I was exposed to the writings of Paulo Freire who promoted the use of education to raise the consciousness of the oppressed. Though Bourdieu advocated for and produced writing on using education to reconstruct the consciousness of the oppressed (see Calhoun, 2006; Robbins, 1991) within the African context (Algeria), again it was not part of the reading list for my programme.



Figure 1. Map of Africa (Source: Ontheworldmap.com)

The first encounter I had with Bourdieu's theoretical oeuvre was in the first week of April 2013, when I arrived from Ghana to commence my PhD at the University of Auckland, New Zealand. My exposure to Bourdieu was the result of serendipity. I was provided with reading material by my lead supervisor for my first doctoral group meeting. It was a photocopied chapter ("Researching the Academy: The game of reflexivity") from Lisa Lucas's (2006) book *The research game in academic life*. Lucas had drawn on Bourdieu's concepts, such as *habitus*, *field*, *libido*, *illusio*, and *capital*, to analyse the organisation of higher education and academic life.

I entered into a Bourdieusian realm through further perusal of scholars who had applied his thinking tools to wide-ranging issues in higher and doctoral education (e.g. Gopaul, 2011, 2012, 2015, 2016; Maritz & Prinsloo, 2015; Mendoza et al., 2012; Reay, 2015; Sallaz & Zavisca, 2007; Susen, 2013; Wacquant, 2014; Walker & Yoon, 2016). At the initial stages of my reading expedition, I found it difficult to comprehend the way these scholars applied Bourdieu to their case studies. Encouraged to find Bourdieusian theory expressed simply, I found some articles and books engaging and easy to read while others compounded my challenge. However, the more I read the more I gained a clearer understanding and appreciation of the intellectual works of Bourdieu.

I graduated from reading abridged coverage of Bourdieu's concepts by other scholars to reading works written by Pierre Bourdieu himself. Frankly, I was dwarfed and challenged by Bourdieu's vast knowledge and his complicated writing style. I found his writing manner of expression to be verbose and impenetrable (see Sallaz & Zavisca, 2007; Simeoni, 2000; Swartz, 1997). His abstraction confronted my intellectual aptitude and determination to employ thinking tools found in his writings. Smith (1989) echoes my perception of Bourdieu's writing:

Opening a book by Bourdieu is like tuning in to a Bach fugue. The sentences are elegant but never ending. You slide down a verbal slipway of ingenious repetitions, inversions, negations and demonstrations all of unexpected symmetry. There is a real danger of dizziness (p. 384).

Despite my theoretical dizziness, my interest in using Bourdieu to scaffold my research encouraged me to remain a student of his theory. What helped me to grasp Bourdieusian concepts was his allegorical concept of the *play of the game*. Bourdieu (1977) submits that "the mind is a metaphor of the world of objects" (p. 91). Thus, drawing on the way football is played as a sport and organised as a business nationally and internationally, I applied his thinking tools to various facets, processes,

and activities related to both the *play* and the *formal game*. This metaphor also opened my understanding of how football as a competitive business and sport is akin to the way doctoral education is organised for both the public good and for profit at the national and international levels. Taking a cue from the similarities, I engaged in theoretical discourse that sought to understand the way doctoral education is organised locally (in Ghana) and internationally. I appropriated Bourdieu's concepts of *field*, *doxa*, *habitus*, *capital*, *illusio*, *libido*, *pedagogical authority*, *doxic order* and *symbolic violence* to interpret practices, processes, activities, motivation, reward systems, competition, and power relations that occur as part of the doctoral enterprise and socialisation experience of doctoral students. Moreover, I wanted to explore how PhD students assume stewardship of the discipline. What, I was keen to know, was the play and game of doctoral study?

1.3 Problem Statement and Rationale for the Study

Despite the research that has been conducted on doctoral education over 20 years, theorising in the field remains challenging (McAlpine, 2012). For example, Boud and Lee (2005) assert that there is limited theorising on doctoral education. According to McAlpine (2012), many of the studies have focused on doctoral student socialisation and acculturation (e.g. Gardner, 2008; Mendoza, 2007; Weidman & Stein, 2003). Despite the theoretical contributions several scholars have made to our understanding of doctoral socialisation processes and practices, the existing literature points to the inadequacy of theories. Socialisation theories such as the *graduate socialisation* and *cognitive apprenticeship models* have not been able to explicate the disparate doctoral socialisation experiences encountered at the individual, disciplinary (departmental), and institutional levels by doctoral candidates (see Pearson et al., 2011; Gardner, 2008; Anthony, 2002; Harman, 2004; Delamont, Atkinson, & Parry, 2000; Neumann, 2003; La Pidus, 1997; Pearson & Ford, 1997; Salmon, 1992). More importantly, these extensively used theories in doctoral education literature have not been used to present a comprehensive insight into the way doctoral education is organised as an enterprise to achieve both public purpose and profit. These theories are scarcely used to construe the latent competition that exists among social groups (institutions or universities) and social actors (doctoral faculty members and supervisors) within the field of doctoral education and the valued currency (*capital*) that fuels their struggle. The models are silent on how capital distribution amongst actors (especially doctoral students) occurs during the socialisation process to account for their diverse experiences in the monolithic doctoral enterprise. These theories have also annulled the influence of personal characteristics, perceptions, attitudes, and dispositions of doctoral students and the role and impact of supervisors during one's doctoral experience.

Given the existence of these gaps, the perception that the number of studies on doctoral education is still too low (Määttä, 2012), and the theorisation is limited (Boud & Lee, 2005), I seek to appropriate Bourdieu's concepts as analytical and methodological tools to address two issues in this study. Firstly, I draw on Bourdieusian analytical tools to theorise the organisation of doctoral education and socialisation of doctoral students from the institutional, national, and global levels. Secondly, I utilise such concepts as methodological tools in gathering empirical data. Furthermore, I address the unexplained variation in doctoral socialisation experiences within an African context. As Bourdieu (2000) argues, his concepts are not to be treated as "an end in itself"; rather we should "do something with [his concepts] . . . bring them as useful, perfectible instruments, into practical use" (p. 62) (cf. Brubaker, 1993; p. 12; Breiger, 2000).

Walker and Yoon (2016) argue that there is much less research connecting Bourdieu to doctoral graduates. Though made within a Western-centred context, this assertion leaves much to be desired in the African setting given the fact that there is limited literature on doctoral education and socialisation within Africa, and particularly Ghana. The limited application of Bourdieu to Africa may be attributable to scholars within the African setting possibly having little knowledge or none at all about his frameworks and the insights they offer for interpreting social, cultural, political, and educational issues. This rare usage informed my quest to be a "convert" of his theory and apply it to doctoral education and socialisation in Ghana. My action is thus part of a dialogue – ". . . an invitation to think with Bourdieu is of necessity an invitation to think beyond and against him whenever required" (Wacquant, 1992, p. xiv).

This dialogue naturally includes dissent and challenge, which I discuss in Chapter Three. Bourdieu argues every social field is characterised by *struggle*; however, I argue that exchanges in the form of collaboration and partnership and between social actors ensure survival, growth, and strengthening. I seek to go *beyond* the struggle that dominates the social field by positing that exchanges have become part of the organisational mechanism, giving actors comparative advantage.

My interest in using Bourdieu within the African (Ghanaian) context was also informed by my experience of what can be termed in Bourdieusian parlance as *symbolic violence* in the supervisory

arrangement. In 2010, I became a PhD student at a public university in Ghana and spent a year in the programme without having access to my lead supervisor. After sending several emails to him about my proposed research interest for my thesis I received no response; I therefore became dissatisfied with this lack of supervision and discontinued my candidature. I explored other opportunities to progress my PhD and chose to enrol in a research-intensive university in New Zealand. My experience of unsuccessful socialisation (unsupportive supervision) and my subsequent departure from the programme has been highlighted as a factor that accounts for the high attrition rate from doctoral programmes (see Golde, 2005; Lovitts, 2001). In the new institution I had a very cooperative lead supervisor who was the exact opposite of my principal supervisor at the university in Ghana. In the new supervision arrangement, there was institutionalised accountability measures (see Halse, 2011) that required I periodically assess the supervision I was receiving, while the supervisor also assessed my progress in the PhD programme (see Cribb & Gewirtz, 2006; Yeatman, 1995; Halse, 2011). These accountability procedures have been instituted to ensure that the student succeeds in the PhD programme with reasonable supervision (see Engebretson et al., 2008).

Having interacted with other PhD colleagues in Ghana from different departments who also complained of similar challenges, I realised how the supervisory arrangement presents students with disparate lived experiences. I was particularly interested in ascertaining how the exercise of pedagogical authority by supervisors can create both positive and negative experiences for doctoral supervisees. Additionally, after frantically searching for literature on doctoral socialisation in Ghana and finding none, I became concerned with this lack of empirical data. Hence, I was motivated to use my study to explore how the doctoral training process contributes to the restructuring of the *academic habitus* and engages the *individual habitus* in doctoral *becoming*. I was also interested in exploring how the latent economic stratification of people within Ghanaian society creates three groups of people: the *haves*, *have less*, and the *have nots*. This subsequently manifests in the academic life of doctoral students. Acker and Haque (2015) indicate that doctoral students' access to funds contributes to their persistence and success in doctoral studies.

The student's survival, growth, and ultimate success in PhD studies should be facilitated by practices fostered at the student level, in the supervisory relationship, amongst the network of doctoral friends (Okai, 2014), the institution (particularly the department) (see Golde, 2005; Smart,

Feldman, & Ethington, 2000), and through other communities of learning outside the institution (see Weidman et al., 2001). These communities and networks serve as conduits for pedagogies that are used in the training of PhD students to develop or enhance the skills and attitudes needed to succeed in doctoral studies. It is therefore important to periodically assess the processes, activities, and practices adopted within these spaces of learning to ascertain their effectiveness in helping doctoral students succeed. More vitally, the institutional (departmental) level plays a dominant role in PhD socialisation. Thus, conducting research into the practices, activities, and processes used at the departmental level provides insight into the strengths, weakness, opportunities, and threats inherent in the pedagogies used in the socialisation of PhD candidates in a Ghanaian public university.

1.4 Importance of the Study

The extant literature on doctoral socialisation is Western-centred (e.g. Anthony, 2002; Anthony & Taylor, 2004; Bragg, 1976; Gardner, 2005, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010a, 2010b; Gardner, Hayes, & Neider, 2007; Golde & Dore, 2001; Golde, 2007; Holley, 2011; Gonzalez, 2006, 2007; Gopaul, 2011; Mendoza, 2007; Tierney, 1997; Turner & Thompson, 1993; Weidman, Twale, & Stein, 2001). Though several universities in Africa and, in particular, Ghana offer PhD programmes, minimal empirical research and written information exists to provide insight into doctoral education and socialisation within this context. The little literature that exists focuses on doctoral education in South Africa (e.g. Bitzer, 2011, 2012; Bitzer & Vandenberg, 2014a, 2014b; Bitzer, Trafford, & Leshem, 2013; Du Plessis & Menkveld, 2010; Herman, 2008, 2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c, 2012, 2013, 2015; Koen, 2007; Vandenberg, 2013). Thus, the practice of doctoral education and socialisation of doctoral students appears to be shrouded in secrecy within the Ghanaian context. The practice of doctoral socialisation, especially supervision as a pedagogy, is generally viewed as a secret business (Halse & Malfroy, 2010). McWilliam (2002) attests to this:

The actual practice of postgraduate pedagogy has been, traditionally, somewhat mysterious and intimate phenomena, particularly within the arts, humanities and social sciences. . . . Traditionally conducted behind closed doors in spaces remote from either undergraduate teaching or the “real world” of commerce and industry, the process of academic over-simulation and scholastic seductions has remained relatively unexamined (p. 107).

In this information age, a system or practice that is not open about its modus operandi or fails to engage in synergistic exchanges can be considered to be closed. It is through the sharing of information about the way doctoral education and socialisation operates within the African context

that converging and diverging practices with the Western world can be seen. Those that are effective and efficient could be adopted and modified to suit the African context. As the Akan adage (from Ghana) says: “*Nea oretwa sa (kwan) no onim se n’akyi akɛyea*” (The one weeding does not know his trajectory is crooked). Thus, it will take someone behind the one weeding to reveal that the path is crooked. This adage highlights that the one engaged and engrossed in a practice may not realise the flaws and weakness associated with their practice.

My research contributes to and advances prior studies in the area of doctoral socialisation processes. Researchers, including Lehmann (2013), indicate that “there are ways in which [doctoral] students are [both] alike and different from one another” (p. 4). Lehmann’s statement suggests that there are similarities found amongst doctoral students. An investigation of these two aspects needs to take into account the individual doctoral student, but it should also factor in disciplinary and institutional characteristics. Explanatory frameworks include the *graduate socialisation* and *cognitive apprenticeship models* (see Weidman & Associates, 2001; Collins, 1991; Brown, Collins, & Duguid, 1989; Vygotsky, 1978). These theories tend to present graduate school socialisation as standardised, monolithic, linear, unproblematic, deterministic, and/or tapered in nature (see Acker & Haque, 2015; Ongiti, 2012; Hopwood & Sutherland, 2009; Gardner, 2008; Anthony, 2002). However, these theories fail to provide insight into what accounts for the varied experiences of doctoral students from individual, departmental (disciplinary), and institutional effects (see Pearson et al., 2011; Gardner, 2008; Anthony, 2002; Harman, 2004; Delamont, Atkinson, & Parry, 2000; Neumann, 2003; La Pidus, 1997; Pearson & Ford, 1997; Salmon, 1992). In 2011, Gopaul drew on Bourdieu’s (1977, 1986, 1990) concepts to analyse the doctoral socialisation process. My analysis both extends and provides insight into the disparate experiences of doctoral students.

This study contributes to filling the lacuna in doctoral education literature by theorising the organisation of doctoral education as both a national and a global enterprise. It aids researchers to better understand the applicability of Bourdieu’s theoretical compositions to the diverse experience encountered in the doctoral socialisation process, be it positive or negative. The study also serves as a reference for future researchers who are interested in appropriating Bourdieu’s concepts to understand issues relating to doctoral education in the African context given the dissimilar context (Eurocentric) in which he applied the concepts. The study provides implications

for doctoral education within the context of public universities in Ghana as my empirical data sheds light on processes, policies, and practices that need to be amended to enable doctoral students to have a rewarding and successful experience.

1.5 History and Profile of the PhD at the University of Ghana

In 1958, after the University of Ghana gained autonomy as an independent university, it became relevant for the University to expand its programmes to cover postgraduate study as a means of furthering the research agenda (Agbodeka, 1998). In line with this goal, the Centre for Graduate Studies was established in 1962 to oversee postgraduate education. On October 24th, 1970, the Vice Chancellor, Professor Alexander Adu Kwapong, held a meeting with departmental heads and other academic and administrative staff to develop an action plan for the expansion of graduate studies (Agbodeka, 1998). A committee was then established on November 4th, 1970 headed by Professor Frank Gibbs Torto (Chemistry Department) to work on recommendations for graduate study expansion and research. Among the recommendations made by the committee were: the preparation by departments to mount Masters programmes and possible expansion to PhD programmes and the awarding of university postgraduate scholarships (Agbodeka, 1998). The committee recognised that there was the need for coordination in the expansion of graduate programmes and therefore suggested the establishment of a Joint Board for Postgraduate Study. Professor Adu Boahen of the History Department was appointed on October 16th, 1971 as the Dean of Graduate Studies. He was entrusted with an office and a secretariat to administer and promote the development of graduate study (Agbodeka, 1998).

The Regulations for the Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) degree were approved during the 1963–1964 academic year. Since the inception of doctoral education in the University of Ghana, the degree has always been a PhD and not a DPhil (Agbodeka, 1998). The PhD degree used to be a thesis-only programme and was limited to 100,000 words (Agbodeka, 1998) until August, 2013. Under the new PhD system, the thesis component is limited to 50,000 words (Handbook for Doctoral Studies, 2014). The first Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) thesis at the University of Ghana was produced in 1969 from within the History Department and this earned Dr Francis Agbodeka the first PhD degree conferred by the University of Ghana (Agbodeka, 1998).

The University of Ghana currently operates two systems in the provision of the PhD, which can be described as the old system, which will phase out when and if the last cohort of students complete their studies and the new system with two enrolment dates (January and August). The old system is a thesis-only programme. The duration of the programme is three years for full-time students and six years for part-timers. The new system is a compulsory four-year programme for full-timers while part-timers have six years to complete the degree. The components of the new PhD programme are coursework, a written and comprehensive oral examination, internship (experiential learning), seminar presentations (research proposal, experiential research learning, thesis progress report, and provisional thesis findings report), thesis writing, and an oral defense (Handbook for Doctoral Studies, 2014). The extension period for full-timers can be up to two years while that of part-timers is one year without any further extension (*Handbook for Doctoral Studies*, 2014). A total of 75–81 credits are required for the PhD candidate to graduate. The enrolment and graduation rates of PhD students at the University of Ghana to date have been generally low. The ratio of Masters to doctoral student enrolment from 2001–2007 was 16:1 (Cloete, Bailey, Pillay, Bunting, & Maassen, 2011).

Table 1: PhD Enrolment and Graduation from 2001–2007

	2001	2003	2005	2007	Average annual growth
Doctoral Enrolment	69	79	94	102	6.7%
Doctoral Graduates	9	14	12	11	3.4%

Source: Cloete, Bailey, Pillay, Bunting, & Maassen (2011)

The 2015 population of PhD students in both the new and old systems at the University of Ghana is 489 (Institutional Research and Planning Office (IRPO), University of Ghana, 2015). The percentage increase in the enrolment rate over the eight-year period (2007–2015) was 379%. The statistics obtained from the University of Ghana on the population of PhD students do not separate the population of students into the old and new systems since the statistics are combined.

Table 2: Distribution of PhD Students Based on Gender, Nationality and the College (2015)

Nationality	College	Gender		Total
		Males	Females	
Non-Ghanaians	College of Basic and Applied Sciences	33	7	40
	College of Humanities	3	6	9
	College of Education	-	-	-
	College of Health Sciences	0	1	1
	Total	36	14	50
Ghanaians	College of Basic and Applied Sciences	80	41	121
	College of Humanities	157	94	251
	College of Education	6	6	12
	College of Health Sciences	26	29	55
	Total	269	170	439
Total	College of Basic and Applied Sciences	113	48	161
	College of Humanities	160	100	260
	College of Education	6	6	12
	College of Health Sciences	26	30	56
	Total	305	184	489

Source: Institutional Research and Planning Office, University of Ghana (2015)

Faculty who are sub-professorial PhD holders, Associate and full Professors must have two years teaching experience and publication experience in order to supervise doctoral students. Some Associate Professors and Professors do not have PhDs but, by virtue of their seniority, they are still eligible to supervise (Human Resource and Organisational Development Directorate, 2015). The entire population of these three categories of academic staff stands at 459 as shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Distribution of Faculty Based on the Collegiate System and Credentials (2015)

Colleges	Sub-professorial Staff (PhD Holders)	Associate Professor	Full Professor	Total
College of Basic and Applied Science	63	41	23	127
College of Education	11	1	2	14
College of Humanities	110	32	31	173
College of Health Science	88	41	16	145
Total	272	115	72	459

Source: Human Resource and Organisational Development Directorate (2015)

There were 67 PhD programmes at the University of Ghana as of 2015 (University of Ghana Graduate School, 2015). The College of Humanities runs 25 programmes while the College of Basic and Applied Sciences has 38. The College of Health Sciences has one PhD programme, which is Public Health. The College of Education has three programmes: Adult Education, Communication Studies, and Information Studies.

1.6 Bourdieu's Influence and Critique in Academic Discourse

Pierre Bourdieu's works (1st August, 1930–23rd December, 2002) have received considerable accolades from the academic world, given his wide-ranging musings on diverse disciplines (see Sallaz & Zavisca, 2007). The multidisciplinary nature of his writings has earned him several labels, such as sociologist, educational sociologist, social theorist, anthropologist, philosopher, phenomenologist, structuralist, Marxist, and public intellectual (see Barrett, 2015; Nash, 1999; Sallaz & Zavisca, 2007; Robbins, 1991). He has also been labelled as a “resister” (Richardson, 2005, p. 61) and political activist dedicated to the study of social structures (Costa & Murphy, 2015). Aspects of my analysis on doctoral education, socialisation, and disparate doctoral experiences have the tendency to reflect some of these labels.

The extensive contribution Bourdieu made to the intellectual discourse on diverse issues while alive provided a deeper understanding of the workings of the social world (see James, 2015). Posthumously, Bourdieu continues to gain increasing numbers of “devotees” in the academia (see Grenfell & Lebaron, 2014). Originally, Bourdieusian concepts were used to understand social struggle and inequality in Algerian society (see Gopaul, 2011), and the logic behind French colonialism and domination (Go, 2013). However, Bourdieusian theory extends to diverse social issues such as feminism (e.g. Adkins & Skeggs, 2004; Lovell, 2000; McLeod, 2005; Thorpe, 2009), racism (e.g. Myers, 2005; Wieviorka, 2000), crime (e.g. Moyle & Coomber, 2016), migration (e.g. Erel, 2010; Ryan, 2011; Oliver & O'Reilly, 2010), and divorce (Hacker, 2008; Oygard, 2004). Scholars (see Horvat, 2001; Lareau, 2001; Reay, 2004) have employed his work to identify patterns of social struggle across countries and contexts. This includes cultural (e.g. Garnham & Williams, 1980; Singley, 2003) and political issues (Goodman, 2009; Swartz, 2013; Kauppi, 2003; Wacquant, 2004). Barrett (2015) asserts that Bourdieu's social theory has stimulated a range of cutting-edge and supplementary theoretical and empirical scholarship.

Education as a social science discipline has benefitted greatly from Bourdieu's oeuvre. His concepts have been applied to various educational issues right from the primary to the tertiary levels of education. To provide a tiny sample of this work: In "Bourdieu on education and social and cultural reproduction", Nash (1990) applies Bourdieu to an analysis of how social practice shapes educational attainment of primary school pupils. Symeou (2007) employs Bourdieu's concept of *cultural capital* to understand teacher-family collaboration in two state primary schools in Cyprus. Murray (2002) draws on Bourdieu's ideas of *field* and *habitus* to conceptualise how educators working on primary initial teacher education courses construct their professionalism. Backman (2008) applies Bourdieusian concepts of *social field* and *symbolic capital* to explore the struggles and dominant and valued positions amongst physical education teachers of outdoor recreation and outdoor education (*friluftsliv*) in Sweden. In the domain of secondary education, Conway (1997) employs Bourdieu's concepts of *social field* and *habitus* to provide a sociological analysis of parental choice of secondary education for their wards. Hupka-Brunner, Sacchi, and Stalder (2010) consider Bourdieusian *capital theory* to explore the role the school system in Switzerland plays in reproducing educational and social inequality in terms of access to the upper secondary education. The examples show the global importance of Bourdieu's theory to education; however, many examples focus on the lower levels of the education system.

Bourdieu's thinking has been used in a diversity of educational contexts, which demonstrates both the wide applicability of his work and also the depth and breadth of issues in this realm. Issues range from student retention (e.g. Thomas, 2002), widening participation (see Crozier, Reay, Clayton, Colliander, & Grinstead, 2008) to inequality in higher education (e.g. Bathmaker, 2015; Naidoo, 2004; Reay, Davies, David, & Ball, 2001), and each year more themes continue to gain increasing space in the literature. In light of this doctoral thesis, it is of no surprise that doctoral education draws regularly on Bourdieu. Topics include doctoral student socialisation (see Gopaul, 2011, 2012; Pervan, Blackman, Sloan, Wallace, Vocino, & Bryne, 2016), inequality in doctoral education (see Gopaul, 2015, 2016), and persistence in doctoral study (Espino, 2014; James, 2015; Maritz & Prinsloo, 2015; Mendoza et al., 2012; Reay, 2015; Susen, 2013; Wacquant, 2014; Walker & Yoon, 2016). However, the relationship between Bourdieusian theory and doctoral student socialisation has not figured heavily in research. Gopaul's (2012) remarkable contribution employing Bourdieu's *habitus*, *field*, *capital*, and *practice* examines doctoral education as particular processes and expectations that underpin success in doctoral education. Gopaul also uses these frameworks to explore how students experienced varied socialisation mechanisms differently.

Through a qualitative study of 15 doctoral students in Engineering and Philosophy, Gopaul (2015) employed Bourdieu's notion of the *field* to explore visible practices within doctoral education that produce inequalities across students. Pervan et al. (2016) also explore how Doctorate of Business Administration (DBA) students exercise agency through Bourdieu's concepts of *cultural* and *social capital* as they navigate the socialisation process.

Just as much as Bourdieu's theories have provided scholars and researchers leverage to further our understanding of the workings of the social world, they have also incurred resistance amongst some scholars who have taken opposing positions (e.g. Alexander, 1995; Gartman, 1991; Grisworld, 1998; Jenkins, 1992; LiPuma, 1993; Nash, 1999; Tooley & Darby, 1998; Reay, 2015; Sayer, 2005; Sweetman, 2003). Nash (1999) critiques Bourdieu's intellectual style as having suspicious characteristics; among them he indicated Bourdieu's aversion for definitions of his concepts, such as "*structure*" (p. 176). Nash was not the only one who criticised Bourdieu for his impenetrable writing style (e.g. Simeoni, 2000; Swartz, 1997; Smith, 1989), which, some scholars have argued is filled with hermeneutical (interpretation) errors (Sallaz & Zavisca, 2007).

Bourdieu was also criticised for being too fixated on and specific to French society (Alexander, 1995; Gartman, 1991; Grisworld, 1998). According to Sallaz and Zavisca (2007), the early criticisms levelled at Bourdieu's works included his application of particularities of French society to the United States. Importantly, he was not apologetic for this stance, as his epigraph below illustrates:

Texts such as mine, produced in a definite position in a definite state of the French intellectual or academic field, have little chance of being grasped without distortion or deformation in the American field (Bourdieu, 2000b, p. 241).

Bourdieu was criticised by LiPuma (1993) for his failure to establish a linkage between individual agency and social classification. For LiPuma, Bourdieu, in his theorisation about the habitus, did not account for the relative internalisation of the habitus by individuals who belong to the same social class. Jenkins (1992) also criticised Bourdieu's conceptualisation of the habitus as being overly structured and deterministic because the habitus is so structured that it produces practices, which reflect the objective social structure right at the beginning when it is reproduced. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) rebut Jenkins' critique; disagreeing with Jenkins' description of habitus. Bourdieu repeatedly went on the defensive by stating that such connections are fixed as the model

portrays though he did not provide rules that can be used to resolve situations – they may be strengthened or weakened (Nash, 1999). Reay (2015), who has undertaken considerable research using Bourdieu’s concepts, also critiqued Bourdieu’s rigidity because of his strong focus on taking an objective and scientific approach, thus failing to deal with the affective domains of human life.

Bourdieu was perceived to be displaying double standards in his writing. He borrowed a lot of “psychological” concepts such as *libido* and *object relations*, which have their roots in the psychoanalytic works of Sigmund Freud and John Bowlby (Reay, 2015). However, Bourdieu revoked his use of psychoanalysis in the 1960s and 1970s (Fourny, 2000). A perusal of his texts demonstrates many psychological/psychoanalytic terms increasingly populating his work over time (Steinmetz, 2006). Though he renounced the influence of psychology and psychoanalysis in his works, in his *Weight of the world* in 1999 he established the complementary relationship between sociology and psychoanalysis (see Reay, 2015). In *Pascalian meditations*, Bourdieu established a linkage between the habitus and psychoanalytic processes saying:

One could describe each form of a specific habitus as a compromise formation (in Freud’s sense). Sociology and psychoanalysis should unite their strengths (but to do so they would need to overcome their prejudices against each other) to analyse the genesis of investment in a field of social relations (Bourdieu, 2000, pp. 198–199).

1.7 Research Question

The overarching research question guiding this study is:

How can Bourdieusian concepts be used to understand the way doctoral education and socialisation is structured and subsequently construes disparate experiences and outcomes for doctoral students in Ghana?

1.7.1 Related questions

The two related research questions that this study addresses are firstly theoretical and secondly empirical. The theoretical question is primarily answered by drawing on existing literature on Bourdieu’s thinking concepts to theorise doctoral education as an enterprise and a social space for socialising doctoral students to become stewards of the discipline (Golde, 2005). The empirical question is answered through the analysis and discussion of data gathered from participants.

1.7.2 Theoretical question

This question contributes to bridging the gap in the existing literature that points to the limited theorising on doctoral education (Boud & Lee, 2005). I address the question:

How can Bourdieu's concepts of *field*, *habitus*, *capital*, *pedagogic authority*, *doxic order*, and *symbolic violence* be used to understand the organisation of doctoral education and socialisation?

1.7.3 Empirical question

The existing literature does not provide a comprehensive and synergistic interpretation on what accounts for disparate doctoral experiences. Thus, I draw on empirical data gathered from the lived experiences of doctoral students and supervisors at a public university in Ghana to address the question:

How can Bourdieu's concepts of the *habitus*, *capital*, and *pedagogical authority* be used to understand the disparate experiences and outcomes for doctoral students?

1.8 Scope of the Study

My study explores the socialisation experiences of PhD students and the part played by supervisors in the socialisation of doctoral students. The students and supervisors selected for the study were not in the same supervisory relationship. I did not interview a supervisor and his or her supervisee from the same department because the University of Auckland Ethics Committee advised against that kind of practice. I focus on the experiences of PhD students in both a new and old system of PhD education in the context of a newly introduced collegiate system. The colleges have been organised based on disciplines. Below are the discipline-related faculties, institutes, centres, and schools that make up the four colleges at the public university in Ghana. Table 4 highlights the disciplines under each college.

Table 4: Collegiate System in the University of Ghana (2014)

College of Health Sciences	College of Basic and Applied Sciences	College of Humanities	College of Education
School of Medicine and Dentistry	School of Physical and Mathematical Sciences	Business School	School of Information and Communication Studies
		School of Law	
School of Public Health	School of Biological Sciences	School of Arts	School of Education and Leadership
School of Nursing	School of Engineering Sciences	School of Languages	School of Continuing and Distance Education
School of Pharmacy	School of Veterinary Medicine	School of Social Sciences	
School of Biomedical and Allied Health Sciences	Institute of Environment and Sanitation Studies	School of Performing Arts	
Noguchi Memorial Institute for Medical Research	Institute of Applied Science and Technology	Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research	
Centre for Tropical, Clinical Pharmacology and Therapeutics	West Africa Centre for Crop Improvement	Institute of African Studies	
	Biotechnology Research Centre	Regional Institute for Population Studies	
	Livestock and Poultry Research Centre (LIPREC), Legon	Centre for Social Policy Studies	
	Soil and Irrigation Research Centre (SIREC), Kpong	Centre for Migration Studies	
	Forest and Horticultural Crops Research Centre (FOHCREC), Kade	Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy	
		Centre for Gender Studies and Advocacy	
		Language Centre	
University of Ghana Accra City Campus			

Source: Management of the University of Ghana (2015)

Given the diverse nature of doctoral education issues, I have limited my analysis to the organisation of doctoral education as a global knowledge creation enterprise, as a business, and as an avenue of training (socialising) the future stewards of the disciplines. I narrow this down to explore the PhD student experience relating to how their habitus undergoes restructuring during the doctoral candidature, the capital accumulated during the journey, and the effects the exercise of the pedagogic authority, doxic order, and symbolic violence have on the students' knowledge production process.

1.9 Definition of Key Concepts

The terms below have been operationalised in the context of this study.

Doctoral enterprise:

Denotes the educational programme organised for public purpose and as a business with the aim of training stewards of the discipline as part of the third tier of higher education to produce knowledge through research for its intrinsic or instrumental value of commercialisation for profits or social benefit.

Knowledge recycling:

Means repackaging existing knowledge in a different way to construe a phenomenon that serves as the research interest in the doctoral research and writing process.

Organisation of doctoral education:

This refers to the arrangements put in place by universities, government, and industry to train multi-skilled stewards from the varied disciplines to produce knowledge at the third level of higher education.

Transmission of disciplinary knowledge:

Refers to the communication of the epistemological, ontological, axiological, and methodological knowledge related to a discipline by doctoral supervisors to supervisees during the doctoral training.

1.10 Organisation of the Following Chapters

Chapter Two presents a literature review to discuss and understand postgraduate socialisation and the cognitive apprenticeship models developed during the doctoral journey. In the same chapter, I recount the similarities between these two models. The chapter's last section is devoted to a discussion of the inadequacy of these models to explicate the varied socialisation experiences at the individual, disciplinary, departmental, and institutional levels.

Chapters Three, Four, and Five address the theoretical questions that guided the study. Chapter Three discusses doctoral education as a social field characterised by struggle (competition), collaboration, and partnerships. The first subsection offers discourse on how doctoral education

as a social field is governed by struggle and a *doxa* in the knowledge production process. The chapter considers doctoral education from the perspectives of the doctoral student and supervisor or faculty member. Following this, I address the significance of Bourdieu's concepts of *illusio* and *libido* to the doctoral enterprise and the knowledge production process. Furthermore, I consider social agents, actors, and groupings within the doctoral enterprise as they advance their quest for survival and the ability to compete in the doctoral field. In doing so, I challenge Bourdieu's notion of the field as characterised by struggle and advance the notion that partnerships and collaborations also occur in the field. These partnerships and collaborations give social agents, actors, and institutions relative advantage in the struggle manifesting in the field.

Chapter Four continues to address the theoretical question by construing the roles of Bourdieu's widely appropriated thinking tools of habitus and capital in doctoral education and socialisation. Firstly, I discuss the role the possession of the right habitus serves for the student in the knowledge production process. The second section focuses on the role the supervisors' habitus has on the supervisory experience of doctoral candidates. The chapter discusses the forms of capital that exist in the doctoral enterprise and the socialisation process. I recount the struggles that occur among institutions, doctoral students, and supervisors for the forms of capital valued in the doctoral milieu.

Chapter Five analyses how doctoral supervisors' pedagogical authority is or may be appropriated in the supervisory space to produce varied experiences for supervisees. The chapter commences with a discussion of the two main types of supervision used in the socialisation of doctoral candidates within the social sciences and the hard and applied sciences. The chapter discusses the way these modes of supervision influence the exercise of pedagogical authority.

Chapter Six deals with this project's research method. I discuss the research design employed for the study, which is interpretive phenomenology and the rationale for the choice of that design. I also explain the data collection technique, the instrument used, and the approach I employed to contact the potential participants for the interviews. I then explicate the processes I went through to select participants in order to generate my data. I succinctly outline the approach I used to analyse data collected through the interviews. I provide discourse on how I ensured the

trustworthiness of my research, the ethical considerations that guided the study, and the theoretical and methodological limitations of my study.

Chapters Seven, Eight, and Nine address the empirical question. Through the use of data gathered and analysed within the context of Bourdieusian concepts already described, I show how these concepts illuminate the disparate experience of doctoral candidates. Chapter Seven discusses the development of the collective and the individual habitus during the doctoral knowledge production journey. There I underscore the similarity of the doctoral experience irrespective of discipline and I discuss the development of academic habitus. The chapter also tries to make sense of doctoral experiences through an individual's habitus.

Chapter Eight concentrates on Bourdieu's concept of *capital* as it relates specifically to the doctoral experience. The chapter commences with a discussion of the importance of economic capital in the doctoral journey and strategies students use to accumulate ample economic capital to finance their studies. The discussion then focuses on the role of access, distribution, and volume of economic capital in the doctoral trajectory, which subsequently creates a stratification that I label *haves*, *have less*, and *have nots*. The chapter also discusses cultural capital acquisition as the bedrock of the doctoral experience. The discussion on cultural capital acquisition concentrates on publishing as a form of cultural (academic) capital in the doctoral journey and how conference participation and presentation enriches the doctoral experience. I then focus on how the possession of social capital creates dissimilar socialisation experiences for doctoral candidates.

Chapter Nine focuses on how pedagogic authority, the doxic order, and symbolic violence result in disparate experiences for doctoral students. The chapter commences with a discussion on how pedagogic authority manifests in the supervisory space. It then looks at how some supervisors establish a balance between the exercise of pedagogical authority and pedagogical love. Although the concept of pedagogical love is not one of Bourdieu's concepts, my interview data revealed it was exercised by some supervisors.

Chapter Ten deals with the summary, conclusion, and recommendations for policy, practice, and further research possibilities on doctoral education and socialisation within the African context.

As I now commence my entry into the doctoral education discourse (field) I will end this chapter with a quote from Bourdieu (1991):

The field as a whole is defined as a system of deviations on different levels and nothing, either in the institutions or in the agents, the acts or discourses they produce, has meaning except relationally, by virtue of the interplay of oppositions and distinctions (p. 185).

CHAPTER TWO

CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF CURRENT THINKING ON DOCTORAL EDUCATION AND SOCIALISATION

2.1 Introduction

Through reviewing the literature, I explore the utility of the *graduate socialisation* and *cognitive apprenticeship* models to understand the socialisation that occurs in doctoral education, particularly within the disciplinary, departmental, and institutional spaces. These two models are used to explain the processes through which doctoral students navigate the path from neophytes in the knowledge production process to “*dons*” capable of functioning as independent researchers. The similarities and differences associated with these social learning theories are presented as part of the discourse. The last aspect of the discourse focuses on recounting the inadequacy of these socialisation models to clearly explicate the varied doctoral socialisation experiences at the individual, disciplinary, departmental, and institutional levels. Some salient issues associated with the graduate socialisation process not discussed by these theories are also addressed.

2.2 Graduate Socialisation Model as an Interpretive Tool for Doctoral Training

The graduate socialisation model postulated by Weidman, Twale and Stein (2001) espouse that the development of craft knowledge, skills, values, and norms in doctoral socialisation occurs through processes and practices that facilitate interaction and communication between students, faculty and peers. This theory has been extensively applied to the socialisation of doctoral students and discussed in the existing literature by several scholars (e.g. Austin & McDaniel, 2006; Braxton & Baird, 2001; Gardner, 2007, 2008; Gardner & Barnes, 2007; Golde, 1998; Lovitts, 2001).

Weidman et al. (2001) define graduate socialisation as “the process through which individuals gain the knowledge, skills and values necessary for successful entry into a professional career requiring an advanced level of specialised skills” (p. 4). Weidman et al.’s attribution of the goal of graduate socialisation being the development of knowledge, skills, and values relevant to doctoral students’ future professional careers is instrumentally skewed or biased. Though graduate socialisation has generic effect on the doctoral students; Leonard, Becker and Coate (2005) report other intrinsic and extrinsic reasons for the pursuit of graduate education which include satisfying professional demands and self fulfillment. However, Weidman et al.’s definition emphasises the overarching purpose for the pursuit of doctoral or graduate education from an institutional perspective. Golde

(1998) gives a context-specific definition of graduate socialisation when she defines graduate school socialisation as a process “in which a newcomer [*doctoral or PhD student*] is made a member of a community – in the case of the graduate student, the community of an academic department in a particular discipline” (p. 56).

The word *community* as used in the definition needs to be widened as the spaces of socialisation for the graduate or doctoral students are not limited to the academy (specifically the department and the institution). However, the academe continues to dominate as the space for doctoral socialisation (see Jones, 2013). The department nested within the university provides the first form of community for the doctoral candidate because most of the training process is concentrated within the departments that run the discipline-specific programmes (see Golde, 2005; Gardner & Barnes, 2007). It is within this community that doctoral students are socialised to behave like the members of the academe during the process of training to produce disciplinary knowledge. It should be noted that in the doctoral socialisation process the community is not restricted to the department; it also encompasses other communities of learning related to the discipline, which are not necessarily confined to a given geographical area but occur on the global stage. The doctoral student becomes a member of an academic community through the socialisation process. The doctoral candidate undergoes the learning process, which equips them with the knowledge, skills, values, attitudes, habits and modes of thought of the discipline or institution to which they belong (Bragg, 1976). To Golde (1998), there is an inherent duality associated with the role socialisation plays in the training of graduate or doctoral students. She states that new students are concurrently socialised into the role of the graduate student and are also given socialisation that prepares them for graduate student life and a future career common to most doctoral students. The dual role of graduate socialisation emphasised by Golde entrenches the intended function (Merton, 1936) inherent in the process of training doctoral students.

According to Weidman et al., (2001) socialisation prepares individual doctoral students to acquire the requisite knowledge, skills and dispositions that make them more or less effective members of their society (academe/doctoral enterprise). They assert that socialisation of graduate or doctoral students helps them to acquire the needed information for making the transitions associated with the stages of the socialisation process. However, it is through effective communication strategies, interactions, and relationships that doctoral students are helped to acquire the information needed

to navigate the doctoral journey and reach the desired destination (earning the doctoral degree and using it to secure a job or enhance professional competence) (see Gopaul, 2011; Millet & Nettles, 2006; Bargar & Mayo-Chamberlain, 1983).

An attribute of the socialisation process which is important for newcomers is the interaction/relationships with the socialisation agents (Sweitzer, 2009; Weidman et al., 2001; Gersick, Dutton & Bartunek, 2000; Tinto, 1993; Brim & Wheeler, 1966). From the perspective of Bragg (1976), the avenues of socialisation are embedded in three forms of interaction. Firstly, there is the interaction of students with the structures of the educational setting. This structure is influential in changing the attitudes and values of students as the interaction between the students in the same educational setting (department or discipline) leads them to reflect the attitudes and values of the institution (Bragg, 1976). Students interact with structural components such as the student selection process, isolation from external influences, the consistency of programme goals, the openness of values and role models, the provision of opportunities for practising responses through coursework, examinations, internships or practicum, and the provision of both constructive and undesirable sanctions as feedback to students (Gardner, 2010). Secondly, there is the interaction amongst students in the same educational programme – interactions with fellow students in the doctoral programme encourage the socialisation process, especially when the neophyte interacts with older students in the process of “learning the ropes” of the programme (Gardner, 2010, p. 40). Gardner (2007) also asserts that when doctoral students interact as part of the socialisation process they bond with one another as they concurrently experience the varied trials and tribulations associated with the doctoral process. Lastly, interaction between students and faculty members takes centre stage in the socialisation of doctoral candidates (Baird, 1995; Bragg, 1976; Clark & Corcoran, 1986; Rosen & Bates, 1967). Bragg (1976) submits that while a programme catalogue enlightens the doctoral student of the programme structure by explaining the goals and overarching values, the faculty members are the principal agents of the socialisation process. It is through faculty interaction with students that:

The faculty members transmit their attitudes, values, behavioural norms formally through the structures they establish and through courses they teach and informally through individual advising and supervising of the study and through social activities (Bragg, 1976, pp. 19–20).

The fact that those who are socialised are influenced through the interaction/relationship with socialising agents does not mean that they are “conditioned automatons” but that interactional experiences and the environment shapes their development (Colwell, 1998). Perceiving graduate students as passive observers and conforming to the socialisation process entrenches the notion of determinism (see Burrell & Morgan, 1979; Hoy & Rees, 1977; Knowles, 1972; Robinson, 1978) and makes them into *tabulae rasae* (Atkinson, 1983). This functionalist assumption tends to view new students in doctoral education as passive individuals who undergo a linear, smooth, and unperturbed socialisation process (see Ongiti, 2012). The functionalist orientation regards the social world as “Ontologically preceding man and seek[ing] to place man and his activities within that wider social context” (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p. 106).

Subscribing to Burrell and Morgan’s orientation means that individuals (doctoral or graduate students) enter the social world (doctoral education) without any capacity to influence their socialisation process. To entrench their notion of passivity on the part of the newcomer to be socialised, Burrell and Morgan concur with Van Scotter et al. (1985) that the socialisation process involves “teaching” and “learning”. The teaching and learning encompass the confluence of culture, society, community, and agents or institutions of socialisation where these entities act as the “teacher” and all members of the society are “learners”. Ongiti (2012) disagrees with this functionalist way of perceiving new students as passive observers who enrol in graduate programmes to conform to pre-existing programmes without taking their personal needs, interests and values into consideration.

2.3 Perspectives of the Graduate Socialisation Model

There are two broad perspectives of the use of the graduate socialisation model as a lens in explicating the socialisation of graduate or doctoral students. These two perspectives are the modernist and post-modernist. Turning to the post-modernist perspective, this school of thought about graduate (doctoral) socialisation opposes the notion that the socialisation of doctoral candidates in the doctoral enterprise occurs through predictable stages (e.g. Staton-Spicer & Darling, 1986; 1987; Staton & Darling, 1989; Sprague & Nyquist, 1989, 1991; Nyquist, Manning, Wulff, Austin, & Sprague, Fraser & Woodford, 1999). Post-modernists hold the view that neophytes bring unique experiences to bear on the socialisation process and do not only assimilate the culture of the institution and discipline alone but they also make a contribution in shaping the

culture that exists in the institution (Austin & McDaniels, 2006). Another supposition espoused by the post-modernists is that the institution plays a prominent role in showing the doctoral student how to be successful in the institution but must also treasure the differences doctoral students bring to the institution. Tierney (1997) suggests that these differences be used as a springboard for recreation rather than replication in the socialisation process. Post-modernists place a premium on the interactions of trainees in the doctoral enterprise with role incumbents in the department and institution as these exchanges shape the experiences of the newcomers, the department, and the institution as a whole.

Modernist theorists champion the notion that socialisation of newbies in the department or institution occurs in stages that involve linear progression whereby newcomers acquire knowledge through a series of planned learning activities (e.g. Bragg, 1976; Braxton & Baird, 2001; Clark & Corcoran, 1986; Kirk & Todd-Mancillas, 1991; Stein, 1992; Thornton & Nardi, 1975; Tierney, 1997; van Maanen, 1976, 1983, 1984). They articulate the assumption that, for a doctoral candidate who enrolls in the doctoral programme to be successful, they need to be socialised in a linear way to learn and assimilate the norms, language of the discipline, disciplinary knowledge, skills, habits of mind or attitudes, and behaviours or the culture of the institution in order to function within it (see Austin & McDaniels, 2006; Tierney, 1997). Stein and Weidman (1989, 1990), who were influenced by Thornton and Nardi (1975), proposed a four-phase approach for explicating the transition through doctoral education namely: anticipatory, formal, informal, and personal. The core features of these stages are knowledge acquisition, investment, involvement (Weidman et al., 2001), and time (Baird, 1990, 1993). The four stages involved in the doctoral socialisation process are perceived to be sequential, taking place through established activities that contribute to absorption and uniformity (Tierney & Rhoads, 1994) in the doctoral enterprise. This feature of the socialisation process has been supported by Gardner (2008, 2007), Austin & McDaniels (2006), Austin (2002), Braxton & Baird (2001), Lovitts (2001), and Tierney and Rhoads (1994). These authors concur with Weidman et al. (2001) that the stages of the socialisation process equip doctoral students with knowledge, skills, and dispositions required for the doctorate and future careers in the academe.

However, some organisational theorists cluster the second, third, and fourth phases of the socialisation process into just one stage and label it as *role continuance* (Tierney & Rhoads, 1994 cited

in Gardner, Hayes & Neider, 2007). This phase of socialisation consists of the time when the students experience the socialisation processes that eventually informs their decision to remain in the organisation and adopt the values, attitudes, and beliefs of the culture (the discipline or higher education) (Tierney & Rhoads, 1994).

A debatable issue that surrounds the *anticipatory stage* of the socialisation process is the period it commences. Merton (1957) states that it is a period when individuals take “on the values of the non-membership group, to which they aspire” (p. 319), thus aiding the individual to adjust to the group and becoming assimilated to its norms, values, and attributes (Tierney & Rhoads, 1994). Tierney & Rhoads (1994) validate Merton’s assertion when they indicate that it begins before the individual gains membership in the organisation because they learn about the organisation via the recruitment process. However, Gardner (2007, 2008) contrasts Merton’s position (1957) and that of Tierney and Rhoads (1994) by stating that anticipatory socialisation begins when the graduate or doctoral student enters the academe or the department for the first time. However, the individual may not necessarily get the opportunity to be a full member in order to gain a holistic and immersed socialisation in the culture of an organisation if not given membership status (via selection and recruitment process). It is through the attainment of full membership status that the individual (doctoral or graduate student) turns to immerse themselves in the organisational culture (higher education, department and discipline) and behave in normative ways required by the culture (see Holley, 2011, 2009; Swidler, 2001; Golde, 2000, 2005; Weidman, Twale, & Stein, 2001). However, a common feature in the *anticipatory stage* highlighted by Merton (1957), Tierney and Rhoads (1994), and Gardner (2007, 2008) is learning about the organisation. Gardner (2007, 2008) asserts that doctoral students need to learn new roles, as well as procedures and agenda to be followed. This stage is characterised by securing information and following directions as stipulated by the dictates of the organisation and from senior members in the organisation. Weidman et al. (2001) describe this stage as the student becoming “aware of the behavioural, attitudinal and cognitive expectations held for a role incumbent” (p. 12). This phase socialises doctoral students into future careers in the academy since professional attitudes and values needed for academic careers are firmly shaped in the graduate school (Gardner, 2007; Boyer, 1990).

Gradually, the doctoral student moves into the *formal stage* of the socialisation process and it is associated with observing the roles of faculty and senior doctoral candidates while learning role

expectations and the *modus operandi* of these roles. Gardner (2007, 2008) states that the concern of students at this stage is about task issues; and communication at this phase is informative through course materials and regulations. The doctoral student learns to embrace the normative expectations and achieves integration through faculty and students' interaction. From Gardner's assertion the socialisation at this stage is dependent on the individuals' ability to balance a sense of dependence and independence in order to acquire the needed information to thrive.

At the *informal stage* "the novice learns of the informal role expectations of the organisation transmitted through interactions with others who are current role incumbents" (Weidman et al., 2001, p. 14). This occurs mostly through observation of behavioural cues from those they interact with most. They then start to reflect these behavioural cues in their covert and overt behaviours. According to Gardner (2007, 2008) through lessons learnt in the informal stage the student begins to feel less "student like" and more professional.

The final *personal phase* culminates in the fusion and internalisation of the individual's social roles, personalities, and social structures. Students are able to value their orientation and forgo old ways. Roles conflicts and values are resolved, thus the student is able to detach himself or herself from the department in search of their own personal identity.

While the transition from one stage to another may be short for some, others may take a long time to transit through these stages. It must be emphasised that doctoral students may experience the aforementioned phases of the socialisation process differently (see Gopaul, 2011; Gardner, 2008, 2009; Golde & Dore, 2001) as a confluence of factors may influence the way they are socialised. Gardner (2009) concurs with Golde and Dore (2001) that the socialisation experiences of individual graduate students do not only vary in the same discipline but also vary widely by discipline. However, Gardner indicates that variation in the socialisation experience transcends across disciplines to embrace variations in the departmental and institutional context. Gardner (2008) reinforced this observation when she found through her interviews with part-time students that "these students' experiences are clearly disparate from their peers who are traditionally full-time as they typically do not receive the full scope of the socialisation experience" (p. 134).

2.3.1 Linear perspective of doctoral socialisation

Clark and Corcoran (1986) also entrench the notion of linear socialisation of graduate students by advancing three phases doctoral students go through as part of their doctoral journey. These stages slightly differ from the model discussed above and comprise *anticipatory*, *occupational entry and induction* and *role continuance* (see Austin & McDaniels, 2006). The *anticipatory phase* is characterised by recruiting prospective doctoral student into the field of study while the occupational entry and induction involves the student attending lectures, interacting with doctoral advisors (supervisors), participating in internships, mentoring, examination, dissertation writing, publishing, presentation at conferences, and securing a job (Austin & McDaniels, 2006). Not all the components of the doctoral programme, such as lecture attendance as part of the occupational entry and induction, are applicable to all doctoral programmes. Countries such as the United Kingdom, New Zealand, and Australia do not have coursework as part of their PhD programmes. However, they may include skills training workshops that are made mandatory during the provisional year. The *role continuance phase* involves the continuation in work secured after the doctoral process. The model postulated by Clark and Corcoran (1986) looks beyond the doctoral process to embrace the period of employment after doctoral training. The other phase-oriented classification focuses on the doctoral trajectory as exemplified by Braxton and Baird (2001) and Stein and Weidman's (1989, 1990) typology presented below.

Braxton and Baird (2001) validate the phase-oriented approach in perceiving successful doctoral socialisation by stating that the socialisation process includes the “beginning stage”, a “middle stage”, and the “dissertation phase”. The beginning stage is characterised by the doctoral candidate learning the language and perspectives of the field, identification of the peer group for the purposes of association and wellbeing, learning about the graduate programme's focus, locating a faculty sponsor, and garnering financial support. The middle stage involves the completion of coursework, the student's enhanced competency in the field, specifying intellectual and professional interest, securing the supervisory team, and preparation for comprehensive exams (Austin & McDaniels, 2006). The last stage involves the dissertation phase where the doctoral student needs guidance, advice, and encouragement to navigate dissertation writing. To these modernists, the process of socialising doctoral students in phases should be viewed as “turning points” in academic life (Kirk & Todd-Mancillas, 1991).

2.3.2 Core elements of doctoral socialisation

Weidman et al. (2001) investigate the core elements associated with the stages discussed: knowledge acquisition, investment, and involvement. Baird (1990, 1993) adds time as a characteristic associated with the socialisation process as doctoral students are exposed to several opportunities in their doctoral trajectory (see Nettles & Millet, 2006). Weidman et al. (1998) highlight the interconnected nature of these core elements by stating that:

It is the acquisition of specialised knowledge and skills (knowledge acquisition) coupled with participation in formal preparation for a professional role (investment), which promotes identification with and commitment to a professional role. Similarly, it is the student's interaction with role incumbents (involvement) that provides opportunities to become aware of the appropriate professional attitudes (knowledge) and to be sponsored for membership in a profession (investment) (pp. 17–18).

The doctoral socialisation process is characterised by *knowledge acquisition*, which involves learning the cognitive knowledge and specific skills relevant for effective practice within the profession or discipline (Liddell et al., 2014). For Holley and Taylor (2009), knowledge acquisition promotes socialisation in a dual way. First and foremost, acquiring the formal knowledge of the discipline by doctoral students helps them to gain membership in the community of practice (Holley & Taylor, 2009). Weidman et al. (2001) assert that the formal interaction between doctoral students and supervisors who are perceived as experts in the discipline aids students to acquire skills that reflect the discipline or community of practice. Lastly, for successful socialisation to occur doctoral students ought to master the unstated informal knowledge related to the discipline or profession (Holley & Taylor, 2009).

The second element pertinent to the doctoral socialisation process is *involvement*. For Weidman et al. (2001), involvement is central to the doctoral socialisation process. For a doctoral candidate to demonstrate this element he or she needs to be an active participant in the community of practice. Their involvement enables the doctoral candidate to understand the demands and issues pertinent to the doctoral enterprise (see Holley & Taylor, 2009). Involvement in the production of knowledge within disciplinary/institutional spaces provides the doctoral candidate with the opportunity to refine their skills in order to develop their proficiency as a practitioner in the community of practice (Holley & Taylor, 2009). The doctoral candidate's involvement in the community exposes them to opportunities to interact with faculty and peers who communicate

benchmarks vital to the discipline (Weidman et al., 2001). For Holley and Taylor, doctoral students develop their dual identities of being a student and a professional through involvement with faculty and peers. The involvement in the student role and thoughtful assessment about the personal meaning of participation in the professional community bring about the development of a professional self-image (Cornelissen & van Wyk, 2007).

Simpson (1979) points to three ways the doctoral candidate can develop a self-image – namely *status identification*, *commitment* and *profession attraction*. *Status identification* can be developed through reflection on how one is proficient to perform the professional role in a way that meets expectations of others (Cornelissen & van Wyk, 2007). Cornelissen and van Wyk (2007) hold the view that *status identification* requires involvement in the student role and thinking about the subjective significance of participation in the professional community bring about the professional self-image. They assert that the acquisition of a professional status changes through an exchange process. They term this as the “looking glass” process of performing the professional role in conformity with expectations of others in a continuous repetitive way.

Commitment is a conviction or an inclination towards the organisation or profession, which associates or attaches identity of the individual to the organisation or profession (Sheldon, 1971). Mowbray et al. (1982) distinguish two types of commitment: *attitudinal* and *behavioural*. According to Mowbray et al., attitudinal commitment occurs in three ways. Firstly, the individual displays a strong belief in and accepts the organisation’s or profession’s goals and values. Secondly, the individual is willing to exercise considerate effort on behalf of the organisation or profession. Lastly, the person has a strong need to maintain membership in the organisation or profession. The behavioural conceptualisation of commitment is oriented towards a function of costs and rewards linked with membership in the organisation or profession (Reichers, 1985).

The third way to develop the doctoral self-image, *profession attraction*, involves the placement of high value on a profession, as well as participation and being recognised as a member of the profession (Cornelissen & van Wyk, 2007). They hold the view that ascribing to the valued qualities of the profession becomes the basis for validating one’s attraction to the profession.

Turning from *involvement* to address *investment*, Cornelissen and van Wyk (2007) assert that investment can be understood as commitment of something of personal value such as time, alternative career choices, self-esteem, social status or reputation to the professional role. Doctoral students who enrol in the programme have to invest their time and energy in order to fulfil the requirements of the programme (Weidman et al., 2001). Time and energy are not the only investment candidates make in their socialisation process as they also have to part with funds if they are not on scholarship. The continual interest expressed by the doctoral candidate in the doctoral process projects a sense of relating the self to the doctoral becoming and this relatedness is considered to be motivational (Cornelissen & van Wyk, 2007). The degree of investment doctoral candidates make in the programme increases as they make progress towards the attainment of the ultimate goal (Weidman et al., 2001). For Weidman et al., the interaction between doctoral supervisor and candidate increases the investment made by the student in his or her candidature because the interaction helps students to meet standards and expectations.

The last element associated with the socialisation process but rarely discussed is *time*. Delamont, Atkinson and Parry (2000) point out that the doctoral student spends a considerable period of time to attain the doctorate as well as meeting specific competencies related to their discipline. The processes and opportunities tend to increase depending on the time the doctoral candidate spends in doctoral training (see Gopaul, 2011; Nettles & Millet, 2006). Gopaul (2011) perceives that the length of time spent in doctoral training increases the interaction between the doctoral student and the faculty and the opportunities for conference presentation and publishing.

2.4 Dimensions of the Graduate Socialisation Model

For Van Maanen and Schein (1979) the socialisation that occurs during graduate or doctoral education is characterised by six polar dimensions of organisational socialisation: *collective* versus *individual*, *formal* versus *informal*, *random* versus *sequential*, *fixed* versus *variable pace*, *serial* versus *disjunctive*, and *investiture* versus *divestiture*.

Collective socialisation refers to the common experiences shared by all doctoral candidates in an academic programme (Weidman et al., 2001). Collective socialisation is not limited to a particular doctoral programme in a given institution but occurs globally as part of the doctoral experience.

For example, the way the doctoral writing process is experienced by doctoral students tends to have a common undertone for all students. *Individual socialisation* refers to the distinctive experiences of the doctoral candidate in the doctoral training process as experienced “an isolated and singular manner” (Tierney & Rhoads, 1994, p. 24). It is this very aspect of the doctoral socialisation process that presents doctoral students with disparate socialisation experiences that I seek to study and explain using Bourdieu’s thinking tools.

Weidman et al. (2001) point out that *formal socialisation* involves the experiences formulated particularly for achieving specific goals while *informal socialisation* consists of the unstructured experiences that are construed differently by the individual student. According to Weidman et al. (2001), the formalised rites of passage right from matriculation to graduation exemplify formal socialisation. Learning the informal departmental and institutional culture that aids the doctoral student process can be characterised as informal socialisation.

Random socialisation refers to the development of unclear steps while sequential socialisation involves distinct steps for accomplishing an organisational role (Tierney & Rhoads, 1994). Information offered to doctoral students that is subject to change, such as opinions given to students on certain aspects of the doctoral programme, can be referred to as random socialisation (Weidman et al., 2001). In contrast, *sequential socialisation* involves formal, comprehensive, and serial information that doctoral candidates must follow to accomplish specific tasks (Weidman et al., 2001). Guidelines for writing the thesis or dissertation is one example.

Turning to *fixed* versus *variable pace* socialisation, Weidman et al. (2001) describe the *fixed pace socialisation* as characterised by succinct, distinct, and static time frames within which development must occur for all doctoral candidates. The duration of three to four years stipulated by the institution for the completion of a full-time doctoral study is an example of fixed pace socialisation. *Variable pace socialisation* denotes ambiguous and unclear time duration for achieving important milestones in the socialisation process. For example, the specific month to turn in your final thesis for examination is stipulated by the institution.

Serial socialisation refers to the presence of planned organisational arrangements and academic experiences through which neophytes are trained by the faculty (Weidman et al., 2001). Wheeler (1966) states that in serial socialisation “the recruit has been preceded by others who have been through the same process and can teach him about the setting” (p. 60), while in disjunctive socialisation “recruits are not following in the footsteps of predecessors” (p. 61). Tierney and Rhoads (1994) state that in disjunctive socialisation doctoral recruits have no role models to learn from and this normally happens when the programme is new (see Weidman et al., 2001) or the student is isolated or sees him/herself as different to others. This complexity involved in the doctoral process may present the doctoral student with a disparate experience.

2.5 Illuminating Doctoral Socialisation Through the Cognitive Apprenticeship Model

Closely related to the graduate socialisation model is the cognitive apprenticeship model (CAM) posited by Vygotsky (1978). The cognitive apprenticeship model is rooted in tenets of constructivism – that is learners creating an understanding of new knowledge by drawing from previous knowledge and experiences (see Schunk, 2012). This model has been used as a lens to perceive how new doctoral students learn university life and the expectations that come with it (Hansman, 2001). Cognitive apprenticeship involves a gradual process of knowledge transmission from an expert to a newcomer (see Collins, 1991) through a series of processes. These include task modelling, provision of feedback, scaffolding, and mentoring with the goal of helping the novice attain the zone of proximal development (ZPD). Brown, Collins, and Duguid (1989) propose the use of this model in the enculturation of students. The existing literature provides evidence of the wide application of this model in graduate education (e.g. Ding, 2008; Austin, 2009; Stewart & Lagowski, 2003). The cognitive apprenticeship model calls for socialising students into activities and practices that provide opportunities for social interaction, learning of craft knowledge, skills, values and norms, and imitation of experts (Ding, 2008). This model favours the use of modelling, scaffolding, and coaching as practices and processes to facilitate progressive learning (Collins, Brown, & Holum, 1991).

Applying the theory of cognitive apprenticeship to doctoral socialisation, Hansman (2001) perceives it as a learning relationship, which prepares doctoral candidates for academic careers by socialising them to the norms and nuances of higher education. For Walker et al., (2008), when

applied to doctoral education, cognitive apprenticeship should be viewed as learning a set of practices that should enlighten and strengthen all aspects of the doctoral programme.

Cognitive apprenticeship occurs through the process of guiding the doctoral student through a six-stage sequential process. These stages include modelling, coaching, scaffolding, articulation, reflection, and exploration. *Modelling* as a phase in the cognitive apprenticeship occurs in two ways – behavioural and cognitive modelling (Hansman, 2001). Behavioural modelling occurs in doctoral student socialisation when the student observes the supervisor (or a pedagogical transmitter), who is perceived as an expert, providing instruction on a specific subject pertaining to the candidate's research interest. Cognitive modelling involves the supervisor or pedagogical transmitter demonstrating their thought processes to the student who is considered as a neophyte (see Brandt et al., 1993). In the supervisory relationship, the supervisor is a model who the student observes providing a critical review of their written work. The doctoral student then models the behaviour of the supervisor when presented with the opportunity to present a critical review of literature. Cognitive modelling occurs for the student when the supervisor reviews the student's written work and discusses their thinking process and the reasons for making certain comments on the student's writing. In short, cognitive modelling allows the supervisor to share the “tricks of the trade” (Hansman, 2001, p. 47) with new doctoral students.

Coaching, as applied to doctoral student socialisation in the supervisory space, involves the doctoral candidate attempting an activity such as writing a journal article for publication. In this phase, the student provides an explanation to the supervisor on the rationale for writing on that particular topic and what they intend to address with that particular subject matter (see Brandt et al., 1993; Rüttemann & Kipper, 2014). The role of the supervisor is to act as a guide by placing their expertise in publishing at the student's disposal. During this phase of coaching the student reflects on what they have learnt and why they interpret it differently from what they observed from their supervisor's performance (see Hansman, 2001).

For Dennen et al. (2008), the concept of *scaffolding* as used in education is an allegory put in place to aid the learner to achieve their goals and it is removed gradually when it is no longer needed. Scaffolding occurs through a process of mentoring and remodelling of particular responsibilities

(Darabi, 2005; Hansman, 2001; Kuo et al., 2012). Scaffolding should be perceived as a learner-centred phase in the CAM because it seeks to address the student's learning of concepts, strategies, and meta-cognitive skills (McLoughlin, 2002). Scaffolding can occur in the pedagogical relationship as either directive or supportive depending on where the driver of support originates (Lenski & Nierstheimer, 2002). Dennen et al. (2008) perceives directive scaffolding as teacher-centred as they create the skills and strategies to teach specific subject matter. Supportive scaffolding is learner-centred because it involves the co-construction of knowledge with others. The directive works well with successful students while supportive scaffolding provides instruction that suits the particular doctoral student's needs based on their present capability and interest (Dennen et al., 2008). When the scaffolding concept is applied to doctoral socialisation it simply involves the supervisor coaching or remodelling a task for the doctoral candidate to correct his or her misinterpretation of the task (ZPD). It is a crucial stage in which doctoral supervisors need to help students through scaffolding. The ZPD refers to the variation in terms of what the novice can do with or without support and guidance (Schunk, 2012). The ability for the learner to overcome the difference is the basis for knowledge construction and the cognitive development of the individual (Vygotsky, 1978). Dennen et al. (2008) points out that scaffolding affects learners cognitively and emotionally since its impact transcends the learner's skills and knowledge to influence their motivation and confidence. Scaffolding should be oriented towards the use of cognitive activities and use varied aids such as hints, models, analogies, and demonstrations to make learning possible (Dennen et al., 2008).

Articulation occurs when the support offered to the doctoral candidate decreases because of the incremental increase in knowledge. At this stage the doctoral candidate demonstrates some level of mastery over task or concepts (Francom & Gardner, 2014; Stewart & Lagowski, 2003; Wedelin & Adawi, 2014). When doctoral students are left unsupervised at the articulation stage, they may restrict their learning to a narrow acquisition of techniques and thus the prospect of widening their proficiency and developing their ability to appraise their own work, which is regarded as the core of their development (Pearson & Brew, 2002).

Reflection involves the doctoral student being given the chance to practise or apply the skills learnt in the real world, and getting feedback and confirmation when needed (Brandt et al., 1993; Francom & Gardner, 2014). For example, a doctoral candidate who has been guided to write a

conference paper is given the opportunity to present at a conference or a seminar where they get feedback for improving their future presentations. A doctoral candidate provides confirmation of his knowledge acquired through the thesis writing process when they reflect on research during the oral examination of their thesis.

Exploration is the final stage involving the doctoral student's development. It involves the ability to discuss and make generalisations from what they have learnt and apply these skills to practical situations (Francom & Gardner, 2014; Hansman, 2001; Wedelin & Adawi, 2014). For example, a doctoral student who generates findings from their quantitative research should be able to develop the ability to think outside the confines of their study and cautiously make generalisations to similar objects, situations, or subjects.

2.6 Recounting Differences, Similarities, and Shortfalls of the Socialisation Theories

The graduate socialisation model attempts to provide an understanding of the entire process of socialising graduate students into the disciplinary, departmental, and institutional culture. The cognitive apprenticeship model is oriented towards interpreting the processes through which the student gains mastery of discipline-related tasks associated with the socialisation process. Essentially, these theories construe doctoral socialisation as an avenue for training students to reflect the knowledge, values, attitudes, and skills (*habitus* and *capital*) inherent in the doctoral enterprise. The models suggest that, for doctoral candidates to succeed in the socialisation process, they ought to be able to go through all the stages and commit to the elements inherent in the process. These theories entrench the notion that doctoral socialisation is an *interactive process* that occurs between pedagogical transmitters and doctoral students. It is through the interaction process that doctoral candidates are indoctrinated with the disciplinary knowledge as well as the departmental and institutional culture (*habitus* and *capital*) that prevail as part of the knowledge production process over their period of their candidacy.

The graduate socialisation and cognitive apprenticeship models concur that the interaction process that characterises doctoral socialisation is governed by a sense of *conformity*. Doctoral students' conformity to the established rules that govern the interaction process forms the basis for the entire knowledge and skills acquisition. The ability of the doctoral candidate to conform to the

requirements of the training process also plays a role in their identity and status transformation and attainment of rewards offered in the doctoral enterprise. The theories do not downplay that fact that doctoral candidates cannot circumvent the *established structure* if they expect to behave and gain acceptance as the role incumbent (member) in the doctoral process. Thus, these models inherently articulate a *structured hierarchy* in the doctoral socialisation process, which differentiates between doctoral students and pedagogical transmitters through the way duties and authority are ascribed and legitimatised.

The graduate socialisation model implies that the effect of socialisation on doctoral students is uniform without embracing many individual differences (Gardner, 2008; Anthony, 2002). The assumption is that allowing a gamut of individual differences in the socialisation process will destabilise its success (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). This notion informs Gardner's (2008) criticism of the graduate socialisation model (Weidman et al., 2001) as monolithic in its treatment of graduate education since it neglects the differences at the individual, disciplinary, and institutional levels. These models are handicapped in clearly explaining the individual differences by discipline, institution, or personal characteristics (Gardner, 2008). Gardner (2008) asserts that an understanding of how contextual factors, such as the discipline, department, and institution, influence the socialisation process is crucial if we want to comprehend how these contexts affect student retention and success in doctoral education. Thus, she calls for studies that will explain the disparate experiences in the doctoral socialisation process in light of the discipline, institution, and personal characteristics of the doctoral student.

The limitations of the graduate socialisation and cognitive apprenticeship models are not only their inability to explicate disparate doctoral socialisation experiences but also the entrenchment of the socialisation process as normative, linear, smooth, and unperturbed (see Ongiti, 2012). These theories are silent on how the issue of power differentials inherent in the socialisation process can create negative doctoral experiences. In these models, power is exercised latently in the form of the pedagogic authority by the pedagogic transmitter in the socialisation process. These theories fail to understand how the pedagogical authority of the socialisation agent may be abused or become exploitative. These two models present a normative view of the socialisation process without providing any insight into how the supervisory style and the way the exercise of the pedagogical authority may present the doctoral students with negative experiences. The nature and

complexities of the power dynamics in the supervisory relationship play out in varied ways so “abuse”, which is one kind of problem, may come from either party.

The two models make it look as if it is only the doctoral student who gains from the socialisation process. The theories fail to explain the reorientation that occurs in the habitus of the supervisor(s) during the supervisory process and the capital (cultural and economic) acquirement the supervisor receives as the pedagogical transmitters. In contrast, the teaching and learning that occurs as part of the doctoral socialisation process might be seen as a two-way process wherein doctoral students are manifestly the largest beneficiaries but the two models fail to discuss the latent benefits derived by the supervisors. The model fails to account for the exchange of cultural capital that occurs in the supervisory relationship.

2.7 Conclusion

Essentially, the current literature on the graduate socialisation and cognitive apprenticeship models has provided insights into the way doctoral students are trained to develop a sense of attachment, commitment, and competency in the doctoral enterprise. The graduate socialisation model espouses the overarching assumption that doctoral students are socialised into the culture of the discipline, department, and the institution that makes them develop status and role identification within these spaces. The cognitive apprenticeship model, on the other hand, takes an orientation towards socialising doctoral students into the performance of tasks associated with the disciplinary knowledge to equip them with disciplinary and professional competencies.

Despite the divergent tenets espoused by these two theories and their limitations in providing a comprehensive view on the socialisation process, they share several points of convergence. These points of convergence and shortfalls provide a fertile ground for propagating a synergistic theory that embraces the interpretations of the existing doctoral socialisation models while bridging the limitations of the models through an explanation of the disparate experiences encountered by doctoral students. Given the fact that the graduate socialisation and cognitive apprenticeship models present a normative outlook of the doctoral enterprise and the socialisation process but are silent on the *struggle* (competition) and exchanges that occur within it, the next chapter will draw on Bourdieu’s concept of the *field* to address this lacuna. More importantly, the two models

are not able to succinctly explicate the disparate experiences that occur within the doctoral journey. I will discuss how Bourdieu's concept of habitus, capital, pedagogical authority, doxic order, and symbolic violence influence the doctoral enterprise and training of doctoral candidates, which eventually creates disparity in terms of the doctoral experience.

CHAPTER THREE

DOCTORAL EDUCATION AS A SOCIAL FIELD CHARACTERISED BY STRUGGLE, COLLABORATIONS AND PARTNERSHIPS

3.1 Introduction

Theorisation and writings that focus on the organisation of doctoral education and socialisation continue to gain increasing attention in education literature (e.g. Haynes et al., 2012; Boud & Lee, 2005; Gardner, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2010c; Gopaul, 2011, 2012; 2015, 2016; Green, Hammer & Star, 2009; Gilbert, Balatti, Turner, & Whitehouse, 2004; Vandenberg, 2013). This proliferation of writing on doctoral education (see Gardner, 2007; Knight, 2005; Kiley & Mullins, 2005) and socialisation has been catalysed by an era where the skills push and revision agenda aimed at producing multi-skilled doctorate holders or knowledge workers have gained roots in universities worldwide (see Wendler et al., 2012; Walker, Golde, Jones, Bueschel & Hutchings, 2008; Golde, 2007; Boud & Tenant, 2006; Golde & Walker, 2006; McWilliam, 2009; The Responsive PhD Project (Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, 2002); Usher, 2002; Nyquist & Woodford, 2000).

The theorising and writings available have attempted to reveal, understand, and interpret the lived experiences of doctoral students and supervisors, the process of doctoral becoming, and the way supervision as a pedagogy is (or can be) practised (see Malfroy, 2005; Lee, Brennan & Green, 2009; Halse & Malfroy, 2010; Lee, 2008; Grant 2003, 2005; Manathunga, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2012; Manathunga & Goozée, 2007; Manathunga, Lant, & Mellick, 2006). In the domain of doctoral socialisation, the focus has been on the explication of factors accounting for the high attrition rate during the doctoral process and strategies to stem the attrition rate (see Gardner & Gopaul, 2012; Herman, 2011; Kim & Otts, 2010; Lovitts, 2001). Research has also covered how to successfully navigate doctoral stages (e.g. Wright & Cochrane, 2000; Grover, 2007; Vandenberg, 2013), the use of signature pedagogies in the socialisation of doctoral students (see Golde, 2007), the enhancement of accountability in the doctoral supervision process (Grant, 2005; Yeatman, 1995), and the training of doctoral students to develop transferable skills (see Barnett, 2004; Barrie, 2006; Bridgstock, 2009; Craswell, 2007; Green et al., 2009).

Despite the increasing literature written on diverse aspects of doctoral education, Boud and Lee (2005) acknowledge that there is insufficient theorisation and conceptualisation on doctoral education. Määttä (2012) also asserts that the amount of studies on doctoral education is still low. Gumpert (1991) also calls for researchers to interpret graduate education and the socialisation that occurs within it. Given this lacuna identified by Boud and Lee (2005) and Määttä (2012), and the call from Gumpert to employ other theories to construe graduate education, I seek to use this section to contribute to the discourse on the organisation of doctoral education and the socialisation that occurs within it to produce knowledge and train the future stewards of the enterprise (see Golde, 2005). I seek to discuss the *struggle* (competition) and exchanges that occur within the doctoral enterprise that sustain the production, sharing and advancement of knowledge at the national and global levels. The Bourdieusian concepts that take centre-stage in this chapter include *field*, *struggle*, *doxa*, *illusio* and *libido*. These thinking tools will be used to understand how doctoral education is organised as a social institution to produce knowledge and train the stewards of the disciplines. The keys concepts operationalised as part of my discourse include the following.

3.2 Doctoral Education as a *Field* Directed by Struggle and a Doxa

The concept of the field in Bourdieu's work may be used to represent different forms of social institutions or spaces depending on the social entity to which the concept is applied. Naidoo (2004) submits that the social world is organised around social formations that are structured around complex ensembles of social fields. In the organisation of doctoral education, the respective universities and their departments (at the national or international level), the disciplines, and the entire endeavour of doctoral education can be regarded as *social fields* (see Gopaul, 2012). Mutch (2006) sees the social field as either operating from a macro or micro level. At these levels, universities and their departments may be constituted as social fields since they display complex, contextual, contested (Mutch, 2006), and sometimes collaborative interactions (see Eddy, 2010; Marginson & van der Wende, 2007; Ayoubi & Al-Habaibeh, 2006; Saffu & Mamman, 1999). These collaborative interactions formed between social entities operating at the micro or macro levels may be mutually beneficial or partially parasitic depending on the type of agreement that governs these alliances (see Connolly, Jones, and Jones, 2007; Reed, Cooper, & Young, 2007). Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) define the field as:

. . . . a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (*situs*) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to specific profits

that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.) (p. 97).

The concept of field in Bourdieu's work is not static (see Costa, 2015) – rather it is dynamic and ever changing, as are the actors (Gopaul, 2011). The main social agents or actors who are directly involved in the practice of doctoral education and socialisation are the doctoral candidates and doctoral supervisors with the non-teaching or administrative staff providing support to both in the socialisation process. Nyquist (2002) points out that the core of doctoral education socialisation takes place between mentors (supervisors) and their students with the decisions about doctoral students' experiences nested within doctoral programmes and departments. Shulman (2008) supports Nyquist's (2002) assertion of the principal actors being the supervisors and students in doctoral enterprise. Shulman considers doctoral education as: "A set experience that incorporates training, education and formation. [Doctoral education] is a process led by faculty and brought to life by students. It is the key experience upon which the future of global higher education rests" (p. 13).

Shulman's (2008) conceptualisation of the doctoral process as characterised by training, education, and formation denotes some transference of specialised knowledge from the faculty who lead the process and the students who primarily act as the recipients. Thus, the supervisor in the doctoral enterprise is seen as a nexus between the university and doctoral student since they take on the crucial role of a guide, teacher, colleague, and mentor in the research process (Wisker, 2005).

Doctoral education as a social field interacts with other social fields that directly or indirectly impact the way knowledge creation and transfer occurs (see Thune, 2009; Wallgren & Dahlgren, 2005; Nyquist, 2002). Nyquist (2002) submits that doctoral education, particularly the PhD, is not owned by a single entity since it is a creation of several owners or patrons: "no one is in charge" (p. 20). The organisation of doctoral education is an unattached, interdependent system of partnerships amongst entities considered to be stakeholders, where every group in this partnership is powerful but must work together synergistically to energise and move the enterprise forward (Nyquist, 2002). Nyquist further highlights that the stakeholders who influence the practice and process of change in the doctoral enterprise include doctoral candidates, faculty members, funding entities, employers, and others. Nyquist (2002) suggests there should be close partnership between

those who fund (government, foundations and industry), *those who influence* (ranking and accreditation entities, professional societies, and educational associations) and *those who hire* (government, non-profit and corporate organisations, and academia) to chart a new path for reframing the doctoral education.

The organisation of doctoral education (the social field) as a formalised system for the transmission of specialised knowledge and skills is governed by established rules and regulations that orient the way knowledge is produced and the relationships that exist among actors (doctoral students and supervisors) occupying varied positions. Doctoral education, as a social field operating in several spaces, is characterised by *struggle*. The doctoral enterprise has its “own rules, histories, star players, legends and lore” (Thomson 2008, p. 69). Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) refer to the rules or regularities that govern the social field as the *doxa*, which are not obvious or ordered, but which orient the struggles and exchanges that occur among the entities and actors in that particular field. The rules of universities stipulate who can have entry into the doctoral enterprise at any point in time. Setting boundaries to prevent potential students and faculty from participation in doctoral enterprise is mostly done by those already engaged in the field (doctoral education) in conjunction with the institution of higher learning (see Neumann, 2005). The institutions bequeath pedagogical authority to the academic faculty to formulate policies on student admission, staff recruitment and norms of teaching, research, and service. They also prescribe curriculum and shape instruction and social relationships amongst students and faculty (Weidman et al., 2001).

These procedures and requirements are conceived and written by actors who are already in the field (doctoral education) and they manifestly or latently use these to shield or enhance their existing resources (Berger, 2000) or preserve (entrench) their positions in the field. Thus, the rules on admission, qualifications, and experience for serving in the capacity of doctoral supervisor create an invisible boundary that blocks entry of doctoral candidates and faculty who do not fit within the stipulated rules for occupying positions within the doctoral enterprise. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) emphasise the features of the social relationship and unequal power play within the context of every social field by articulating that “A field consists of a set of objective, historical relations between positions anchored in certain forms of power (or capital) a relational configuration which imposes on all the objects and agents which enter it” (p. 16–17).

Universities use their doctoral regulations, statutes, and guidelines as an instrument of thought, action, and a means of production and control, and therefore a means of domination and power (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 26). Harvey (1989) submits that the ability to command space comes with the control of the politics that occur within the place, even though it takes control of some place to command space in the first place. The doctoral socialisation practice that occurs within a department is infused with many command structures, controls, and politics that determine who has access to the valued capital within the department (field) (see Gopaul, 2016; Walker, & Yoon; 2016; Maritz & Prinsloo, 2015; Moore, 2013; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) and who earns the PhD degree. These characteristics of doctoral education as a *field* are echoed by Bourdieu (1993) who points out that:

Fields present themselves synchronically as structured spaces of positions (posts) whose properties depend on their positions within these spaces and which can be analysed independently by the characteristics of their occupants (which are partly determined by them). There are general laws of the field: fields as different to politics, the field of philosophy or the field of religion have invariant laws of functioning. . . . But in every field we know that we will find a struggle, the specific forms of which have to be looked for each time, between the newcomer who tries to break through the entry barrier and the dominant agent who will try to defend the monopoly and keep out competition (p. 72).

The universities and their departments offering doctoral education (PhD) and the social agents (doctoral students, faculty, and non-teaching staff) in them engage in covert or salient competition (see Abrahams & Ingram, 2013) or what Bourdieu (1993) calls *struggle*. Gopaul (2015) points to the functionality of *struggle* that occurs within the social field, stating that it gains relevance when different social agents (doctoral students and faculty) utilise varied approaches to maintain or improve their positions. It is within the struggle that occurs in the field of doctoral education that the experiences of doctoral students are embedded (Gopaul, 2015). In short, doctoral students learn to function and form their experiences of doctoral (be)coming by assimilating the competencies needed for the competition and, as partakers and actors, activating the keenness of the competition.

The main object of *struggle* for the actors is knowledge production and recycling (what Bourdieu refers to as *reproduction*) and the capacity to translate certain novel ideas created as part of the doctoral enterprise into problem solving (see Delamont, Atkinson & Parry, 2000) and viable

commercial ventures with social or economic benefits (see Bienkowska & Klofsten, 2012, Arapostathis, 2010; Magnusson et al., 2009; Etzkowitz & Dzisah, 2007; Harman, 2002; 2004; Clark, 1998). The struggle among universities also goes beyond the production of advanced knowledge. Määttä, Uusiautti and Määttä, (2014) articulate that “At the same time, universities compete for talented applicants and many universities have to think about methods to increase their attractiveness in the eyes of students, their future researchers in order to stay competitive” (p. 29).

The ability to gain dominance in the struggle determines the amount of capital and power the institution and the social actors gain in the doctoral education space (see Walker & Yoon, 2016; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Likewise, the amount of capital and power determines the ability to gain dominance. Gaining dominance in the knowledge creation process by the universities, their departments, and social actors hierarchically organises institutions where certain universities and their departments at the national and international levels occupy principal and subservient positions (Naidoo, 2004). This struggle among universities is evident in the ranking of universities and their departments worldwide. Marginson and Van der Wende (2007) state that the global ranking of universities has made the way for the idea of competition or the market among universities worldwide where universities are ordered in a single “league table” for purposes of contrast. This situation of purposeful comparison has given momentum to intra-national and international competitive pressures in higher education (Marginson & Van der Wende, 2007). They further articulate that:

The global rankings . . . secured great prominence in higher education policy, and public arenas and have already had discernable effects in institutional and policy behaviours. . . . Within national systems, the rankings have prompted strong desires to achieve high-ranking research universities both as a symbol of national achievement and prestige and as engines of economic growth in a global knowledge economy. . . . At the same time, global rankings have stimulated global competition for leading researchers and the best younger talent. All of these responses have both cemented the role of the ranking themselves and further intensified competitive pressures (Marginson & Van der Wende, 2007, p. 309).

As Figure 2 shows, doctoral education occurs in a relational milieu that is concurrently global, national, and local (Marginson & Rhoades, 2002; Nyquist, 2002; Valimaa, 2004). Perceiving the practice and the relationship that occurs at the national level of the doctoral enterprise is what I call the meso level or *field*. However, a single university at the national level could also be analysed as a meso field. When the doctoral enterprise is studied at the national level in relation to an institution at the international level then the larger environment of interest becomes the *macro field*. The practice of doctoral education studied from a global perspective orients the focus towards the *macro field*. At any point in the analysis of the doctoral education the department or institution becomes a microcosm of the broader field. The doctoral enterprise as a social field is impacted by other fields and the broader social fields (Walker & Yoon, 2016).

Outside these two fields are social agents or entities that either influence the practice or relationships that occur within doctoral enterprise or do not have the agency to do so. The collection of individuals outside the doctoral environment without the capacity to influence the activities of the institution has been labelled in Figure 2 as *outsiders*. The entities I refer to as *periphery actors* – are those who indirectly influence the way doctoral education is organised to produce knowledge for intrinsic and extrinsic purposes. Their influence is indirect because they do not participate in the direct production of knowledge and the socialisation of doctoral students at the institutional level. However, industry stands out as an exception if they are involved in the training of doctoral students. These periphery actors influence policy, funding and sometimes determine the tuition fees for doctoral study. These periphery actors include *those who fund*, *those who influence* and *those whose hire* (Nyquist, 2002). These include international agencies, governments and national systems, institutions, disciplines, professions, e-learning companies, and others (Marginson, 2008). Marginson states that though the practice of higher education is nationally centred, a unique global dimension is increasing in its significance, linking with every national system of higher education while also being external to these systems.

3.3 Gaining Entry into the Doctoral Education Field as a Participant or Social Actor

Gopaul (2015) gives credence to the *struggle* for position and dominance that exist in the academic profession, the university, the discipline, and the labour market by highlighting the quest for legitimacy within these fields. The academic profession, the university, and the discipline as social fields are occupied by social actors such as doctoral students and faculty who *struggle* to define,

preserve, and defy the idea of legitimacy and success within and outside of the doctoral enterprise (Gopaul, 2015). Thus, for these social agents to gain entry into the doctoral enterprise a process of legitimatising their quest for membership is required. The process of legitimisation of the doctoral student's membership in the doctoral enterprise is governed by faculty expectations, university standards, and valued professional outcomes because these requirements form the basis of selection into postgraduate and professional programmes (Weidman et al., 2001).

Prospective doctoral students who want to gain entry into the doctoral enterprise need to go through the selection process, which commences with an expression of their interest through an application (see Gopaul, 2011). Prospective doctoral candidates need to meet admission (enrolment) criteria such as: possession of a Master's or Bachelor's degree with honours in that discipline or a related one, having a certain grade point average or above (see Borrell-Damian et al, 2015; The University of Ghana Handbook on Doctoral Studies, 2014, Section 3.3.1, i; Section 3.3.2, I; The University of Auckland Statute and Guidelines for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), 2014; Clause 2a (i) to (iii); Wallgren & Dahlgren, 2005).

Other criteria for selection include submission of a research proposal, getting supervisors with expertise on the applicant's research interest, passing an interview for certain universities and programmes, and demonstrating one's English language proficiency for programmes requiring English as a medium for research and thesis writing. Other institutions and doctoral programmes use availability of funding, letters of reference (including academic and professional references), professional experience for some programmes, and publication as some of the requirements for granting admission (see Neumann, 2005; The University of Ghana Handbook on Doctoral Studies, 2014, Section 3.2.1.1; The University of Auckland Statute and Guidelines for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 2014; Clause 1e; ug.edu.gh/aad/fees).

Doctoral students already enrolled in the varied programmes have to ensure that they strive to fulfil the requirements for the award of the degree (which include the realisation of yearly goals), or else they will be restricted from participation in the re/production of knowledge that occurs within the discipline (see The University of Ghana Handbook on Doctoral Studies, 2014, Section 3.4.2). For doctoral students to keep their position (candidature till completion of their studies)

and access rewards doctoral studies have on offer requires that they develop the habitus informed by the requisite knowledge (Jarvie & Maguire, 2002) and skills or doctoral capital (Walker & Yoon, 2016). The acquisition of the relevant habitus and capital is an area that will be subsequently discussed.

The ability to occupy the position of a supervisor is also governed by stipulated rules or regulations (*doxa*). The *doxa* legitimatises the authority bequeathed to the supervisor to serve as the pedagogical transmitter, providing guidance to doctoral supervisees (see Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). The University of Ghana provides an example in this regard as the legitimacy of the supervisor is drawn from contextual knowledge, teaching, and research experience garnered in an academic environment coupled with research productivity (publications) and accreditation by the Graduate Studies. The University of Ghana Handbook for Doctoral Studies (2014), Section 3.17.2, stipulates that “A supervisor must have taught or carried out research in a university or an equivalent institution for at least two years and have a record of research work and publications”.

Possessing these attributes is not enough to become a supervisor vested with authority over doctoral candidates – the power to act on behalf of the university or the department is conferred on the supervisor through an endorsement process which requires that:

All supervisors of doctoral candidates shall be accredited by the Board of Graduate Studies. For this purpose, a form for accreditation of supervisors shall be completed by the Head of Department for approval by the Board of Graduate Studies through the appropriate Faculty/School Board (University of Ghana Handbook for Doctoral Studies (2014), Section 3.17.3).

The University of Ghana is oriented towards the use of the supervisory committee teams in the socialisation of doctoral students under the new PhD programme. The committee is comprised of two to four members who are selected from the department, a local or a foreign university, or a related unit or research institute and they advise students on research-related matters. It is chaired by the lead supervisor who is from the department the candidate has registered with and he or she exercises the dominant power in making decisions regarding the student’s research. The lead supervisor:

must be identified for all PhD students before they begin their programme through discussions with the students, potential (supervisors) and the Departmental Graduate Studies Committee. Each PhD student must be assigned an Advisor who may or may not be a supervisor, but who will provide mentorship and guidance to the students. An advisor must be of professorial rank (University of Ghana Handbook for Doctoral Studies 2014, Section 3.17.1).

The ability to serve on the doctoral supervisory team or committee requires possession of disciplinary knowledge (cultural capital) epitomised by doctoral or professorial titles and a period of investment and involvement in the academic space by the pedagogical agents (supervisors). The department or university vests its pedagogical authority in faculty who have gone through the doctoral process to attain the degree and are seen as experienced (Ward & West, 2008) to act as conduits for the transmission of disciplinary knowledge, culture, and conventions that govern the process of knowledge production. Thus, the supervisory committee formed to provide guidance is supposed to be “made up of only holders of the doctoral degrees or faculty of professorial rank, and at least two members of the committee shall not be rank below Senior Lecturer” (University of Ghana Handbook for Doctoral Studies 2014, Section 3.17.6).

3.4 Significance of the Illusio and Libido in the Doctoral Enterprise

For doctoral supervisors and students to engage in the struggle that takes place in the doctoral enterprise (field) they need to possess an *illusio* that attaches them to the field and motivates them to adhere to the doxa of the field. The concept of *illusio* was borrowed by Bourdieu from the work of Huizinga (1951, p. 40) who used it to signify the act of “entering the game” and he later expanded it to mean a “universe of deep seriousness” (see Garrigou, 2006, p. 666). Lucas (2001) explains what Huizinga means by a “universe of seriousness” emphasising that agents involved in every social field believe in the “game” and attach seriousness to the way it is played. Bourdieu (1992) appropriated Huizinga’s concept and construed it as the following: “*Illusio* is the opposite of *ataraxy* [*impassiveness*]: it means to be involved, taken in the game is to admit a special social game has sense, its stakes are important and worthy of being pursued” (p. 92).

Participants in the doctoral education field display unconscious involvement, and psychological and emotional investment of energy (Lucas, 2001) in the doctoral enterprise – this can be referred to as *libido*. Bourdieu used analogous concepts such as investment and *illusio* to denote the *libido*

(Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Bourdieu, 1994, 1998; Lucas, 2001; Sulkunen, 1992). Lucas (2001) points out that the libido:

. . . . exists as a means of social expression and form of legitimisation for the players involved, indeed, it is their struggle to “augment their social being” in an expression through this game, which is both socially instituted (objective/field) and is incorporated in their bodily self (subjective/habitus) (p. 40).

Doctoral education is characterised by investment, involvement, attachment to value systems, commitment to scholarship and contribution to disciplinary discourse on the part of doctoral students and supervisors, which outsiders have little knowledge about. For Kim (2004) the *illusio* encompasses the specific interest that is an outcome of the investment and commitment to the particular field of cultural production. Principal actors are energised by the *illusio* of the game to participate in the struggle for knowledge acquisition, creation, and application to problem solving. This importance attached to the aforementioned features of doctoral education by the doctoral candidates and their supervisors is illusory to individuals outside the field of practice. *Outsiders* have no *illusio* when it comes to the doctoral enterprise as they do not understand the commitment, investment and knowledge of the rules the players attach (Garrigou, 2006) to the doctoral enterprise. The illusory nature of the doctoral enterprise is often manifested by outsiders who ask doctoral supervisors the question if they are medical doctors when they are addressed by their titles outside the academy. For doctoral candidates, the question they are likely to encounter from outsiders is: are you studying to become a medical doctor? (see Grant et al., 2016). Bourdieu (1998) captures the *illusio* of social actors in the doctoral enterprise and the lack of *illusio* on the part of outsiders saying:

What is experienced as obvious in *illusio* appears as an illusion to those who do not participate in the obviousness because they do not participate in the game . . . Agents well-adjusted to the game are possessed by the game and doubtless all the more so the better they master it. For example, one of the privileges associated with the fact of being born in the game is that one can avoid cynicism since one has a feel for the game; like tennis players, one positions oneself not where the ball is but where it will be; one invests oneself not where the profit is, but where it will be (p. 98).

Bourdieu (1998) holds the view that social actors have tactical intentions but these are infrequently experienced as conscious intentions. In the doctoral enterprise, doctoral students and supervisors have a “practical sense” of the game, thus they do not deliberately manoeuvre and compute their goals (Lucas, 2001). Both doctoral candidates and supervisors are “possessed by the ends” of the

doctoral enterprise and “they may be ready to die for those ends” (Bourdieu, 1998 in Lucas, 2004 p.40). The playing out of the *illusio* may be understood from three aspects, as highlighted by Widin (2010) and Colley (2012). For Widin (2010), social agents who enter the field first and foremost bring multiple interests with some being dominant while others, as Colley (2012) says, become “grand interest” (p. 324). Thus, in the context of doctoral education the grand interest of government, funding agencies, and commercial entities may dominate the *illusio* of doctoral faculty and students and influence the way knowledge production and reproduction occurs. Secondly, doctoral faculty and students may ride on the pretentious expressions of the goals and values of the doctoral enterprise and hide their actual stakes for participating in the field. Lastly, dominant groups in the doctoral endeavour mask their interest in the field through “disavowal of interest” (Colley, 2012, p. 324) and make it look as if they are promoting public interest but rather they are promoting the interest of their unit (Bourdieu, 1998), which is often their department and institution.

3.5 Thinking Beyond Bourdieu’s Struggle: Exchanges in the Doctoral Enterprise

This section will focus on a critical analysis of the limitations associated with Bourdieu’s description of the field as a social space characterised by *struggle* (competition). I discuss two main exchanges that Bourdieu was oblivious to in his writing that occurs particularly in the field of doctoral education at the national and international levels namely institutional, faculty (staff) and student exchanges. I also discuss university–industry partnerships that provide the environment for the training of doctoral students in pertinent skills and competencies.

3.5.1 Institutional exchanges in the doctoral enterprise

Bourdieu perceives *struggle* for dominance and capital as an overarching activity within the field; however, *exchanges* take place at the micro and macro levels amongst institutions and social agents or actors. Husband and Bridges (1996) assert that higher education institutions are expected to compete and collaborate (engage in exchanges) within the keenly contested milieu of higher education. Doctoral education as a social field is not immune to these exchanges that occur at the micro and macro levels (see Eddy, 2010; Marginson & van der Wende, 2007). The exchanges taking place amongst universities give impetus to the struggle or competition that occurs in the doctoral enterprise. Karran (1998) argues that the global knowledge economy has fuelled competition between universities and private educational providers to establish new partnerships

with other universities in order to bring together expertise and to advance critical mass to compete on the global stage. Chan (2004) supports this assertion, stating that forming linkages between universities are used to gain competitive advantage. The linkages are strategic and transcend borders (see Saffu & Mamman, 1999), thus making the struggle for the macro field of the doctoral enterprise intense. Saffu and Mamman (1999) hold the view that strategic alliances formed by universities involve collaborative affiliation between national universities and international ones – be it public or private – to co-operate in joint activities, such as onshore or offshore programmes, teaching, research, consultancy, and technology to gain new markets.

Exchanges that take the form of partnerships and collaborations occur among universities, staff, and students (see Ayoubi & Al-Habaibeh, 2006; Craft et al., 1998; Green, 1997). Eddy (2010) points out that when individual faculty or students from different institutions work together it should be viewed as *collaboration*, while the agreement between institutions to work together to achieve a common goal is *partnership*. These partnerships and collaborative arrangements involve exchanges in terms of cultural capital used in knowledge production, funds, and transfer of academic and administrative staff and students (see Smith, 1985; Enders, 1998). The exchanges that occur among institutions nested in the field of the doctoral enterprise may not necessarily be mutual, though Eddy (2010) is of the view that partnership arrangements entered into by higher education institutions create mutual benefit or what he calls a “win-win situation”. Connolly, Jones, and Jones (2007) disagree with Eddy as they assert that inequality and limited resources may undermine the sense of mutuality that should characterise the partnership. Partnerships between institutions are not always successful in promoting mutual benefits (see Reed, Cooper, & Young, 2007). Kruss (2006) holds the view that partners can develop through identification and promotion of a sense of mutuality.

Institutions engage in exchanges through partnerships and projects such as research and joint doctoral degree programmes (e.g. European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students (ERASMUS–MUNDUS doctoral programme in Europe) (see Ayoubi & Al-Habaibeh, 2006; Messer & Wolter, 2007; Enders, 1998)). Harper (1995) argues that the predominant objective of universities forming networks is to develop joint educational projects and degree programmes. These linkages or networks tend to facilitate the exchange or pooling of resources such as faculty, students, administrative staff, technology, equipment, laboratories, and

funds for the execution of activities related to the research project or joint doctoral programmes (see Ayoubi & Al-Habaibeh, 2006; Connolly, Jones, & Jones, 2007; Kruss, 2005, 2006; Borrell-Damian et al., 2010; Enders, 1998; Smith, 1985). Smith (1985) categorises the exchanges that occur among universities into three areas: movement of students from one university to another, movement of academic staff for teaching and research purposes, and the sharing of resources and experiences for institutional development.

The university partnering with other universities and industries to run joint doctoral degree programmes aids in the transfer of knowledge, skills, and best practices used in research and the socialisation of doctoral students (see Borrell-Damian et al., 2010; Connolly, Jones, & Jones, 2007; Castells, 1996). Collaborative projects and programmes between universities at the national and international levels, especially in the area of doctoral education capital, are deployed to advance the frontiers of knowledge production (see Borrell-Damian et al., 2010). Such collaborative endeavours downplay Bourdieu's notion that the social field is characterised by struggle for dominance (see Husband & Bridges, 1996) and capital amongst social groupings and social agents and thus questions his notion of "the properly strategic dimension of practices" (Bourdieu, 1990a, p. 385). Bourdieu fails to acknowledge that social agents deploy the embodied skills and practical sense to deal with social situations characterised by uncertainties, indeterminacies, and exigencies (Kim, 2004). It also undermines the fact that social agents and groups occupying positions within the social field are rational thinking social beings who are willing to downplay their rivalry and ego to learn from their competitors and also use collaboration and partnerships to boost their competitive abilities (Chan, 2004). Bourdieu espouses that in the adherence to the doxic order that characterises every social field, social agents construe rules and norms in ways that have the propensity to bring them the biggest symbolic capital "space of the possible" (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 15). Thus, universities in the national and international arena seen as competitors willingly send their staff to undergo training at other universities (see Smith, 1985). The exchanges in terms of cultural capital between institutions in terms of staff development help in the transfer of best practices used by other institutions in the conduct of research, socialisation of doctoral candidates, and the administration and governance of higher education institutions (see Sugden, Valania, & Wilson, 2013; Jones et al., 2012; Ginns, Kitay, & Prosser, 2010; Connolly, Jones, & Jones, 2007; Enders, 1998; Smith, 1985).

3.5.2 University–industry exchanges in doctoral education and training

Collaboration and exchanges taking place in the organisation of doctoral education are not limited to educational institutions alone but also extend to industry and government. The discourse does not focus on either the “triple helix” or “roundtable” model (see Enders, 2005; Thune, 2010; Etzkowitz, 2008; Harman, 2008; Etzkowitz & Dzisah, 2008; Gornitzka, Kogan, & Amaral, 2005; Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 1995, 2000) or the “quartet helix” (e.g. Cooper, 2009; Todeva, 2013). The triple helix emphasises knowledge production and transfer by linking major stakeholders at the national level. university–industry–government relations where the university plays a prominent role in the production of knowledge and innovation in the knowledge-based societies (Harman, 2008).

Institutions of higher learning and industry exchanges continue to gain increasing prominence in the training of both traditional PhD students and professional or practice-based doctorates and in the production and transfer of knowledge (see Kruss, 2005; 2006; Zusman, 2005; Slaughter, Campbell, Holleman & Morgan, 2002; Slaughter & Rhoades, 1996; Castells, 1996). This university–industry partnership in the higher education enterprise is crucial in the training of doctoral candidates in the basic and applied sciences such as chemistry, physics, engineering, bio-medical sciences, and medicine (see Bienkowska & Klofsten, 2012; Borrell-Damian et al., 2010; Thune, 2010; Zusman, 2005; Gluck, Blumenthal, & Stoto, 1987). Bienkowska and Klofsten (2012) point out that PhD students in science and technology-related disciplines are more likely to get partial or full funding from the university–industry collaboration than students in the humanities or social sciences. Zusman (2005) ascribes the increment in university–industry partnerships to the number of university-based research centres with close ties to industry and the continuous production of co-authored articles by academic and industry researchers in the basic and applied sciences (e.g. Shin, Lee, & Kim, 2012).

Partnerships between universities and industry points to the interaction of the doctoral enterprise with *periphery actors* and *agents* outside its *micro* and *macro* environment. The benefits of this relationship between university and industry are threefold. Firstly, the university through the relationship obtains funding (economic or material capital) for supporting research (Campbell, Koski, & Blumenthal, 2004). This funding helps academics, particularly in the sciences, to publish more peer-reviewed articles (see Blumenthal et al., 1996). Increased publications may also be

understood from the perspective that the availability of funding helps them to set up more experiments that yield results worthy of publication. Campbell et al. (2004) attribute the increased productivity of academics involved in university–industry projects to the fact that the availability of funding helps the researchers access resources that boost their publication productivity. Blumenthal et al. (1996) assert that the increased publication through university–industry funded projects can translate into greater prestige (symbolic capital) and the ability to attract talented students, faculty (social capital), and further funding (economic capital). Campbell et al. (2004) espouse that the university–industry partnership may translate into commercialisation of ideas and results with financial returns, development of products and services, and enhancement of opportunities in the industrial sector. The university may benefit from royalties on patented products and services produced from the partnership (Campbell et al., 2004). Borrell-Damian, Morais and Smith (2015) highlight that doctoral training schemes fostered through university–industry partnerships help in the development of research and give more visibility to the university (symbolic capital) within national and international spaces. These collaborative doctoral schemes help universities increase their competitiveness and progress their position in the higher education field and beyond (Borrell-Damian, Morais & Smith, 2015). Secondly, companies involved in university–industry doctoral training schemes are able to garner and develop cultural capital in the form of cutting-edge scientific and technical knowledge to address challenges faced by industry (Borrell-Damian, Morais & Smith, 2015). Industry is also able to access highly skilled individuals while at the same time enhancing the employees’ skills profile and proficiencies, thus having a progressive effect on the company, which enhances the company’s competitiveness (Borrell-Damian, Morais & Smith, 2015). Lastly, students involved in the collaborative schemes develop transferable skills (cultural capital) such as organisational, management, entrepreneurship, leadership, business, and communication skills through their training process, which are relevant to both industry and the academy (Borrell-Damian, Morais, & Smith, 2015). Doctoral candidates who are trained using these schemes also gain social capital through contact with the company and the widening of knowledge and experience (cultural capital) (see Borrell-Damian, Morais & Smith, 2015).

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an understanding into the organisation of doctoral education and socialisation as an avenue characterised by the production and reproduction of disciplinary knowledge through a sanctioned engagement between faculty and doctoral students. The process

of knowledge production does not occur in a vacuum but happens within social spaces and places, which Bourdieu refers to as a *field* governed by a *doxa* (set of rules) and *struggle* among entities and role incumbents for dominance in the knowledge creation process and access to resources and rewards. The manifestation of doctoral education as a social field is objectified through the way the discipline, department, and institution engage in the production of knowledge while at the same time fulfilling the mandate of training doctoral candidates. The doctoral enterprise as a keenly contested social field operates from a micro or macro level that promotes the hierarchical ordering of positions, access to capital (privilege, power and rewards), and dominance associated with the production of knowledge. The contestation that occurs within the micro and macro levels involving social actors and entities is often built on a sustained *illusio* that seems illusory to others outside the doctoral enterprise. However, for those engaged in this social field—doctoral candidates and supervisors – their *libido* is exerted through commitment of their time and energy, passion for scholarship and perpetuation of the mantle of stewardship in the discipline.

The chapter highlighted Bourdieu's notion of *struggle* as a dominant social activity that occurs in any field including that of the doctoral enterprise. However, I dissented with Bourdieu in my discourse to argue that these social entities that latently compete among themselves also engage in mutual exchanges. These exchanges that occur among institutions and their agents involved in the macro and micro fields are strategies adopted to strengthen their capacity to further their participation in the *struggle*. The exchanges are functional because without them institutions that cannot participate in the struggle will cease to exist. These exchanges facilitate transfers of capital needed to assert dominance in the competition. The capital is leveraged in the training of doctoral students and staff (administrative and academic), while innovative ideas and technology are used in the knowledge production, administration and governance of higher education institution. More importantly, the exchanges help in the advancement of the frontiers of discipline through the knowledge production process.

In summary, Bourdieu's concept of *struggle* and the concepts of *collaborations* and *partnerships* that were not part of his writing need to be recognised as useful social elements that hold the capacity to orient the way the academic game of doctoral education is played. It is the ability of social groupings or institutions and the actors within this enterprise to synergistically operate effectively and efficiently amidst these social forces, which may determine whether they are on the winning

or losing side and/or create a win-win situation in the academic game. However, we must acknowledge the fact that these inexorable social elements that occur within the academic game are energised by other Bourdieusian concepts such as *habitus*, *capital*, *pedagogical authority*, *doxic order*, and *symbolic violence*. Turning my attention to the next chapter I will demonstrate the influence these concepts have on the *struggle* that occurs in the doctoral enterprise at the national and international level amongst universities, departments, faculty (supervisors), and doctoral candidates. The larger aspect of my discussion will focus on how these concepts manifest in the doctoral training process thereby contributing to the disparate experiences of doctoral students.

CHAPTER FOUR

PLAYING THE ACADEMIC “GAME”: THE ROLE OF HABITUS AND CAPITAL IN DOCTORAL EDUCATION AND SOCIALISATION

4.1 Introduction

Just as every competitive game needs special attitudes, competencies, dispositions, knowledge of the rules, and conformity to authority from the players, so it is with the doctoral enterprise and the socialisation process. Thus, conceptualising the doctoral enterprise and the training of doctoral students as an “academic game”, I will use the idea of the habitus to explore how doctoral students and supervisors develop the *practical sense* and disposition for playing the intellectual game of knowledge production and reproduction. I draw on the concept of habitus to construe one of the reasons some doctoral students get an advantage over others in the doctoral training process in terms of their ability to deal with the demands, tensions, relationships, and activities associated with the doctoral education. I also discuss how the habitus embodied by the doctoral supervisors (especially the lead) may shape the positive or negative evaluation of the socialisation experience.

Demonstrating that the stakes are high in the play of the academic game, I shift my discourse to explore how Bourdieu’s concept of *capital* motivates the principal actors in the doctoral education field to commit to the play of the academic game. I will discuss the forms of capital available within the doctoral enterprise and the *struggle* that occurs between social agents and the institutions.

4.2 Playing the Academic “Game” with the Requisite Habitus

The struggle among social groupings and actors within the social field requires the development of requisite attitudes or dispositions if they “are to play the game by the rules” inherent in the field and attain the reward the field offers. The constellation of attitudes or dispositions relevant and valued in any social field can be referred to as the “*habitus*” in Bourdieu’s theory of practice and academic capitalism. Bourdieu (1990a) defines “habitus” as a socially constituted system of dispositions that orient “thoughts, perceptions, expressions, and actions” (p. 55).

The *habitus* can be partitioned into two aspects: the *habitus* that gives structure to action by defining the limits of that action, and the *habitus* that gives birth to perceptions and beliefs that entrench

childhood socialisation of existing social units, which are springboards for social stratification (Gopaul, 2011). Childhood socialisation fostered by family and peer groups, as well as the development of a dual mechanism of the *habitus* (generative and restrictive components) in behaviour, perceptions, and tendencies, makes individuals selective in their life course (Gopaul, 2012). Reay (2004) submits that the habitus gives agency to an individual and it prompts them to act in definite ways of behaving. Walker and Yoon (2016) assert that the habitus equips the individual with a scheme of categorisation, where actions within the particular field (discipline, department, or institution) are regarded as acceptable or unacceptable within a given situation based on the actor's status and experience.

The habitus in doctoral education represents the perceptions, attitudes, and the habits of mind possessed by the main actors (doctoral students and faculty) that influence the way knowledge is produced, recycled, and used to solve problems in the doctoral enterprise and beyond. The academic habitus influences actions and relationships that occur among doctoral students and faculty in the doctoral enterprise (Gopaul, 2011). Walker and Yoon (2016) perceive the habitus – with its system of dispositions and strategies – as a navigational tool that helps doctoral students to successfully go through the social field of doctoral education. The nature and influence of the habitus on social action is reiterated in Bourdieu's (1998) words:

In fact, “subjects” are active and knowing agents endowed with *practical sense*, that is, *an acquired system of preferences, of principles of vision and division (what is called taste), and also a system of durable cognitive structures*. . . . and schemes of action which orient the perception of the situation and the appropriate response. The habitus is the kind of practical sense for what is to be done in a given situation – what is called in sport a “*feel*” of the game, that is the art of anticipating the future of the game, which is inscribed in the present state of play (p. 25, italics added).

The habitus is crucial in the social life of the individual if he or she is to function in the social field, meet the demands, and attain the rewards offered in this space (see Walker & Yoon, 2016). Inferring from Bourdieu's statement of the habitus being a “kind of practical sense for what is to be done in a given situation”, it could be said that the habitus possessed by an individual doctoral student garnered from his or her childhood and previous educational experiences is useful to their studies. The habitus possessed by the doctoral student serves as leverage for establishing important relationships with faculty and peers as well as a comprehension of the processes and practices involved in doctoral education (Gopaul, 2011).

To illuminate further, a doctoral student who grew up in a home where a parent or all parents served as academics will consciously or unconsciously be socialised to develop certain perceptions and attitudes about doctoral education. Such an individual enters doctoral education with a constellation of these perceptions and attitudes (*habitus*) in addition to the social and cultural capital garnered from childhood. The assertion that academic parents can help shape one's *habitus* in the doctoral process is supported by Gopaul's (2012) finding that doctoral students whose parents or close relatives had completed doctoral education expressed satisfaction with their doctoral study. He points out that these students had success in securing external funding, publishing, and patents while on the doctoral journey. Gopaul, whilst admitting that there was no direct relationship between the parents and close relations who hold doctorate degrees and the student's pursuit and success in doctoral studies, stated that "these students were able to communicate a fluent awareness (and positive outlook) of the academic field, including disciplinary conventions as well as broader understanding about academic life" (2012, p. 82).

The possession of the right academic *habitus* by a doctoral candidate predisposes the student to select forms of conduct that are likely to make them successful in conjunction with their own resources and experiences (Swartz, 1997). This academic *habitus* may aid the doctoral student in navigating the doctoral journey with ease since it serves as a conceptual tool for gaining a better understanding of the pressures, relationships, and tensions involved in doctoral education (Gopaul, 2011). Continuing the example of the doctoral candidate stated above, the perceptions and attitudes acquired during childhood from parents who are doctoral holders and work in the academy as lecturers are confirmed, strengthened, or reshaped (see Di Maggio, 1979; Reay, 2010) by their lived experiences in the doctoral journey. The lived experience in the doctoral education reorients the earlier *habitus* into a refined one which Bourdieu (1967) refers to as the "cultured *habitus*" (p. 344). He states:

the *habitus* acquired in the family is at the basis of the structuring of school experiences. . . . the *habitus* transformed by the action of the school, itself diversified, is in turn at the basis of all subsequent experiences. . . . and so on, from restructuring to restructuring (Bourdieu, 1972, cited in Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 134).

Reay (2010) attests to the permeability and responsiveness of the childhood *habitus* by stating that current circumstances are not acted upon only but are internalised and added as an additional layer of the former *habitus*. Bourdieu and Reay hold the view that the *habitus* acquired during childhood or earlier in one's life can be restructured through schooling. Thus, through the doctoral

socialisation process, doctoral students can enhance their habitus by developing, internalising, and utilising certain attitudes and skills that will help them succeed in their doctoral study.

To Bourdieu (1990a), the habitus possessed by individuals is not identical, just as their individual histories are not. This assertion is validated by Gopaul (2011) who indicates that some individuals may possess a substantial amount of academic habitus and are able to navigate the doctoral journey with ease. Such individuals could have acquired this habitus through early socialisation experiences as illuminated above, occupational exposure (an employee in the academy), interaction with academics, relationships and intellectual prowess possessed from birth.

4.3 Role of the Supervisor's Habitus in the Doctoral Experience

The supervisor can contribute to a good or bad experience in the doctoral becoming process (see Lee, 2008; Austin, 2002) and, as such, the kind of habitus the doctoral supervisor brings to the supervisory space also influences the way the supervisory role is conceived and practised (see Blass et al., 2012). The habitus possessed by the doctoral supervisor is very relevant to the doctoral process because both the supervisor and the student journey towards the attainment of the doctoral identity (Levy, 2012). In her work on doctoral research supervision, Lee (2008) articulates two aspects of the habitus doctoral supervisors bring to the supervisory process, namely their conceptualisation of the research supervision and the experience garnered from being doctoral candidates in the past. For Blass et al. (2012), the experiences doctoral supervisors had in their own doctoral studies cannot be changed but they can reflect on these experiences and use them as a basis for development and growth in their supervision process. There is the tendency for supervisors to use the way they experienced supervision as doctoral students in the supervisory relationship (see Lee, 2008; Grant, 2005) although in different ways. This practice maybe referred to as *intergenerational mirroring of the supervisory pedagogy* because of the predisposition of some supervisors to consciously or unconsciously incorporate certain pedagogies they experienced as part of their doctoral training in their supervisory work. For example, if a doctoral student was socialised by the lead supervisor using supervisees' group meetings and one-on-one supervisory meetings and they become a doctoral supervisor and adopt these pedagogies for training their own students, this *second generational supervisor* may be mirroring practices learnt while in apprenticeship as a doctoral student. Supervisors may have a mental schema of their experience in the doctoral process, which may orient the way they also supervise their students. These experiences have

become internalised and form a structure of the existing habitus they bring into the supervision space. The conceptualisation of the supervisory process is developed (Blass et al., 2012) from contextual expertise (Halse & Malfroy, 2010) and experience. The more experienced the doctoral supervisor is, the higher the likelihood that he or she has garnered contextual expertise about the procedures and requirements for the award of the doctoral degree. Smith (2001) espouses that there is the tendency of conceptualising supervision practice within a directorial frame of dealing with normal problems from the perspective of the institutions in which the doctoral training occurs. However, Grant (2003) asserts that in reality the supervisor may perceive the supervisory process as an intricate and disordered pedagogy.

As part of their supervision practice, supervisors may need to structure their habitus to deal with the varied backgrounds of their students. They need to understand the intellectual, emotional (see Halse, 2011), and psycho-social needs of their students by developing a flexible, inventive, and improvising habitus (Bourdieu, 2005) in order to customise their supervisory approaches to suit the context of their students, and their personal characteristics and requirements (Brown & Krager, 1985; Haksever & Manisali, 2000; Hill, Acker, & Black, 1994; Hockey, 1996; Holloway, 1995; Hung & Smith, 2008; McQueeney, 1996; Page & Wosket, 2013). Developing this awareness occurs when supervisors internalise into their habitus the fact that students have diverse intellectual capabilities, traits, levels of motivation, and dispositions (Garwe & Mugari, 2015).

The incorporation of a flexible disposition into the supervisor's habitus requires them to constantly reconfigure and reframe their role, practice, and identity as their supervisees transit through different stages of the doctoral process (Halse, 2011). Supervisors manifest their habitus in the supervisory relationship when they make room for doctoral students to work with some degree of independence when they are confident and secure (Halse, 2011). Invoking their habitus as a perceptual tool, supervisors may provide direction and guidance when the students experience intellectual challenges, and show understanding and affirmation when they express physical exhaustion and emotional weakness (Halse, 2011). The ability of the supervisors to detect these challenges requires an understanding of the student's dispositions when they are both in high spirits and when they are ebbing, and this will necessitate the supervisor to internalise verbal and non-verbal behaviours and actions of the student.

Doctoral supervisors may have to internalise into their habitus that learning is relational and a form of social practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Thus, the learning and teaching process in the supervisory space may foster collegiality for both the supervisor and the student, which can benefit both (see Okeke, 2010). Doctoral supervisors may view the doctoral student as an adult learner who “comes with a richer variety of experience than the child learner and thus within any group of adults the richest resource they have is themselves” (Lee, 2007, p. 334). Supervisors can display the preparedness to learn from their supervisees and be audacious in supporting their students’ opinions and knowledge, even if it may defy their beliefs (Okeke, 2010). The internalisation of this disposition into the habitus of the supervisees will require them to see themselves as co-learners whose principal duty is to provide (Okeke, 2010) “advice and direction, counsel and encouragement” (Beamish 1999, p. 164). Maritz and Prinsloo (2015) acknowledge that in the doctoral training process supervisees as well as supervisors participate in role co-operation in the supervisory relationship. This relationship is an intricate field where habitus and capital are moulded by and in turn shaped by the field.

One arena where the doctoral student’s habitus can be reshaped to fit the mould of a doctoral student (Gardner, 2008) in order to experience a satisfactory and successful doctoral journey is within the supervisory space. Bourdieu (1990b) asserts that this same habitus will produce different practices in different social fields and that the habitus can change due to changing circumstances. The supervisory relationship may contribute to the restructuring of the academic habitus of the doctoral student right from the first year of enrolment (see Okai, 2014). Hasrati (2005) points to the role supervision plays in the completion of the doctorate by stating that “most of the literature singles out the relationship of supervisors and students as crucial influence on the completion of the doctorate” (p. 577). He further stated that:

Supervision is said to be crucial [*and*] pivotal, at the heart of most research training; at the core of the project, the single most important variable affecting the success of the research process (emphasis *added*, p. 577).

4.4 Forms of Capital Valued in the Doctoral Enterprise

For Bourdieu (1986), capital is accumulated labour in its “materialised” or “embodied” form, which when “appropriated” by agents “enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labour” (p. 241). His notion of *capital* embraces the distribution of agency (Mendoza et al., 2012; Mendoza, 2007) or accumulated labour (Gopaul, 2011). Bourdieu outlines

four main types of capital possessed and utilised by agents engaged in the struggle that occur in every social field: economic (material resources), cultural (information, knowledge, education, skills, mannerisms), social (social connections, networks, affiliation to groups), and symbolic (honour, prestige, recognition) (see Mendoza et al., 2012, p. 559).

Bourdieu (1986) sees social capital as the “aggregation of actual or potential resources linked to possession of a durable network of essentially institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (p. 248). Bourdieu (2001) proposes economic capital can be converted immediately into money and may also be institutionalised. It can be exchanged for other forms of capital and can be transformed into cultural and social capital and vice versa (Bourdieu, 2001). Walker and Yoon (2016) point out that the economic capital that can be appropriated by doctoral students includes scholarships and paid employment in the form of teaching and research. For supervisors involved in the doctoral enterprise research grants, paid tenure in the form of salaries, gratuities (pertaining to the public universities in Ghana), and other form of financial incentives become the tangible rewards they may gain.

In contrast, cultural capital is the system of elements comprising language skills, cultural knowledge, and mannerisms derived from socialisation, which determines an individual’s class (Gopaul, 2011). For Bourdieu (1979, 1984, 1988), cultural capital encompasses the established cultural knowledge, skills, competencies, or abilities that are assimilated through family and schooling. Walker and Yoon (2016) supplement the mode through which cultural capital is acquired by doctoral candidates by adding *continuing immersion* in the doctoral programme. Swartz (1997) adds aesthetic preferences, knowledge about schooling and educational credentials to the elements that constitute social capital. Bourdieu (1979, 1986) submits that cultural capital or instruments of production can exist in three forms: an embodied state (unconscious form), objectified state (in the form of goods), and an institutionalised form. Bourdieu (1986) argues these are: “Embodied in their owner (for example, language skills or personal familiarity with works of art), objectified (in books, paintings, machines, etc.) and certified, as with diplomas and formal credentials” (p. 69).

Walker and Yoon's (2016) conceptualisation of the types of cultural capital associated with doctoral education is embraced by this study. Firstly, cultural capital in its *embodied form* in doctoral education represents the acquisition and cultivation of knowledge, skills, and competencies garnered before and during doctoral training. Secondly, cultural capital in an *objectified state* in the doctoral enterprise signifies the production of cultural goods and objects, such as publications and books. Lastly, cultural capital in the *institutionalised form* symbolises official acknowledgement and guaranteed certificate of competence.

The acquisition of cultural capital in an embodied state by doctoral students and faculty requires that they engage in a process of assimilation over time as cultural capital in an embodied form cannot be acquired second hand or straightaway (Bourdieu, 1986). To acquire the embodied or institutionalised forms of cultural capital, doctoral students also need to invest libido by coming under some form of pedagogical authority (supervision) that helps to shape the way they acquire the relevant cultural capital. The acquisition of cultural capital related to the discipline requires that period of apprenticeship. The time duration for the apprenticeship exposes the doctoral candidate to the processes and practices of mastering the knowledge of the discipline so that they reproduce the culture and identity of the discipline (Delamont, Atkinson & Parry, 2000). The institutionalised form of cultural capital in terms of doctoral education is an embodied form of competence acquired with the discipline. It is endorsed by an authorised agency with the power to legally "warrant" its survival, which is in the form of educational credentials.

The capital that dominates in the field of doctoral education is an institutionalised form of cultural capital referred to as "academic capital" (Naidoo, 2004). Theorising capital in *Homo Academicus*, Bourdieu (1988) outlined two principal types of capital in higher education: academic capital (agency over the instruments of reproduction of the university body) and intellectual or scientific capital (scientific authority or intellectual repute) (Naidoo, 2004). Eddy (2006) points to three types of academic capital that exist within the context of university education: publications, teaching, and networking. For Djajadikerta and Trireksani (2010), research productivity, teaching commitment, and administration should be viewed as factors related to academic capital. Academic capital is regarded as one of the major features that contribute to career advancement of faculty or supervisors within the academe (Djajadikerta & Trireksani, 2010). For example, when an Associate Professor wants to attain the position of Professor the academic capital amassed in terms of their

publications, teaching experience, international reputation, and networks counts towards the outcome. The collaborations and networks formed with other scholars internationally within the discipline to produce journal articles, access research grants and conduct research is also considered by the committee when an individual is being assessed for promotion. The number of collaborations one has within the academic space internationally indicates the exposure the individual may have had within the disciplinary community.

The value of capital can only be noticed in the context of the field (Lareau, 2001). Moore (2012) reiterates Lareau's (2001) assertion stating that capital is the energy that drives development that occurs within a field over time. Moore holds the view that capital endorses the principle of the field. Within the field, academic, scientific, and intellectual capital are amassed and converted into material capital, and the more forms of capital accumulated the more choices and opportunities are available (Mendoza et al, 2012). As Delanty (2001) states, universities are channels for exchanging different kinds of capital and are a major dispenser of capital. At the macro level, universities engage in the generation and exchange of symbolic capital, such as prestige and rankings (Berger, 2000). Mendoza et al. (2012) argue that:

Any discussion on higher education should take cognisance of the fact that material and symbolic resources are produced, acquired, exchanged and to some extent, converted from one type of capital into another, even in today's current climate characterised by academic capitalism (p. 562).

Applying the concept of capital to account for disparity within the social fields (department, discipline, or the institution), Gumport (2005) and Mendoza et al. (2012) argue that material (economic) and symbolic capital is concentrated in top-ranked universities due to policies and practices that conform to market-based principles. Elite academic departments within a discipline combine cultural capital associated with the prestige of a top university and social capital to attract funds, top-ranked faculty and students, which puts them at an advantage to accumulate more (Mendoza et al., 2012). Reputation and prestige, which affects the public view of the institution (see Gardner, 2010), can be converted into economic gains within the doctoral enterprise and this increases the disparity between top-ranked and low-ranked departments and institutions. This situation creates the "Matthew effect", postulated by Merton (1968), which draws on the Biblical account in Matthew 25:29 that states: "he who has will be given more, and he will have an abundance". For Brewer, Gates and Goldman (2001) prestige and reputation, which are forms of symbolic capital, come, with a market value:

Reputation and prestige are assets that allow institutions of higher education to convey non-price information to customers. Reputation can be good or bad, and it is directly related to the institution's ability to meet consistently some set of relatively specific customer demands. An institution's reputation is based on its ability to respond to the demands of customers and demonstrate that it meeting those needs (pp. 27–28).

4.5 “Battle” Over Capital Among Social Actors in the Doctoral Space

The competition or struggle amongst social groupings (such as universities and their departments) at the national and international level is what is often projected but the struggle that occurs between social actors or agents in social groupings is illusory to outsiders. Archer (2008) submits that individuals engage in a competition to ensure that their interests, characteristics, and identities are given recognition and value. The struggle between social actors involved in the organisation of doctoral education begins with the doctoral faculty (supervisors). Doctoral faculty within and outside the institution, discipline, department latently compete among themselves for symbolic, cultural, and social capital rather than economic capital (see Maritz & Prinsloo, 2015; Halse, 2011; Eddy, 2006). As part of their academic career, doctoral faculty may want to teach and conduct research in highly rated (ranked) universities or departments nationally or internationally because being associated with such institutions or departments is regarded as prestigious and challenging within the doctoral enterprise (see Musselin, 2005; Marginson & Van der Wende, 2009).

Working in highly rated universities gives doctoral faculty the opportunity to supervise talented students (see Hockey, 1996) from different parts of the world. It also provides a learning experience (cultural capital) for the supervisor as they supervise diverse doctoral candidates with different cultural backgrounds. Supervision of academically gifted doctoral students whose research interests are similar to the supervisor yields benefits for the supervisee and supervisor. A sense of devotion to programme completion, mutual respect, and praise may tend to develop (Weidman et al., 2001), in addition to professional and personal development (Brown & Krager, 1985). Doctoral faculty who are privileged to teach and conduct research in highly ranked institutions of higher learning have to deal with the challenge of using their expertise to supervise talented students in the doctoral enterprise to produce new knowledge that gives advantage to the institution. They also have the responsibility of using their academic work to maintain or improve the high image or repute of the institution (symbolic capital) to further attract the strongest students (see Gu, 2012; Marginson & Van Der Wende, 2007; Lowry & Owen, 2001). The image

built by the institution also acts as an exchange for better faculty (social capital) and funding opportunities (see Lowry & Owen, 2001) from external agencies (economic capital) given the fact that education has been commoditised and treated as a business (see Bok, 2009; Zusman, 2005).

Supervisors as main agents in the doctoral socialisation process also compete among themselves for capital (funding, promotion, appointment, scholarly and contextual expertise, and research productivity) which the discipline, department, the university, and external agencies offer. Experienced supervisors and senior academics may gain an upper hand in the struggle because they have learnt how to acquire the capital available while a new supervisor may not have attained the “trade secrets” needed to acquire capital (Maritz & Prinsloo, 2015) relevant for navigating their academic career path. Eddy (2006) suggests that successful supervisors will not want to disclose their acumens to others as this may weaken their capacity to compete with or outclass them. Senior academics may be more proficient at deploying self-protective strategies to meet the expectations of the university and preserve their status as high performing supervisors (Halse, 2011). The organisation of doctoral education and the struggles that take place within the field create inequality among supervisors in terms of access to capital (Maritz & Prinsloo, 2015). The more contextual and scholarly expertise, “tricks of the trade”, career experience (forms cultural capital), prestige (symbolic capital), and social network (social capital) possessed by a supervisor the more capital they are able to acquire.

The struggle for capital and dominance among social actors in the organisation of doctoral education may gradually trickle down to doctoral applicants and candidates. Doctoral applicants compete between themselves to be accepted into universities of varied ranking nationally and internationally. The struggle becomes profound when prospective students apply for admission into highly-ranked universities or Ivy League universities (such as MIT, Oxford, Harvard, and Cambridge). These Ivy institutions are oriented towards recruiting academically talented students (see Määttä, Uusiautti & Määttä, 2014; Marginson & Van Der Wende, 2007; Zusman, 2005; Long, 2002; Mitten, 1995). Prospective PhD students also struggle to gain the attention of a supervisor who will be interested in supervising their thesis writing process because they have expertise in their research interest (see Fataar, 2005) and this forms one of the requirements for admission (see Calma, 2007). They therefore have to prove through their research proposal (a requirement for admission) (see Calma, 2007) that they have the knowledge and competence (cultural capital) to

execute the intended projects. An applicant who presents a succinct, well thought out project, which is perceived as feasible by a prospective supervisor is likely to gain admission and come under the tutelage of the main supervisor who agrees to place their expertise at the student's disposal.

Within the doctoral enterprise the struggle among prospective PhD applicants is not limited to getting a supervisor or admission into doctoral programmes (see Okeke, 2010; Calma, 2007) but also to funding opportunities. The expensive nature of PhD education means applicants *struggle* for limited funding opportunities in the form of scholarships and research grants to finance their studies. Those who have dominance in this competition are applicants who may have a high GPA, a good research proposal, an outstanding grant proposal, publications to their credit, and recommendations by faculty who may have taught them in their previous studies or may have established a good relationship with them during the PhD application process (see Walker & Yoon, 2016; Hopwood & Sutherland, 2009). Doctoral candidates who have already enrolled in doctoral programmes also compete for resources within the doctoral enterprise. The competition among doctoral students is for economic capital in the form of scholarships, teaching and research assistantship positions (Walker & Yoon, 2016) meant for doctoral candidates at the departmental and institutional levels.

Within the supervisory space the supervisor:

is positioned as an experienced and successful researcher, an established authority in some area of her/his discipline, as “finished”, as an overseer of the student, as a source of various goodies including time, feedback, money, networks, recognition of the student's worth, encouragement, and sometimes as the examiner. On the other hand, the student is positioned as not knowing, insecure, inexperienced, in process, needy, consumed by the project (Grant, 2003, pp. 180–181).

As Grant points out, the position of the supervisor in the supervisory relationship gives them the power to be a distributor of goods to supervisees who are perceived as needy and inexperienced. Getting these rewards does not come without some form of struggle with other supervisees as they must vie to acquire the relevant skills necessary for transforming their identity to assume the status of a researcher, scholar, and an academic (see Austin & McDaniels, 2006; Grant, 2003) within the supervisory space. The competition among supervisees is underpinned by a latent formal or informal rating and ranking of the students by the doctoral supervisor (Weidman et al.,

2001). This evaluative judgement comes with a reward system where better students get opportunities such as access to resources for professional travel and sponsorship for special fellowships (Weidman et al., 2001). Doctoral students who are able to accumulate more capital within the supervisory relationship are those who conform to the established “doxic order” and pedagogical authority within the space, their stage in the doctoral candidature, and the student motivation’s and ability to pursue the unstructured process of knowledge creation (see Grover, 2007; Grover & Malhorta, 2004). However, the most important form of capital that doctoral candidates require in order to make the transition from “consumers of knowledge” to “producers of knowledge” (see Delamont, Atkinson & Parry, 2000) or from dependent to independent researchers (Gardner, 2008) is cultural capital. Doctoral candidates should be able to acquire cultural capital within the supervisory space and other communities of learning in order to experience ontological and epistemological transformation in their being (Vandenberg, 2013). Gopaul (2016) asserts that cultural capital is important to the doctoral process because the awareness and proficiency with tacit knowledge of academic processes and evaluative mechanisms can vary across students, which can result in unequal experiences for doctoral students.

There exists competition between doctoral students in the general field of doctoral education for open funding opportunities from foundations, charitable organisations, and institutions at the national or international levels without any geographical or institutional limitations. Doctoral students also compete to gain acceptance to present at conferences, go on institutional student exchanges locally or internationally, and publish journal articles, book chapters, or monographs. Gopaul (2011, 2012, 2015, 2016) considers the doctoral candidate’s ability to secure economic capital in the form of scholarships, grants and the accumulation of cultural capital in the form of publishing in academic journals and presenting at conferences contribute to success in the doctoral process. The ability of a doctoral student to gain an edge in this latent competition depends on the amount of cultural, social and symbolic capital one brings to the doctoral process and what one acquires during the course of the doctoral study (see Gopaul, 2015, 2016; Walker & Yoon, 2016).

4.6 Conclusion

Attachment to the doctoral enterprise is also facilitated through the workings of the habitus. Within the doctoral space, the agency to act and be acted upon through an engagement between the doctoral faculty and the student is made possible through the *habitus* that has restructuring

ability. The habitus acts as a schema through which doctoral students and supervisors construe and fulfill the demands and responsibilities associated with their position within the field. More importantly, the habitus connects doctoral students and faculty to the doctoral enterprise as a *social field* by equipping them with the practical sense for participating in the struggle for *capital*. This orients the play of the intellectual and academic game. Those who have internationalised tacit tricks of the trade into their habitus have gained the privilege of amassing more varied forms of capital (cultural, economic, social, and symbolic capital) on offer in the *field*. The more capital amassed serves as an exchange for other forms of capital. The ability of the doctoral faculty to accumulate the right type of capital in the knowledge creation enterprise serves as a leverage for career advancement, promotion, and recognition from colleagues in the academic community. On the other hand, the institution's access to capital determines their position in the *struggle* for dominance (rankings) that occurs among institutions in the doctoral field. In a nutshell, capital has the potency to sustain the scholarly or academic game that occurs among social agents and groupings in the doctoral enterprise.

The ability of doctoral students to accumulate capital (particularly cultural capital) available in the doctoral milieu necessitates their co-operation and willingness to subject themselves to the *pedagogical authority* bestowed on the supervisor. In the next chapter I discuss how Bourdieu's concepts of *pedagogical authority*, *doxic order* and *symbolic violence* are manifested in the doctoral training process as doctoral students tread the doctoral journey and accumulate the pertinent capital.

CHAPTER FIVE

**“SHEPHERDING” THE DOCTORAL “FLOCK”: AN ANALYSIS OF
PEDAGOGICAL AUTHORITY AS A CONTRIBUTOR TO THE DOCTORAL
EXPERIENCE**

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss Bourdieu’s concepts of *pedagogical authority*, *action* and *work*, *doxic order* and *symbolic violence* as they apply to the context of an individual’s development in the doctoral process. The chapter highlights the way the pedagogical authority owned by the institution is transferred to the doctoral supervisors during the doctoral supervisory process. The chapter will project factors that *legitimise* the pedagogical authority given to supervisors to act as representatives of the discipline, department, or institution in the development of future stewards of the discipline. The models through which supervision is practised as a pedagogy in the social sciences and the basic and applied sciences are discussed alongside their pros and cons. I also detail the use of supervisory teams and committees as a pedagogy and a means of facilitating accountability in the doctoral socialisation process. I will discuss how pedagogical authority is exercised in the supervisory relationship. The chapter will also discuss the manifestation of *doxic order* and *symbolic violence* in the supervisory experiences of doctoral students.

5.2 Pedagogical Authority, Action and Work in the Doctoral Training Process

Within the context of PhD education where there is no or clearly defined curriculum, the policies and statutes that govern the way PhD students should be socialised is held by the graduate school on behalf of the university. It should be noted that not all universities have a graduate school. The pedagogical authority is then dispensed to the departments that offer the PhD programmes. The pedagogical authority is largely exercised through the pedagogical work of supervisors who have the mandate of socialising the students to become stewards of the discipline (Golde & Walker, 2006). Doctoral students engage in knowledge production under the direction of their supervisors (or the supervisory team/committee). On the part of faculty, the guidelines and statutes (rules) of doctoral studies in most universities at the national and international levels restrict supervision the field of doctoral education and socialisation to holders of doctorates or professors (see Watts, 2010). While commenting on doctoral pedagogical practices in Australia, Ward and West (2008) highlight the qualification a supervisor is required to hold before they are allowed to engage in supervision: “The dominant pedagogical practices are therefore those of individual study and

supervision of individual by a more or less experienced academic who has themselves completed doctoral studies” (p. 61).

Worldwide, participation in doctoral student supervision in most universities is influenced by the experience garnered over some years as a supervisor for PhD candidates (see Watts, 2010) alongside their teaching and community service. The supervisor gains their pedagogical authority from the experience they have garnered supervising other doctoral students to completion, their teaching career, and community service. Bourdieu (1988, 1991) details that lecturers get greater “authority” to communicate in the “field” of the academy than students because they have acquired cultural and symbolic capital by virtue of their academic credentials and their occupational prestige in the institution (see also Grant, 1997).

The principal supervisor and the supervisory team are imbued with *pedagogical authority*, which they exercise during the student’s doctoral candidacy as they help them transform their identity through the production of disciplinary knowledge (Lessing, 2011; Bartlett & Mercer, 2001; Cornforth & Claiborne, 2008; Diezmann, 2005; Manathunga & Goozee, 2007). The pedagogical authority is held by the principal supervisor and the supervisory team in the doctoral socialisation process is summed up in Bourdieu’s statement that:

Every PA [pedagogic action] that is exerted commands by definition PAu [pedagogical authority], the pedagogic transmitters are from the outset *legitimatised as fit* to transmit that which they transmit. . . . (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 20, *emphasis added*).

Thus, every agency [agent or institution] exerting a PA [pedagogic action] commands Pau [pedagogical authority] in its capacity as the *nominated representative* of the groups or classes whose cultural arbitrary it imposes in accordance with the mode of imposition defined by the arbitrary i.e. as the *mandated* holder of the right to exercise symbolic violence (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 24, *emphasis added*).

The principal supervisor and the supervisory team who are granted pedagogic authority have the right and onus of imposing the disciplinary, departmental, and institutional culture (*habitus*) and requisite cultural capital needed to succeed in the doctoral socialisation process. This *habitus* or culture is accomplished through several pedagogical actions and work found in supervisory relationships and meetings, and other communities of learning facilitated by the supervisor(s) that

orient the way the doctoral student is socialised to become a discipline steward. Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) define pedagogic work as:

A process of inculcation which must last long enough to produce a durable training i.e. a habitus, the product of internalisation of the principles of a cultural arbitrary of perpetuating itself after PA [pedagogic action] has ceased and thereby of perpetuating in practices the principles of the internalised arbitrary (p. 31).

Through the pedagogical action of the principal supervisor and supervisory team, doctoral students imbibe the habitus of the discipline, department, and the institution, which helps to serve the interests of the department and the institution since the students become “self-controlling” agents who will submit to overt control systems (Ehrensals, 1999). According to Bourdieu and Passeron (1990): “All pedagogic action (PA) is objectively, symbolic violence insofar as it is the imposition of a cultural arbitrary by an arbitrary power (p. 5).

The supervisor in the supervisory relationship exercises pedagogical authority through contextual and scholarly expertise (Halse & Malfroy, 2010), or what Maritz and Prinsloo (2015) refer to as capital in Bourdieusian parlance. Halse & Malfroy (2010) describe contextual expertise as:

. . . . an understanding of the contemporary climate of universities in relation to the doctorate and doctoral education; the “know-how” to access the infrastructure and resources needed by students; knowledge of faculty and university policies, procedures and requirements for each stage of the candidature; an understanding of tensions between different approaches and methods in the production of a doctorate; and the capacity to advise students on how to traverse this complex territory (p. 87).

According to Halse and Malfroy (2010), contextual expertise is not limited to institutional knowledge but involves supervisors getting a sense of the value and purpose of the doctorate and doctoral education, as well as their involvement in the discipline through attending and organising conferences, reviewing journals, being a member of editorial boards, and having mutual linkages with academics and/or industry partners outside the university. The organisational culture and practices that characterise the modern university demand that the doctoral supervisor learns the new “game” and complies with policies, practices and procedures (contextual expertise) that the university announces as essential for “good supervision” (Halse, 2011, p. 4) and the exercise of

pedagogical authority in the supervisory space. According to Halse (2011), this expectation required by doctoral supervisors is communicated and duplicated through the regular practices and ethics of academic life, conversations with colleagues; directives from university administrators; and new accountability requirements in academic workloads and performance appraisals. The imposition of these expectations through institutional regulations on supervisors becomes the basis for supervisors undergoing formalised supervisory training before being invested with the opportunity to supervise doctoral candidates (Halse, 2011) and to exercise pedagogical authority over them.

Another source of pedagogical authority in the supervisory relationship is what Halse and Malfroy (2010) refer to as *scholarly expertise*, which is at the core of the supervisory work. Scholarly expertise embodies Aristotle's concept of *episteme*, which refers to theoretical knowledge gained from reflection and thinking (Aristotle, 2002; Flyvberg, 2004). Scholarly knowledge transcends the *episteme* as it is garnered through continuous and productive engagement of knowledge production through research, publishing of academic articles, scholarship and critique that influences thinking and theory (Halse & Malfroy, 2010). Scholarly expertise equips supervisors with the knowledge and insights to recognise gaps in knowledge in their discipline and in the thinking and work of doctoral supervisees in order to guide them to become stewards of the discipline. For the supervisor to assert pedagogical authority in the supervisory relationship, the supervisor ought to demonstrate deep, substantive knowledge of the discipline or specialisation to be able to guide the doctoral supervisees (Halse & Malfroy, 2010). Thus, supervisors ought to sustain their acquisition of scholarly knowledge through a fervent, personal pursuit of learning and knowledge for intrinsic motive. The entire process of supervision provides them with the prospect to advance their scholarly knowledge (Halse & Malfroy, 2010).

The power structure in the supervisory relationship which is based on the “master–apprentice” relationship also confers pedagogical authority on the supervisor in the supervisory relationship. The doctoral student is put in a position where he or she is seen as requiring instruction and discipline by the supervisor since they are authorised to fulfil that role based on the supervisor's contextual and scholarly knowledge, skills, and expertise (Halse & Bansel, 2012). The supervisor thus exercises authority by scheduling regular meetings, fixing the duration of the meeting with students, structuring the meetings by requesting students prepare an agenda for each meeting,

submitting minutes of the meeting outcomes, and documenting and reporting on students' progress (see Lessing, 2011). The supervisor must also comply with national and university policies, referring students to colleagues, service units in the university, or agencies outside the university who can provide help to the students (Halse, 2011). During the student's thesis writing process, the supervisor has the authority to restrict the reading and assessment of the chapters of the thesis (Halse, 2011). Okai (2014) attests to the exercise of pedagogical authority in the supervisory space by stating that the demands made on him as part of the supervisory relationship included early attendance to the meetings, sending write-ups meant for review a week before each meeting, setting an agenda for each meeting (see Halse, 2011; Watts, 2010), and writing minutes for each meeting attended and forwarding it to supervisors within 24 hours.

5.3 Models of Supervision and the Exercise of Pedagogical Authority

Chiang (2003) states that there are two main models of supervision used in the universities. A widely accepted practice in the PhD socialisation process in the social sciences/humanities or the "soft" and "soft pure" disciplines is the individual student-supervisor model (Cullen, Pearson, Saha & Spear, 1994; Lamm, 2004; Neumann, 2003) where the doctoral candidate engages in an independent thesis writing process with guidance from a supervisor or supervisory team (see Watts, 2010). This mode of supervision fosters collaboration between the student and the supervisor(s) who is regarded as the expert in a specific research area of interest to the student. This leads to an appropriate interpersonal relationship (Ives & Rowley, 2005). Doctoral studies within the humanities and the social sciences operate on the student-supervisor model of socialisation, which is described as isolated and solitary (Smallwood, 2004). This mode of socialising doctoral candidates may fail to provide adequate succour for the students' emotional, encouragement, validation, feedback and topic clarification needs (Lamm, 2004). Chiang (2003) points out that the student-supervisor engagements in the "soft sciences" are characterised by a high degree of formality and may be perceived as hierarchical and non-inclusive. This feature of the supervision relationship is underpinned by the power relationship established by the institutional culture.

The socialisation of doctoral students in the "hard" and "hard applied" disciplines involve research groups or laboratory-based supervision (Golde & Dore, 2001) or development of thesis research in collaborative teams (Mendoza, 2007). Egan, Stockley, Brouwer, Tripp and Stechyson (2009)

state that this model involves academics, research fellows, and graduate students working together (team work) towards a common goal and through this research process they support each other and the supervisor provides leadership for the group. The group model of supervision is perceived by some scholars to be more effective (Cullen et al., 1994; Jordan, Phillips & Brown, 2004; Neumann, 2003; Pearson & Brew, 2002). The team work associated with the group supervision model promotes close interaction, a sense of collegiality, and an informal and congenial atmosphere within the teams or departments that subscribe to this model of socialising doctoral students (Chiang, 2003). Lamm (2004) suggests that the close propinquity and the common research goals and directives shared among team members make the supervisor accessible to students on a daily basis.

There is a developing practice in PhD education where team supervision has been institutionalised for the training of doctoral students (Watts, 2010; Rugg & Petre, 2004). This model of supervision has been accepted as “good practice” within guidelines from research councils and policies of universities given the increased emphasis on the frequency of supervision and the sharing of duties and responsibilities in the team (Watts, 2010). Team supervision is also being widely used in doctoral training because of the growing trend towards interdisciplinarity in the knowledge economy (Manathunga, Lant & Mellick, 2006) and the acknowledgment that one supervisor does not have the full gamut of knowledge and skills needed to support difficult doctoral work (Green & Bowden, 2012; Watts, 2010). An added reason for the adoption of team supervision is that greater attention has been given to accountability within academia (Watts, 2010) and its ability to reduce incompetence with a concomitant effect of increasing the likelihood of successful completion (Rugg & Petre, 2004). The whole process of doctoral training has been changed from a product-oriented thesis to a process-oriented approach and from a person-centred to a community-centred perspective (Malfroy, 2005; Stubb, Pyhältö, & Lonka, 2012 in Maor, Ensor, & Fraser, 2016).

According to Pugh (2000) universities that have instituted team supervision sometimes have the arrangement where supervision is comprised of external academics working with those within the university. The supervision team consisting of two to four members is usually common in the doctoral supervision arrangement (Watts, 2010). This structure may challenge the doctoral student in managing team dynamics given the tendency for lack of cohesiveness or unity in the team (Rugg

& Petre, 2004). In the team supervision model, the members may consist of at least one member who has supervised a doctoral student to completion. The model may also be characterised by “supervisor training” in which the inexperienced supervisor is paired with more experienced colleagues to act in the capacity of adjunct supervisor (Watts, 2010; Ward & West, 2008). This arrangement provides opportunity for the experienced supervisor to “coach” and “mentor” the novice supervisor (see Manathunga & Goozee, 2007) who has expertise in the research area or method but has not supervised before (Watts, 2010). Watts (2010) reiterates the fact that this can lead to status stratification in the supervisory arrangement as the experienced supervisor takes the mantle of leadership in the supervision process. The workability of this supervisor training arrangement is dependent on the persons involved as this model facilitates smoother functioning among supervisors than teams where supervisors have equal status (Watts, 2010; Phillips & Pugh, 1987).

Ward and West (2008) also point to the new trend developing in PhD studies where supervision committees are used alongside the attendance of annual reviews by the doctoral candidates and their supervisors to discuss their progress in doctoral becoming. Another model around which the supervisory arrangement is built is the systematic management matrix (Maxwell & Smyth, 2011). This model centres the student’s research question and it is used as a guide in formulating the “how” and “why” research components. To Maxwell and Smyth, the matrix they propose is generally attuned to methods in which the research question takes an overarching position in the research endeavour and that can assist in the supervisory relationship.

5.4 Inevitability of the “Doxic Order” and Symbolic Violence in the Supervisory Space

Every social field operates with some form of “doxic order” (see Kraus, 1995, p. 169), which is a structure of practical beliefs shared by those exercising agency and those who are subjects of the power being exercised (see Cushion & Jones, 2006). The doxic order is also evident in the field of doctoral education where the main approach for socialising doctoral students in the disciplinary culture thrives on the traditional master–apprenticeship or guru–disciple relationship (see Grant, 2005; Okeke, 2010). This relationship promulgates an uneven power association in which one is the master (supervisor) and the other the learner (student) (see Lave & Wenger, 1991; Stracke, 2010). The established doxic order in the supervisory relationship guides the practices and activities

between the supervisor and supervisee and becomes an embodied culture (*habitus*) internalised by the doctoral student.

The doxic order manifests differently in the supervisory relationship according to the interactions, activities, and practices that characterise the relationship. Though doctoral students have some level of autonomy and agency, the power wielded by the supervisor surpasses that of the doctoral candidate (see Aguinis, Nesler, Quigley, Suk-Jae, & Tedeschi, 1996; Bargar & Mayo-Chamberlain, 1983; Clark & Corcoran, 1986, Zhao, Golde, & McCormick, 2007) and this affects how doxic order thrives. Green and Bowden (2012) submit that the supervisory relationship is characterised by social practices that are influenced by power differentials. For Grant (2001), power in the supervision space operates on two levels: structured, unequal power based on institutional hierarchy that gives individual positions, and relational power in which power exists in the supervisory relationship. In the latter instance, this is because “both [supervisor and the supervisee] are capable of acting upon each other” (p. 14). However, the South African Council on Higher Education, (CHE) Report (2002) acknowledges that the PhD supervisory relationship can be exploitative because the exercise of power in the supervisory process can sometimes be oppressive and issues of voice, identity, and autonomy may be dealt with in mono-dimensional and fixed ways.

The doctoral supervisor exercises power in the provision of feedback on writing and may be objective and critical in their comments on the student’s writing. McAlpine and Amundsen (2012) point out that doctoral students do not always find the feedback given by the supervisor as helpful, because the feedback can sometimes be emotionally challenging given the personal investment in their writing (Starke-Meyerring, 2011). However, the student’s embedded *habitus* of the supervisor’s role orients him or her to perceive the supervisor as the “gatekeeper to the qualification and the academic discipline” (Lee, 2008, p. 272). This is because they serve in “gate keeping roles” (Weidman et al., 2001, p. 66) or as conversers who transmit the accepted epistemologies and ways of seeing the discipline and addressing the research problem (Maritz & Prinsloo, 2015). The student sees the supervisor as having a final say in their writing and eventual success in the thesis writing process may still work with the instructions of an overly critical supervisor. Feedback that usually comes in the form of written comments given by supervisors may be negative at times but the doctoral candidate as part of the socialisation process comes to

accept the fact that the supervisor is at liberty to pass any comment on their writing. The supervisor's authority makes an impact on the student's revision of drafts. Li and Flowerdew (2007) establish in their study that participants generally trust and accept their supervisor's corrections while they occasionally disagree with their remarks. The student may interpret the negative comments from the supervisor as a requirement (or a motivational tool) to improve drafts in order to produce a quality thesis. Thus, the student writes several drafts of the same piece hoping that it will meet the expectations of the supervisor.

Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Lowe (2002) point out that a subtle balance is required between providing feedback, which points to weakness in a piece of work, and offering praise and encouragement to try harder. For students, feedback given by the supervisor that recognises and respects their views while at the same time giving another angle is seen as useful for revising and improving their work (Kumar & Stracke 2007). Doctoral students cherish open discussion with supervisors in decision making concerning their writing (Eyres et al. 2001; Kumar & Stracke 2007). The kind of power relationship displayed by the supervisor in the provision of feedback has an influence on the student's perception of the authority of the feedback (Can & Walker, 2011). Some comments in the feedback that are suggestive are perceived by students as mandatory to be dealt with in the revision of their work because of the power difference between the supervisor and supervisee (Crossouard & Pryor, 2009). Research has shown that doctoral candidates who have a positive attitude towards critical feedback do substantial number of revisions in their drafts (Kumar & Stracke, 2007). They also work on their drafts with the feedback with a new perspective while developing a critical deportment towards their future writing (Kumar & Stracke, 2007). When supervisors contradict each other in the provision of feedback the student has difficulty incorporating the feedback into their writing (Caffarella & Barnett 2000).

The way the doxic order is embedded in the doctoral student's habitus greatly influences the way the student experiences the socialisation process and the eventual success in doctoral study. Acceptance of the doxic order in the supervisory relationship fosters co-operation, obedience, and humility on the part of the supervisee who needs to accrue the relevant capital the supervisory relationship offers. Through supervisory practices and activities, the student comes to adopt a posture and an embodied culture that ensures the construction and reproduction of social order, the legitimation and acceptance of behaviours that promote domination, and the hierarchy of

distinction (see Deer, 2008; Cushion & Jones, 2006; Swartz, 1997; Bourdieu, 1977). Normalising the doxic order without challenging authority within the supervisory relationship leads to a form of symbolic violence because students see their doctoral becoming as dependent on their supervisor. Symbolic violence denotes the imposition of schemes of symbolism and meanings upon groups “in such a way that they are experienced as legitimate” (Jenkins, 2002, p. 104). Bourdieu and Passeron (1970) submit that: “Any power of symbolic violence i.e., any power that succeeds in imposing meanings and in imposing them as legitimate in disguising the relations of power which are at the root of its force, adds its own force that is specifically symbolic force, to those relations of power” (p. 18).

Within supervision, it is violence in the sense that it is exercised upon doctoral students with their own complicity (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) by doctoral supervisors. Kumaravadivelu (2003, 2006) refers to this as the “practice of self-marginalisation”. The symbolic violence that may exist within the supervisory space is geared towards maintaining order and restraint. It is exercised through indirect cultural contrivances devoid of direct and coercive control (Jenkins, 1992). Due to misrecognition of the role of the supervisor in the supervisory relationship in terms of degree attainment, the student also misrecognises their role as “unquestioning of authority” (Hunter, 2004, p. 180). This thereby entrenches the arbitrary power in the supervisory space, which persistently replicates itself in a self-enforcing manner (Deer, 2008). Undue enforcement of the doxic order in this space risks creating a negative apprenticeship in which the master–apprentice relationship. When the supervisory relationship becomes authoritarian it has the tendency to become destructive and may reduce doctoral education to an “Oedipal model of scholarly training” (Damrosch, 2006, p. 40) that can restrict innovation (Halse & Bansel, 2012) and creativity. A supervisory relationship characterised by a destructive relationship may entrench outdated knowledge, traditions, and practices by repeating the supervisor’s previous work, thus reproducing an exclusionary elite (Beattie & James, 1997; Enders, 2005a, b). For example, a supervisor who uses pedagogical authority to get the doctoral student to pursue a particular research topic and adopt a particular research method without the student owning his or her research and writing process may produce a thesis to suit the supervisor’s research agenda without the student necessarily being interested in that research.

The university–industry relationship that has become an established pedagogical practice in doctoral training in the basic and applied science disciplines can become an avenue whereby doctoral candidates may experience symbolic violence by their supervisors. Kenny (1987) details three ways where involvement in university–industry training can lead to symbolic violence. Firstly, the student–supervisor relationship can be characterised by the supervisor neglecting their supervisory duties. Secondly, the supervisor may orient students into areas useful to the industrial firm engaged in partnership with the university for training doctoral students. Lastly, using the doctoral candidates as low paid workers, they may transfer the student’s unpublished work or results to the firm or company involved in the university–industry arrangement. Helwig (1988) acknowledges that graduate students acting as research assistants on university–industry research projects may be forced to compromise their academic careers for the interest of the industry (business). Symbolic violence may also be seen in the substitution of the student’s interest in academia for that of the industry as the industry involved in their training may persuade the doctoral candidate to choose a lucrative career in industry over a career in the academy (Blevins & Ewer, 1988).

5.5 Conclusion

The doctoral supervisor’s authority to serve as a pedagogical transmitter provides them with the agency to guide the supervisee in the knowledge creation process. This authority manifests in two main forms in the supervisory space: scholarly and contextual. These two kinds of authority coalesce to form pedagogic authority, which is exercised by supervisors in the doctoral training process. Supervisors attain their scholarly authority through their qualifications, professional experience, and their disciplinary expertise. Contextual authority is gained through having knowledge of the doctoral programme and what it takes to attain a doctoral degree. These two forms of authority come with extensive training and experience as an academic.

Pedagogical authority often manifests as structured agency in the supervisory relationship and space. Structured power encourages student conformity in regard to reproducing disciplinary knowledge and norms and departmental or institutional arrangements (*doxa*). The supervisor’s performance of their pedagogical work and the establishment of a *doxic order* to guide engagement with doctoral students influence the way students experience the doctoral process and garner the capital available in the field. The *pedagogical authority* and *doxic order* help to establish orderliness and

control mechanisms between the supervisor and supervisee and also create control in the knowledge creation process. However, exercise of pedagogic authority has the tendency to produce *symbolic violence* in the experiences of doctoral candidates who may display complicity when the cultural arbitrary is imposed on them without questioning because they want to gain rewards the development offers. The excessive exercise of pedagogical authority without balancing it with pedagogical love and tact may present a negative experience for the doctoral candidate.

Employing Bourdieu's concepts as methodological tools, I use the next chapter to outline the research design and methods I draw on to analyse empirical data to illuminate how the exercise of supervisory pedagogical authority shapes the experience of doctoral students. The chapter also discusses how I gathered and analysed empirical data to understand the role of habitus and capital in the doctoral experience.

CHAPTER SIX

RESEARCH METHODS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the research design, the rationale for the choice of design, the target population, sample and sampling technique, data collection and analysis techniques, sources of data, and the measures employed to ensure the trustworthiness of the instruments used and the data collected from participants. The study employed varied research techniques from qualitative methodologies to answer the research questions. The ethical considerations and limitations of the study are also discussed.

6.2 Research Design

An interpretive phenomenological approach was adopted as the research design since it approaches doctoral students and supervisors as “the people in question [who can] tell their own story, in their own terms. So fidelity to the phenomenon as it is lived means apprehending and understanding it in the lived context of the person [doctoral students and supervisors] living through the situation” (Daniels, 2000 in Wilson, 2002, p.2). This study was particularly oriented toward *Dasein* (interpretive) phenomenology posited by Martin Heidegger in 1927. The choice of using an interpretive phenomenology reflects my own journey through the doctoral socialisation process, so I may have developed certain presuppositions and experiences about the doctoral training process, which may unconsciously have made me introduce some biases into my interpretation of the data despite my attempts to be as objective as possible. Therefore, since I am unlikely to *bracket these biases* completely from the study I decided to adopt this type of phenomenology. However, to be able to tap into the *lived experience* of doctoral students and supervisors, I used *interviews* as the data collection method to gather information to answer the empirical question: How can Bourdieu’s concepts of the *habitus*, *capital*, *pedagogic authority*, and *symbolic violence* be used to understand the disparate experiences and outcomes for doctoral students?

6.3 Interview Participants

I conducted 32 semi-structured interviews, with 16 PhD students and 16 PhD supervisors who were not paired, plus an interview with the Dean of Graduate School at the University of Ghana,

during the 2014/2015 academic year. The interviewees were selected from the four colleges established under the new collegiate system that commenced July to October, 2015. These colleges are: Basic and Applied Sciences, Health Sciences, Humanities, and Education. The semi-structured interviews provided in-depth explorations of the current doctoral socialisation process at the University of Ghana. The interviews provided students' and supervisors' views of the experiences of the socialisation process. The interviews gave a snapshot of the lived experiences of the PhD students in the old and new system of PhD education in the University of Ghana as well as those of the PhD supervisors who had to adjust and adapt to the varied socialisation strategies and practices associated with the two systems.

6.4 Contacting Participants for Interviews

After permission was granted by the University of Ghana (Ethics Committee and the heads of department) to collect data from doctoral students and PhD supervisors, I reached out to potential participants using two approaches: advertisements on departmental notice boards and email. These approaches were in accordance with the University of Auckland Human Ethics Committee's stipulation not to contact potential participants directly if the research occurs within an institutional context. Firstly, I advertised for potential PhD students to participate in the study by placing a succinct advertisement on the notice boards of the departments of interest after I was granted permission by the heads of departments to do so.

People willing to participate in the study contacted me via email. A meeting was then arranged with PhD students who contacted me to give them the opportunity to ask questions for clarification about the study. Participants were presented with the Participant Information Sheet (PIS) and the Consent Form (CF) after they gave a verbal consent to participate. After the signed CF was retrieved from participants, a meeting date, time, and venue for the actual interview were arranged on a face-to-face basis. Vandenberg (2013) points out that meeting potential participants and briefing them about the study before the actual date of the interview helps the interviewer gain some level of respect, co-operation, and full involvement during the interview.

Similarly, a generalised email intended to reach PhD supervisors was sent out via the University of Ghana staff emailing system. Again, I arranged to meet those who expressed interest to participate

in the study and I held a brief discussion with them about the study and gave them the opportunity to ask questions they had for clarification. I presented those who agreed to participate in the study with the PIS and CF forms. The date, time, and venue for the interview were also arranged with supervisors on a face-to-face basis after I had received the signed CF. I sent reminders through emails, text messages, and phone calls to all PhD students (participants) and doctoral supervisors who had agreed to participate in the study a day before the actual interview. All the interviews took place on the University of Ghana campus at the respective departments of the participants.

6.5 Selection of Participants

I purposely interviewed four PhD students from each of the following colleges: Basic and Applied Sciences, Health Sciences, Humanities, and Education. The selection of participants from the four colleges was informed by the establishment of the new collegiate system at the University of Ghana, which reflects the disciplinary differences in terms of the classification of departments under the hard, applied, and soft sciences (see Biglan, 1973a, 1973b). Drawing on the existing categorisation based on the discipline and departments under the collegiate system was very useful in unearthing the disciplinary differences of the socialisation of PhD students. I assumed that the disparate socialisation experiences of doctoral candidates may be influenced by the *collective habitus* promoted at the disciplinary (departmental) level. The study's focus on the department in the doctoral socialisation process stems from the fact that policies related to admission, financial support, and criteria for degree completion are situated in the department or programme (King, Bruce & Gilligan, 1993) and serve as the predominant locus of control in the academic life of the PhD student and not the whole institution (Gumport, 1993a, 1993b).

The participant group includes six PhD students who were in their second year of studentship under the new PhD system at the University of Ghana. The remaining ten participants were selected from students in their third year, those who had taken an extension, or those who had just defended their thesis under the old system. The selection of participants from different cohorts of PhD students was envisaged to provide distinct experiences across the doctoral stages. I limited my choice of participants under the new system to six participants because all the cohorts of PhD students in the new system were in their second year and were doing an internship (experiential learning). They had not really started with the thesis writing process, which is the bedrock of the whole doctoral process that transforms the student from a “consumer of knowledge” to “producer

of knowledge” (Delamont, Atkinson, & Parry, 2000). The choice of six participants from the new system was to create space to explore the differences in the socialisation of PhD students between the old and new systems, and to ascertain whether the perceptions regarding their experiences in the doctoral process may differ among the students under the two systems. The rationale for assigning more slots to participants in third year or the final stages of the doctoral process is that they are further advanced in the thesis writing process and can therefore provide better insight into how they have experienced doctoral socialisation. Table 5 shows the doctoral participants in brief.

Table 5: *Distribution of Doctoral Participants*

Colleges	New System	Old System
Basic and Applied Sciences	2	2
Health Sciences	1	3
Humanities	2	2
Education	1	3
Total	6	10

The selection of the 16 PhD supervisors was limited to those who were main supervisors since they had the primary responsibility of employing varied pedagogies to socialise the PhD students into the disciplinary and departmental culture. The role of principal supervisors is often assigned to faculty with a proven track record of providing guidance to PhD students to succeed in the doctoral journey. These supervisors have over the years acquired ample contextual expertise about the requirement for doctoral becoming, departmental and institutional policies, and practices that guide the organisation of doctoral education at the University of Ghana. See Table 6 for the distribution of the selected supervisors.

Table 6: *Distribution of Supervisory Participants*

Colleges	Supervisors
Basic and Applied Sciences	4
Health Sciences	4
Humanities	4
Education	4
Total	16

6.6 Data collection

I first conducted 16 semi-structured interviews (with the majority lasting an hour and half) with the PhD students using a focused question guide. This guide has been included as part of the

appendices. I subsequently interviewed the 16 supervisors for an hour and half. The interviews with the PhD students were conducted between July 2015 and October 2015, while the interviews with PhD supervisors were conducted from August 2015 to October 2015.

The appropriateness of using interviews for gathering data from PhD students and supervisors is that interviews give greater depth than other methods of data collection (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2000). Interviewing is one of the most popularly used methods employed within the qualitative paradigm (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Fontana & Frey, 2003; Rule & John, 2011). For Saunders, Lewis, and Thornhill (2007), the use of interviews gives researchers who subscribe to the interpretivist epistemology the opportunity to understand meanings that participants ascribe to the phenomena being studied. More importantly, interviews afford participants the opportunity to reflect on events without writing responses, to receive feedback, and get assurances that the information they disclose will be used for the intended purpose (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2007). Employing interviews as a means of data collection paves the way for the researcher to explore participants' experiences and can provide distinctive, unexpected, and brilliant insights (Richards, 2006). Interviews provide the avenue for collecting rich data from participants (Westby, Burda, & Mehta, 2003). Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill (2007) articulate that semi-structured interviews provide the researcher with the chance to probe answers in situations where you want the participants to explain or build on their previous responses.

Since an interview is a broad conversation through which the researcher (interviewer) establishes an overall direction for the discussion (Babbie & Mouton, 2001), I converted the objectives of the study into semi-structured questions that capture Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, capital, field and practice, doxic order, pedagogical authority, action and work. Adopting the guidelines posited by Rule and John (2011, p. 64) for achieving an effective interview, I:

- established a relaxed atmosphere for the interview. To make the participants relaxed and develop confidence, trust and credibility in the interview process, I first gave them time to finish with certain tasks that they were engrossed in and waited for them to give me the go ahead to start with the interviews. I then initiated the interviewing process with a general conversation to help them open up. Where the venue for the interviews was not suitable I invited the participants to lead me to another place where they felt comfortable to talk to me more openly.

- explained the nature and purpose of the study. Prior to the interview I gave the participants the PIS that explained the nature and purpose of my study. It also outlined the requests I was going to make on them as part of my interview. As well, I verbally informed all the participants about the nature and purpose of my study as part of the rapport and trust-building process.
- allowed participants (interviewees) to ask questions for clarification about the study and made sure that they were willing to continue before the commencement of the interview. Clarifying certain aspects of my study helped the participants to agree to participate in the study without hesitation.
- informed participants of the ethical obligations: I explained to the participants at the beginning of the interview that the interview would last for 90 minutes and would be recorded electronically using two recorders. I sought permission from the interviewees through both the CF and verbally before recording each interview. I also assured the participants (both PhD students and doctoral supervisors) of the confidentiality and anonymity of the information disclosed.
- adopted a conversational rather than an inquisitorial style to establish a rapport with interviewees. My position was that the interview should be viewed as a normal conversation after I had gained the trust of participants. I avoided using a harsh tone and refrained from arguing with participants who were combative in their responses. Even when some participants (supervisors) wanted to control the interview process, I tactfully took control of the interviews without sounding argumentative.
- began with the less demanding or controversial questions: I started the conversation with a discussion of the biographical characteristics of the participants and this lasted for five minutes. I then proceeded with the interviews that focused on the questions under the themes that were intended to elicit the responses for addressing the research questions. The questions I posed were intended to make participants (both PhD students and doctoral supervisors) reflect on how the practices, activities, and processes impact on the way PhD socialisation is experienced in the supervisory relationship, at the disciplinary, departmental (institutional) level and in other communities of learning outside the institution. Each interview ended with a question on the conceptualisation of success in doctoral studies.
- listened carefully and resisted interrupting the participants while they were talking. Another technique that I used during the course of the interviews was “shadow listening” (Owens, 2007, p. 305). Shadow listening involves the researcher engaging in a mental conversation

with himself or herself. I used this technique when I wanted to probe further certain concerns and difficulties the participants faced, which they talked about with a high sense of emotion. For example, when a student participant said that his main supervisor was not getting enough time to discuss his work and to give him feedback, I said to myself, “This issue is worth probing further since the quality and frequency of supervisory practices is likely to influence the experience of the doctoral process differently”. Vandenberg (2013) submits that employing shadow listening during an interview can deepen the interview by paving way for the interviewer to probe nascent feelings expressed by participants.

- showed respect and sensitivity to the emotional climate of the interview. During the interviews with PhD students there was the need for me to display empathetic listening. Empathetic listening is an “intellectual process that involves correctly understanding another person’s emotional state and point of view” (Egan, 1998 in Owens, 2007, p. 305). Some PhD students who I interviewed strayed off from addressing the question I asked and started to express some challenges they were contending with in their supervisory relationship and in their thesis writing journey. The expression of the challenges being faced were emotionally charged hence I allowed them to express their frustration and anger to enable them to get a “listening ear” and relief by sharing their cares and concerns. Empathetic listening is an important skill in an interview situation because it plays a vital part in building the relationship (Vandenberg, 2013) and trust needed for interviewees to open up and share information they might not have disclosed in a normal conversation. Being mindful of the fact that I had to conduct my interview within the timeframe and not overstaying my welcome as well as displaying sensitivity to the time constraints of participants (Vandenberg, 2013), I would tactfully listen to their sentiments for a while and later reframe the question I had previously asked to bring them back on track to discuss the question. Working within the time frame for the interviews helped to establish credibility for subsequent follow-up interviews to obtain saturation. Two follow-up interviews were conducted to obtain saturation (Morgan, 2002) on the themes that were not discussed with depth during the initial interviews.
- probed and summarised to confirm my understanding: to enable the participants to freely discuss the questions posed and to keep the conversation going to extract the relevant responses, I employed the use of “funnelling” (Plummer, 2001, p. 145). Funnelling consciously employs probing questions connected to the main questions to keep the interviewees active in the conversation process. Probing enabled me to gain access to the relevant experiences (Vandenberg, 2013) pertaining to the PhD socialisation practices in

the focal university. I employed iterative questioning to unearth inconsistencies in the responses of participants to seek further clarification of an issue the participants had talked about previously.

6.7 Data Analysis

The analysis of the interview transcripts involved the process of reflexivity, reactive interaction between the researcher, participants' responses and decontextualisation of the data interpretations of the social encounter between interviewer and interviewee (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2000). To enable me to report the findings of the interviews, I played each audio-recording to ensure it was audible and complete. I then transcribed each interview into text and read through it several times to take away errors and inconsistencies. I then subjected the transcripts to independent verification using professional transcribers who listened to the tapes and checked the printed out transcription to verify it had captured the actual contents of each tape recording. Once this was completed, I used thematic content and analytic analyses to analyse the transcripts as follows.

6.7.1 Thematic content analysis

Thematic content analysis was used to organise the emergent categories and group codes into meaningful clusters (Patton, 2002) and themes that answered the study's research questions. Thematic content analysis is the most common method of data analysis used in qualitative research (Pope, Ziebland, & Mays, 2000; Ritchie, Spencer, & O'Connor, 2004). It commences with reading and making a judgement about the data contained in the refined transcripts (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2000). I adopted the last eight stages for analysis from Brenner et al. (1985) while reviewing the contents of the transcript. The first stage of *immersion* involves conventional content analysis – it required reading the 32 refined transcripts several times to become familiar with the contents of the scripts, themes, and the coding scheme that could be produced from the scripts (see Burnard, 1991; Polit & Beck, 2004). This approach is consistent with Tesch's (1990) assertion that data analysis starts with reading all data repeatedly to achieve immersion and obtain a sense of whole.

The second phase of the thematic content analysis is *categorising*. It involves developing exhaustive and mutually exclusive themes or categories using the codes to reflect the purpose of the study.

The categorisation of the collected data using codes provides an emergent structure for organising and analysing the data (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2007). Dey (1993) states that categories developed from the transcripts should have two aspects: internal and external. The internal aspect of the categories should be meaningful in relation to the data, while the external aspect must be meaningful in relation to other categories. After getting a sense of the data's open coding, which involves making notes and giving headings in the text (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008) and margins to describe all aspect of the study (Burnard, 1991, 1996; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005), I began to reflect on the data.

The third phase of *incubation* involves reflection on the data in order to develop interpretations and meanings. Interview transcripts only provide a descriptive account of the study but do not provide explications of the data collected (Pope, Ziebland, & Mays, 2000; Burnard, Gill, Stewart, Treasure, & Chadwick, 2008). The onus is then on the researcher to make sense of the collected data by exploring and interpreting the data (Burnard, Gill, Stewart, Treasure & Chadwick, 2008).

Synthesis is the fourth stage – it requires reviewing the coding system and identification of patterns and themes. Analysis of qualitative data commences during and immediately after the first data are collected though data collection is an ongoing process and the analysis is modified throughout the study (Burnard, Gill, Stewart, Treasure, & Chadwick, 2008). The iterative process of data analysis requires reviewing the coding system and the discovery of a general pattern that runs through the data as and when new data are accrued. Data review requires the researcher to develop later codes for categorising the data that do not fit under earlier determined codes. It also sometimes necessitates the merging of similar codes. Reviewing of the coding system helps to eliminate redundancies and identify critical elements in terms of the coding schemes. The researcher then employs the use of axial coding to merge all categories into umbrella categories. In my analysis I generated descriptive broad categories such as attitudes, skills, and resources required for navigating the PhD journey successfully, pedagogies used in the PhD socialisation process, and the roles played by supervisors in said process.

The fifth stage, known as *culling*, involves condensing, editing, and re-interpreting the data so that it can be written about comprehensibly. While transcribing the interviews there is the need to edit

the data to take away inconsistencies and redundancies to make data interpretation meaningful. Taking away errors makes the anecdotes meaningful and succinct when used to support the findings.

Interpretation is the sixth phase of the process and this involves making meaning out of the data. Data interpretation is very subjective as the researcher interprets the data or parts of it differently (Seale, 2000). The researcher must consider how they will make meaning out of the collected data. However, Elo and Kyngäs (2008) state that excessive interpretation of the data by the researcher poses a threat to successful content analysis.

The next stage involved *writing* – providing direction to the readers as to what was said by participants. According to Burnard (2004), there are two approaches for writing up qualitative findings. The first involves reporting main findings under each theme or category and the use of an appropriate verbatim quote or anecdote to illustrate the findings. Generally, the use of this approach involves writing separate findings and discussion chapters. The discussion chapter is developed to explain the findings. The chapter critically discusses the findings in relation to existing research and draws conclusions in a different section (Burnard, Gill, Stewart, Treasure, & Chadwick, 2008). The second approach adopts a similar procedure but differs in that the discussion is done in the same chapter after the presentation of the anecdotes to support the findings. In this study, I adopted the second approach in my presentation and discussion of findings since it allowed me to write more coherently. In writing up the analysis of the data, there is the need to not compress the data too much as doing so will compromise the integrity of the narrative materials (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). The conclusions from the data should include supporting excerpts to ensure that the richness of the original data does not disappear (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008).

The last stage is *rethinking*. As part of the iterative analysis and writing process the researcher has to rethink how to logically present the information. In the interpretation of data, the researcher will have superficial initial ideas; subjecting these ideas to rethinking and rewriting makes the ideas more powerful (Holiday, 2007; Silverman & Marvasti, 2008). As part of the rethinking process, the researcher needs to consult the existing literature to weave a tapestry with the new collected data

to renew the information that exists on the phenomenon studied. Bazeley (2009) asserts that the analysis process could be stimulated by the literature since it could be a source to explore and test the data.

Some codes I used in my analysis were developed in advance while others were informed by the data I collected. The use of a mixture of predetermined and emergent codes in my analysis was informed by the fact that earlier codes needed to be refined to make the analysis more astute. According to Cohen, Manion, and Morrison (2000), later codes weaken the data analysis process. However, I used them to capture the complexity and comprehensiveness of my collected data. The general codes I had developed in advance for the analysis of my data were couched in concepts used by Bourdieu in his theory of practice and academic capitalism. While reading a printed version of each transcript I placed both the earlier and later codes alongside the margins that corresponded to the responses given by the participants. Table 7 below captures some of the earlier and latter codes.

Table 7: Coding System for Analysis Transcripts

Earlier Codes	Meaning	Latter Codes	Meaning
HAB	Habitus	DEPART	Department
CAP	Capital	INSTTT	Institutional
SOCAP	Social capital	PEDA	Pedagogical authority
CUCAP	Cultural capital	PEDACTION	Pedagogical action
EUCAP	Economic capital	PEDAWORK	Pedagogical work

6.7.2 Analytic induction

Analytic induction was first introduced and used by Znaniecki in 1934 for validating theories and prepositions grounded in qualitative research, by ascertaining general statements and laws of causation (Lee & Fielding, 2004; Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). Smelser and Baltes (2001) refer to analytic induction as research logic employed in the gathering of data, developing analysis, and organising the presentation of research findings. The objective for employing analytic induction is to develop an explication of the interactional processes through which people develop regular experiences and distinctive forms of social action (Smelser & Baltes, 2001). In this thesis, themes and patterns used for analysing and organising the presentation of data reflects how Bourdieu's thinking tools such as habitus, capital, pedagogical authority, doxic order, and symbolic violence feature in the context of doctoral education and the socialisation of PhD students in the focal

university in Ghana. The analytic induction procedure positioned the themes and patterns in relation to the development of the requisite habitus, accumulation of capital by the students in the socialisation process, and the exercise of pedagogical authority. Analytic induction also enabled me to synthesise the student participants' convergent and, more importantly, divergent experiences. The analytic induction process helped formulate a socialisation framework that conceptualised the development of a common academic identity in PhD studies. This is irrespective of the discipline, which is grounded in the use of shared pedagogies, policies, practices, and processes.

6.8 Trustworthiness of Data

Merriam (2002) refers to trustworthiness in qualitative research as the extent to which a study can be replicated. The trustworthiness of this study is grounded on three of the four benchmarks espoused by Bryman (2012): credibility, transferability, and conformability. Dependability was not included in the study because some strategies used under credibility satisfy the dependability benchmark.

6.8.1. Credibility

Lincoln and Guba (1985) contend that ensuring credibility in one's research is one of the most significant elements in building trustworthiness. Credibility in qualitative research refers to the assurance that can be placed in the certainty of the research findings (Holloway & Wheeler, 2002; Macnee & McCabe, 2008). According to Merriam (1998), a qualitative researcher striving to achieve credibility in their study should be able to answer the question: How congruent are the findings with reality? The study's credibility was facilitated through the following strategies.

Firstly, I used peer debriefing as a strategy for ensuring the credibility of this study. For Guba (1981), peer debriefing "provides inquirers with the opportunity to test their growing insights and to expose themselves to searching questions" (p. 85). Anney (2014) states that a qualitative researcher needs to seek support from other professionals. This includes academic staff, the postgraduate dissertation committee, and the department who can willingly provide academic guidance during the research process. I held periodic meetings with my supervisors to discuss the procedures and methods I used to execute my fieldwork. Right from the design of the two sets of

question guides for my interviews with PhD students and supervisors, ethics application, and conducting my interviews, I reached out to my supervisors to help me sharpen my vision about the study. Both supervisors brought their varied experiences to bear on my study and this widened my scope about the kinds of questions to ask during the interviews. It also enabled me to obtain rich data from the participants to answer my research questions. The frequent meetings I had with my supervisors also provided the platform to come out with a synergistic approach for conducting my study in terms of the data collection and analysis phases. Meeting with my supervisors to discuss my research helped me to notice flaws in my proposed approach, bias, and preferences that could compromise the credibility of my research findings. Anney (2014) reiterates this by stating that feedback from supervisors helps the researcher to enhance the quality of the study's findings.

Secondly, the credibility of data gathered from informants was enhanced through the early acquaintance with the culture of the participating organisation before the data collection process (Shenton, 2004). Before I went to the focal university in Ghana to gather data, I read about the history of the university, the collegiate system, and the old and new systems of doctoral education to become familiar with the organisation. I also read about their ethical guidelines before applying for ethical clearance. Employing this strategy helped me to know potential gate keepers such as the Human Resource Director of the university, Dean of Graduate School, and various heads of colleges and departments. I established a relationship with these people in order to gain their trust to conduct the study. More importantly, being an alumni of the university paved the way for me to have the co-operation of the staff and students who I interviewed, as they easily bonded with me when they realised we shared things in common. However, while trying to become familiar with the organisation and potential participants, I took Lincoln and Guba's (1985) recommendation to be cautious and not become so engrossed with the culture of the organisation under study. This was to ensure that my professional judgements would not be swayed. To engage adequately with my participants before the interviews, I met those who expressed interest in participating in the study to interact with them about the purpose of my study and clarify issues and answer questions they had.

Thirdly, after the interviews I employed member checking to subsequently engage with the participants. Member checking is a strategy that involves continuous testing with participants about

the researcher's data, analytic categories, interpretations, and conclusions to ensure that the final data presentation accurately reflects the informants' experiences (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) and provides the opportunity for participants to express their concerns or to seek clarification (Gopaul, 2012). Member checking helps to eliminate the bias associated with the analysis and interpretation of results. I carried out a limited form of member checking by sending the transcribed text back to participants (either through email or by sending a printed copy) to verify the accuracy of the information they provided (Krefting, 1991). Aspects of the transcribed text that were not clear were clarified by the participants and where necessary they expanded some parts of the responses they gave by making notes in the margins of the transcribed material.

Lastly, I employed voluntary participation as part of the selection of participants for the interviews and iterative questioning to build the credibility of this study. I interviewed only those who were prepared to freely offer data for the study (Shenton, 2004). Thus, to make the participants feel at ease to truthfully respond to the questions I posed during the entire interview sessions I first established rapport with them at the beginning of each interview. When some of the participants asked me whether some responses they gave were right answers to the questions I asked, I assured them that there were no right or wrong answers. I also agreed to the requests of some of the participants not to record certain aspects of the conversation because they thought they were too sensitive and could affect the reputations of the people involved.

I also used iterative questioning and probes to ensure I gathered candid information from the participants and also to explore issues and responses that were inconsistent with previous information given by the same participants during the course of the interviews. When needed, I rephrased some of the questions I asked. This was done in order for detected contradictions in the responses to be removed or explained as part of the research report write up (Shenton, 2004).

6.8.2 Transferability

Transferability in qualitative research denotes the extent to which the results of the study can be transferred to other contexts using other respondents (participants) – it is seen to be parallel to generalizability in quantitative research (Bitsch, 2005; Tobin & Begley, 2004). For Bitsch (2005), the researcher enhances the study's transferability through the employment of thick description

and purposeful sampling. In this regard, I provided a thick description by succinctly explicating all the research processes involved in the data collection and analysis, the context of the study, and the circumstances under which the final report was produced (Anney, 2014). Shenton (2004) points out that “without insight, it is difficult for the reader of the final account to determine the extent to which overall findings ‘ring true’” (p. 69). According to Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Firestone (1993), investigators should ensure the transferability of their qualitative studies by providing sufficient information about the fieldwork site to enable the reader to draw transferences.

Through the provision of detailed information on the following aspects of the study right from the onset I enhanced the transferability of the study. Firstly, the name of the institution where the study was conducted and the location have clearly been stated though I interchangeably used phrases like “*in my home university*”, “*focal university*” and the “*first public university in Ghana*”. Using these phrases as a preamble the reader can easily get to know the university in Ghana I used for my study. Secondly, the restrictions in the type of participants selected for the data collection were made clear in the study. I purposely selected the participants (PhD students and supervisors who are not paired) and the focal university based on the peculiar purposes connected with answering the research questions (Teddlie & Yu, 2007). The students and supervisors were purposely selected because they are key informants who are particularly knowledgeable (Schutt, 2006) about the nature of doctoral socialisation that takes place at the public university in Ghana. Since the study sought to unearth the disparate socialisation experiences of PhD students in the Ghanaian context, I purposely selected the first public university in Ghana as the focus institution because it has the largest number of doctoral students and programmes. Thirdly, I succinctly described the data collection methods employed to enhance the transferability of this study. Fourthly, the number and length of data collection sessions have also been reported as part of the study. Lastly, the period or duration over which the data was collected was presented under the heading of data collection. Given the detailed information I have provided in terms of my research design and data collection method used, conducting a study of a similar nature in other public universities in Ghana will allow researchers to ascertain the transferability of the study’s findings in Anglophone Western African countries.

6.8.3 Conformability

Priya and Dalal (2016) refer to conformability in qualitative research as taking measures to ensure that the researcher's subjectivity or perspective is kept in check so that a neutral and unbiased understanding of the phenomenon is attained. I sought to achieve conformability in this study through detailed description of the research methods employed in gathering data, outlining the limitations associated with this study, and the use of triangulation in the primary sources of data. Campbell and Fiske (1959) state that triangulation is an influential approach for demonstrating concurrent validity in qualitative research. I used two different types of informants or participants (PhD students and supervisors who are not pairs). Triangulation was achieved by reaching out to these two groups of interviewees, to allow for convergence and divergence of the data from two varied perspectives (Angen, 2000). Shenton (2004) submits that gathering data from a wide range of informants helps the researcher subject individual views and experiences to verification by comparing it to others with the eventual aim of getting a rich picture of the attitudes, needs, and behaviours under examination as the construction of meaning will be based on the contributions of a wide range of people.

6.9 Ethical Considerations

According to Vogt, Gardner and Haeffele (2012), adhering to ethics in research involves an obligation to, and behaviour guided by, certain principles. A research study guided by ethical guidelines promotes unselfish conduct in the research process and the credibility of the research report (Cousin, 2009) as well as safeguards research participants from harm (Berg & Lune, 2012). Punch (1986) also suggests that field researchers exercise common sense and moral responsibility, always putting their subjects first, the study next, and themselves last. Heeding Punch's advice, I adopted the following ethical measures before and during the course of the fieldwork.

6.9.1 Before fieldwork

During my preparation to embark on fieldwork, I read the ethical guidelines of both the University of Auckland and the University of Ghana to familiarise myself with the demands of both institutions for conducting fieldwork. I subsequently completed my online ethics application to gain ethical clearance from the University of Auckland. After I was given provisional permission to go to the field from my supervisors and the Ethics Committee at the University of Auckland, I applied for another ethical clearance from the University of Ghana before I embarked on the data collection process (soliciting documents and conducting interviews). The Ethics Committee at the

University of Ghana approved my application in July 2015 and I commenced my data collection (interviews) after I received the letter granting me access into the institution.

6.9.2 During fieldwork

I used the formal letter obtained from the Ethics Committee to gain access to some of the policy documents such as the current handbook on doctoral studies from the Graduate School, which stipulates the requirements for admission and the award of the PhD degree. The handbook also outlined the components of the new PhD programme introduced at the University of Ghana, PhD skills training and expectations, strategies (pedagogies) for PhD socialisation, and the role of supervisors in PhD supervision. I contacted the Graduate School at the University of Ghana in order to get authentic, credible, accurate, and comprehensive documents for the document analysis phase (Bowen, 2009).

Recognising the fact that the researcher is an instrument in the data collection process while the interview is also a social and an interpersonal encounter, there was the need to conduct the interviews carefully and sensitively by adhering to some ethical principles (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000). The statement from Tuckman (1994) in Cohen, Manion & Morrison (2000) served as the guiding principle for acting ethically while conducting the interviews with participants:

At the meeting, the interviewer should brief the respondent as to the nature or purpose of the interview (being as candid as possible without biasing responses) and attempt to make the respondent feel at ease. He [*sic*] should explain the manner in which he will be recording responses, and if he plans to tape record, he should get the respondent's assent. At all times, an interviewer must remember that he is a data collection instrument and try not to let his own biases, opinions, or curiosity affect his behaviour. It is important that the interviewer should not deviate from his format and interview schedule although many schedules will permit some flexibility in choice of questions. The respondent should be kept from rambling away from the essence of a question, but not at the sacrifice of courtesy (pp. 268–269).

I gave a Participant Information Sheets (PIS) and Consent Forms (CF) (attached as appendices) to both PhD students and doctoral supervisors after they expressed interest in participating in the interviews prior to the interview date. I gave participants a week to read through the PIS and CF. After they signed the CF and confirmed the interview date, time, and venue, I met with them to

conduct the interviews. As part of the interviews for PhD students and doctoral supervisors I informed them about the researcher's background and the purpose of the study. Before I began each interview I gave the interviewees an opportunity to ask questions for further clarification about the study. I used five minutes to clarify issues about the research in order to establish rapport, trust, and credibility with the participants (Clark, 2010). This approach helped them to relax and give candid responses to the questions I asked during the interviews.

To ensure voluntary and informed participation in the interviews, participants were verbally and textually (on the CF) informed that they were not compelled to participate in the study and even when they freely agreed to participate they could opt out at any time. I informed the participants that even when they had volunteered information for the study they could contact me to withdraw their participation before the 30th of October 2015.

I also ensured the participants that data collected from them would be kept confidential and used for the sole purpose of conducting my research. I let them know that all the recorded interviews were to be stored for six years on the researcher's computer. Participants were made aware that hardcopies of the transcripts would be stored in a locked cabinet in the researcher's office from January 2016 and that the hardcopies of the transcripts with pseudo first names would be shared with the researcher's supervisor(s) only. I assured participants that electronic files would be deleted and transcripts would be shredded after the end of 2021. To ensure participants of anonymity in the thesis' data analysis presentation section, I told them that their names and any information that could reveal their identity would be hidden. This approach is consistent with Ford and Reutter's (1990) admonition that the researcher should ensure that informants are not identified by quotes from the data.

6.10 Conclusion

In this chapter, I outlined the qualitative multi-methods design, selection of documents and participants, the data collection, and analysis techniques employed in this study. I also addressed the means of ensuring the study's trustworthiness and the ethical principles that guided this study. The methods discussed within this section provided the data to answer the research questions that have been analysed and will be presented in the subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE HABITUS IN THE KNOWLEDGE JOURNEY

7.1 Introduction

This analysis chapter investigates the creation of an *academic habitus*, which I define as a set of skills, knowledge, attitudes, values, beliefs, conventions, and practices assimilated through the immersive process the doctoral student encounters in the discipline, department, and other practice communities during their educational journey. The academic habitus consists of four types of intersecting habitus related to doctoral training and knowledge re(production) within the disciplinary, departmental, and institutional spaces. It also includes the doctoral student's negotiation of associated processes and practices. The four types of habitus that form part of my discourse are: collective, scientific, scholarly, and the individual.

The *class* or *collective habitus* refers to the harmonisation of the doctoral student's habitus with the habitus of the practice community (discipline or department) (see Burke, Emmerich, & Ingram, 2013; Jawitz, 2009; Bourdieu, 1990, 1980). Participating in a practice community over time manifests in an internalised shared repertoire (Wenger, 1998). The *scientific habitus* can be defined as firstly the pedagogical and disciplinary space, and, secondly, the doctoral candidate's continuous exposure, inculcation, knowledge attainment, and research process related to this space (see Lenoir, 2006). The *scholarly habitus* signifies the set of scholarly dispositions the doctoral candidate develops (see McCoy & Winkle-Wagner, 2015). The *individual habitus* refers to the set of durable dispositions, preferences, experiences, and tastes shaped by prior events and training (see Gopaul, 2011, 2012; Bourdieu, 1990a). These pre-existing factors and traits may certainly be restructured and/or transformed during the doctoral process and this may provide insights into how doctoral candidates experience the doctoral process differently. The *academic habitus* is the amalgamation of the collective, scientific, and scholarly habitus mediated by the individual habitus in the doctoral journey. The *collective*, *scientific* and *scholarly habitus* are embodied as part of the individual habitus in the doctoral be(coming) process. This thesis conceptualises *doctoral be(coming)* as the development of the *academic habitus*, which involves the transition from the status of a student in need of guidance and dependence to a doctoral holder who can embark on independent research work having been informed by the academic habitus developed through the doctoral journey.

The chapter commences with a discussion on how the doctoral socialisation process produces a *class* or *collective habitus* amongst doctoral candidates. It is then followed by a consideration of how the individual habitus plays out in the doctoral socialisation process.

7.2 Construing Uniformity in the Doctoral Experience Using the Concept of Habitus

The doctoral socialisation process accomplishes some degree of doctoral candidate assimilation and homogeneity in generic attitudes, values, knowledge, and skills irrespective of the discipline and department. This remains a widely accepted observation (see Tierney & Rhoads, 1994; Bourdieu, 1990, 1980). Both Gardener (2008) and Anthony (2002) argue that convergent experiences in the doctoral training process show socialisation is both strong and uniform. My research evaluates students' and supervisors' experiences related to doctoral uniformity; I also draw on my own experience in the doctoral journey. My research suggests that uniformity is produced via the socialisation process and is irrespective of the individual, discipline, department, or institution. Habitus is a useful lens through which to consider these experiences. One interviewee described the standardised nature of the socialisation process, stating that by the time a student completes a PhD programme they:

will develop new skills and attitudes. . . . as you go through the PhD you see that you are adding on and improving your writing skills, ability to disseminate information, and ability to interact with people. This makes you a dynamic student. At the end of the day you see that you will never be the same once you go through the PhD process because it trains and guides you. Sometimes through the PhD programme you will be editing articles, you will be criticizing even professors who have written good articles and disagree[ing] with them. So by the time you finish the PhD programme you see a transformation in your identity and also there is an element of honour when you finish. . . . You see yourself as somebody who is now a full-grown person who can do things for himself and also contribute largely to your discipline and society (PhD supervisor, College of Education).

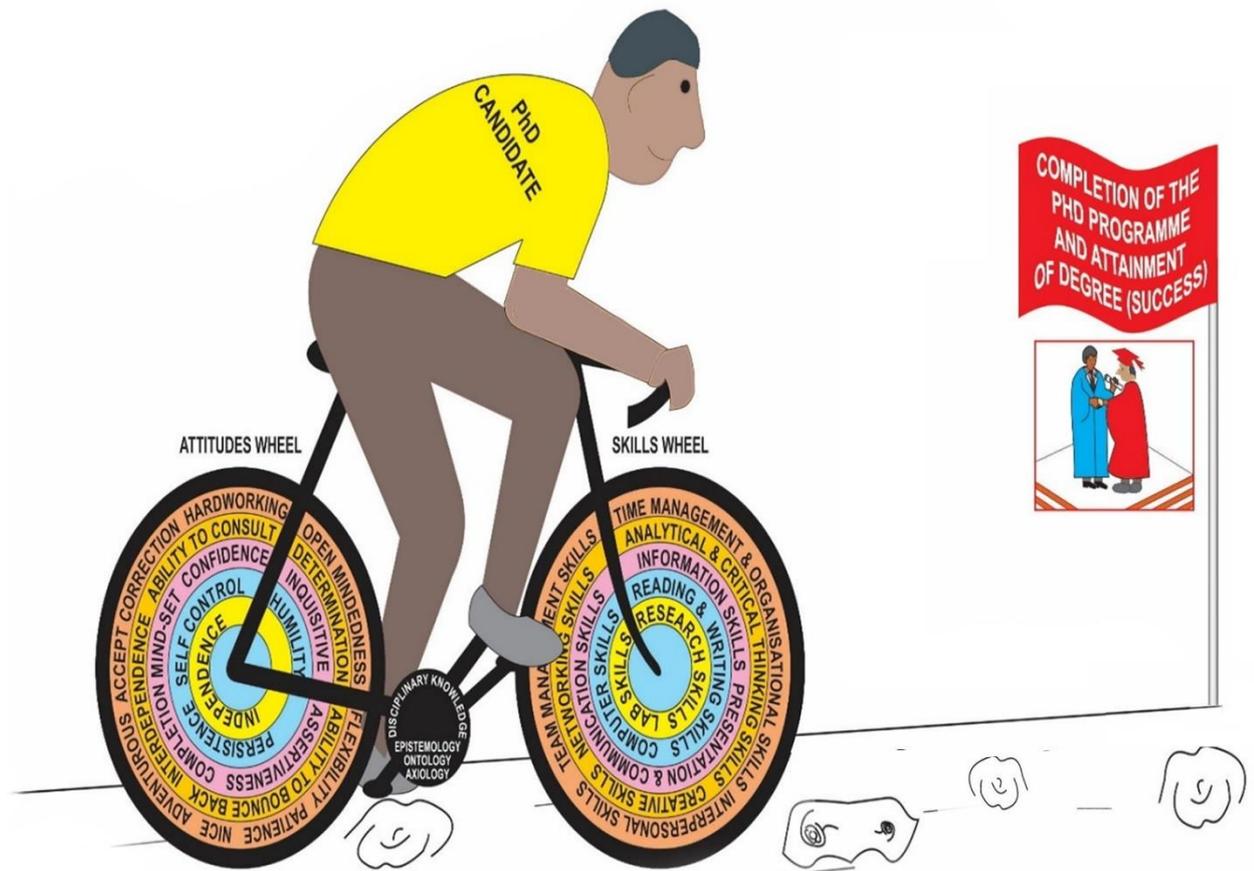
This statement highlights the perception that doctoral candidates who persist in the doctoral socialisation process are likely to develop some common skills and attitudes as they undergo identity transformation (see Illeris, 2014; Austin & McDaniels, 2006; Council of Graduate Schools, 2005; Labaree, 2003; Mezirow, 2006). During doctoral socialisation, students metamorphose from being neophytes and primary consumers of disciplinary knowledge to fully-grown academic persons at the completion of the doctoral programme. Being academic prosumers in the discipline means that they should be able to do independent research work at the end of the doctoral journey

without guidance from a supervisor or a team of supervisors as they had in doctoral training. Those who intend to be stewards of the discipline by pursuing careers in academic and research institutions must be able to display the transformation process they went through by contributing to knowledge re(production) within the discipline and use knowledge where practicable to improve society. This conceptualisation of the development of the *academic habitus* as part of the doctoral socialisation process resonates in the statement: “You see yourself as somebody who is now a full-grown person who can do things for himself and also contribute largely to your discipline and society”. Being a fully-grown person as the supervisor highlights signifies the development of the academic habitus by degree completion. It is through the development of the academic habitus that doctoral students become connected to the discipline and the associated practice community.

The development of the *academic habitus* as part of the doctoral becoming involves the assimilation of a gamut of skills, knowledge, and attitudes that constellate to form the student’s *academic habitus*. These qualities are relevant to the consumption and creation of advanced knowledge within the discipline, eventual success in the training process, and future career prospects. Even though every doctoral student may come to the doctoral programme with some of these attributes, they are incrementally enhanced as they go through the process and acquire new ones. This supposition resonates in the supervisor’s statement about the transformative effect of PhD training on the doctoral student as the student: “will develop new skills and attitudes[acquisition] [as they] go through the PhD [s/he will be] adding on and improving [their] writing skills, ability to disseminate information and ability to interact with people [enhancement]”. The statement highlights two main processes that characterise the development of the academic habitus or transformation that occurs in the academic – *acquisition* and *enhancement*. In the context of this study, *acquisition* should be perceived as gaining new skills, knowledge, and attitudes, while *enhancement* involves the refinement or enrichment of what the student already brought to the doctoral process in terms of the three elements. The skills and knowledge aspects that form the academic can be taught through the supervisory relationship, peer interaction, community of practice, and independent study. Based on the teachability of these skills and knowledge, I refer to this as the scholarship aspect in the development of the academic habitus.

Doctoral students sometimes possess attitudes relevant to the development of the academic person. This is as a result of precious educational experiences. However, some are also acquired

or enhanced as they go through doctoral processes and practices, and deal with challenges and relationships associated with doctoral training. These attitudes are not normally taught but are crucial in the development of the academic person and one's success in the doctoral process. Thus, I perceive these attitudes as the behavioural and emotional aspects of the development of the academic person. The gamut of skills and attitudes doctoral student may acquire or enhance during the development of the academic habitus has been captured in Figure 3 below. The diagram below was developed by the researcher using the components of the PhD programme at the University of Ghana. The components of the PhD programme in Ghana may differ from other universities worldwide but the generic skills and attitudes required by students to develop the academic habitus are similar.



GAINING ADMISSION & REGISTRATION INTO THE DOCTORAL PROGRAMME

1st YEAR (Provisional Year Goals)	2nd YEAR	3rd YEAR	4th YEAR	Period before the award of degree
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Course work and assignments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Comprehensive written examination -Submission of a review paper or a research proposal -Oral examination -Experiential research learning (internship) -Written report on experiential learning -Seminar presentation on research proposal -Seminar presentation on experiential learning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Thesis writing -Thesis progress report seminar  	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Thesis writing -Provisional thesis finding report seminar -Presentation of final draft of thesis for examination  	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Submission of the final draft of thesis - Examination of the thesis - Viva voce (oral defense) - Final correction & submission of thesis    

Fig 3: Attitudes and skills acquired and enhanced in the doctoral journey

From a student's perspective, we can see collective habitus in action in the following anecdotes. This collective habitus is promoted through the use of common pedagogical strategies used in the socialisation of students to assimilate the scientific habitus. Two students from separate colleges commented on the impact seminars had on their training. One student said:

I used [the seminar] as a means to communicate to the people in my field. I had insightful and relevant input, which I took in [to] consideration in the writing process. During the seminars, your own colleagues, juniors, and faculty ask questions or critique your work. Everyone interrogates what you are doing. These seminars contributed to making my work very rich (PhD candidate, College of Health Sciences).

A student from a different college described a similar experience:

It gave me the platform to share my work with others in the department, who had no clue what my work was about. . . . It opened my work for criticism, which helped me to enhance and sharpen my work. It allowed to me to see things from an outsider's perspective. When you are doing the work you sometimes lose that part of it but when you put it out there during seminars for others to criticise, it forces you out of it and you see that it makes sense allowing others to have a look at it. It is not only my faculty members but also among the PhD students from other faculties. . . . we organised seminars where we peer-reviewed our works at different seminars. And we did that at the beginning of every month; we organised different seminars, which put us on our toes (PhD candidate, College of Humanities).

These two doctoral candidates had common experiences due to their exposure to similar pedagogies in their programmes, irrespective of discipline or department. Arguably, this was due to their participation, observation, and imitation in academic social practice of role incumbents (see Arnal & Burwood, 2003; Weidman et al., 2001). This similarity of experience occurred amongst the students despite the cultural and disciplinary differences and educational experiences they brought to the doctoral socialisation process. At my former university in Ghana, there is an obligatory doctoral socialisation process (coursework, comprehensive examination, thesis writing, progress seminar presentation, and viva voce), which produces similar experiences amongst doctoral candidates, regardless of disciplines, departments, and colleges.

This consistency of experience occurred without any direct intervention or overt coordination; instead, inculcation occurred through exposure to processes, practices, and subsequent adoption

(Bourdieu, 1990). The process of assimilating this shared repertoire of “how to do things” (Wenger, 1998) produces what Bourdieu terms *class habitus* (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 58; Bourdieu, 1980) or *collective habitus* (see Burke, Emmerich, & Ingram, 2013; Jawitz, 2009). The internalisation of institutional processes/practices leads to the doctoral candidate’s harmonisation of their individual habitus with the *habitus of the community of practice (department)* (Jawitz, 2009). As such, there emerges a *collective socialisation* – shared conscious experience between doctoral students (Weidman et al., 2001), the discipline, department, or the practice community.

The two candidates quoted above shared a general institutional practice that gave them comparable experiences in terms of the way the seminar influenced their production of knowledge and how they communicated their work to an audience. The communal element is highlighted in both reflections. Firstly, the candidates had a similar experience of being given the opportunity to share their work with other doctoral students and with faculty outside of the supervisory space. Secondly, they both experienced subjecting their work to peer review, which is regarded as a key feature of the knowledge production process in doctoral be(coming) (see Mulder, Pearce, & Baik, 2014). Määttä (2012) points out that seminars offer students the opportunity to experiment and to reflect on the practicability of their thoughts and clarifications in a safe atmosphere, while also supporting exchanges that clarify the thesis process. A supervisor describes this normative practice in the following way:

When you are doing the PhD you must be ready to open yourself up to the world of academia for them to either criticize your work, add on to your work, shape your work and others. Sometimes it is arranged that students present their seminars and the seminars are geared towards the work that you are doing and critiquing the work on a bigger platform to help the student get ideas for improving the work (PhD supervisor, College of Education).

In the context of a seminar, aspects of students’ activity (such as analysis, reading, thinking, or writing) are presented for critique to an audience. Participants offer suggestions for improved analysis, to broaden reading, or to question models, paradigms, or assumptions. The insights gleaned from seminars contribute to restructuring a student’s habitus; the constant exposure to and inculcation and practice of knowledge creation gradually encourages doctoral students to embrace what Bourdieu (2001) refers to as the *scientific habitus*. The *scientific habitus* as embraced by the candidates in the development process fosters the internalisation of the collective habitus. Even though they might be in different disciplines or departments/colleges, each doctoral student adopts, over time, similar perceptions of seminar presentation/practice. Bourdieu (2002)

highlights this when he stresses that those who hold similar positions develop a similar habitus – one that is in harmony with the fields of which it is the product but is unaware of other fields. The narratives imply the candidates accepted the criticisms and suggestions offered for improving their writing (Cho & Schunn, 2007). As part of the seminar presentation, doctoral candidates might adopt an improvising and inventive habitus (Bourdieu, 2005) to work with critiques and suggestions. This ultimately helps them to view their work from the standpoint of others (Nicol & Macfarlane-Dick, 2006). As the candidate in the College of Humanities said: “[I]t allowed to me to see things from an outsider’s perspective”. This yielded benefits for both students, who said that “these seminars contributed to making my work very rich” (PhD candidate, College of Health Science) and the seminars “. . . . helped me to enhance and sharpen my work” (PhD candidate, College of Humanities).

7.3 The Individual Habitus in the Knowledge Journey

Discussions with participants largely focused on how the *individual habitus* manifested was and altered during the doctoral socialisation process, which resulted in varied doctoral experiences. I first attempt to make sense of how the dissimilarity of the individual habitus can be understood and used as a conceptual tool to understand the data I gathered from the participants. I then discuss how the individual habitus possessed by the students serves as a perceptual tool in making evaluations about certain practices and experiences they encountered in training. Moving on, I discuss the way the habitus acts as a dispositional tool to orient the way the behaviours of some students when confronted with challenges in the doctoral process or the supervisory space. My discourse then shifts to look at motivation as an element of the individual habitus and the role it plays in the doctoral experience. The last aspect of my discussion focuses on how doctoral candidates employed their habitus to deal with academic, personal, and social challenges they encountered in order to stay in the doctoral process and/or attain academic personhood.

7.3.1 Making sense of doctoral experiences through the individual’s habitus

This section primarily discusses the contribution of the individual habitus in creating the disparate experience, which impacts on the development of the academic habitus. I discuss the unequal nature of the individual habitus and how, from the onset of PhD study, it is likely to create individual differences among students. The students I interviewed for this study predominately experienced the doctoral socialisation process differently and this variation was shaped by the

confluence of diverse personal and social characteristics. This includes their personality traits, their motivation for pursuing the doctoral programme, the difficulties encountered such as inadequate funding to support the research process or gaining access to data, and the strategies they adopted to balance difficulties (McAlpine & Amundsen, 2009) in order to persist during the programme. Personal and social characteristics form an essential component of the *individual habitus* that creates and continues to shape the disparity in terms of doctoral socialisation experiences.

The *habitus*, being an accustomed configuration of disposition and practice that produce and constitute cultural forms and values (Delamont, Atkinson, & Parry, 2000), shapes the experiences of doctoral candidates, while experiences also restructure the habitus (McCoy & Winkle-Wagner, 2015; Bourdieu, 1967, 1972). Doctoral students commence the doctoral process with varied individual habitus (Bourdieu, 1990, 1980). Burgess et al. (1992) notes that PhD students are not equal in terms of their characteristics since they differ according to their interests, ability, application, research skills, and motivation. The doctoral programme and associated socialisation process can widen these variations. The candidates' divergent experiences underscore the way their habitus is restructured. The supervisory relationship and style, challenges faced, strategies used to deal with challenges, exposure to pedagogical approaches, and departmental and institutional environments all impact the way habitus is restructured to "fit the mold of doctoral programme" (Gardner, 2008, p. 126).

Drawing from Bourdieu's (1990, 1980) basic supposition that not all habits are the same, then we may argue that the transformation in candidate habitus while in the training process and at its end would not be the same (Jawitz, 2009). Sullivan and Ogloff (1998) attest to the inequality amongst graduate (doctoral) students saying that some students are better equipped for graduate studies and research and that the level of motivation may differ among students. Perceived differences of this kind are evident in the following student's anecdote:

Not every student can fully start from an independent point; some may need some guidance. The supervisor might have to assess the student's strength and weaknesses before they can push the person through that. Obviously at a point the babysitting must stop so probably in the first year the person might be given some guidance but after that the person must be made to know it is his work and he or she must be made to own it. And to own your work, the person must be fully involved in his or her work from the point go. For some people, they might have to coach them for a while, a month or two or a year, but not beyond one year. In the long run you have to be

independent. However, some students right from the onset have the capacity to do independent work with or without the guidance of their supervisor. They understand the demands of the PhD studies and they are up to the task. For me, I think such students are gifted intellectually and display their command and understanding of what they are doing. You can easily see it in their seminar presentations (PhD student, College of Humanities).

This anecdote projects a self-reflective account of what academic “growing up”, or the development of the academic habitus, involves. The student perceives academic growing to involve a phase in the doctoral journey where the doctoral student is taken through some babysitting by the supervisor (usually not all students need do this) during the first year of candidature. It is certainly at this state that the doctoral student needs guidance and coaching to select a researchable topic and questions to inform the knowledge creation process. The candidate highlighted this fact that the student should be weaned off by the first year to enable them to develop a sense of independence in the knowledge creation process. He also illuminated the variation in the individual habitus the doctoral students bring to the process stating: “some students right from the onset have the capacity to do independent work with or without the guidance of their supervisor. They understand the demands of the PhD studies and they are up to the task. For me, I think such students are gifted intellectually and display their command and understanding of what they are doing. You can easily see it in their seminar presentations”.

A supervisor also acknowledged the way different personality types and individual preparedness plays a role in how successful the doctoral process is. He states:

Some students are better positioned to undergo the rigorous research and writing process because of their background and they make [more] progress in their studies than others who don't have a similar background (PhD supervisor/Programme Co-ordinator, College of Basic and Applied Sciences).

These narratives show how students are seen to bring pre-existing individual habitus. This intersects with supervisory style and associated activities, which transform the student in the research and writing process. All greatly shape *individual socialisation* (see Tierney & Rhoads, 1994). Even though training may make students embrace a collective habitus, their pre-existing characteristics (see Gopaul, 2011; Gardner, 2008, 2009; Golde and Dore, 2001) create a distinction among students because the process is experienced in “an isolated and singular manner” (Tierney

& Rhoads, 1994, p. 24). A doctoral supervisor's commentary illuminates the divergent doctoral experience:

I think if we were looking for someone who has all the skills and dispositions for the PhD, we will not get any student [she laughs]. It is part of the training. Some of them have acquired more skills and have better attitudes towards the PhD programme but it is different because when you are working post-MPhil or post-MSc, the kind of skillsets that you target are different from what you need to actually start the PhD programme. Because the PhD programme is towards a higher level of learning and thinking, for most of them, they add on to the kind of skills and dispositions they [bring] to the programme. There are even some who are lecturers in other universities but then being in that frame of a PhD student is something different for them. They have never been PhD students before. However, they come in with an array of skills and a better attitude and then they build on that. They are able to deal with certain processes and activities with ease (PhD supervisor/Programme Co-ordinator, College of Basic and Applied Sciences).

One student who was also a lecturer commenced the doctoral programme possessing some degree of *scientific, scholarly, and academic habitus*, which is an advantage:

. . . . coincidentally, I find myself in an academic environment as a lecturer and the [public university in Ghana] came up with the requirement that to teach you have to have a PhD. I had gotten in earlier and with the environment coupled with my own ambition it just came that I had to do it. Let me say that for me I was very determined; I knew what I was about because of my experience being in the university, so in spite of all the challenges I was bent on still continuing. I know of a few people who along the line got frustrated and opted out. Even before enrolling on the programme I knew that pursuing a PhD is associated with a lot of frustrations, to the extent that some have even made the comment that [the] PhD is a political degree but of course if you know how politics play out, it comes with all frictions and all that, so if you are not careful you will not complete what you doing. For me I had all these at the back of my mind so I was prepared. That is not to say that I didn't have my part of the frustrations but I think the determination that I had was overriding. That is why by God's grace I was able to complete it (PhD student, College of Humanities but serving as a lecturer in the College of Health Sciences).

Due to prior knowledge, this PhD student who was also a lecturer was in a better position regarding their academic field, disciplinary conventions, and a broader understanding of academic life (Gopaul, 2012). He found he was better placed to surmount the tensions, challenges, the politics of the academic space, and relationships that characterise the academic environment (Gopaul, 2011, 2012). As part of his doctoral becoming process and/or the development of the

academic habitus, he has the ability to navigate the complexities involved in doctoral training. These complexities encompass matters such as the politics related to the attainment or award of the degree. This ability to surmount complexities was reflected in his preparedness to deal with frictions and frustrations in the doctoral process with a sense of determination.

7.4 Habitus as a Perceptual Tool to Frame Supervisors' Feedback

Individual habitus also produces varied reception to feedback. My doctoral subjects had varied experiences of the way they interpreted what could be perceived as confrontational feedback on drafts. The ability of the doctoral candidates to confront the demands, negotiate them, and apply them to revisions also formed part of the development of the academic habitus since the academic space is characterised by critical peer review. While some students were able and willing to assimilate supervisory demands related to their writing, others found the comments less helpful (McAlpine & Amundsen, 2012). They also found it emotionally challenging given their personal investment in their writing (Starke-Meyerring, 2011). These varied interpretations lead to the disparity in experiences they projected about the doctoral socialisation process and supervisory relationship. One candidate said:

I have a positive attitude towards life and I take negative comments given as part of my supervisors' feedback as an opportunity to improve my research and writing I approach feedback with a positive attitude even though some may deflate my confidence. For me, I see their critical comments as their way of helping me to improve my work. If there are corrections to be made or if I think what I've done is a mistake I just ponder over it and just quickly make out the next strategy to go to the next step by researching on anything I want to do. I always do background research especially on experiments. Before I go to meet my supervisors I have to do a thorough background check by way of literature, by way of reading and checking all stuff so as to be confident with what I'm talking about. So this attitude that I have developed has been very helpful in my PhD studies (PhD candidate, College of Basic and Applied Sciences).

This candidate's experience and perception about supervisory feedback differs greatly from how another candidate assimilated and interpreted feedback. She reported:

Their feedback created confusion for me because I found it difficult to work with them. While one said it is better this way and the other is saying a different thing, I felt each one was trying to demonstrate some form of authority over my work. My supervisors could not communicate a common stance; each one was giving separate comments. Some of the comments were impositions, which I found difficult to work with. And it took me at that time several weeks to

overcome the criticisms provided through the feedback comments. Sometimes when I get the feedback, I become so angry that you wouldn't be able to do justice to whatever has been raised. And it really impacted my writing. With time, I have learnt to be very open to criticisms from supervisors (PhD candidate, College of Humanities).

The two candidates' *habiti* likely individually played a role in their interpretation of their experience. The former may have come onto the doctoral programme with a *habitus* that tries to process negative experiences in a positive light while the latter had a challenge doing that. This situation therefore created a dialectical confrontation between their *habitus* as a structured way of being and an objective structure (Bourdieu, 2005). Thus, their *habitus* could be seen as being engaged in *socio-analysis* – that is deliberations between unconscious dispositions and conscious aspects of their *habitus* (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) as a way of inventing strategies (see Bourdieu, 2005) to deal with supervisory feedback. The ability of the College of Basic and Applied Sciences candidate to invoke the creative potential of the *habitus* in order to interact with the supervisory space helped him to embrace comments. His positive attitude may have led him to do a substantial number of revisions from a new perspective while also creating a refined approach to future writing (Kumar & Stracke, 2007).

In contrast, the candidate in the College of Humanities had difficulty using her *habitus* to deal with the demands of feedback. She was overwhelmed and unable to deal with confrontations, tensions, and demands emanating from a social space or relationship within a given period. This is echoed in her comment: “[It] took me at that time several weeks to overcome the criticisms provided through the feedback comments”. Perhaps she had what Bourdieu (2000) referred to as a *cleft habitus*, or what Abrahams and Ingram (2013) call a *chameleon habitus*, which is characterised by “ambivalence, compromise, competing loyalties, ambiguity and conflict” (Reay, 2015, p. 11). This resonates in her statement: “[T]heir feedback created confusion for me because I found it difficult to work with them. While one said it is better this way and the other is saying a different thing”. She felt supervisory power exerting authority over her work and thus she found the comments difficult to use in her revisions (Crossouard & Pryor, 2009). The way she reacted to contradictory supervisor feedback is not particular to her. Caffarella and Barnett (2000) point out that when supervisors contradict each other the student has difficulty incorporating their comments into writing. The experience my subject encountered points to the way her academic *habitus* was impacted by contradictions, tensions, and instability (Bourdieu, 1990), which caused her some

suffering. Though it took her sometime to resolve this challenge, she was ultimately able to continue with her research and writing process.

7.5 Individual Habitus as a Dispositional Tool for Construing Supervisory Experiences

This section discusses how two opposing dispositions internalised into the habitus and displayed by either student or supervisor in the supervisory relationship produced two contrasting experiences for doctoral candidates. Doctoral students who enter the doctoral supervisory space with a *rigid disposition* (an entrenched attitude that is unyielding to the views, opinions, and concerns of others) are going to experience the doctoral socialisation process differently from a candidate who is able to adapt their habitus. The narrative below exemplifies a candidate with an egotistic habitus:

My lead supervisor wanted me to change my topic but I strongly disagreed with him and he was unwilling to work with me. I knew what I wanted to do right from the onset of my studies so I did not want to change or twist the topic. For me I felt like [I had] been hijacked since I am the one doing the PhD. I had no option but to terminate my relationship with him. I went through a difficult process changing my lead supervisor and this delayed my work. I had to talk to a few potential supervisors in the department before one finally agreed to work with me (PhD candidate, College of Humanities).

Though this student was being assertive in the supervisory relationship, he displayed an unwillingness to yield to the demands of the lead supervisor. The supervisor may have been using their scholarly expertise to help the student modify his topic to suit the standard of PhD work or look at the issue from an alternative perspective. The student's disposition led to conflict and relationship termination (see Cryer, 1996; Finn, 2005; Gill & Burnard, 2008). This disposition delayed his progress in the doctoral process.

A supervisor's anecdote highlights his experience working with a student with a rigid disposition similar to the candidate above. The student is unyielding when she is challenged to change her research topic. Their relationship is not likely to be smooth due to lack of common research interest. The supervisor relates that:

There are people who go and see someone's research somewhere and decide that: "This is what I want my work to be like". So no matter what guidance you give them, they are fixed on what they had seen. I see that a lot with my Master's students but I see that in a PhD student I am working

with now. She is fixed in her mind on what she wants to work on. Because of that, she is not able to define a research topic that is adequate for a PhD. What she wants to do is equivalent for a Masters. When you propose an alternative for her, she thinks it is too much work and she is not ready to put herself in that. That also becomes a problem working with such a student who does not listen to advice. Frankly, I find it difficult working with her. When a student is willing to take on a challenge adequate for PhD that will help because they are not limited to what they think they can do (PhD supervisor, College of Health Sciences).

Another supervisor describes the worst experience a doctoral candidate is likely to have when they display a rigid disposition. The supervisor recounts an experience about his doctoral student days and the experience of a colleague he started the PhD with in a European university:

It is very important to maintain a good relationship with the supervisor. You have to buy the culture of the place and fit in properly and people who have not done that have all kinds of problems both here in Ghana and elsewhere. The person who followed me from this department to [a European University] to do his PhD was not on good terms with his supervisor and apparently his supervisor claimed he was not listening to him and so his supervisor left him on his own and so he carried on thinking he can do it on his own. In the long run he presented his thesis and his supervisor look[ed] at it and said it is a Master's thesis and he was awarded a Master's degree instead of PhD. He went to the Head of Department and they advised that he start the whole process all over again (PhD supervisor, College of Basic and Applied Sciences).

The student's inability to assimilate the culture of the field as part of his academic habitus hindered his success. His independence and behaviour strained the supervisory relationship. As a result, there was reduced guidance and a lack of recognition of the supervisor's role as pedagogical authority and "gatekeeper to the degree" (Lee, 2008, p. 272).

A rigid student's experience of the socialisation process will be different from a co-operative student who is mindful of assertiveness and independence as exemplified below:

[I]t is relevant but not to the point where the student becomes a poodle of the supervisor; I [have] seen people I know negotiate their way around so that it becomes difficult for the supervisor to tell them if they are doing something they are disagreeing with. So there should be some dignity in that kind of relationship so that the distance and cordiality is still maintained, some mutual respect is necessary. I am guided by this attitude when dealing with my supervisors (PhD student, College of Humanities).

This student may experience a more congenial supervisory relationship that puts him on a steady course towards completion. Perhaps the student, as part of the doctoral becoming, perceives good social relationships with the supervisors and the ability to negotiate challenging situations in the training process as vital to maintaining a balance between being assertive and a poodle. This stance calls up Wisker's (2001) assertion that there should be a cordial relationship between supervisee and supervisor wherein a student demonstrates respect for the supervisor's scholarship, academic authority, and practices. Sometimes, some doctoral candidates may feel they are intellectually gifted and may not display respect and decorum in this relationship. Likewise, a supervisor may try to assert their authority and this could also create an unpleasant experience as described by the following supervisor:

It doesn't matter how smart the person is. You may have all the ingredients that a PhD student needs to succeed, but if your relationship with your supervisor or colleagues or other faculty members is not harmonious, you can have problems to the extent that it can be injurious to your success as a PhD student. So interpersonal skills or relations are important; I can give you an example. A few days ago, I overheard [a] discussion from a colleague in the department that a supervisor is losing PhD students and some of the reasons given were related to interpersonal frictions. So one's ability to communicate efficiently with his or her superiors or from the superiors to the subordinates is important for a fulfilling PhD experience (PhD supervisor, College of Health Sciences).

The examples and experiences I presented point to the fact that within doctoral socialisation, intellectual capability or IQ must be complemented with social or interpersonal skills. The ability of the doctoral student to maintain a steady relationship with the supervisor(s) and deal with interpersonal tensions that arise in the training process forms part of the development of the academic habitus because the supervisory space is characterised by tensions and disagreements, which needs to be surmounted in order to benefit from this relationship. The ability to utilise people (relational) skills can give the doctoral candidate the staying power in the doctoral becoming process because intellectual prowess alone does not suffice.

A co-operative habitus can reveal different outcomes for the supervisory relationship and therefore the doctoral journey. A dual lecturer and PhD student at the same university notes how such a disposition worked in his favour:

I will say that the relationship between my supervisors and me was quite cordial. We shouldn't forget the fact that first and foremost they are my colleagues because we are all teaching and I am

their student or their candidate. Before I became a PhD candidate that rapport existed so we just had to build on that except that when it came to the PhD work itself in a way they needed to give me a certain kind of push by piling pressure to enable me to work within time. When the supervisor makes a suggestion [that] I had to follow, I didn't allow my status as a member of staff to make me ignore their suggestions but I humbly accepted it and worked along. Sometimes you think you have gone far in the experiments and you have done a lot of things and you are not getting the kind of results that you were expecting, then your supervisors come in to say change it, don't do that, or he says repeat the process for him to see, and you think you have done it a number of times and you didn't see anything and you don't see why you should do it again. [But] then humility will let you repeat the processes. Showing humility and respect for their views helped me get co-operation from my supervisors (PhD candidate/lecturer, College of Basic and Applied Sciences).

This candidate understood the essence of putting away one's ego and status while under the guidance of his senior colleagues in the same department. For him his sense of humility and respect produced co-operation from his supervisors and helped him make progress.

7.6 The Influence of Motivation – An Engine in the Doctoral Journey

Motivation for the PhD forms part of the habitus students bring to the programme and it influences the kind of practices and activities, particularly voluntary ones, they willingly engage in to fulfil these motives (see Bourdieu, 1998). The motivation for the pursuit of the PhD can play out as the doctoral candidate's *illusio* (interest) that serves as an interface between the habitus and the field (discipline, department, and institution) (see Bourdieu, 1998; Widin, 2010; Colley, 2012). The *illusio* can act as a *bonding agent* between the student's habitus and the discipline. It can orient the individual's commitment and investment in their re/production of disciplinary knowledge. A representative example is below:

I have love for [discipline X] and I have been in that for a long time and in the area of my thesis too – that is technology in society. I had keen interest in how people use technology in the social environment, so I wanted to understand to what extent this will have some meaning in our Ghanaian context. I had done several studies in that area from my BA days to the MPhil and I carried on to the PhD level and at the PhD I wanted to go a step beyond what I did at the MPhil stage, which was tied to a specific community, a specific group of people. I wanted to see how widely applicable these issues are to other people and other social contexts – that is why I took up this PhD challenge, I thought it would help me to be equipped with the skills to understand these things better and to explain myself better to other people as well, to [produce] good work. Good work means one that can actually withstand and compete on a global scale, not just within the

University of Ghana using the University of Ghana standards. This is not to say our standards are bad – they are good – but I wanted to compete with other people as well. . . . So you place your work in context (PhD student, College of Humanities).

Given his motive for embarking on the doctoral programme, he adopted behaviours that helped achieve his goals:

I set out to take the opportunity to read as much as I can do. My thesis did not start my first year. It started two years before the PhD. So the first two years I read as much as I can. . . . In the two years while I was working on my proposal I attended several workshops. I think, at least, about four of them. The first one was a research methods workshop that went on for about a year, once every three months. I also attended a writer publication workshop and also attended an international workshop on mobile phone application development and how it helps society. So I attended all my workshops before I started my PhD. So I came to my PhD knowing what I needed to do. The workshops on the research methods helped because it sharpened my data collection method way ahead of time and my tools were actually ready way ahead of time. I could easily anticipate the challenges in the field and solve them before coming back home. So I was not taken by surprise in any event when things are not going as planned. . . . I don't know why some people do their workshops while doing their PhD but I did mine before the PhD and continued to attend workshops and use other learning opportunities I had in the university and outside to build my skills until I completed. I have attended 12 workshops over the three years (PhD graduate, College of Humanities).

This candidate enrolled in the doctoral programme with the dominant motive of learning to experience transformation in his orientation of the discipline and make a contribution to it (see Vandenberg, 2013). Even though the candidate's "*grand interest*" (see Colley, 2012, p. 324) for the pursuit of the PhD for its intrinsic and transformative value dominated, he may have had other motives that were "*disavowed interest*" (see Colley, 2012, p. 324; Widin, 2010). The grand interest refers to the dominant interest of the social actor or group while disavowed interest is the masking of an individual or a dominant group's actual interest in the social field (see Colley, 2012). Perhaps, using Bourdieu (1993) view that social agents involved in the activities of the field have a "disinterested interest" or an "interest in disinterestedness" the intrinsic motivation of the candidate for engaging in the doctoral enterprise may be construed as "disinterested interest". Disinterested interest involves the intrinsic motivation or justification for participating in the activities of the social field. Using Bourdieu's metaphor, we may gain a better understanding of what Colley (2012) means by disavowed interest as we could compare this candidate to a true artist

who engages in the production of “art for the sake of art” (see Widin, 2010). In the doctoral field this candidate may be seen as engaging in the enterprise for what the enterprise primarily seeks to do, which is to produce and reproduce knowledge (Delamont et al., 2000). This candidate employed his habitus to produce strategies for achieving this goal. He equipped himself with skills to produce a thesis that could compete with others globally.

This candidate may have been motivated by transformative learning as he tried publishing, participated and presented at conferences and workshops to learn new knowledge and skills to build his academic (cultural) capital as part of his studies. Sismondo (2011) asserts interest prompts and guides human action. This is indicative in the student’s narrative. His participation in disciplinary discourse by way of publishing is a hallmark of the doctoral enterprise and training process. He reported:

I was encouraged by my supervisor to engage in publishing right from the start of my studies so I started working on writing [a piece] in my first year with his assistance. One of the articles I wrote is accepted now but the rest have not reached that stage yet. There are things that are still going back and forth. I have one that I am working on with my supervisor. . . . My supervisor instilled in me the quest to publish as a characteristic of scholarship and contribution to debate in my discipline (PhD candidate, College of Humanities).

Perhaps the adoption of the scholarly habitus on the part of the student may have been influenced by the kind of supervisors he worked with. For Bourdieu (1989), such an individual qualifies to be labelled as an *intellectual* since he serves as a cultural producer in the discipline, or as what Delamont et al. (2000) call a producer of knowledge. The student started his transition from a consumer of knowledge to a producer of knowledge (Delamont et al., 2000) with supervisory encouragement and assistance.

Motivation can also manifest by way of an extrinsic origin. The student below may have had intrinsic motivation for the pursuit of doctoral study but it is not obvious from his description:

The motivation is obvious. We served in the institute and our ultimate aim was to become senior members and while we were in the process waiting for the opportunity to be given to join the faculty, they rolled out a new policy that says that you must have a PhD before you can [get] faculty membership. And everybody in the system said, “Okay, we have now rolled out the policy, it is a university-wide policy, so you people, go back, get the PhD and then come on board”. Because we

desire to be lecturers and researchers we had to take up the challenge. That made us enrol in the PhD programme (PhD candidate, College of Education).

His interest in the doctoral title was a means to an end. For this student his extrinsic motivation and *grand interest* may have oriented his habitus to restrict his participation in learning opportunities that were not mandatory. The student distances himself from fully participating in learning for its own sake. This candidate's detachment from other modes of knowledge and skill acquisition is again evident in the narrative below:

I have just attended only one workshop since I started the PhD and it was because it was organised by the organisation I did my experiential learning with. I attended because I was having the internship there. I was also told they would write a report on me so if I don't follow the regulations they cannot report anything good about me. I don't place so much importance on attending workshops because it can sap my time. I would rather prefer to use the time to work on my thesis and finish fast and get my degree. I can attend these workshops when I complete (PhD candidate, College of Education).

We can see different attitudes to learning opportunities between the candidate with intrinsic and transformative learning and the candidate who was interested in the degree to secure a job. What I consider as transformative learning is the conscious participation by the doctoral student in learning and knowledge production activities that gradually contribute to shaping his deep and broad understanding of the discipline. The former candidate placed importance on the activity of reading and participating in workshops to develop his knowledge base and skills before and while he was in the doctoral process. However, the candidate in the College of Education attended a workshop because it was a mandatory part of his internship. This candidate's limited participation may be attributed to the fact that he was "possessed by the ends" of the doctoral enterprise and thus was ready to do everything to fulfil the attainment of those "ends" (Bourdieu, 1998). The extent and duration of engagement in learning communities, activities, and practices make a great difference in the way candidates experience the doctoral socialisation process.

The candidate who valued transformative learning utilised opportunities that may contribute to the reshaping of their academic habitus and cultural capital. A love for the discipline and the depth of his reading point to the development of a set of dispositions of a scholar, or to the student having attained the "*scholarly habitus*" (McCoy & Winkle-Wagner, 2015). A love for the discipline and the quest to make an individual contribution to the knowledge base form part of the

development of the academic habitus. As part of the knowledge re(production) process the doctoral student may develop an emotional connectedness to the discipline since he imbibes the doxa (conventions, norms, and ethics) that governs the knowledge creation process in the doctoral enterprise. Emotional connectedness to the discipline makes the candidate try to strive for excellence and scholarship in the production of the thesis: “. . . that is why I took up this PhD challenge, I thought it would help me to be equipped with the skills to understand these things better and to explain myself better to other people as well, to [produce] good work. . . . Good work means one that can actually withstand and compete on a global scale”. In contrast, the candidate pursuing the attainment of doctoral title as his principal aim can be said to have developed a lesser scholarly habitus compared to the candidate in the College of Humanities. The focus on PhD attainment takes centre stage for the College of Education candidate. He is not different from other doctoral students who have this as their “*grand interest*” (Colley, 2012). A supervisor recounts that typically:

all they want to do is to get the degree. So when they come, they ask you, “What [do] I have to do to earn a PhD degree?” So as you coach them, [and] sometimes the things that you think are useful for them, they don’t really accept it. They even prefer some methodologies that are simpler than what you are recommending for them. They want to put in the minimum effort and get their degree and go away. I wish I could say that students are interested in doing quality work. I have supervised a lot of students. . . . I have not come across a lot of students whose interest is about quality. It is probably because many students are not involved in a lot of research so they are not preoccupied with the issue of quality (PhD supervisor, College of Health Sciences).

Another supervisor reiterates the importance placed on attaining the doctoral title saying that some just want the title rather than wanting to actively use the degree. He argues, “[F]or such people, their motivation will not be 50%” (PhD supervisor, College of Health Sciences).

Bourdieu’s interpretation of the habitus being developed as part of childhood socialisation cannot be subjected to scientific testing. However, its influence in shaping the actions, behaviours, experiences, and world views of individuals cannot be disputed as the data illuminates. In the study I found a student whose early socialisation experience and the conferment of a professorial title at home by her parents acted as her motivation for the pursuit of the PhD. The “craze” for titles within Ghanaian society drives parents and relatives to start conferring titles on their children at a

very tender age with the hope that they will live up to the expectation of pursuing the highest form of education to attain these titles:

The fact that you want to succeed and prove a point to your parents. . . . growing up, before even I started my Masters, they kept calling me professor. . . . so with this thing in mind, you want to make it so that you know that they did not call you professor for nothing [*she laughs*]. When you come from a family like mine where everybody knows you are doing a PhD, my father and mother were aware and they are very keen on education so all the time they will ask you “*Maame wo work no akosi sen?*” (Maame, what progress are you making with your school work?). You cannot fail because they are all looking at you and expecting you to come out successful. So even when things are becoming difficult and you want to quit, you cannot quit because when you look at these people and what they will feel, then you go on. So that is actually what pushed me to go on. There were times that I felt like, why? Forget it, your colleagues have gone on with first degree, you have even had second degree, so what again? Fortunately, I was married before I started the PhD so if your husband has been supporting you and allows you to leave your baby and go to the field and collect data then later you tell yourself you will not do it again. . . . You have to finish it because people have sacrificed for you to get to where you are (PhD student, College of Humanities).

This candidate may have internalised in her habitus a parental wish and sacrifices made by her parents and husband as an extrinsic motivation for the navigation of the doctoral process despite the challenging moments in the trajectory. When her habitus is switched into a reflective mode, these two sources of external motivation drove her to continue even though at points in the trajectory she said: “so even when things are becoming difficult and [I] want to quit, [I] cannot quit because when you look at these people and what they will feel, then you go on. So that is actually what pushed me to go on. There were times that I felt like, why? Forget it, your colleagues have gone on with first degree, you have even had second degree so what again?” Firstly, her success in surmounting the difficult but rewarding doctoral process (Okai, 2014) becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy (see Merton, 1948, see also Brameld, 1972; Wilkins, 1976) as she lives up to the “prophecy” of being called a “professor” by obtaining her PhD degree. The attainment of the doctoral degree will then pave way to leverage the professorial title in the future. Unequivocally, she wanted “to succeed and prove a point to [her] parents” and she did succeed as she graduated in June 2015 with the PhD degree while nursing a new baby. The candidate perceives her quest to live up to the label placed on her as a way of showing gratitude for the sacrifices her family made for her. The self-reflection on the sacrifices made for her acted as a push factor that kept her going in the doctoral training. The candidate’s perception of her success in the doctoral journey as a token to appease for sacrifices made by her family to achieve her degree points to how the habitus

may be invoked to engage in substitutional reasoning. However, it must be acknowledged that the habitus, after internalising all these hopes and sacrifices, can sometimes be placed under excessive pressure to conform in order to achieve.

The early socialisation experiences within the home instil in Ghanaian children the need to pursue formal education as a means of personal development in terms of career prospects and social class. Parents or relatives within the home “drum” this idea into the heads of children to make them develop the habitus that perceives schooling as a means to an end of a good job and higher social standing in Ghanaian society. Added to this kind of socialisation is a society that is so obsessed with Eurocentric or Western-centred titles such as Dr. or Prof. that command accolades, reverence, and fear among a large section of the populace who have little formal education. The utility of holding titles in the Ghanaian society is projected in the statement below:

. . . once you enrol in the PhD programme, you have put yourself in a status that society sees you as being very knowledgeable, somebody who is a big person. So right from the day you register, people start calling you “Doctor” and it is so pleasant. You get joyous that one day you will finish and become a doctor (PhD graduate from the old system, College of Health Sciences).

A supervisor illuminates the assertion expressed by the doctoral graduate, which also entrenches the Ghanaian society’s obsession with titles using a comparison between Ghana and America (which may be representative of the Western world) stating that:

We just want to decorate ourselves with titles and that’s all. . . . There are a lot of guys walking around in America who are PhD holders but you will never know. They don’t call them by their titles but by their first names. You may only know later. It is Africa that we are so much interested in titles and the accolades that comes with it. It is not like that in America. You can walk with the person for days, months or something and may not know the person is PhD holder. It may be at a function that when the person is called before you will know. But here, if you don’t address the people by their titles, the following day they will drive you out of their office (PhD supervisor, College of Basic and Applied Sciences).

7.7 Individual Habitus and its Role in Navigating Challenges

In this section I will discuss how I perceived candidates evoking their individual habitus to deal with challenges they encountered in the doctoral process. Their narratives highlight the ability of

some students to deal with the challenges they faced with resilience. Others were overwhelmed by these challenges to the point of contemplating leaving their programme. Doctoral candidates who used their habitus to create and improvise strategies (Bourdieu, 2005; Brown, 2006) to surmount challenges gave a positive evaluation of their doctoral experience. They were more likely to be on a steady trajectory towards degree attainment despite challenges as this anecdote exemplifies:

My application took two years to be processed and probably as a result of that I had to spend seven years in a part-time PhD at the [public university in Ghana]. It should have been five years but when I applied my application form [was misplaced] and it took two years when there was a new officer at the place who alerted me they could not find my application form. . . . [T]he sad thing was that during the two-year period I was working and still collecting data here and there because my supervisor thought that we did not need to wait for the application to be processed so we went ahead and did some work. Then later, the admission letter came; unfortunately, my supervisor could not continue with me because of ill health and then a new person had to take over. He was also not conversant with my topic. So the topic had to be changed. I was a part-time candidate so I had to combine work with the research. . . . [S]ome of the equipment that I needed [was] obsolete and had broken down so we [I and the lab technicians] had to revive them. Reviving the equipment was not part of the work but then you had to do it because you needed it. . . . I was able to rise above these challenges and make progress. I was determined not to drop out of the system. I had to be flexible to deal with the problems as they came along, so any problem that came my way I dealt with it with a level head. It's just the usual saying, "Quitters don't win, winners don't quit", that kept me going. Like our local [Akan] adage goes, "Wo pɛ no yie a, wobɛ", which translates to "If you want any good thing you need to suffer for it" or "Good things don't come easily". I will say my experience in the PhD programme . . . has not been bad despite the challenges. I have been able to submit my thesis and it has been examined. I am doing my oral defense next month (PhD candidate/Lecturer, College of Basic and Applied Sciences).

The student's positive framing of his experiences helped him to cope with challenges. He held on to the notion that good things don't come easily so the doctoral process, like any other personal endeavour, is also saddled with challenges to be surmounted. The most daunting issue he faced may have tested the durability of his habitus. His resilience was challenged due to having to reorient himself to start his research all over again. Though the challenges he experienced had the tendency to lower his *illusio* (*interest*) and *libido* in the doctoral enterprise he was able to balance the challenges by being flexible. The disposition displayed by the candidate typifies Määttä's (2012) description of a persistent and determined student who, despite insufficient social, financial, or time-related resources, is not prepared to abandon doctoral studies but instead proceeds gradually.

The challenges encountered by the student-lecturer differ from the candidate below whose challenges were personal (though related to the research process). This candidate found it difficult to employ her habitus to accommodate verbal attacks from a potential participant she contacted during her fieldwork. She also indicates that at one point she lacked energy for the process. These minor and cumulative challenges (in comparison to that of the student-lecturer) skewed her interpretation of the doctoral process:

My experience has not been pleasant at all. I had to face a lot of little challenges from the beginning to the end. I remember I had finished collecting my data from the kids and I had to interview their parents. I had to go to their homes to interview them. There was this particular lady who had agreed to participate in the study. I called and informed her that I would come to her area that weekend. I asked what time she wants me to come to her place. Then she says that she is home the whole day, so I could start from any place and when I get close to her home I should give her a call. I called and she said she had gone for an engagement [a kind of social gathering in Ghana]. So I asked what time I should come by. . . . She said I shouldn't worry; I should just call her when I am coming to her place the next weekend. Now I got close to the place and I called. And then she angrily said "Adee asem na mu titi nipa saa?" ["Why are you worrying me like that?"]. The woman was wild. Then she told me I wasn't serious. "Are you even sure you want to do this work of yours?" I was wondering where it was all coming from. In fact, that day I just kept quiet. I kept apologising. . . . I could not bear the insults. Once, when I had data issues, I was coming from the roundabout to this place [her school] and it was raining. In fact, I had to sell my car to pay school fees. I just didn't have the energy to walk faster or run or do anything. At a point I wanted to give up because I was very discouraged by the challenges I kept facing. I wouldn't have finished without the social encouragement I received when I wanted to drop out (PhD candidate, College of Health Sciences).

The inability of the candidate to use her habitus to generate creative ways to deal with challenges created a struggle for her that confronted her persistence. She recognised the challenges she encountered were minor, and her habitus and the social encouragement she received gave her staying power. Arguably, we can see that one's individual habitus may provide a perceptual lens for evaluating the doctoral process. However, it needs to be acknowledged that gender may play a role in the perception and handling of challenges.

For example, my research shows doctoral students who had to play dual or multiple social roles experienced their training process differently from those whose main focus was their PhD. Those

who combined the student role with the mother role had difficulty with their responsibilities as students. One supervisor notes:

There are PhD students who have children. Sometimes they cannot come for supervisory meetings, seminar presentations and workshops because a child is sick. Sometimes they need family to step in to take care of things in their absence. I can imagine how much of a hell it is but it is very helpful for the family to support [the student]. I have a PhD student who has a child. Sometimes she comes here [the supervisor's office] with the child and the nanny and they sit in the corridor whilst we talk. There are interruptions when we are discussing issues. Sometimes I had to take her baby and place her on my lap while we had the meetings because I want her to concentrate (PhD supervisor, College of Health Sciences).

Another female candidate commented on the challenge of combining the student and the mother role saying:

[F]or us the women, you have left a baby or children at home and you are coming to school; sometimes you need somebody to just help out or say something nice and then you are able to continue. But if you don't have support or nobody to watch your back for the period you go to campus to do your work. I know colleagues who attended seminars very few times since they came for the whole PhD programme because the time for seminars is 2 to 4 pm, and they had to pick up their children from school during this period because there is nobody to do that for them. You would leave and do it. In the morning, you need to do literature [re]search; that is when the internet is up. You have to make sure that everything else you are doing is set before you come to school. . . . I did talk about having psychological strength. Personally, if I shut the gate of my house and I am coming to school, I don't think one thing about the house. . . . [When] I get here [campus], it is difficulties with the work that could affect my mood or probably something that I am not getting [as a student] (PhD student, College of Health Sciences).

Both mother and student roles required significant commitment and dedication, which can therefore create role conflict for student-mothers who wanted to succeed in both roles (Lynch, 2008). This role conflict is exemplified in the student's comment: "I know colleagues who attended seminars very few times since they came for the whole PhD programme because the time for seminars is 2 to 4 pm, and they had to pick up their children from school during this period because there is nobody to do that for them." Students who partially participated were unlikely to benefit from the full effect of the programme.

Though both the afore-mentioned students were from the same department and college, the student-mother the supervisor talked about may have invoked her habitus to express her identity as a mother. Garey (1999, p. 29) refers to this as “maternal visibility”. She may have made her mother’s role visible to the supervisor by bringing her baby to campus with the help of a nanny, and the baby interrupted their supervisory meeting. However, to show commitment and maintain her position as a “good student”, she had to downplay her maternal visibility in the academic role by projecting her role as a student. The candidate’s experience of the socialisation process may be framed by her cultural conception of a “good mother” and a “good student”, which can create role conflict (Lynch, 2008). Within Ghanaian culture, being a good mother requires intense commitment of time, energy, and devotion to one’s children (Hays, 1996). Fathers, grandparents, babysitters and day-care centres are perceived as being unable to give the degree of commitment and care a mother can give to a child. This social recognition may have made the student-mother self-sacrificing by placing the child’s needs above hers, despite a possible perception by her supervisor that the student’s devotion to doctoral programme may not be considered 100%. The other candidate may have employed what Lynch (2008, p. 596) describes as “maternal invisibility” by removing her maternal status from public view.

The development of the academic habitus involves the conscious separation of what is private from public or invariably what is professional from personal. However, the degree of the demands of the maternal role makes it easier for some candidates to separate the mother role from that of the student. Perhaps, the candidate whose anecdote is presented above may have been able to do this because her children may be older and could be taken to day-care or school or left at home with a relation or else she may have consciously decided to do so to be able to concentrate within the academic space. She was able to establish a clear balance between her roles so that her mother’s role did not interfere with her student’s role. Lynch (2008) argues that a “just a student” identity is that of a graduate student 100% committed to their work 100% of the time; students are judged based on their devotion and their outputs.

Familial responsibilities and their impact on the doctoral journey are not limited to mothers. The following candidate also had challenges balancing his responsibility as a father and a husband as the family felt that he devoted much of his time to school work and little for the family:

Those of us who are married have problems in our home; you don't have time for your wife and children. Your wife is demanding time from you and you spend the whole day on campus doing your work and you go home very late and your wife and children are complaining. While you are trying on both ends to satisfy the family and fulfill the programme requirements, you realise that in this case school wins over your time (PhD student, College of Basic and Applied Sciences).

While the female candidates with children had difficulty participating in all avenues of the doctoral socialisation process, this male candidate's experience with multiple roles is different from his female counterparts since mothers had to spend less time in school and more with their children. Gendered roles in Ghanaian society account for the flexibility men have to stay longer at campus to write or study as the wife looks after the children and household responsibilities. Married mothers who are pursuing PhD studies are not given that kind of tolerance since they still have to assume their duties as carers of the children, cooks, and managers of the home. This gendered expectation and role performance creates different experiences for both married male and female students.

However, regardless of gender, parenting and family responsibilities can affect all candidates and their will to continue their PhD. The nuclear and extended family can serve as an important source of social capital and support for the doctoral candidate during their studies. However, problems can also arise from these familial spaces, especially the nuclear one, and can greatly affect progress or lead to attrition from the doctoral programme. One of my subjects had to contend with continual challenges within his nuclear family. However, the candidate used his habitus to deal with issues and still perform his responsibilities as a father, husband, lecturer, and a student. He displayed his ability to accommodate and deal with unexpected circumstances when he faced personal challenges that had a negative impact on his studies. This candidate had to contend with the normal challenges associated with the PhD socialisation process, alongside unexpected family issues. Together, these issues challenged his resilience and "progress towards the degree" (Isacc, 1993, p. 15). He structured his habitus to embrace his misfortunes and reoriented them to become push factors to succeed in his journey. This is articulated in his statement: "I said if I do not have anything to remember what happened to my baby, at least I have to produce some work to confirm what happened". He used his generative habitus to substitute negative experiences with goal-oriented behaviours associated with the PhD programme. He spoke about his challenging doctoral experience without lamentation:

I lost my first-born baby getting to the end of the first year of my PhD programme. I felt the world was coming to an end and I did not have the urge to continue anymore. I said if I do not have anything to remember what happened to my baby, at least I have to produce some work to confirm what happened. That is one part of it. In the third year, I nearly lost my wife and my second-born, so I had to abandon my thesis for about three months. This was because they were both at the hospital and I had to be there and take care of both of them at that time, and in the midst of that period I also felt that I had to ignore the thesis and forget it. Again it came back to me that you can do it, you are almost through with it. I said to myself if I were able to go through the first instance then I can go through it this time, too. So I came back to the thesis and I was able to finish on time. . . . This does happen to people every now and then but, if it happens to you, you should remember that you set out to do it and you can't be doing it for more than ten years, which can happen. You don't want to be in it for a long time because you sacrificed so much for it – so get determined and get it done because it can be done if you have a plan. If you have the long-term goals and short-term goals, as I said earlier. If you follow through with those plans there will be difficulties along the way, but because there are plans you would know how to go about it. Obviously, goals can change with time depending on the kind of circumstances you are exposed to so it helped a lot. Without it, I wouldn't have been able to finish this thesis (PhD graduate, College of Humanities).

This student's resilient habitus served as leverage for performing his multiple roles. Although the family issue had the tendency of weakening his resolve to fulfil his many duties, his tenacity and ability to bounce back enabled him to succeed. Gopaul (2011), using a Bourdieusian lens, would have surmised the candidate wields a strong academic habitus to transverse the obstacles he encountered. Additionally, working with a plan and mental schema meant the ability to forge ahead in his doctoral journey. He had factored in uncertainties and challenges associated with the doctoral process and life in general. Therefore, he had internalised a pragmatic outlook as part of his habitus.

Another candidate whose sole role was being a student experienced the doctoral socialisation process differently from the three students discussed above:

Not having any role apart from being a student helps me to prioritise [the PhD] because I was telling you that it is difficult. If you are in a PhD process it is a bit complex because you have your life to manage and all of that, so if I know that I have to finish I put all other things aside and focus on finishing because I know that there is a time to get off this thing. That is one of the things that has kept me going because I want to finish, so I don't waste time on any other thing apart from

my PhD. If you are doing a PhD and your friends are working, they are not learning, they go to work, they have their wives and children, they go to their wives and children, there is a high temptation to follow how they are living because you realise that is the order of the day but for me I am fully devoted to the PhD for now. I did not want to get distracted by family life (PhD candidate, College of Basic and Applied Sciences).

This candidate's experience is not compounded by family responsibilities as he had purposely restricted his habitus to keep marriage and raising children from occurring and instead focused on completing the PhD. This candidate may have more time and would not be under pressure from anyone to share his time with. His devotion to the doctoral training was 100%.

7.8 Conclusion

The anecdotes of both supervisors and students have indicated that the socialisation process produces some degree of harmonisation in terms of making students embrace a *collective* or *class* habitus, irrespective of the discipline or department. The sense of collectivism in the community of practice (discipline or department) occurs when doctoral students embrace both the *scientific* and *scholarly* habitus promoted during the socialisation process. It is through the internalisation of these requisite habitus that students experience the development of the *academic habitus*. The development of academic personhood occurs irrespective of the discipline because the ability to go through the doctoral process successfully involves the *acquisition* and *enhancement* of certain generic skills and attitudes.

However, in the development of the academic habitus, the individual habitus doctoral students bring to the doctoral process presents them with unique experiences. The individualised habitus is further restructured as students go through the doctoral process differently. The utilisation of the individual habitus as a mechanism to deal with processes, practices, and challenges in the doctoral trajectory also yields disparate experiences. The individual habitus also produces dissimilar experiences as to how the doctoral supervisory process and feedback were perceived. Motivation also played a key part as to whether a student participated in voluntary learning activities. The kind of disposition adopted as part of the individual's habitus in the supervisory relationship also produced disparate doctoral experiences. This varied from a lack of co-operation, conflict, and sometimes the termination of their relationships to a balanced assertiveness and respect for authority and a co-operative relationship. More importantly, the individual habitus was used

differently to balance challenges ranging from serial institutional lapses, minor issues in the doctoral process, and multiple role conflicts. The use of the individual habitus to surmount these challenges created another layer in the doctoral experiences.

CHAPTER EIGHT

HAVES, HAVE-LESS, AND HAVE-NOTS: THE PLACE OF BOURDIEU CAPITAL IN THE DOCTORAL JOURNEY

Nowadays people can be divided into three classes – the *haves*, the *have-nots* and *the have-not-paid-for-what-they-haves* (Earl Wilson, 1907–1987).

8.1 Introduction

This chapter extends and applies Bourdieu's theoretical concept of *capital* to my interview data from doctoral students and supervisors. Bourdieu (1986) describes *capital* as accumulated labour in materialised or embodied form, which when appropriated by agents enables them to utilise social energy in the form of real or living labour. The narratives illuminate how these doctoral students had unequal access to the types of capital needed during the doctoral process. I draw on Mendoza et al.'s (2012) assertion that the distribution of actors in the social field is based on three dimensions of capital: *quantity of capital*, *distribution of the kinds of capital*, and the *volume of capital amassed over time*. Given that students bring and accumulate capital in the doctoral socialisation process, I argue that access to and quantity of capital, distribution of the kinds of capital, and the volume of capital amassed over time differs amongst students.

The forms of capital that take centre stage in this discussion are economic, cultural (academic), and social capital. I argue that the acquisition of these three kinds of capital converged to influence the survival and success in a student's doctoral trajectory. The first form of capital to be discussed in this chapter as it relates to the doctoral socialisation process is *economic capital*. Bourdieu describes *economic capital* as capital that can be converted instantaneously into money. I also discuss forms of economic capital doctoral students may have depended on to finance their doctoral studies. Secondly, I consider *cultural capital*, which serves as the bedrock for re/production of disciplinary knowledge. Academic capital is a form of cultural capital. Bourdieu (1979; 1984) describes *cultural capital* as established cultural knowledge, skills, or abilities that are assimilated through family and schooling. Swartz (1997) includes aesthetic proclivities, knowledge about schooling, and educational qualifications. I focus on how students are socialised into the community of their discipline through participation and presentation at conferences (a form and output of cultural capital) and publishing (academic capital) during their candidature. In these contexts, I discovered disciplinary differences between the hard and the soft sciences. In this chapter, social capital also receives attention – Bourdieu (1986) defines this concept as the “aggregate of actual or potential

resources linked to possession of a durable network of essentially institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (p. 248). I focus primarily on the importance of peers, faculty, and significant others (individuals connected to the student through consanguinity, marriage, adoption, or friendship) to doctoral students.

8.2 Economic Capital Fuels the Doctoral Journey

It is not unusual to encounter students who lack or have inadequate economic capital (funding or financial support) in their doctoral trajectory. My interview subjects revealed strategies to raise money and survive during their doctoral journey. I deliberate on how monetary capital brought to and/or acquired in the doctoral process is exchanged for other forms of non-monetary capital needed for executing the research and writing process. I also discuss three categories of students based on their access to capital in terms of the quantity of capital, distribution, and volume of capital amassed during the doctoral trajectory. For the purpose of this study, *economic capital* refers to financial support in the form of scholarships, grants, government subsidies, loans, personal funds, bursaries, and sponsorship from a significant other (relation or friend) given in the form of cash or cheque. *Non-monetary economic capital* refers to material items that can be purchased with money or converted into money. Non-monetary capital relevant to the doctoral process includes equipment, samples (specimens), chemicals, secondary data (books and articles), and primary data obtained through purchase or other means.

The data from students and supervisors in my study reveal that economic capital (monetary and non-monetary) played a crucial role in the doctoral socialisation process and doctoral student success. However, funding (monetary capital) was characterised as the predominant form of economic capital valued in the doctoral journey. The participants’ comments illuminate that, as Bowen and Rudenstine assert (1992, p. 178), “money plainly matters” in gaining entry, sustaining one’s studentship, and taking care of research-related expenses. A student reports:

Having sound financial support or funds and the resources to execute your research means a lot in the PhD programme. To get admission you have to be able to pay the tuition fees; fortunately for me I am a lecturer, so I had the tuition fees waived by the university and I didn’t have to worry about that. But I had to raise money to pay for some expenses related to my fieldwork – I had to employ five assistants to help me administer my questionnaires in the form of interviews. It was very intensive. I did the 800 interviews for about two months. I had to pay for transportation to

the location for the study daily for two months and their [research assistants] stipend (PhD student, College of Humanities).

The student's narrative highlights the importance of monetary capital for the doctoral training process, particularly for knowledge acquisition and production. However, it is important to note that the student did not directly exchange economic capital in order to gain entry into the doctoral programme. Being affiliated with the university as a lecturer was the social capital that was leveraged in order to secure a tuition fee waiver. This privilege may have occurred because the social field rewards social actors or agents with capital differently. Core members in the discipline may have more opportunities compared to academic "newbies" or those lower on the hierarchy. Monetary capital became an essential component in the data gathering process as the student had to employ research assistants and pay their transportation to the field for data collection.

Another student participant emphasised that securing entry and continuous enrolment in the doctoral programme depended on economic capital to pay tuition fees:

The whole PhD programme is about funding. Either you fund it yourself or there should be some other form of funding available for you. Right now, I am struggling because I have not even finished paying last academic year's fees. *This year's fees have also been increased.* So where is the money to pay for the yearly increment? This yearly increase comes as an additional financial burden. The issue of funding is very critical especially in paying of fees to maintain one's enrolment. Initially when we were applying, they tied funding [proof of funds to indicate one's ability to pay fees] to the application process. If you don't have evidence of funding for your PhD programme, then you would not gain admission but they relaxed it the following year because they thought that whoever has already come into the programme has already prepared himself or herself [*italics added*] (PhD student, College of Education).

The ability to meet economic requirements may have played a role in the student gaining entry into the programme. However, the comment "Right now, I am struggling because I have not even finished paying last academic year's fees" suggests a disconnect between providing proof of financial support and the ability to pay tuition fees.

Though the anecdote illustrates that the admission policy requiring proof of financial support was relaxed, the university indicates that all post-graduate students were: "supposed to pay 70% of the

total fees before they are allowed to register for the first semester of the 2015–2016 academic year” (ug.edu.gh/aad/fees). A PhD supervisor in the College of Basic and Applied Sciences argues that paying 70% of the “14000 (Ghana Cedis) [tuition fees] is very difficult for the students”. This policy presents the self-funded doctoral students with a challenge in the face of high tuition fees, yearly increments in fees, inadequate funding opportunities, and additional expenses to be incurred in executing the research activities. Specifically, my findings revealed that such students found it difficult to accommodate these fees given that they had to grapple with the continuing burden of the previous year’s fees. A self-funded student reports that:

. . . the school [tuition] fees thing I was talking about, when I began it was around GH¢12000 Cedi but last year I had to pay about GH¢14000, an increase of about two thousand. It is not easy paying both the previous year’s fees and the increment. I have to adjust to the university’s policy though it wasn’t something I really planned for but I have to find the money to pay. I have not even finished paying last year’s fees (PhD candidate, College of Basic and Applied Sciences).

The student suggests that the annual increment did not form part of his financial plan but he had to accommodate the increment by looking for funds in order to satisfy the university’s financial demands. The increment may be a source of financial stress as the student has to search for additional funds yearly if he intends to sustain his candidature.

Another student reiterates the importance of economic capital to his doctoral journey:

Getting funding is very crucial in PhD studies. I wouldn’t have even ventured coming. I pay GH¢14,000 as school fees. It is subjected to an annual increment. It is not easy to do that [pay that amount of fees and increment] for four years. So for me, if I hadn’t received formal funding by means of a scholarship, I wouldn’t have ventured – because I wouldn’t want to start something I can’t finish (PhD candidate, College of Health Sciences).

This student reiterates his envisioned difficulty associated with paying tuition fees for four years without gaining a scholarship for his doctoral programme. For this particular student, the scholarship he had paved way for him to gain access and stay in the doctoral programme given the fact that financing his studies from his own resources was beyond his capabilities.

A student alludes to the changing nature of doctoral education:

PhD studies are now seen as a commodity that can be purchased by those with money and not for the common good of developing the human resource to produce knowledge to support the development of the country. . . . The university should know that there are other people who are

qualified to come into the programme, who are ready to do it, but due to the high fees and the lack of funding they are unable to come. In fact, they don't have to wait for somebody to tell them to engage the government to make funding available for PhD students, because if you have a lot of PhD candidates available that is what would push the country forward. Knowledge would be created and it is knowledge that would be used to build the country – and the government is a part of knowledge creation. The role of the government in providing funding is key and it is only the university that can let the government understand that this is what is needed for knowledge creation to thrive (PhD student, College of Education).

The student may view the high tuition fees coupled with the yearly increment as having changed the public purpose attached to doctoral education in Ghanaian society. Perhaps he sees doctoral education as not solely driven by the public purpose (good) of developing high human resource but instead perceives the offer of a slot on the PhD programme as tied to profit making or commercialisation. Zemsky, Wegner, and Massy (2005) illuminate such a perception, highlighting the fact that higher education has shifted out of balance by focusing too much on commercialisation. Thus, students who are financially endowed may have easier access to PhD education than those who are talented but financially challenged. Kezar (2008) reiterates this saying higher education institutions now serve the marketing function of selling education as a service to the highest buyer. In the student's view having access to economic capital operates to give those who can afford to pay tuition fees an advantage. It will subtly work to ensure that the stratification between the haves and have-nots that exists in Ghanaian society is replicated on a smaller scale within the doctoral context. Yet, knowledge production in academia thrives on scholarship, passion, and talent. When money becomes the most important factor in gaining entry into doctoral education, and individuals who have the economic capital but lack the aforementioned three elements are admitted, then the Ghanaian doctoral education system will be in danger. When gaining doctoral entry gradually shifts from *meritocracy* to what I term *monetocracy* (a system in which economic capital is considered as the most important requirement for participation in a social institution) it will lead to a situation I call the *unintended marginalisation of have-nots in the doctoral enterprise*. Zemsky, Wegner, and Massy (2005) submit that commercialisation of higher education has driven the cost up and led to the problem of access for underrepresented students. The student thus recommends a university–government partnership to institute funding schemes for PhD students in order to fulfil, via doctoral education, the development of human capital to drive knowledge creation and national development.

A supervisor acknowledges the intersection of funding, academic acclaim, and who ultimately benefits from doctoral success:

It is difficult for the students because, apart from the tuition fees they have to pay, they also need money to carry out their research work. Most of the PhD work depends on primary data and they need funding for that. The university typically does not offer them scholarships or subsidies and this compounds their financial situation. When the student finishes the degree, the university takes the glory but they don't contribute to cushion the student. So they should provide the needed resources for the student to complete the programme (PhD supervisor, College of Basic and Applied Sciences).

The ability of student to meet the financial demands of both tuition and research-related activities may enable access to primary data needed in the doctoral research and writing process. Access to primary data aids in the production of the thesis, a form of *objectified* cultural capital that is exchanged for an *institutionalised* form which is the doctoral degree. Bourdieu's (2011) theorization that "economic capital is at the root of all the other types of capital" (p. 113) can be applied here. Each capital has its own specific effects and profits that cannot be reduced to the effects of economic capital, but the latter is intimately connected to and underscores the former. The link between having funding and access to data needed for the knowledge production process resonates in the comment of one student:

Ninety percent of the tools I wanted to use were not available and I found ways to get them. For instance, I needed some data on the history of technology in the world and in Ghana it was not available at that time. The telecommunication union had the data set and they updated it periodically so I needed that. However, my supervisors at that time did not know what to do, but I searched through the internet and found how to get the data. *I had it through the help of a funding agency, which supported me with funds to acquire the data set.* The other part of it was how to get relevant literature from our part of the world [Ghana]. You don't get some subject-specific publications that are very recent especially when they are books in our context. *Getting them is very hard so what I did was to get on to the internet and purchase the e-book versions using some of the funding I had.* [Italics added] (PhD student, College of Humanities).

The funding garnered by the candidate was exchanged for two *objectified* forms of cultural capital namely stored data on the history of technology in the world and Ghana and books pertinent to his writing process. Though the resources he needed for the writing process were not readily available within the institutional and geographical space he was located in, access to funding and the social capital that came in the form of networking with the funding agency acted as conduits for achieving his needs.

8.2.1 Strategies for garnering economic capital

The participants talked about the effect of lack of funding on the training process and the strategies devised by students to maintain their candidacy. Participants indicated that the lack of funding or inadequate funding opportunities drove many full-time doctoral students to engage in several employment opportunities to raise money for the PhD programme and their upkeep:

Funding is a major issue for PhD studies – I haven't mentioned it because it is a big problem. If you have funding it [doctoral studies] is an *exciting expedition*, however, if you don't it is an *odyssey* [journey filled with a challenge] because you will suffer. If you have funding, you don't think about going to do some "*galamsey*" [Ghanaian term that denotes doing multiple jobs to support oneself and family] to get your things done. It [funding] is a great opportunity and it is something that I think will take away forty percent of your challenges [Italics added] (PhD student, College of Humanities).

The words *exciting expedition* and *odyssey* [journey] suggest that doctoral study may be symbolically conceptualised as a *life course* or *process* characterised by pleasure or hardship, depending on the availability or lack of funding in doctoral training. Random House Kernerman Webster's College Dictionary (2010) defines an *odyssey* as any long journey filled with adventure or hardship. However, in the student's narrative *odyssey* describes hardship or suffering that may be experienced when a doctoral candidate lacks funding. The decision to do two or more jobs to generate enough funds may adversely affect the time the student gets to write and do research. This may have an impact on fulfilling writing deadlines and also prolong time for completion. Despite this challenge, some students had to do the *galamsey* and one had this to report:

I had to apply for the position of a graduate teaching assistant to earn some money, which I saved towards paying the fees. It was not enough so I had to be doing some research jobs such as transcription of research interviews and quantitative data analysis with SPSS. It made concentrating on my studies as a full time student very difficult but I had to do that to survive (PhD student, College of Humanities).

Out of necessity to raise enough monetary capital to pay fees, the student had to combine a teaching assistantship and private research-related jobs alongside the doctoral programme, which was a source of difficulty. One supervisor acknowledges the difficulty of such a situation:

Students go through trying situations if they don't have funding that will cushion them. When they see this challenge as full-time students, then they must choose between work and the PhD programme because when they don't have funding and they try to get into the programme, they decide to combine work and study. These two roles don't go together. The lack of funds makes some students pursuing full-time study drop out because they realise they cannot raise money for

the tuition and other research-related expenses. So those are some of the challenges that I am talking about (PhD supervisor, College of Health Sciences).

The comment illustrates the importance of funding for psychological well-being. Financial support gives the student peace of mind to concentrate on their studies instead of trying to combine the demands of the PhD programme with work. It is thus sometimes a question of completion or attrition. The situation where a doctoral student is compelled to drop out because of lack or inadequate funding illuminates Lariviere's (2013) view that inadequate funding is an acknowledged barrier to the success of a graduate student. This again is indicative of the economic hierarchies that emerge in doctoral programmes between the haves, have-less, and have-nots.

The findings also suggest that some of the students reported that they had anticipated that the lack of funds could stagnate or halt their doctoral study success and they had to act proactively to secure financial support both before and during study. The anecdote below shows how enterprising some students might be in securing adequate funding. One student spoke about the process he had to go through to secure the scholarship:

It [the scholarship opportunity] was advertised on the website and people who were interested in embarking on a PhD programme applied. It was my supervisor at my MPhil level who forwarded it to me, and said that I should try. So he assisted me in a number of ways. He guided me to write the research and grant proposal and coached me for the interviews. He actually prepared me for competing for the scholarship. The scholarships were limited to people who want to work on infectious diseases and poverty. So I put in an application. It is a [European country] based funding, which was granted through a coalition of five universities in Africa: University of Ghana; University of Ibadan; Madimba University of Technology; University of Mali; and University of Bamako. Applications were usually sent through this coalition to the Trust. It was very competitive. The first phase involved being selected in Ghana because they give slots to people based on the collaborating universities. The first step is to be selected in your home country. Twenty of us went for an interview; five of us were shortlisted. Then we went to Ibadan for another interview and I was selected, so I am being sponsored by the Trust. The Trust paid for my educational trips, so I have been to the [European country] for a programme as part of the PhD studies. A couple of weeks ago I was in [West African country] for another programme. All scholars under the scholarship meet regularly and are taken through how to write grants, analyse data, and other things (PhD candidate, College of Health Sciences).

I perceive a linear acquisition of the three forms of capital in the student's anecdote that culminated in his attainment of funding (monetary or economic capital). Sequentially, each form of capital might have paved way for the other. The student's narrative suggests that he had social capital in the form of his MPhil supervisor who told him of the funding opportunity and also guided him to produce and acquire the needed academic capital (research and grant proposals and knowledge from the coaching) required to compete for the scholarship. The supervisor became a conduit and a source of cultural capital through the provision of guidance on the "tricks of the trade" for competing for funding. This coaching may have enabled the student to gain an upper hand in the *struggle* for funding for his PhD programme.

The student's social capital was exchanged for the cultural capital required for the competition, which eventually culminated in the attainment of economic capital relevant to his doctoral becoming. His comment "All scholars under the scholarship meet regularly and are taken through how to write grants, analyse data and other things" also suggests that he was acquiring forms of cultural capital in addition to funding. The economic capital he had in the form of scholarship also came along with periodic exposure to cultural capital. Participating in the programmes facilitated by the funding from outside Ghana suggests that he may have had opportunities to assimilate the technical knowledge and skills relevant to the doctoral writing process and a probable career in the academy. The economic capital he had in the form of a scholarship may have given him symbolic capital. Walker and Yoon (2016) point out that scholarly award is associated with honour, prestige, and recognition in the eyes of others. The student's ability to emerge as the winner out of the 20 Ghanaian applicants may have been recognition for his demonstration of his intellectual prowess and the ability to meet the demands of the interview panel, which culminated in the reward of the scholarship.

Another student describes acting proactively in order to retain her funding throughout her candidature:

One key thing that comes to mind easily is that funding was time-bound. If you don't complete within the time you lose part of the funding and you don't get it; it was framed in a specific way, which I signed up to so if I knew I was lagging at any point then I needed to sit up and push. If I was funding my own study then I could say, come on, I am tired and I am taking two months off, I am not touching this work. However, there wasn't that luxury. I built this disposition and I had to push, push to do what I could do within the maximum best. If something happens and you are

not able to finish, you know you did your best. That is an example of playing by the rules – you needed to finish and achieve certain timelines and do it. That is when you could qualify for additional funding and stuff like that when you needed it. In such a case it is not in your hands (PhD student, College of Humanities).

In her narrative the student describes anticipating that losing part of her funding could constrain her research and writing process and that she had to work tirelessly throughout her programme in order to qualify for additional funding. The fear of losing the scholarship acted as a push factor to produce deliverables within certain timelines in order to merit additional funding when needed. Though being bonded by the scholarship to work within a certain timeframe motivated her to give her best, it may also have had the tendency to cause the student to overwork herself and experience fatigue if she didn't balance her writing with rest, leisure activities and periods of “cerebral hygiene” (Auguste Comte, 1838). The practice of cerebral hygiene as applied in this discussion denotes taking a little leave from reading and writing to refresh the mind and to develop new ideas to inform the writing. Perhaps her experience demonstrates the fact that being bonded in the doctoral process through the use of economic (monetary) capital may have the tendency to influence the actions and behaviours of students when access to this form of capital is tied to producing deliverables and doctoral study completion timelines. This is apparent in another candidate's anecdote:

We were not able to start the programme on time and we had four years to complete the programme. So I had the foreknowledge that I was going to complete in 2016 until only last year [2015] when I was told that the four-year PhD programme had been reverted to a three-year programme. Because our funding was for three years, it was a bit of a crash because I was reverting from four to three years within a year when I was not really prepared. As you can see, the inflatable mattress in my office I sleep a little on when I am tired enables me work tirelessly and quickly to complete within the three years before my scholarship runs out. When I go home I cannot have time to work on my thesis because I have a wife and a young son who will be a source of distraction to me. I also have access to the internet in the office so it is better for me to work here. I am almost finishing so I have to adopt this strategy to finish it within the three years, which is this year. I am submitting a draft to my supervisors next week (PhD student/lecturer, College of Basic and Applied Sciences).

8.2.2 Distribution and volume of economic capital amassed in the journey

The findings from the participants show that doctoral candidates had disparate access to economic capital needed to accomplish the demands of their research and writing journey. Using vignettes,

I will discuss the distribution and volume of economic capital doctoral students garnered in the doctoral process. I classify the students into three categories: “*Richie Rich*” (*Haves*), “*Average Joe*” (*Have-less*) and “*Struggling Lazarus*” (*Have-nots*). I will apply the same kind of categories in my discussion of cultural and social capital.

Richie Rich

Participants who belong to this category had copious economic capital (both monetary and non-monetary) in the doctoral socialisation process. This includes scholarships, research grants, and stipends. These participants had their tuition fees, research, and educational travel expenses paid for by external funding agencies and were given stipends. The students’ narratives suggest that economic capital was not a source of worry. Some who had adequate funding had the opportunity to do their PhD studies as part of an externally funded project and their financial needs were provided through project allocation funds. Eight out of the 16 student participants had adequate funding for their doctoral programme. Six students were in the College of Basic and Applied Sciences and College of Health Sciences. The remaining two students whose studies were fully funded were from the College of Humanities. A student in the second year of the new programme states:

I have been fortunate to be in the team that has been awarded a grant of eight million dollars for setting up a centre, so my supervisor allowed me to be part of it [do his PhD as part of the project]. My research was already funded and there are more than enough resources in the lab for me to work with. . . . The funding takes care of my tuition and provides me with a stipend for my studies. So far he [his supervisor] has provided enough opportunities for me; this time we are operating on a high-level computer that was bought at £10,000 and I’ve been given the opportunity to choose which workshop or conference to go to and all the resources are there for me, so I think there is more than enough for me to meet my target for the PhD programme. In my lab if I have to do something that is not available there I could write to any lab in Europe that can do what I want to do and it is done for me. If you have to go over there to learn something you need, you are allowed because the project had funding for all these things. If you need an expert to help you do something you needed to do, they bring in an expert or through the team leader you can have an expert speaking to you from any part of the world via teleconferencing. . . . I’m the only one [PhD student] working on [that research area]. I have to work hard to produce results for them [supervisor and external collaborators] to get the value of funding they are providing for my PhD studies. I have attended a lot of international workshops and conferences; the first one was in South Africa, which was before the start of my project. I just ended a workshop on the [X topic] where we used molecular biology techniques for diagnoses of [X disease] where I got the chance to lead on

bioinformatics and sequence data analyses. It was a skill-based workshop and that gave me a lot of knowledge and skills to start the practical. These collaborative workshops and conferences have been very helpful since speakers in their various areas informed the audience of new and cutting edge knowledge in genomics and bioinformatics. So they've been helpful in opening up my horizon on my area of research. This year I have several international workshops to attend in Accra, South Africa, and the UK. I also have to attend the American Society for Cell Biology workshop (PhD student in the old system or programme, funded by an external project, College of Basic and Applied Sciences).

The student describes his PhD journey as characterised by the availability of considerable economic capital through his participation in the team-funded project. The acquisition of sufficient capital by the candidate was facilitated through the social capital he had in the form of his supervisor who contracted the funds to execute the project. In this student's case, the anecdote suggests that social capital was exchanged for economic capital. The economic sufficiency he had resonates in the statement “. . . my research was already funded and there are more than enough resources in the lab for me to work with. . . . The funding takes care of my tuition and provides me with a stipend for my studies”. Participating in the team research project helped him to garner economic capital in the form of a scholarship and stipend for paying his tuition fees and taking care of his living expenses. The narrative also suggests that the student had sufficient non-monetary (material) capital such as chemicals, specimens, equipment (a £10,000 high-level computer purchased for the project), facilities, and technical assistance for executing his experiments and generating results to write the thesis.

The student clearly did not report experiencing any financial and logistical challenges provided he was able to continuously meet the requirements for the project. Compared to self-funded students, this student is more likely to concentrate his efforts and energies on working on his PhD work and producing deliverables for the project. However, he may have been subjected to supervisory/funding partner external pressures to produce deliverables for the team's project as well as his doctoral programme. This may be compounded by the fact that he is working as part of an external project that is time-bound, especially when the duration of the project is shorter than that allowed for PhD completion.

Access to economic capital also enabled the student to participate in educational opportunities in the form of technical courses to acquire skills (cultural capital) relevant to his experimentation to generate results for the project and to inform his thesis writing. The substitution effect of economic capital could be deduced from the way his project funds were used for paying technical course fees, which would enable him to assimilate knowledge for his doctoral research and writing. The cultural capital gained by means of appropriating economic capital was not limited to participation in courses to acquire skills but it also gave him the opportunity to participate in international conferences and workshops. The economic capital that he had in the form of funding from the research project enabled him to participate in the disciplinary and practice community (conferences and workshops) because the project funds were used to pay for participation fees, airfares, accommodation and other related expenses to assimilate “new and cutting edge knowledge in [his speciality areas]”. He suggests that conference attendance had an impact on his knowledge creation process and shaped his perspective on current disciplinary debates/discourse: “They’ve been helpful in opening up my horizon on my area of research”. This outcome aligns with Sambrook et al. (2008) and Määttä’s (2012) assertions that attending and presenting at conferences contribute to doctoral student development.

The student whose narrative has been discussed above further explained that he derived more cultural capital from the conferences and workshops he attended:

. . . . There were certain challenges I was facing in my research and the conferences provided me with new ideas as to how to deal with them. Borrowing some ideas from the conferences and modifying it to suit my research helped me to make progress. . . . I got to meet people from renowned universities, especially scholars I had read about who had made enormous contributions to my research area but whom I haven’t met before. The interesting thing is that you meet these big authors you have read about and they simply want to be called by their first names. They were down to earth and very friendly. Meeting them one-on-one provided me with the opportunity to talk to them about my work and solicit suggestions for dealing with issues related to my research. I took their contacts and I established some correspondence with them through email. I also had a lot of friends from other universities who were doctoral students. I am thinking of collaborating with some of them in the future to publish (PhD student, College of Basic and Applied Sciences).

The student indicates that conference attendance provided him with insights for dealing with research hurdles and served as an avenue to network with other scholars who gave him ideas when he interacted with them. It is also an avenue where the student experiences attitudinal

developments, particularly *humility*. By meeting distinguished but humble scholars he realises that such an attribute is important, despite their intellectual achievements and accolades. More importantly, participating in the conference also provided him with the opportunity to form friendship ties with other students, which he intends to leverage in the production of cultural capital in the form of joint publications.

Another student in the old programme/system who had submitted her thesis for examination had this to say about the benefits she derived from PhD funding:

I did have funding throughout my study. In fact, full funding. It was a package that was given with the project. In addition to my fees being paid, I was even getting a stipend and when I had to travel, they took care of all those things. Later on when my project funds finished, I won a Commonwealth scholarship, which took me to [a UK university] and that one too came with a stipend. For me my PhD was totally paid for so I did not struggle. I wonder what I would have done because I had to interview 500 girls for the quantitative phase and I had to employ research assistants. Five of them travelled to [a town in the Eastern Region of Ghana]. The funding I had was used to pay their accommodation and living expenses while they stayed there collecting the data. I had to feed them for one week. It was the funding that helped me to do all of that. The funding I had also paid for travels to attend conferences and educational exchanges I had during my PhD studies. The conferences I attended were paid for by the project. I attended two conferences, one in Ghana. It was on the project so we had to present what we had done so far. And then there was also one in Switzerland where I made a poster presentation on my work and then also listened to other people's work. I did not lack in terms of finances during my studies. In fact, I found funding to be very important to my academic life as a PhD student. I wish everybody who wants to do a PhD will have access to funding (PhD student, College of Humanities).

Her story describes how she had her first funding opportunity by being part of a project initiated by the university while the second came in the form of scholarship. These two sources of economic capital were relevant at various stages of her doctoral programme. The narrative describes how economic capital was exchanged for two other forms of capital relevant to her research and writing process. The quantitative phase of her research demanded that she interview 500 girls, which necessitated her employing research assistants. The five research assistants may be characterised as a form of *social capital*. The research assistants the student used in her data collection process may have come from her existing social networks or may be general contacts through whom she received the opportunities to use her financial capital (Burt, 1992). They served as conduits through which the student was able to garner relevant data from the participants to produce an advanced

form of cultural capital expected to merit the PhD degree. Thus, economic capital may have acted as the enabler in accessing the two forms of capital associated with her data gathering process. Access to funding may have mutual benefit for both the student and the research assistants because the student gained her data through their help and they may also have gained economic and cultural capital. The enabling role of economic capital (monetary capital) in her doctoral experience is articulated in her statement: “I found funding to be very important to my academic life as a PhD student. I wish everybody who wants to do a PhD will have access to funding”.

Average Joe

The “Average Joe” represents self-funded students who had partial funds from their employer, a funding agency, or a sponsor (supervisor or relation) and who characterised this financial support as inadequate and had to scout for additional funding to support their PhD studies. The data revealed that some of the participants who fall within this category had to take a loan or sell their material possessions in order to raise additional money for their educational expenses, especially tuition fee payments. A student in the new programme whose narrative typifies an Average Joe says:

. . . My institute pays my salary but not the school fees. So in terms of funding from my institution I still receive my monthly salary but for the school fees and my research activities I have to look for funds myself. Imagine if I am paying 14000 Cedis, which is subject to increment every year, plus other expenses that are not included and I am getting less than 2500 Cedis as a monthly salary. It’s been challenging for me since I have to struggle to pay the fees and raise money for other things connected to my research. I have family too – I have to look after them. I have not even finished paying this year’s fees and we are going into the next academic year soon. I had to take loans from the bank to pay my fees. The interest rate is very high but I have no option but to go for the loans because the university required that I pay 70% of the fees before I am allowed to continue with my enrolment. I am hoping to finish and get a job that pays better than my current job so that I clear my debts (PhD candidate, College of Basic and Applied Sciences).

The student finds the salary he receives does not suffice in defraying the cost of his PhD programme. The narrative describes his motivation to secure a loan to pay the high tuition fees because he wants to sustain his continuous programme participation. Payment of the tuition fees with loans illuminates what Paswan and Ganesh (2009) describe as the price element for the university offering. Though the loan may enable the student to continue his enrolment in the doctoral programme, cumulatively securing loans for four consecutive years to pay fees will mean

that he is accumulating huge amounts of debt. The high interest on loans in Ghana coupled with the huge principal to be accumulated over a period of four years may be a source of mental struggle for him. Inferring from his comment “I am hoping to finish and get a job that pays better than my current job so that I clear my debts” seems to suggest that he has developed the mentality that the PhD degree may be a stepping stone to a well-paying job. The student’s mentality can be seen in Rothstein and Rouse’s (2011) assertion that students borrow against future incomes, where debt motivates interest in higher salary employment over lower paid public interest jobs. The loans he has secured to satisfy his immediate need (paying tuition fees) seem to be anchored on his *hope* that he will get a paying better job when he completes his PhD. The position taken by the student on how he intends to pay the loan reiterates William’s (2006) claim that students defer the pain of working to pay the loan.

This student did not only deal with inadequate monetary capital but he had to contend with using outdated equipment (non-monetary capital) in the experimentation process:

Once I am funding myself and I have paid my fees the department needs to provide me with the equipment I need for my research. . . . Some of the equipment that I needed was obsolete and had broken down so we [I and the lab technicians] had to revive them. Reviving the equipment was not part of the work but then you had to do it because you needed it. . . . Some of them needed a specialist somewhere to work on it or to fix it for you. Even when they are repaired (because this equipment was old) they malfunction again and this halts the experiments. . . . Basically, for the sciences our mainstay is our ability to perform lab experiments and be able to put the story together, designing experiments and then carrying them out in order to investigate a particular scientific problem. . . . Those of us in the hard sciences, especially as an experimentalist, I needed my equipment to be up-to-date as they should be functioning and be functioning well. . . . Sometimes when the equipment was not working and we could not repair it, I had to talk to the Head of Department to do something about it. There were times I had to rely on some labs outside the department because I needed modern equipment, which the department didn’t have (PhD graduate in the old system, self-funded, College of Basic and Applied Sciences).

The narrative suggests that the student expected that the institution would use the monetary capital from his tuition fees to provide the equipment (non-monetary) he needed for experimentation. However, this did not materialise and he had to use the old equipment available in the department and devise remedial measures to facilitate his experimentation when the equipment in the department was ineffective, unmanageable, or non-existent. The frequent breakdown of obsolete

equipment and the unavailability of certain equipment was a source of delays, frustrations, and unwarranted repetitions in the experimentation process:

You take them [the specimens] to the machine, warm the machine and it breaks down so you don't get to use it. You have to start it all over again maybe after 24 hours or after 48 hours and all that it can be very frustrating. And so you need a very strong heart and a very strong attitude to be able to continue and thrive in an environment like that (PhD student, College of Basic and Applied Sciences).

Another *Average Joe* in the old system who had submitted her thesis for examination reports that she had a grant that was mainly expended on research-related activities. She indicates that, though she used a portion of the grant to pay her tuition fees, it did not suffice:

The first grant I had I think it was 1500 Ghana Cedis. It was just mostly for the research – I think it couldn't have paid even a quarter of the fees for one year, so it was nothing to write home about. It got me supplies: I got a printer, some ink and paper that I used to print and be able to submit assignments and write ups. . . . I got another [source of] funding from the Building Stronger Universities (BSU). That was a lot of money, like, 20000 Ghana Cedis and that is what I used for my research work. The most significant part of the money was used for transportation to the field and paying field research assistants. Then I got incentives for children who participated in the research. I also used part of the funds to pay a portion of my tuition fees. That is how I spent the money (PhD student, College of Health Sciences).

The student's recollection suggests that the first funding was used to acquire a different form of economic capital: "printer, some ink and paper that [she] used to print . . . [her] assignments and write ups". These forms of economic capital were used directly by the student to facilitate the research and writing process associated with her doctoral studies. The student's experience of exchanging one form of economic capital for another illustrates the fact that the utility of economic capital was viewed from an instrumental and need perspective. Though she described the first funding of 1500 Ghana Cedis as not enough, the resources the amount was able to procure to facilitate her work highlights the value of the funding.

However, her second funding that she considered substantial allowed her to sequentially appropriate social and cultural capital that was relevant to the research process. The funding allowed her to deploy social capital in the form of research assistants. These assistants acted as conduits for gaining field data (cultural capital), which was relevant to the thesis. Additionally, her

funding was also used to acquire incentives (non-monetary capital) that she used to reward the children who served as participants in the data collection process. The funding also paid part of her tuition fees, which maintained her doctoral enrolment. Though the funding did not cover her entire fees, she adopted a remedial strategy to raise more money for them:

In fact, I had to sell my car to raise money to pay school fees. . . . I couldn't even pay a quarter of the fees for one year with the money I generate from the sale of the car. So it was nothing considering the high fees I had to pay (PhD student, College of Health Sciences).

The student's narrative describes the exchange of one form of economic capital into another, which is the selling of her car to generate money to defray the cost of tuition fees. Payment of fees enables a further exchange of economic capital for cultural capital. Though the student had some funds through the two grants and sale of her car, she still had to contend with payment of her tuition fees in the final stage of her candidature. The social capital she had in the form of supervisory support acted as a conduit to access monetary (economic) capital. She recounts:

I must say I got financial help, too, from one of my supervisors in my very final semester. There was no money to pay for school fees. He just gave me a cheque and I went to pay my school fees. He gave me the cheque and told me not to pay it back (PhD student, College of Health Sciences).

Aside economic capital, her supervisors also assisted her in accessing funding, mainly for attending conferences. This had further positive outcomes as she submits:

I got some funding through the help of my supervisors to attend conferences. It did help. I attended two conferences. . . . I had a lot of information from these two conferences, which helped me to shape my thinking and writing. The new information made me step outside my writing to look at my research from another perspective. I met people. . . . In fact, we even had a meeting after the conference on some collaboration and some other work to do. You present your work and someone goes: "How did you do that"? And you go, "In Ghana it is part of our training". Then the person goes: "Oh really? I think we could do this in Nigeria". You talk about it and it goes on and on. Or you present the work and somebody sees how simple it is – there was another conference that we did, and the people were doing this other survey and the way that I explained that nutrition assessment thing is simple. If they could include it as part of their study, it would be great, because they would be able to give information on that one. In the end they brought the proposal and I read it. I just wrote the other parts and inserted into the proposal and that is it. So it helps with networking, it helps with everything (PhD graduate, College of Health Sciences).

The anecdote suggests three potential benefits for the student. Firstly, she may have derived a sense of status identification and attachment because attending and presenting at conferences

formed an initiation into the academic and practice community outside her institutional space. She displayed disciplinary expertise through her presentation. Golde (2005) notes that conferences present students with the opportunity to test their proficiency in the community of disciplinary stewards. Her presentation may have bestowed her with some *symbolic capital* in the form of praise and recognition from other attendees at the conference. The admiration she had from the other participants may have also provided her with reassurance and motivation for her own research and writing. Peers or other senior academics showing appreciation for her scholarly work and wanting to include it in their survey may be a confidence booster because among the community of practice such recognition (symbolic capital) does not come easily, especially for a doctoral candidate. Secondly, the conference acted as a channel for the student to garner social capital. She became networked into a broader knowledge community, which culminated in a joint research project. The benefit of conference participation is reiterated by Easterby-Smith, Thorpe, and Lowe's (2002) assertion that such events facilitate collaborative research endeavours among attendees. Lastly, the narrative suggests that participation in the two conferences increased the student's cultural capital and re-oriented her approach to the research and thesis writing process. The presentation of new knowledge may have awakened her thinking to look at her research and writing from an outsider's perspective.

Struggling Lazarus

The interview data revealed that this category of students were mainly self-sponsored, had no financial assistance during their doctoral trajectory, and had to struggle to raise funds to pay for their tuition fees and research-related expenses. While a portion of this quote has been used earlier, it is helpful to reiterate the context of the knowledge economy again. A student in this category laments his financial plight:

I have been struggling through the process to pay my fees and fund my research activities. If I have some form of scholarship that even pays my fees, my mind will be at ease a little. I am always thinking about how to raise money for the programme. It has not been easy for me at all. For me the whole issue comes down to the university. Once the university's clients are the students and it is the students who will come on board and make them relevant, the university should take keen interest in the sources of funding for the students. If they see government as a likely entity to support the students, then that is what they are supposed to do. In fact, they don't have to wait for somebody to tell them to engage government to make something especially available for PhD students, because if you have a lot of PhD candidates available that is what would push the country forward (PhD student, College of Education).

He tries to establish a relationship between government funding for doctoral education and the sustenance of the knowledge economy:

Knowledge would be created and it is the knowledge that would be used to build the country and government is a party in knowledge creation. So the role of government in providing funding is key and it is only the university that can let government understand that this is what is needed in the system for knowledge creation to thrive. . . . I am in my second year, about to go into the third year, and I have not even finished paying for the tuition fees for the second year. I am wondering what I will do to pay for the third and final year's fees. I am just hoping I will get the money to pay the fees and not drop out. If I pay the fees I will be able to manage with the other research-related activities (PhD student, College of Education).

The student succinctly points out that he does not have adequate funding for paying tuition fees and undertaking research activities. Given that the duration of the new PhD is a mandatory four-year programme, the non-availability of funding may constrain his doctoral candidature. For him, “money plainly matters”, as Bowen and Rudenstine suggest (1992, p. 178). Gaining financial support will ensure his sustained enrolment and progress in PhD research; a lack of funding may halt his studentship. His sentiment calls up Acker and Haque's (2015) assertion that a lack of economic capital poses a challenge to retention in and successful navigation of the doctoral process. The student emphasises the need for the university to engage the government to provide funding for PhD students because they are the knowledge producers (Delamont et al., 2000). It is these advanced students who will sustain the knowledge-based economy and national development.

Though facing financial challenge is not unique in the doctoral process, what becomes salient in this candidate's academic life course is the way he experienced financial hardship. He confronts continued rumination about how to raise money for his studies and how, simultaneously, he is able to concentrate on doctoral activities. His statement echoes the challenges: “If I have some form of scholarship that even pays my fees, my mind will be at ease a little. I am always thinking about how to raise money for the programme. It has not been easy for me at all”. The candidate's experience of the doctoral process is characterised by a *cleft habitus* (Bourdieu, 2000) or what Abrahams and Ingram (2013) call a *chameleon habitus*, which is characterised by “ambivalence, compromise, competing loyalties, ambiguity and conflict” (Reay, 2015, p. 11). Continuously thinking about how to raise money may affect his writing process since knowledge creation is likely to better occur if the doctoral student is of sound mind and not a vexed one (see Cao, 2001;

D'Andrea, 2002; Maher, Ford, & Thompson, 2004; Nora, Barlow, & Crisp, 2006; Ross, Cleland, & MaCleod, 2006). An undisturbed mind serves as the fertile ground for the development of novel ideas and it allows the development, presentation of one's ideas and arguments in a logical pattern, and sustains the student's interest in the research and writing process (see Appel & Dahlgren, 2003).

Another student who experienced struggle in the doctoral programme had to contend with both monetary and non-monetary capital, which had an impact on her research interest and her quest to participate in other avenues of learning within the disciplinary space. She reports:

My initial intention was not to do [X] propagation; I had wanted to continue with what I did before and, probably if I had done that, it would have been a little difficult for me. There was no equipment. It would have been a nice experience if the equipment was available and [there was] funding to do more experimentation, and to go for conferences. There is lot more the department could do. There were times that I wanted to go for conferences but I could not go because I did not have the personal funds or funding from the department to attend. The fees they were charging for both the local and international conferences were expensive to pay (PhD graduate in the new system, College of Basic and Applied Sciences).

The student had to compromise her initial research interest because of the non-availability of the equipment she needed to make her intended research possible. Despite this, she was able to survive the doctoral process by substituting her research interest with another, which could be executed with the equipment available. The lack of economic capital also limited her doctoral socialisation experience to the institutional space as she could not widen her socialisation to other communities of learning provided by conference attendance. She discussed her keenness to participate in conferences but was constrained by lack of funds:

. . . . there were times that I wanted to go for conferences but I could not go because I did not have the personal funds or funding from the department to attend. The fees they were charging for both the local and international conferences were expensive to pay. I wish I could go and learn new stuff and also share my research with others and see what others were doing in my area of interest but I did not have that luxury (PhD graduate in the new system, College of Basic and Applied Sciences).

The narrative of the student shows that she perceived the participation in conferences as disciplinary communities or outlets for learning and knowledge sharing outside the supervisory, departmental, and institutional spaces. These learning outlets present the doctoral student with an

opportunity to acquire cultural capital pertinent to doctoral process (see Gopaul, 2016) and become abreast of new research frontiers. Thus, the opportunity to participate in such settings provides the doctoral candidate with an awareness of standards of academic processes and evaluative mechanisms as she “shares [her] research with others and see what others [are] doing in my area of interest”.

This particular Lazarus student had to deal with greater levels of stress as her hurdles were not confined to the economic capital she did not have. She also had to display flexibility in order to revise her research interest to make do with the available equipment at the department. Her lack of finances also constrained her ability to benefit from learning communities in which participation required financial commitment.

The three categories of students – namely Richie Rich, Average Joe, and the Struggling Lazarus – exemplify the inescapable and latent stratification created by unequal access to economic capital in the doctoral journey. The Richie Richs who have enough financial resources to depend on in their doctoral journey are more likely to experience the substitution effect of economic capital. They could use the economic capital to leverage cultural capital in the form of conferences, which also provides them with the opportunity to form broader social networks with other doctoral students and faculty at other local or international universities. Given that the Richie Richs have the economic means to accumulate more cultural capital there is the tendency for them to participate in programmes that are likely to increase their knowledge and skills compared to the other two categories of students. There is the tendency for the Richie Richs to spend time pursuing scholarship by channelling time and energy into the doctoral writing and research project. The Average Joes and Struggling Lazarus may have a divided focus. These two categories of students have to work to earn money to meet their financial needs while at the same time trying to satisfy doctoral requirements. However, amongst the three categories of students, the Struggling Lazarus has the greatest tendency to drop out or prolong their candidature due to their inability to meet the financial demands related to the pursuit of doctoral study.

8.3 Cultural Capital Acquisition as the Bedrock of the Doctoral Experience

The cultural capital acquired through the doctoral training process is made more perceptible through research publications and presentations. Under this theme, I discuss how doctoral candidates within the soft and hard sciences published journal articles, and attended and presented at conferences as a means of accumulating and sharing cultural (academic) capital emerging from the doctoral enterprise. The discussion focuses on how disciplinary differences in the social and hard sciences influence the publishing of scholarly articles by doctoral students.

8.3.1 Publishing as a form of cultural (academic) capital in the doctoral journey

The students I interviewed showed different degrees of participation in the production of knowledge and contribution to disciplinary discourse through publishing. The interview transcripts reveal that the publishing rate was generally low amongst doctoral candidates. Boud and Lee (2009) and McGrail et al. (2005) attribute the low publication rate to the kind of research cultures that exist in various disciplines. The findings reveal that students from the hard and applied sciences had more publications than their colleagues from the soft sciences. Likewise, this can be seen in other studies conducted by Shin and Cummings (2010) and Moses (1990).

The low publication rate during the doctoral process may stem from the fact that it was not a mandatory requirement during doctoral study. At the same time, most of the students I spoke to indicated that their supervisors encouraged them to publish during their studies in order to improve their writing skills and career opportunities (see Sinclair, 2004; Moses, 1985). A student who did not publish while in the doctoral journey reported:

Though my supervisors encouraged me to publish it is not a requirement for the award of the degree. . . . It is not like you need to publish while you are doing the PhD programme – what I know is after you are done you have to publish from what you have done, which is fine but that is not to say that I sit and don't do anything (PhD candidate/Lecturer, College of Humanities).

For the candidate below, her focus was on completing the degree instead of going through the arduous process of submitting a journal article for publication. While her supervisors suggested she participate in a joint publication, she saw thesis completion as a priority. She states:

The truth is, I attempted a couple but I really didn't pursue it, so I haven't published. We [she and her supervisors] talked about joint publication but it didn't materialise. There was a time that it was sort of this completion mind-set; I realised it took a bit of time from things so I didn't make the

time to publish. There always seemed to be something that was more pressing so I didn't do that. In one of our courses I took while on exchange in [a North American country] we were asked to write term assignments – the lecturer made us understand that we should write the paper as if we submitting it to a journal. So he reviewed it and then commented. We actually went through the process of sending in a paper, receiving comments and writing a letter to the editor to show the changes that you've done and he graded all that and commented that you should have done it this way or that way, so that was one of my experiences. Another experience was that in a different class the lecturer made us aware of a new journal that some student in a certain university had come up with. He encouraged us to put in some of the term papers we had done. I attempted that and I got feedback. The major concern was that the format was more of an academic paper that I had turned in for grading so I needed to revise it to fit their journal specification. That has been my experience; I have turned some few things in. I turned one to an actual journal and I got that feedback. I didn't pursue it because it was an assignment and I attempted it in terms of publication. Moreover, the process was demanding and a distraction from my goal of finishing my work on time so I had to give it up (PhD graduate, College of Humanities).

Another student who also did not published any journal article rationalised:

It was not compulsory to publish so I did not publish anything. I will publish when I finish the thesis. It takes too much time and even when you are doing your PhD. . . . it also takes up your time (PhD candidate, College of Humanities).

The poor publishing culture amongst students pursuing humanities and soft sciences at the university may be linked to three factors: *institutional policy*, *the research culture pertaining to the department*, and the *ultimate interest of the student*. The university did not have an established and clear policy of publishing during doctoral training until they started the new doctoral programme in 2014. Thus, two of the three candidates whose narratives have been presented above belonged to the old system and were not mandated to produce a publishable paper during their doctoral studies. However, the new PhD programme has a comprehensive examination component that requires candidates to be orally examined based on a publishable review paper or research proposal they have written:

Each PhD student shall be required to submit: a publishable review paper; or a research proposal on a specific research question (this must not be the same as the student's intended thesis proposal). The choice [of a publishable review paper; or a research proposal] shall be agreed between the Departmental Graduate Studies Committee, the student and his/her Advisor/Principal Supervisor

on completion of the Year 1 course work examinations. The length of the review paper or research proposal shall normally be 5,000–8,000 words; Font size 12, Times New Roman, Double spacing. The student shall submit three copies of the review paper/research proposal to the examiners through the Head of the relevant Department/Academic Unit at least one week prior to the date of the written examination. The examiners shall grade the review paper/research proposal and bring this to the oral examination (The University of Ghana Handbook for Doctoral Studies (2014, Section 3.11.2.2 ii).

Will this new institutional policy address the low publishing rate amongst students, especially those in the soft sciences? Are students going to be supported to publish these papers in journals? When the doctoral candidates are given ample support from the supervisors in taking opportunities to publish while in the doctoral journey, they will be encouraged to publish more and this will ameliorate the low publication rate at the university. Institutional support in the form of the creation of institutional journals on varied disciplines in both the social and hard sciences will even lessen the stringent competition doctoral students who are novices to publishing go through to get published. Dinham and Scott's (2001) survey on doctoral candidate publishing indicates students who get support from supervisors or enrol in institutions with a clear policy on postgraduate publication were more likely to see their work published than those who do not. It is anticipated that if the students embrace the culture of publishing journal articles while in the doctoral study the university's cultural and symbolic capital may improve within the national and international levels.

The pedagogy of PhD training in the Humanities and Arts seems to be “hands off” in that supervisors do not often publish with each other and likewise their supervisees (Sinclair, 2004, p. 6) because publication culture thrives on originality and creativity of the *individual* researcher (Becher, 1989a). In addition to this, one must also consider the delays in publishing and rejection rates in the soft sciences (see Becher, 1987a; Shin & Cummings, 2010). As such, students were not motivated to spend their time on this venture. This assertion is echoed by a student in the College of Humanities: “the process was demanding and a distraction from my goal of finishing my work on time so I had to give it up”. Thus, it was not surprising when two of the participants indicated that they would publish after PhD completion.

During doctoral research training, the individualistic approach in the humanities and soft sciences is reinforced (see Chiang, 2003). Thus, the orientation towards individual publication becomes favoured (Sinclair, 2004) amongst students in the humanities and soft sciences because the socialisation process makes them internalise that disciplinary norm. Students in the humanities and soft sciences were more oriented towards the ultimate interest of degree completion, hence they felt it was a waste of their time trying to publish. As one student states, “I will publish when I finish the thesis. It takes too much time and even when you are doing your PhD . . . it also takes up your time”. Though she belongs to the independent field as a cultural producer she decided not to engage herself as a *full* cultural producer because she did not participate in public discourse through publishing.

Among the participants I interviewed in the soft sciences, two had published while in the doctoral trajectory. One of the candidate acquired publication experience through both a solo and joint publication with the lead supervisor. The student reports:

So far I have published one. The publication focused on an aspect of my literature and looking at the process you need to go through searching for the journal, packaging the whole manuscript such as giving it an introduction and the subtitles of the article. All the process has given me an insight on how to develop papers for publication, although I have published only one. Another one, which was jointly written by my lead supervisor and I, is yet to be accepted and is being reviewed. It is quite few but I think it has given me a great deal of experience on how to develop papers for publication (PhD candidate, College of Education).

Even though joint publication between the supervisors and supervisee within the soft sciences is an uncommon practice (Sinclair, 2004), the supervisory style and mentoring role adopted by the supervisor of the candidate above may have contributed to the experience he had in jointly writing an article for publication. The student explains further:

Usually my lead supervisor will bring me close when they are developing articles for publication. Sometimes I sit by him when he is going through the papers, and in so doing, I have been able to develop my skills how to write published articles. When it comes to reviewing articles to be published, for example, my lead supervisor does that a lot and he will always bring me closer to learn the process. I sit with him whilst reviewing articles. . . . sometimes he will be giving comments so that I would know what is going on and what he is doing, and that aspect too has been very helpful because now I can also review documents although I have not been appointed a reviewer of a journal but I am able to do that (PhD candidate, College of Education).

The other published candidate's experience was underpinned by both intrinsic and external motivation. He had this to say:

I was also publishing alongside. Some of it was related to my research. . . . Some data I had collected with some other friends and other colleagues [lecturers], I got it published. It is very relevant if it is about adding on to knowledge: how do you put it out there, how do you come up with some knowledge and you don't let the other people know. They have to know through publications, so it is very much relevant. It was also relevant for my promotion as a lecturer (PhD candidate/Lecturer, College of Humanities).

This candidate published because he saw publishing as a means of contributing to disciplinary discourse and saw it as an avenue to inform other scholars of his work. Publishing during his candidature was also a means of building on cultural capital to gain promotion (symbolic capital), which may be exchanged for economic capital (see Bourdieu, 2001). This candidate's experience differs from the other student in the soft sciences in that he had gained publishing experience, particularly getting his manuscripts published given his prior experience as a lecturer. For Bourdieu (2001), publishing is an acquisition of cultural capital and it becomes a process through which one embodies "external wealth converted into an integral part of the person, into a habitus" (p. 107).

The disciplinary culture that existed in the hard and applied sciences made students pursuing these disciplines internalise publishing as an essential part of their discipline during their training process. Out of the eight hard and applied science participants I interviewed, six had published between one to five peer-reviewed journal articles. These articles were jointly authored with their supervisors. This finding reflects dissimilarities in disciplinary research cultures (see Heath, 2002; Shin & Cummings, 2010; Moses, 1990; Whittle, 1992). The experiences of the candidates below depict how they, by virtue of the socialisation in their disciplines, were supported by their supervisors to publish (see Seagram, Gould, & Pyke, 1998). Their exposure to publication during their candidature stems from the collaborative culture of cumulative knowledge production (see Becher, 1984, 1987a, 1987b, 1989b; Chiang, 2003) and publishing in the hard and applied sciences (Sinclair, 2004): A student in the Basic and Applied Sciences who published while in the doctoral journey recounts his experience:

I have published two papers while in my doctoral study with other people; the other one just came this month. . . . In the sciences we do it in group, by collaboration. You can't just get up and do one, except when it is a review paper being published singly – then it will not be of use without

other people's input. You can't know everything in the sciences so we have several authors and several collaborations. In the sciences it's more than that; you can do single authors, which is mostly for reviews, but the scientific works are mostly done in groups for most of the works. In the sciences you are often published online before printed so we get current papers like papers published yesterday we get access to them and then we discuss. We picked the samples from centres such as [name taken out] Research Station and [name taken out] Health Research where we have key scientists in there who are partners. So it is more of a collaboration (PhD student, College of Basic and Applied Sciences).

This candidate highlights his exposure to the strong degree of interdependence amongst researchers in the hard sciences (see Whitley, 1984; Becher, 1994; Kyvik & Smeby, 1994) and the use of research teams as a social instrument for concurrent enculturation, sharing resources, and addressing research problems (Delamont et al., 2000). Through his engagement in the collaborative team project, he was socialised to embrace the understanding that team-work was crucial to the production of scientific knowledge and the dissemination of common practices (Delamont et al., 2000).

Another candidate indicates the essence of collaborative publishing in the hard and applied sciences. This candidate found utility in jointly publishing with his supervisors because it provided him with the platform to make his mark as an upcoming scholar by first leveraging entry into the field through association with prominent scholars:

I have two publications. Typically, because I won a grant and conducted a study and after that, I published. And then there is one pending, which will be part of the PhD work itself. It is a normal thing to co-author with your supervisors. In my discipline we do that a lot. For me it helps to put my name out there by standing on the shoulders of giants in the discipline (PhD student, College of Health Sciences).

The student who had the largest number of publications shared co-authorship with his supervisors in an egalitarian way:

I had no publications when I started the PhD. . . . I have five publications now. In the first two publications, I was not the lead author even though I did the data collection, the ideas and everything – they guided me through. But the third and the fourth, I am the lead author (PhD candidate in the old system affiliated to the institute).

From his narrative it could be inferred that he lacked the experience of packaging the data he had into a publishable material. Thus, he exchanged his superiors' experience, guidance, and ability to get articles published by according them leadership in co-authorship even though he did most of the tasks associated with drafting articles. The exchange of relational power in this joint publication may have helped him as a novice to bypass the obstacle of having to deal with high rejection rates if he had done it alone or with inexperienced peers. The supervisors, being adept in the "tricks of the trade" and being "star players" (Thomson, 2008) in the field of publishing, "guided him through" to know ways of circumventing some of the obstacles associated with the publishing process. The mentoring process culminated in allowing him to assume leadership in the publication of the third and fourth articles.

8.4 Possessing Social Capital Creates Dissimilar Doctoral Experiences

Social networks (social capital) formed during one's doctoral candidacy make a significant contribution in the way the entire doctoral becoming is experienced and construed. As part of this discourse, social capital refers to social networks formed by students within and outside the institutional space, which includes supervisors, doctoral peers, friends, and family members who played a significant role in their doctoral training process. Bourdieu (1993) states that social capital enables individuals and groups to access valued resources. The kind of social support and interaction doctoral candidates get outside supervisory spaces and relationships contributes to the distinctive experiences they have in the doctoral process (see Pilbeam et al., 2013). The privilege for the doctoral candidates to associate with peers and senior doctoral students through informal and formal interactions influences the experiences they get at varied stages of their doctoral trajectory (see Handley et al., 2006). These interactions present the students with opportunities to discuss academic issues, peer review of writing, and also a chance to socialise. Doctoral candidates learn and get encouragement needed to surmount the challenges associated with the PhD process (see Golde, 2000; Baird, 1990; Janson, Howard & Schoenberger-Orgad, 2004; Gerholm, 1990; Sullivan, 1991). Students also appropriate social capital available through informal peer networks and gain the skills (see Lethem 2007; Shacham & Od-Cohen, 2009) necessary to successfully undertake a doctoral programme at a particular university (Pilbeam et al., 2013). I next apply the three categories of students captured in the title of this chapter, which are *haves*, *have-less*, and *have-nots* in the discussion of students' access to social capital while in the doctoral process.

However, some doctoral candidates do not get this requisite social capital in the form of doctoral peers because they experience a *disjunctive socialisation* in the doctoral process where they have no role models to learn from. The underlying reasons may be that a doctoral programme is new (Weidman et al., 2001) or they are the only candidate pursuing the programme. Such a student can be referred to as a *have-not* in terms of doctoral peers. A student who fits this description states:

I was in the last batch to do the old system of three years. I did my PhD under the institute. The institute had an ongoing project so I was taken on to do my PhD as part of that project. I was the only person who had this opportunity, so I will say I did not have peers. However, I had supervisors from the College of Health Sciences. In my case, I worked on a project where I was supposed to run the project and at the same time write the PhD thesis as part of project. And so I was a field supervisor on the project, going to the field, and at the same time writing my PhD thesis, and so whatever I found in the field was informed by whatever I wrote in my PhD thesis (PhD candidate affiliated to an institute in the College of Health Sciences).

The student's experience may be devoid of comradeship and role models in the form of senior PhD students who he can approach for help and shared experiences (see Golde, 2000). He may lack peers who could provide support, confirmation of individual progress, problem solving, and personal development during the doctoral trajectory (Pilbeam et al., 2013). The lack of social capital (peers and seniors) may compound the level of isolation generally perceived to be experienced by doctoral students (see Janson, Howard, & Schoenberger-Orgad, 2004; Pyhältö, Stubb, & Lonka, 2009; Tobbell, O' Donnell, & Zammit, 2010). However, he articulated that he had other forms of social capital even though he didn't have peers and seniors:

[M]y supervisors were the first social capital for my PhD. They encouraged me to write and present papers for acceptance for conferences. . . . and then my sponsors created the platform for me to present seminars, provide monetary support, and also encouraged me to persist in the PhD project (PhD student, College of Health Sciences).

His source of social capital to navigate the doctoral process was confined to his supervisors and his sponsors at the institute he works at. The source of social support the student had was limited to the institutional space since these two sources of social support were concentrated in the university. The supervisors and sponsors acted as *linking social capital* (see Catts & Ozga, 2005, p. 2) because "they encouraged [him] to write and present papers for acceptance for conference and created a platform to present seminars and provide monetary support". Catts and Ozga (2005) argue that *linking social capital* connects people and agencies or services that they could not access easily. The supervisors having ample cultural capital in the form of knowledge and skills of getting

their papers accepted for conference presentation was used to help the student to do likewise. Since the social capital he had was limited to the supervisors and sponsors, perhaps he could be categorised as a *have-less* in terms of the spectrum of social capital he reported. He did not talk about family and friends as his sources of social capital in the doctoral process.

A student who can be characterised as a *have* in terms of the social capital she experienced in the doctoral process reports:

. . . . I think of colleagues who had done the PhD ahead of me. They were very helpful. You go out to eat lunch and it is like, “So, your work what’s up? How far? This one you did it. . . . Have you thought about this or that?” Then you are like, wow . . . and you just go do it. Sometimes you get a call: “Last time you said you had to submit something. Have you done it?” Then you say: “I have not done it”. Then it is like: “What is the problem?” Those kinds of support helped me to deal with issues and challenges. My seniors in the school provided me with a lot of encouragement and helped shape my writing and research (PhD student, College of Health Sciences).

It is clear that this student had ample social capital in the form of supportive seniors and peers. She was privileged to have had *serial socialisation* where her senior colleagues in the department who had gone through the stages of doctoral process shared experiences with her as to how to thrive in process and setting (see Wheeler, 1966). The candidate reported what Pilbeam et al. (2013) refer to as academic conversation, problem solving, corroboration, evaluation of standards, support, and individual and professional development. She also talks about an array of social capital she had during her candidature:

. . . . I remember there were numerous times. . . . my colleague and myself were there sometimes working very discouragingly. . . . we were the ones left to graduate. Then at times we bumped into the Dean and he would jokingly say, “Ei, today, are you girls or women?” Then we keep quiet. Then he will go on: “Are you students or general visitors to the compound?” By the time he is through with you, then you are like, *Aaaah*. Then once a while he will say, “What’s up? I know you are having issues”, and he goes, “They always happen. . . . I know you students are able to do it”. Then by the time you walk back to the office, you have some new energy to solve the problem at hand. . . . I have had support from church members or friends at church. Somebody would just check on you: “How are you doing?” “How is school?” (PhD student, College of Health Sciences).

She further reveals the other social capital she had:

My other colleague that I am talking about. . . . one day she came to me and said, “As for you, you have friends. You are cool”. I thought it was a weird remark but later when I sat down, I saw that it was the truth because when we were all waiting for our supervisors to read through our work and we had two months to submit the work, I gave it to my colleagues and other lecturers in the [X] department to read through and I had comments and I was working on them, but she was just waiting for the supervisor. So I think that as for social capital – wherever it could come from, it is good for you and it enhances your progress. Sometimes it is not about somebody doing something exactly for you. But it is like somebody feeling your love account for you small [*means someone showing you love or they think about you*] For instance, when I finished, I would always say that if it wasn’t for everybody in this school, I wouldn’t have finished. Once, when I had data issues, I was coming from the round-about to this place and it was raining. In fact, I had to sell my car to pay school fees. I just didn’t have the energy to walk faster or run or do anything. By the time I reached those buildings, I saw one of the security men come with an umbrella. Oh, that day I was so tired. . . . Of course I had to shed a few tears that the rain had to beat me and, you know, that alone would delay two days of work and my effectiveness would come down. But I thought about that and said people are nice. It means they are expecting you to finish. Then you sit up. At times I go late and I am afraid. One of the cleaners. . . . I think she got up and took the thing away from here. She just would come knock on my door up there and say: “Ei Madam, you have not finished? I would be sitting down under the shed waiting for you when you finish so we could walk down to the roadside” (PhD student, College of Health Sciences).

She continues with the benefits she derived from her social network:

. . . . If not for her, I would have been closing much earlier. Five p.m. I have to leave because I am afraid to walk in the darkness to the roadside. First, it was the administrative assistant in the department who used to drop me at my junction then I would go. But she too went to do a course and she was not around. So I had to walk and go and take my *trotro* [public transport in Ghana mainly operated by private individuals]. Sometimes I stay here till like 8.00 p.m. and the amount of work that I am able to do because early in the morning and late when people are not on the university internet, it is very fast. Every paper that you are looking for, you will find. And I think that sometimes when you don’t have that kind of support. . . . Sometimes you walk and you meet the other lecturers. . . . “Ei, how is it going? We are waiting for you. We can’t imagine. Any evidence for us?” So when you feel like giving up you remember all those faces, then you are like: “Oh Charlie, I have to sit up so that I don’t disappoint them”. For me personally, it was one of the things that kept me going. At a point I wanted to give up but looking at it this way – if this old

man, this old professor sees me what will I say? So I think it is a kind of support system that can keep you in there (PhD student, College of Health Sciences).

The kind of social capital this candidate had may be assessed from the three dimensions offered by Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998): *structural*, *relational*, and *cognitive*. On the structural dimension she had what Ikpen and Tsang (2005) call *patterned and stable relationships within the social network* with her peers, her seniors, academics, non-academic staff, and church members. Her periodic interaction with the Dean also depicts the structural dimension of social capital as he encourages her to complete and this boosts her resilience to persist in her doctorate. According to Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998) the *relational dimension* of social capital is noticeable in the motivation an individual has to bond with others. The candidate's motivation to bond with her colleague may stem from the fact that they were the only one left of their peers to graduate. As such, their friendship served an instrumental purpose. The candidate and her peer may have developed a "shared destiny" (Pilbeam et al., 2013, p. 1476) by virtue of the relational dimension of capital. Her interaction with her colleague made her realise that she was very privileged to have had the gamut of social capital that provided her with succour through the doctoral programme, which her colleague did not have. This relational dimension of social capital illuminates Fombrun's (1982) assertion that networks between individuals have expressive, instrumental, cognitive, or objective functions, which Brass et al. (2004) state permits for the interchange of emotional support and power, information, or goods and services. The *cognitive dimension* of social capital manifested in the shared experiences of the candidate and her friend and the shared goals and culture they had embraced by virtue of their friendship and being candidates in the same milieu.

The church members, cleaners, and the security men were also a kind of *bonding social capital* (see Catts & Ozga, 2005) for the student as they provided her encouragement to be able to go through the doctoral process despite the challenges she encountered. Her statement "[A]t times I go late [home] and I am afraid. One of the cleaners. . . . She just would come knock on my door and say: "Ei Madam, you have not finished? I would be sitting down under the shed waiting for you when you finish so we could walk down to the roadside" illuminates the bonding social capital she had in the institutional space. The assistance she had from the cleaner on a periodic basis illuminates Catts and Ozga's (2005) description of bonding social capital as the kind of social network that helps people to "get by".

The student also had social capital from her supervisors:

Once in a while your supervisor would call you: “What are you doing this afternoon? Let’s go for lunch, call your colleagues, let’s go”. It makes you think that you are welcome in this community (PhD student, College of Health Sciences).

The invitation was an important source of informal interactions that helped her to develop a sense of status attachment to the academic community (Cornelissen & van Wyk, 2007). The interactions helped her to legitimatise and self-verify her academic identity as she felt endorsed in the social context in which she was embedded (see Jazvac-Martek, 2009; Walker & Yoon, 2016). The candidate felt she was “fitting the mould” of a graduate student (Gardner, 2008) through her self-identification with people in the practice community (Cornelissen & van Wyk, 2007). This source of social capital was not accessible to the candidate affiliated with the institute at the College of Health Sciences as he lacked peers with whom he could fraternise. Comparatively, the candidate in the College of Health Sciences may be characterised by less isolation than the candidate who did his PhD as part of the project under his institute. Her supervisors who were linking social capital (Catts and Ozga, 2005) helped her acquire economic capital, which she needed to sustain her in the doctoral process:

I got funding from two supervisors. The first one [supervisor] got me one [funding] for some aspect of my work. The one that looks at the environment got me some funding; it wasn’t that big. The primary supervisor got me some other funding from the BSU (Building Stronger Universities). That was a lot of money. He taught me how to write the grant for this funding I received. I must say I got financial help, too, from one of my supervisors in my very final semester. There was no money to pay for school fees. He just gave me a check and I went to pay my school fees. He also helped me get a one-time postgraduate grant fellowship from the College of Health Sciences (PhD student, College of Health Sciences).

Not every doctoral student is privileged to get economic capital from the supervisory space as the kind of supervisory relationship a doctoral candidate finds oneself in may contribute to their access to economic and cultural capital. The candidate’s experience demonstrates how her supervisor(s) were prolific at linking her to the needed financial resources. Her experience with proactive supervisors may differ from a student whose supervisor(s) are not that way inclined. The social capital the student had in the form of her supervisor was exchanged for her to access economic capital. Additionally, the supervisors (who were a kind of social capital for her) gave her cultural capital in the form of knowledge on grant writing to secure funding.

Another candidate also had social capital that came in the form of familial capital, which provided respite in her dual roles of mother and student. She states:

When you come from a family like mine where everybody knows you are doing a PhD, my father and mother were aware and they are very keen on education so all the time they will ask you, “*Maame, wo work no akosi sen?*” [Maame, what progress are you making with your school work?] You cannot fail because they are all looking at you and expecting you to come out successful. So even when things are becoming difficult and you want to quit, you cannot quit because when you look at these people and what they will feel, then you go on. So that is actually what pushed me to go on. . . . Fortunately, I was married before I started the PhD so if your husband has been supporting you and allows you to leave your baby and go to the field and collect data then later you tell yourself you will not do it again. . . . You have to finish it because people have sacrificed for you to get to where you are (PhD student/lecturer/mother/wife, College of Humanities).

As this demonstrates, gender is particularly important for the student’s academic life course. There has been some research in a Western context about motherhood whilst a PhD student – my research demonstrates an identical concern in a Ghanaian context. Familial support – especially for married women with children who are very young – plays a crucial role for doctoral progress. Maher, Ford, and Thompson (2004) assert emotional support is important to married PhD women because it provides them with encouragement needed to persist. The student’s narrative indicates two main sources of support she had from the familial space to counter-balance internal pressure around possibly compromising her parental role. Firstly, her parents expected her to excel academically. They periodically checked in with her to know her progress and this acted as a form of encouragement. Secondly, her husband also played a part, supporting her to undertake activities related to her studies. Such help may have put her mind at ease when she went to gather data, especially knowing her husband would take good care of the baby. It is important to note the broader familial implications of doctoral study. These can ease or contribute to a student’s mental health. As the student reiterates, that support “is actually what pushed me to go on”. However, she also emphasises, “You have to finish it because people have sacrificed for you to get to where you are”.

8.5 Conclusion

The doctoral process, which is characterised as an *odyssey*, requires the acquisition and possession of relevant capital to navigate the journey. The narratives from both doctoral students and

supervisors have highlighted the importance of three types of capital discussed by Bourdieu – economic, cultural, and social – in relation to the doctoral process. However, the role economic capital had in the doctoral experience and in the play of the academic and research game surpassed the other two forms of capital. The volume of economic capital doctoral candidates had may have influenced the kind of financial stress they experienced while in the doctoral journey. Doctoral candidates who had more than enough financial resources, who I categorised as *Richie-Richs*, had respite because they had the expenses related to their tuition and research paid for by a funding organisation. The external funding gave them the opportunity to participate in communities of learning (conferences and workshops) outside the departmental and institutional spaces. This gave them the opportunity to network with other scholars.

Their experience manifested the exchange effect of economic capital, particularly monetary capital. However, they could not only bask in their financial sufficiency since they had pressures to produce deliverables in the doctoral process was both internal and external, with one arguably informing the other. The *Average Joes* who had partial funding to support their study and the *Lazaruses* who had no funding for their studies had to adopt measures such as securing bank loans and doing two or more jobs to acquire funds to maintain their candidacy. The latter were in the most tenuous position since they were self-funded and had divided attention with continued anxiety about financing. They did not have opportunities to participate in both local and international conferences to share and acquire new ideas or network with others because of the lack of economic capital. As such, their socialisation may be restricted to the disciplinary and institutional space. The plight of the *Average Joes* and *Lazaruses* is reflective of the economic stratification created by the significant financial demands of doctoral education. Economic capital has become the dominant exchange for entry into the doctoral enterprise by potential students. This situation has the tendency to restrict the use of the doctoral enterprise for the public good of developing high human resource. Monetisation of doctoral studies has the tendency to grant access to those who can afford to pay and restrict access to intellectually gifted students who have passion for academic work and careers but who cannot afford to pay.

Cultural capital – an organisation of elements comprising disciplinary and cultural knowledge, skills, competencies, and abilities used in the knowledge production enterprise – dominates among the three types of capital in the student’s doctoral journey and in the supervisor’s professional

standing in the disciplinary community. The doctoral supervisor's ability to command respect and get promoted in the disciplinary, departmental, and/or institutional space is dependent on the amount of cultural capital amassed and produced. As such, doctoral students as well as faculty invest time to gain cultural capital. This forms the basis for scholarship and the attainment of other forms of capital, particularly economic and social capital. The role cultural capital had on the doctoral experience reflected aspects of disciplinary differences between the humanities, social, and hard and applied sciences. Publishing and conference attendance as a means of demonstrating the acquisition of cultural capital was more prevalent among doctoral students in the hard and applied sciences than among students in the humanities and social sciences. The research and collaborative publishing culture among those in the hard and applied sciences accounts for their propensity to publish while in the doctoral process. Even among students in the hard and applied sciences, those students employed on externally funded projects had the relative advantage in demonstrating their scholarship through conference attendance and publication because of the availability of economic capital.

Social capital, gained from the institutional space or significant others also plays a significant role in doctoral student persistence. It serves as an avenue for reassurance, motivation, and respite for the doctoral candidates as they contend with the challenging nature of the doctoral becoming process. However, access to different forms of social capital plays a range of roles in the life of the doctoral students given their diverse circumstances, their need for respite, and their resilience in the doctoral process. It becomes clear that possessing adequate economic, cultural, and social capital provides the doctoral candidate with a rewarding and successful doctoral experience and contributes to the development of the academic habitus.

CHAPTER NINE
MANIFESTATION OF PEDAGOGICAL AUTHORITY, PEDAGOGICAL LOVE,
AND TACT IN DOCTORAL STUDENT'S SOCIALISATION

9.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the way *pedagogical authority* manifests in the supervisory relationship during the socialisation of doctoral candidates. Pedagogical authority can be defined as a form of legitimate power or agency given by the institution to the pedagogic transmitters (supervisors) to transmit the cultural arbitrary (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Drawing on anecdotes of both supervisors and students, I discuss how power relations between supervisors and supervisees play out as part of the manifestation of pedagogical authority. While discussing the manifestation of pedagogic authority, I focus on two types of power relations discussed by Grant (2001): structural and relational. Grant (2001) defines structural power as the unequal power based on an institutional hierarchy that gives supervisors more authority than supervisees. Grant describes relational power as the capacity of the supervisor and supervisee to act upon each other. Moving to the last subheading of this chapter, I discuss the narratives of some supervisors who displayed the ability to balance the exercise of pedagogical authority with pedagogical love and tact. Määttä and Uusiautti (2012) define *pedagogical love* as a method of good teacherhood that appears in the teacher's (supervisor's) inherent trust in the student's learning and their hidden and dormant endowments and potentials. Siljander (2002) proposes that pedagogical tact is the ability of the teacher (supervisor) to become aware of the student's situation, and to display thoughtfulness and skill in molding the student.

9.2 Manifestation of Pedagogical Authority in the Supervisory Space

The supervisor acquires pedagogical authority through scholarly and contextual expertise and experience guiding former doctoral students to completion. The exercise of pedagogical authority as part of symbiotic interaction and collaboration between the supervisor and the doctoral student can be gentle, emotionally hurting, and/or empowering (Määttä, 2012). Thus, supervisory style and approach used in the exercise of pedagogical authority may create either a positive or negative experience for the supervisee. The narratives of some supervisees point to the way they experienced the exercise of pedagogical authority in the communication of feedback. Määttä (2012) indicates that though doctoral students acknowledge that supervisory feedback is directed at

helping them write professionally, they might be confronted and surprised by criticism. The sentiments expressed by the student below are not far from what Määttä (2012) describes:

My lead supervisor was overly critical and demanded a lot from me in my writing; she taught me her style and way of writing, which she required I follow strictly. I felt it was an imposition. She did not give me room to write according to any other way. She taught me her way of writing late in my writing. . . . I felt she could have told me earlier before coming out and writing everything, not after. If she were looking at my work chapter-by-chapter, I am sure it would have helped. But I think she did well because most of the things she asked me to do helped the work to come out to be standard. But I cannot blame her because she was not too well throughout the period that I was doing my work. But when it became critical, she was very supportive and helped me to finish the work. Anytime I go for my work from her, the red pen marks are a lot. But the other two [supervisors], especially the one on the project, maybe he was familiar with the project so he was not critical (PhD graduate, College of Humanities).

This student may have developed an inventive and improvising habitus (Bourdieu, 2005; Brown, 2006) to accommodate demands; the student worked with her lead supervisor's writing style, however the supervisor's critical nature made her feel disillusioned and frustrated. Extra effort was needed to meet the lead supervisor's stylistic standards. From the student's story it can be inferred that her lead supervisor was exerting pedagogic authority through *structural power*, which Grant (2001) describes as unequal power based on institutional hierarchy. In this case, structural power developed in two opposing ways: the student considered her supervisor as both overly critical and imposing *and* supportive.

The supervisor's imposition of writing style and the benefit derived from the imposition on the student's thesis writing points to the complex tension in the exercise of pedagogic authority. The supervisor may not have perceived her writing style as an imposition, but as a way of mentoring the supervisee to write scholarly and professionally to satisfy the demands of the discipline. It may have also been a method to bring her thesis to an acceptable standard for examination to merit the degree.

However, imposing her writing style on the student may be destructive and could reduce her doctoral experience to an "Oedipal model of scholarly training" (Damrosch, 2006, p. 40) that restricts innovation (Halse & Bansel, 2012). This imposition may have restricted her creativity and

entrenched outdated knowledge and traditions by repeating the supervisor's approach (Beattie & James, 1997; Enders, 2005a, b). Austin and Wulff (2004) maintain that doctoral supervisors should not coerce supervisees to strictly emulate their practices. They argue it is no longer necessary for faculty to socialise good students as "clones" of themselves given the shifting expectations of pedagogical work.

Using Bourdieu and Passeron's (1970) perspective as my analytical lens, the student experienced *symbolic violence* in the relationship due to the way she silently agreed to the supervisor's exercise of *structural power* (Grant, 2001). She may have interpreted the imposition as legitimate (Jenkins, 2002) – pedagogic authority in action. Even though she was dissatisfied with the authoritative way the supervisor imposed her writing style on her, she was "unquestioning of authority" (Hunter, 2004, p. 180). In Kumaravadivelu's (2003, 2006) parlance, the student's disposition is a "practice of self-marginalisation" – she adhered to the demands of the supervisor even though she resented the dictatorial supervision style. She recognised the supervisor's writing style as an approach that ensured her work was to standard. Furthermore, the student excuses the supervisory practices to the supervisor's ill health. She negates her experience of symbolic violence by projecting how supportive the supervisor was.

This student's story highlights that the experience of pedagogic authority and the doxic order is different from another student whose supervisors were flexible. In this latter example, supervisors encouraged the student's creativity and provided encouraging remarks in feedback about his writing (Määttä, 2012). The student says:

Normally, if you know your supervisors ahead of time, you kind of relate to them before the real work begins and that was the situation I found myself in, so I had a very cordial relationship with my supervisors. There wasn't pressure on me to do what they liked. My supervisors gave me the liberty to explore in my writing and research. If there was something that wasn't clear they will ask what it meant and then I will explain. I think there were few times that I stood my grounds to have what I wanted to do because I had read the literature and knew what I wanted. At a point I even suggested I was going to make a paper available for them to read to keep them abreast of the current stuff – *it was more of a give and take kind of thing*. The comments they gave on my writing were encouraging and critical. The critical comments helped me to think outside the box by trying to see the issue I wanted to address from several angles [Italics added] (PhD student/lecturer, College of Humanities).

Another candidate relates a similar experience about supervisory approach:

I would not say they were imposing because a lot of time there were discussions we think through together. When there is a problem and I think they need to have a second opinion on the issue we discuss them and we agree on something. So there is no instance I would say they forced something on me – go and do something or else I will not read your work (PhD student, College of Humanities).

The latter two narratives highlight *relational power* in the exercise of pedagogical authority. Grant (2001) suggests that “both [supervisor and the supervisee] are capable of acting upon each other” (p. 14). The second candidate’s statement – “it was of more give and take kind of thing” – illustrates the relational power that characterises his supervisory space. This student/lecturer was not “unquestioning of authority” (Hunter, 2004, p. 180). He asserted himself tactfully during the supervisory encounters when he felt this research expertise enabled him to hold on to certain ideas that were in conflict with those of his supervisors. Arguably, the student/lecturer did not engage in the “practice of self-marginalisation” (Kumaravadivelu, 2003; 2006); he had ample confidence in his ideas. His disposition of resisting supervisor ideas may have been influenced by his background as a lecturer in the same department who may be perceived as a colleague and, as such, given the freedom and respect to express himself.

The degree of freedom the male candidates had in terms of responding to pedagogical authority appears to be greater than the female candidate who submitted to the lead supervisor’s *structural power*. The male candidates did not seem to experience a high level of *symbolic violence* compared to the female student whose anecdote was discussed first; the male candidates did not “practice self-marginalisation” in the supervisory space. The student/lecturer claimed ownership of his doctoral be(coming) as he indicated: “I stood my grounds to have what I wanted to do because I had read the literature and knew what I want”. The male students’ supervisors had assumed a flexible disposition that gave the students an opportunity to own the process rather than having ideas imposed on them. The supervisors of the student/lecturer were willing to allow him to demonstrate mastery of disciplinary knowledge.

Another doctoral student contrasts the exercise of power in two geographical and institutional settings:

The [European supervisor] was very different to what I am used to. She would ask you what you want to do. I had not been used to that. I had been used to “go do this, go do that”, and even for a PhD, I didn’t think of it as being different. So she asked me what I want to do and I come up with something and sometimes she is very happy about it. And that doesn’t happen here with my experience in Ghana (PhD student, College of Basic and Applied Sciences).

There is an understanding of cultural difference in this student’s account. The observation reiterates Oduro’s (2003) view that the Ghanaian orientation towards the application of power in the supervisory relationship is often domineering. I suggest this domineering and imposing style becomes a trademark of the status differentiation between the student and supervisor in the doctoral training process. In the Ghanaian setting, supervisors want to be treated with reverence and seen as gatekeepers of “doctoral destiny”. Supervisees, in their quest to realise their doctoral aspirations, typically persist in this style of supervision with little or no resistance. As the candidate articulated, “I had been used to ‘go do this, go do that’, and even for a PhD, I didn’t think of it as being different. . . .” However, his exposure to the European setting meant he perceived that pedagogical authority could be exercised differently – less authoritative and more collaborative.

Two other PhD candidates who went on student exchanges to two different European countries also encountered competing demands in the supervisory space. These settings provoked dissimilar experiences related to the exercise of pedagogical authority. The male student reports:

They [European supervisors] thought I was doing much more than I could within the limited time. Actually, my [European] supervisor said, “You are very ambitious and it appears you are doing five PhDs in one PhD”; what that means is that I needed to cut down and after spending some time there and coming back, of course everything I was doing I will email to all four of my supervisors, two [European] and two Ghanaian supervisors. Unfortunately, my Ghanaian side was not so helpful, so it was only one-sided. When I came down they [Ghanaian supervisors] also wouldn’t accept the authority [of European supervisors] in the work, which means that I needed to change entirely everything that I had earlier done. For over the six months of staying [in a Scandinavian country] and working I needed to now refocus [my work to suit the Ghanaian supervisors], so I did. Fortunately, it was a miracle that happened that the principal here [in Ghana] decided to read the initial one I submitted because there was an opportunity for us to travel back [to the European country where the other two supervisors were located], he and I, to meet the [European] side and so he needed to read what I had given him earlier. . . . So he read the work and realised that after all I was making sense so we went back and it was a very good opportunity and a game changer for me because the opportunity for us to travel and engage with them was fruitful. I think what

could have gone well was for all four of them to agree to work cooperatively. They should have agreed among themselves and said “Okay, this is our candidate, let’s allow him to do his work from his perspective”, and then assign duties of supervising the work, so that each person will look at an aspect. But that never happened; it was like several captains manning the boat from different directions – that actually posed a major difficulty (PhD candidate, College of Humanities).

The inter-institutional (continental) supervisory arrangement experienced by the student lacked congruity in the exercise of scholarly and pedagogical authority between the European and Ghanaian supervisors. This candidate had an accommodating habitus that allowed him to work with the European and Ghanaian supervisors who displayed different supervisory styles. He adopted an obedient approach to the conflicting display of authority and indifferent supervisory approaches on the part of his Ghanaian supervisors. He gave in to supervisory demands even though some of them were unwarranted as the Ghanaian supervisors were not on the same page as the European counterparts when they continuously refused to read his written work.

The inaction and negligence on the part of the Ghanaian supervisors could be viewed as symbolic violence as the student tried to produce deliverables, which were supposed to be read and commented on in order to enable the student’s progress. The refusal by the Ghanaian supervisors to accept the candidate’s work completed under the guidance of the European supervisors created a negative “master–apprentice” relationship since the candidate was forced to refocus his work to suit the Ghanaian supervisor style. The imposing way pedagogic authority was exercised by the Ghanaian supervisors may have restricted innovative (Halse & Bansel, 2012) writing approaches he may have learnt from the European supervisors. It may have also entrenched outdated knowledge, traditions, and practices (Beattie & James, 1997; Enders, 2005a, b) transmitted by the Ghanaian supervisors since he had to adhere to their wishes because they were of the awarding institution.

The candidate’s approach in dealing with this situation confirms Hunter’s (2004) assertion that students misrecognise the role of supervisors in the supervisory arrangement as well as the student role as “unquestioning of authority”. The candidate did not speak against the violation of pedagogical authority because he thought such a stance would be an affront. The candidate, in dealing with contrasting supervisory approaches, switched his habitus concurrently into accommodative, submissive, and diplomatic modes. To survive and succeed in the doctoral

process he adjusted his habitus into a diplomatic mode, which respected the legitimate pedagogical authority and scholarly expertise that guided him in his thesis production. He submits:

I think my weapon was that I was very diplomatic in dealing with them and I was very polite and humble. . . . these are established Professors in their own rights, in their own field. There is also the element of ego – everyone believes that what [they] have is right. When you have four captains manning one ship, obviously one needs to be extra alert as to how you communicate the work, how you want it to progress with other people so that they don't feel side-lined. In my case there was always the accusation that could be levelled against me that obviously the [European] women [supervisors] were contributing more; the [Ghanaian] supervisors . . . were always saying they are busy [and] are saddled with a number of responsibilities. But of course, it's also about how one manages one's responsibilities. It's not as if they don't have so much work. This is it – they won't do it. Obviously I was getting so much feedback from the [European counterparts]; I will send a chapter to all four, and there and then an email response will come from the two [Europeans]: *this is to acknowledge receipt of your mail*. . . . The other two [Ghanaian supervisors] will just not even acknowledge that they have received it. When I returned [from the European country], it was a back and forth, I was told just go and print it out. . . . Then they said “Okay, give us some time to read and prepare”. When the time comes and you go they told me “Give us extra time”, and you realise that you are working within the three-year schedule and obviously if you are getting more help from there, that is where you naturally move on but that also did not work to my benefit. In any case, the University of Ghana was supposed to award the degree, not the [European] university. So interpersonal skills really helped a lot. For instance, when I returned after six months of reworking the research themes, finding new ideas . . . and my other supervisors also insisted the work wasn't good enough so I made changes. I needed to quickly think of a politically correct way to convey the message to the other side [European supervisors] so they also don't feel maligned. Okay, we are not good enough – is it because we are women that you don't want to consider us? Is it that you think the other side is much better? So there will always be that conflict there, so I came back with a story (PhD candidate, College of Humanities).

The development of academic habitus (as discussed in the previous chapter under habitus) resonates here. This doctoral student's ability to employ his habitus to act in an accommodative, submissive, and diplomatic way is also indicative of developing academic habitus. Given that the process of gaining the PhD degree involves some level of politics, the supervisee's ability to display behaviours that are politically and relationally astute also determines how a student accumulates cultural, economic, and social capital during the training process. Interpersonal skills (such as humility, politeness, and tact) gave the student leverage to deal with some of the tensions,

challenges, and unwarranted pressures that accompanied the supervisors exercising pedagogic authority.

Another student who also went on an exchange in a European country articulates how her European supervisors changed her perception of what good supervisory practice and relationships should be:

Over there, they kept to their time and I can say seriously, I re-wrote the entire thesis when I went there with their help. I started all over again because there, I had access to literature too. . . . I had nine chapters and I went through it, did everything all over again with them. And how many months did I spend there? More or less eight months before I came down and then finally went back to continue again. The way they [supervisors] handled me [in the European country] is something I talked to my friends [who are lecturers] about – when we experience that and we come, we should be different. . . . It was the principal [Ghanaian supervisor] who actually helped me a little with the analysis as to how I should do it. She did not like my first analysis so that was when she taught me her style of doing analysis. Her style of writing was more of an imposition . . . because then I did not also really know much, I accepted it. But I think it has been useful so I am even passing it on to my students; I have been teaching my students and other PhD colleagues to do that (PhD student/ Lecturer, College of Humanities).

The European supervisors' style and dedication to supervisory duty was cherished by the student to the extent she talked to her colleagues about her experience as a way of igniting change in the way they should supervise their students. Her appreciation of the European supervisory style may have been internalised by the student and may influence her future supervisory style. Lee (2008) and Grant (2005) emphasise that there is the tendency for supervisors to use the way they experienced supervision as doctoral students in the supervisory relationship. I call this practice *intergenerational mirroring of supervisory pedagogy* because of how some supervisors consciously or unconsciously incorporate certain pedagogies and practices they experienced during their doctoral training into their supervisory work. The supervisory experience the student had from the European supervisors' is apparent in Blass et al.'s (2012) assertion that the experiences doctoral supervisors had in their own doctoral studies cannot be changed but they can reflect on these experiences and use them for development in their supervision. If the candidate is to reflect on her doctoral experience in the two geographical settings and use it for informing growth in her supervisory work she may adopt the best practices she experienced from both geographic contexts. She may adopt the European supervisors' commitment to duty, sense of collegiality, and liberal

attitude, however, when she realises her student is deficient in writing she may teach her supervisees the writing and data analysis style that she said was imposed on her by the principal supervisor from Ghana.

The two candidates' Ghanaian supervisory experiences were characterised by delayed feedback, and a lack of commitment and a unified position from the supervisory team. The students had to also contend with enforced epistemological, ontological, and methodological traditions as their supervisors had entrenched views. Collegiality between the supervisors was also lacking because they perceived each other as a potential threat to their power and thus rarely trusted their colleagues. They undermined their colleagues as a way of showing scholarly knowledge and gaining influence and dominance in their supervisory duties. This attitude and behaviour displayed by the Ghanaian supervisors can be characterised in Bourdieusian terms as a *struggle* geared towards exerting their dominance/value in the supervisory space. The struggle between supervisors in the guidance and feedback process may be perceived as an affirmation of *contextual, scholarly, and pedagogical* authority. The quest to assert these three forms of authority may inhibit the research and writing process because of unequal power distribution (see Green & Bowden, 2012; Grant, 2001). A student who was not pleased with the struggle for dominance among the supervisors' reports:

Some of the supervisors undermine their colleagues and sometimes say certain things to students, which are not supposed to be said. Like, "Do not mind that lecturer, he does not know anything" Or "He is a quantitative man, so what he is saying about the qualitative approach is wrong, this is what is done". If they can come together and face their colleagues and say to your colleague in his face that you are not good, then so be it but not just in front of the student. It comes back to the style of supervision here; I think the University should change it (PhD graduate, College of Humanities).

Undermining one's colleague in this context can sometimes lead to aligning the candidate to particular views, which will not necessarily help the candidate produce good research outputs at the conclusion of the socialisation process. When some supervisors are able to infer that the candidate is aligned to the views of particular members of the supervisory committee, there is the tendency for these supervisors to hold back from providing useful input. This is captured in a supervisor's comment:

When I find that my supervisee is aligned to the views of the other supervisors but does not take me seriously when I suggest some ideas to be used in improving the writing, I keep my ideas to

myself and ask him to work with the comments given by the other supervisors. After all, it is his work – he decides whose ideas work for him (PhD supervisor, College of Humanities).

While the supervisor above avoided giving suggestions to the student aligned to the views of particular supervisors, other supervisors may voice their disapproval of the situation to the student or may opt out of the relationship. When this situation occurs and the candidate is skewed towards working with the comments or feedback from particular committee members while others are side-lined, the candidate tends to lose out on valuable cultural, social, and economic capital. To circumvent this challenge, the student will require their generative habitus to produce a tactful disposition in order not to undermine accepting ideas from different committee members. The student would also have to draw on the early socialisation experiences given in traditional Ghanaian homes to accord respect to all elderly people, no matter if their actions and behaviours do not warrant treating them with respect.

In what follows, a doctoral candidate describes adopting diverse strategies to deal with some of the challenges associated with the exercise of pedagogic authority in the supervisory space by orienting her habitus to deal with different situations. She recognised supervisory authority in the writing process as helping to shape the knowledge re/production process and may have perceived the supervisors as gatekeepers to the degree and the academic discipline (see Lee, 2008; Weidman et al., 2001). This position is often communicated to the student in the supervisory relationship. She was told by the supervisor that:

When she supervises students, they never fail so she encouraged me that if I listen to all that she [the supervisor] tells her, she will not fail. So she should work hard and finish on time (PhD graduate, College of Humanities).

The student may have installed this recognition into her habitus but she also invokes her habitus not to misrecognise her role as the owner of her PhD work. The recognition of her role as a PhD student and her intellectual property contradicts Hunter's (2004) assertion that students misrecognise their role as "unquestioning of authority". The student employs her habitus in an assertive way in the writing process when "they [supervisors] try to impose a few things on [her]". She recounts:

in my literature review chapter, when I thought I had done it perfectly, my supervisors came in saying different things about it. . . . [T]hey created confusion for me because this one is saying it is better this way and the other is saying a different thing. So then you will have to come in and know

that at the end of the day it is your work. Then at times, too, I have this feeling that they talk but when you come back and send it to them, they accept it the way it is. So it is not everything they say I should change that I changed. Sometimes I do some, ignore the minor ones, and then take it to them and they do not say anything. Then also I remember nobody helped me to do my framework but after doing it and my supervisor went through, then they accepted it; one of them later added that I came out with a model, which he helped me to do. Do you believe that when I submitted the work finally, he was still saying that I could have done the model this way, forgetting that he was the one who said he helped me to do it. So that is what they do, they tend to forget some of the things they tell you to do (PhD graduate, College of Humanities).

The candidate acknowledges that there was confusion due to the lack of supervisory congruity in the communication of demands and preferences. This confusion emanating from the supervisory exercise of scholarly/pedagogic authority can have both positive and negative effects on the doctoral supervisee as they progress through the research/writing path and the subsequent development of academic habitus. The positive aspect of this cognitive struggle is that it can challenge the student to be creative and further explore and produce writing that transforms their doctoral identity. Questions raised and suggestions assimilated after the resolution of the cognitive struggle may encourage the student to further read, research, and experiment. The tendency to go deeper into disciplinary knowledge may provoke the student to strive for excellence in the use of such knowledge to produce a quality thesis. The negative aspect of the cognitive struggle is that it can lower the student's enthusiasm in the writing process, which may result in a stagnation of the writing process. The student may also drop out of the doctoral programme if this challenge is not resolved.

However, the student's ability to overcome challenges is dependent on how the individual orients their habitus to meet supervisory demands without compromising relationships and supervisor input. The candidate highlighted the fact that the work is her intellectual property however she also tries to address issues raised by the supervisor. Ultimately, she uses her judgement about what to include and what to dismiss.

9.3 Balancing Pedagogical Authority with Pedagogical Love and Tact

This section discusses how some supervisors tried to establish a balance between the exercise of pedagogical authority and pedagogical love in the supervisory practice. Haavio (1948, p. 71)

defined pedagogical love as a way of teaching, not just “a natural feeling”. Haavio (1948) points out the nature of pedagogical love is tailored to every student irrespective of their numerous outer abilities, features, behaviour, or personality traits. Määttä and Uusiautti (2012) refer to pedagogical love as the trust and belief in the student’s talent that makes the teacher aspire to help the student to learn and grow. It also means loving the student unconditionally without expecting any reward or service in return (see Skinner, 2004). Määttä and Uusiautti (2012) suggest that *pedagogical authority* and *pedagogical love* are ambiguous and paradoxical concepts but are central to good teaching or teacherhood.

Most of the doctoral students I interviewed described domineering forms of pedagogic authority occurring in supervisory relationships within the Ghanaian university without reporting how their supervisors displayed pedagogical love. However, some supervisors I interviewed had adopted the display of pedagogical love alongside pedagogical authority in their supervisory relationship and in the feedback process. Some supervisors displayed geniality in the exercise of pedagogical authority because they established a balance between the provision of critical feedback and motivating supervisees to grow through the knowledge production process. A supervisor states:

. . . . If I give a suggestion, remember it’s a suggestion and I am not imposing – at the end of the day, it’s his or her work, it’s not mine. So he can decide to accept or reject, but the tendency here in Africa is that the supervisor or the advisor says it, it has to be accepted. If you are able to convince me that what you are saying is right, I accept it. And it has happened several times. I always want my students to grow and enjoy the supervisory process, so I give them the liberty to explore and be creative in their research. I am not overly critical because it dampens their motivation. I make them grow through my use of feedback on their writing. I think it has worked with all my students. It’s very key and I have been telling my students that they shouldn’t see me as a supervisor but an advisor, so we are like brothers or friends. If you are able to relate with your students very well, there shouldn’t be any problem. Whatever difficulty the person has, he or she should be able to approach me and we try to solve it and move on. So my students and I are like family. I don’t see myself as a supervisor. I prefer calling myself an advisor. . . . but in our part of the world we hold onto many titles that at the end of the day we don’t take anywhere. I hardly want to use title. . . . it will amaze you how my students call me. . . . most of the time I don’t like to use those terms [supervisor and supervisee] because being the supervisor does not make one a superior – you might be superior academically. We all learn from each other [co-learners and co-constructors]. Supervisors learn from students and students learn from supervisors (PhD supervisor, College of Health Sciences).

This supervisor may perceive the display of pedagogic authority and pedagogical love as a *professional* and a *personal* obligation. His pedagogy is characterised by helping supervisees from the heart and with love. Love is “a combination of care, commitment, knowledge, responsibility, respect, and trust” (hooks, 2003, p. 131). His pedagogic love is indicated in his statements about collaborative problem-solving and a familial feeling. His approach shows care, commitment, knowledge, responsibility, respect, and trust in his dealing with supervisees as social and human beings who will be challenged in their doctoral becoming process. More importantly, being friends or treating his supervisees like siblings or family may infuse the relationship with unconditional love.

The supervisor’s anecdote demonstrates supervision from the heart in the sense that he is familiar with the domineering nature of supervision within the university whereby supervisor(s) impose their demands on supervisees. He has made it his personal obligation not to continue with this prevailing practice. The supervisor states, “I am not imposing”, “I give them the liberty to explore and be creative in their research”, and “I think it has worked with all my students” – such statements demonstrate the supervisor’s self-reflexivity. His recollections illustrate Ryken’s (2004, p. 111) assertion that it is not until we [supervisors] expose the details of our praxis, how we interact with and respond to our students, that we will understand the meaning of teaching from the heart. The supervisor’s display of pedagogical love is exemplified by his desire to see his students grow through his feedback, provide the opportunity for his students to approach him to discuss and solve difficulties they encounter, and encourage his students to perceive him as a friend.

This supervisor also exercises *pedagogical tact*. Siljander (2002) proposes that pedagogical tact is the ability of the teacher (supervisor) to become aware of the student’s situation, and display thoughtfulness and skill in molding the student. Määttä and Uusiautti (2012) perceive the manifestation of pedagogical tact on the part of the teacher (supervisor) when they reflect, observe, and evaluate their thinking and practices as well as students’ reactions and outcomes. The supervisor’s practice of pedagogical tact can be inferred from his statement: “I am not overly critical because it dampens their motivation. I make them grow through my use of feedback on their writing”. This comment echoes studies conducted by Powles (1994), James and Baldwin (1999), and Lamm (2004), which argue that overly exacting criticism without positive guidance and

direction, as well as a respect for positive features, may be demoralising and demotivating to the student. However, in this supervisor's case, he displays awareness that supervisees need encouragement in order to develop academic habitus. Being thoughtful about the negative implications of being overly critical demonstrates his reflection, observation, and evaluation of both his supervisory practice and subsequent supervisee reactions. He demonstrates the effect of his ability to exercise pedagogical love and tact in dealing with supervisees saying "I think it has worked with all my students". Lastly, the supervisor displays pedagogical tact through the practice of being liberal in his supervision: "I give them the liberty to explore and be creative in their research". This approach recognises that the doctoral supervisee ought to own their journey and express original ideas throughout the research and writing process. Not imposing ideas on candidates may give them room to try different ideas, which ultimately culminates in learning through self-expression and reproduction of disciplinary knowledge while making mistakes and gaining guidance to correct the mistakes made in the process. This supervisor had the mind-set that transformation in the supervisee's writing would be gradual.

This supervisor provided his students with the ambience to easily approach him with their problems, which they jointly resolved. His supervisory style and relationship with supervisees was characterised by what Grant (2001) terms *relational power* – a relationship in which both the supervisor and the supervisee have the ability to respond to each other. This supervisor does not perceive supervisees as passive neophytes who do not have the capacity to influence the training process (see Burrell & Morgan, 1979; Van et al., 1985) but recognises them as active contributors in their own development. Supervisees of this particular supervisor may experience his supervisory practice as more of co-construction of knowledge.

Another supervisor reported on how he exercised pedagogical authority, love, and tact in the supervisory space as he tries to shift from the master–servant archetype:

Just because I am a professor doesn't make me condemn you all the time. The master–servant relationship does not help students at all. It makes them afraid. Professors must come down to earth for the students to approach them and it improves the interpersonal relationships with the students. How you mark the student's thesis, how he accepts it, and how he presents it shows the role of the interpersonal relationship. Some students are even afraid to come and submit their work because of how the supervisors approach them. The way and manner in which we comment on their work can frighten them. There are so many supervisors that students cannot approach. Some

students even write that they want their supervisors to be changed. Because they know with that person, they cannot succeed. If the student is not bold, he cannot even express his frustration when issues are going wrong. You don't have to treat the student as a slave. Some lecturers get grants and call for students to work with [them]. Sometimes just because they are under you financially, you don't maltreat them. A good supervisor takes work and reads well and corrects. If you pick your work with so [much] red ink, students get angry and think they are being hated. Sometimes I invite the students for dinner so that we can speak freely about the subject. It allows them to freely express themselves and takes away the tension between you two. If you listen to him very well, you will be able to understand what the person is writing. The red ink in the work is to improve your work, not that you are dumb. . . . It is indicating where you need to put in emphasis. It doesn't condemn your work (PhD supervisor, College of Humanities).

This supervisor believes that for his students to have an enriching experience he ought to peruse the student's work well before providing feedback. The supervisor's perception about feedback in the training process is similar to that of Kumar and Stracke (2006). These authors assert that feedback is a powerful pedagogical tool. Even though the supervisor above tries to be thorough in giving feedback he indicates that when students "pick [their] work with so [much] red ink, [they] get angry and think they are being hated". The disposition displayed by his students towards his thorough feedback contradicts Eyres et al.'s (2001) comment that students dislike supervisor feedback that criticises and corrects their work without a thorough engagement with their ideas. It is understandable that his supervisees get upset with his comments because the supervisor's feedback challenges the student emotionally given the latter's personal investment in their writing (Starke-Meyerring, 2011).

However, the supervisor's display of pedagogical love and tact may make his supervisees' experience different from others under a different supervisor. He intentionally creates an informal milieu that eases tensions by inviting them to dinner. The relational strategy will empower students to initiate discussions with their supervisors (Eyres et al. 2001; Kumar and Stracke 2007). Pole et al. (1997) point to how doctoral students will encounter disparate experiences in the doctoral process due to the supervision approach and the degree to which they are willing to engage in a range of activities. The doctoral candidates of the above supervisor may experience a conscious attempt on the part of their supervisor to balance structural and relational power (see Grant, 2001).

For Cullen et al. (1994), the supervisor's disposition is of essence as personality differences among supervisors affects the supervisory process.

The supervisor demonstrates self-reflexivity regarding how the supervisory relationship should be after making the observation about general supervisory practice in the university as being characterised by a master–slave relationship. The quest of the supervisor to consciously downplay his structural power that produces a domineering style of supervision shows his willingness to engage pedagogical love and tact as part of his practice. His expression “you don't have to treat the student as a slave” shows his humanity towards his supervisees. He also recognises that being in the doctoral process under the supervision or financial assistance of your supervisor should not lower the humanity, dignity, and respect of the student.

9.4 Conclusion

The chapter has illuminated the fact that the supervisory space consists of actions, words, emotions, and roles, which are manifested in the doctoral training process. On the part of the supervisors, relationships with colleagues are sometimes characterised by resistance to collaborate and embrace others as there is *struggle* for pedagogical and scholarly supremacy. These struggles present the doctoral candidate with confusion in their quest to acquire and learn the skills of the academic and research game and assume stewardship of the discipline. The supervisor–supervisee relationships are characterised by a gamut of possible styles: mutualism, dominance, and imposition. Domineering and imposition practice in supervision is underpinned by cultural factors that cannot be ignored because they influence the politics involved in the degree attainment. The politics that occur in the training process at the focal university demonstrate *high power distance* (Hofstede, 1984) and the *structural power* that permeates Ghanaian society. This perception and exercise of power manifest as a domineering or authoritative approach to supervision that leads students to “practice self-marginalisation” and “unquestioning of authority” because they perceive supervisors as gatekeepers to the degree.

The excessive exercise of structural power bestowed on supervisors has the tendency to present doctoral students with negative experiences and repress their creativity in the development of the academic habitus. However, through a process of self-reflexivity on their supervisory practice,

supervisors may exercise pedagogical love and tact, thus presenting the doctoral candidate with a positive experience characterised by a sense of collegiality, care, empathy, and genuine interest. The ability of supervisors to engage supervisees with pedagogical love and tact has the tendency to curb tensions between the supervisor and supervisee and greatly contributes to a stable academic relationship that fosters the development of the academic habitus. There are different dimensions of supervisory practice, relationships, movement, morphing, influx, and all these complexities aid in the development of the academic habitus. These features were highlighted in my discussion.

CHAPTER TEN

DEPARTING BOURDIEU'S THEORETICAL WORLD

10.1 Introduction

Nothing in this world can take the place of persistence. Talent will not: nothing is more common than unsuccessful men with talent. Genius will not; unrewarded genius is almost a proverb. Education will not: the world is full of educated derelicts. Persistence and determination alone are omnipotent (Calvin Coolidge, July 4, 1872 – January 5, 1933).

Coolidge's statement aptly captures my determination for embarking on the voyage to Bourdieu's theoretical realm which challenged my aptitude, attitude and wellbeing. Though the journey has been daunting, my persistence has paid off as I have gathered an overflow of intellectual gemstones which warrant the termination of my expedition to Bourdieu's theoretical world. Throughout the thesis, I employed his concepts of *field*, *habitus*, *capital*, *illusio*, *libido*, *pedagogical authority*, *doxic order*, and *symbolic violence* to present theoretical and empirical discourse on the organisation of doctoral education and socialisation. The chapter commences with an overview of my discourse presented in the theoretical sections. I also summarise the overarching findings of the empirical aspect of the study. The next section of this chapter discusses this study's contribution to the literature on doctoral education and the linkage of Bourdieu to doctoral education and socialisation research within the African context. The implications of the study for future research and practice relating to doctoral education and socialisation will also be discussed. I end the chapter by outlining and discussing some of the limitations and challenges associated with this project.

10.2 Summary of Key Points Related to the Discourse and Findings

This research discussed the organisation of doctoral education and the practice of doctoral socialisation from an umbrella perspective, which was gradually narrowed down to the study of doctoral education and socialisation at the University of Ghana. Bourdieu's (1997, 1990) concepts played a central role in the discourse. I utilised a qualitative approach (interpretive phenomenology) as the research paradigm because it served as an appropriate methodology to comprehend the stories, viewpoints, and interpretations about the lived experiences of Ghanaian students and supervisors in the doctoral journey.

Bourdieu's concept of *field* was employed as a thinking tool to understand the spaces and places within which doctoral education as an enterprise and practice of socialisation occurs. The study construed doctoral education as akin to Bourdieu's concept of the *social field* and discussed that it operates from a micro (departmental or institutional) or macro (national or global) level. The doctoral enterprise is characterised by *struggle (competition)* as a dominant activity. The struggle that occurs in the doctoral field is centred around knowledge production, access to the best faculty, students, funding, and university and/or department ranking. The discussion revealed that doctoral education as a social field is governed by rules that promote hierarchical ordering of positions, access to capital (privilege, power, and rewards) and dominance among social institutions and actors associated with knowledge production. The discourse highlighted that social actors (doctoral students and doctoral supervisors) attached to doctoral education as a social field are sustained by an *illusio* and *libido*. The doctoral student's attachment to the doctoral enterprise is manifested through commitment of time, energies, passion for scholarship, and perpetuation of the mantle of stewardship of the discipline.

The concept of *habitus* was used to provide conjectural and empirical understanding of a doctoral student's ability and competence for surmounting the demands of the doctoral process. The theoretical application of the concept of *habitus* revealed that it has both a generative and restrictive component that guides an individual action. The habitus as an initiator of actions is shaped by childhood socialisation and schooling. My discussion emphasised that when an individual who enrolls in a doctoral programme is guided by a certain habitus, they may succeed in doctoral study. This habitus can be shaped by prior knowledge, competencies, and exposure to academic research and professional work at the university. Socialisation by relations with high academic backgrounds may also play a role. These candidates come into the doctoral process with a habitus that demonstrates an awareness of the rules, expectations, tensions, and challenges. They may also form relationships with peers and faculty and take advantage of opportunities associated with doctoral study.

The empirical data gathered from participants revealed that the concept of the *habitus* plays an indispensable role if we are to gain a better understanding of both the homogenous and, more importantly, disparate doctoral experiences. My study suggests that through the doctoral socialisation process, doctoral students experience the *development of the academic habitus* generically

and distinctively. The development of the academic habitus involves the *acquisition* and *enhancement* of a set of attitudes and skills relevant for surmounting the activities, demands and challenges associated with the doctoral training. The anecdotes of some participants showed that generic development occurred through their exposure to similar pedagogies such as seminar presentations and thesis writing, which instil in the students' certain general skills and attitudes pertinent to doctoral study. There were instances where students showed the generic development of the academic habitus by their awareness of processes, practices, activities, policies, and relationships necessary for succeeding in doctoral study. The generic development of the academic habitus also involves a transformation in the student's identity as they make the transition from a dependent researcher in need of guidance to independent doctoral holder capable of undertaking research.

The distinctive development of the academic habitus was manifested in some students' willingness and frequency of participation in the opportunities for learning and knowledge sharing associated with the discipline. This included voluntary workshops and publishing while in the doctoral journey. The study found the motivation for the pursuit of the PhD forms part of the habitus students bring to the doctoral programme and it influences the kind of practices and activities, particularly voluntary ones, they willingly engage in to accomplish their motives. The project suggests that habitus acted as a perceptual tool for interpreting supervisory feedback on their writing. Thus, their ability to deal with the demands of feedback and negotiate and apply them formed part of the distinctive development of the academic habitus. The findings indicated that the habitus played a key role in the students' ability to navigate the challenges in the doctoral process since they invoked, invented, and improvised their habitus to deal with these challenges.

As a Bourdieusian concept, *capital* was also used in this study to firstly provide a theoretical understanding into how it orients doctoral education as an enterprise and a practice involved in knowledge production and the training of future doctoral holders. The discourse articulated that economic, social, and cultural capital orients the inter- and intra-relationships amongst social institutions and actors involved in doctoral education. These three types of capital can be exchanged for each other. Capital is the major determinant of the hierarchical ordering of social institutions and actors involved in the doctoral education enterprise and practice. As such, those who are able to utilise prevailing capital amass more and thus have relative advantage over others. Those institutions and actors who accumulate more compared to others in the social field tend to

occupy a dominant position and therefore accrue more capital through their dominance. Those unable to do so are confined to a subservient position. The discourse throughout this thesis points out that cultural capital – an organisation of elements comprising disciplinary and cultural knowledge, skills, competencies, and abilities used in the knowledge production enterprise – dominates in the development of the academic habitus and the motivation for the pursue of doctoral study. As such, doctoral students as well as faculty invest time to gain cultural capital. This forms the basis for scholarship and the attainment of other forms of capital particularly economic and social.

The empirical aspect of the study used *capital* as both a methodological and analytical tool to collect and analyse data about how the quantity of capital, the distribution of the kinds of capital, and the volume of capital amassed over time in the doctoral process influence the doctoral experience. The participants revealed that they had distinct access, distribution, and volume of these three types of capital needed in the doctoral process: economic, social, and cultural. The three dimensions of capital that illuminated the unequal capital gained by doctoral students served as a basis for classifying students into three categories: “Richie Rich” (Haves), “Average Joe” (Have less), and “Struggling Lazarus” (Have nots). Those who had more than enough of the three types of capital were classified as “Richie Rich”, while those who had average amounts were referred to as the “Average Joe”. Those who found it difficult to amass these forms of capital while in the doctoral process were classified as “Struggling Lazarus”. The study found that having enough economic capital while in the doctoral process gives students respite from financial worries. The findings indicated that economic capital was emphasised by doctoral students as necessary to secure entry and for continuous enrolment in the doctoral programme. The results showed that the sources of economic capital for doctoral students while they were in doctoral study included doing two jobs, bank loans, personal resources, scholarships, and monetary gifts from relatives and supervisors. They depended on these sources of economic capital to pay their tuition fees and research-related expenses. The findings indicated economic capital was exchanged for mainly cultural capital since participation in opportunities of learning and knowledge sharing such as conferences was facilitated by access to economic capital. The acquisition of cultural capital was key to the doctoral socialisation process and some students – especially those in the hard and applied sciences –demonstrated their assimilation and accumulation of cultural capital through conferences attendance and publishing. The accrual of cultural capital through publishing by students in the hard and applied sciences was influenced by the culture of collaborative publishing.

The study revealed that the manifestation of pedagogical authority in the supervisory relationship mainly was skewed towards a domineering style of supervision with little collegial relationship. Within the supervisory space, some students were able to negotiate a collegial relationship with their supervisors, which meant no imposition of supervisor ideas on the students. Interestingly, some supervisors consciously engaged in self-reflection about their supervisory practice. This self-reflection on their supervision helped them to establish a balance between their exercise of pedagogical authority, pedagogical love, and tact. Supervisors reported that the ability to balance this authority with love and tact helped the student to develop with little conflict and tensions in the doctoral socialisation process.

10.3 Contribution of the Study

The study has made several contributions to the existing literature on doctoral education and socialisation. The project has provided a binary approach to understanding and conceptualising the organisation of doctoral education as an enterprise and the practice of doctoral socialisation as a conduit for training future stewards of the disciplines. Firstly, the study adopted the use of Bourdieu's oeuvre as a *theoretical tool* to provide insight into the organisation of doctoral education and the practice of doctoral socialisation. Secondly, Bourdieu's concepts were used as *methodological* and *analytical tools* to gather empirical data and construe the disparate lived experiences of doctoral students within a Ghanaian (African) context, which is long overdue. The dual approach produced a discourse that contributes to bridging the gap in existing literature on conceptualising and conducting empirical research on doctoral education and socialisation as an institution and a practice. The study firstly explored this conceptualisation through policies, processes, practices, activities, expectations, relationships, and exchanges, and secondly considered how these elements influenced the disparate experiences of doctoral students.

This thesis has provided several insights into how the concepts of *habitus*, *capital* and *pedagogical authority* shape the doctoral experience. This study has thus made a contribution towards reducing the low number of studies on doctoral education (Määttä, 2012). The study is an input to ameliorating the limited theorisation on doctoral education as asserted by Boud and Lee (2005). Through this study, Bourdieu's concepts were utilised to address the inadequacy of socialisation theories such as graduate socialisation and those related to cognitive apprenticeship models to explicate the disparate doctoral socialisation experiences encountered at the individual,

departmental, and institutional levels (Pearson et al 2011; Gardner, 2008; Anthony, 2002). This lacuna needed to be addressed by connecting Bourdieu's concepts to empirical research on the diverse lived experiences of doctoral students. At its core were Bourdieu's thinking tools as analytical lenses, which were used to understand the experiences of Ghanaian doctoral students. Moreover, Gardner (2008) recommended studies provide an understanding of the impact of individual, disciplinary, and institutional factors on disparate doctoral candidate experiences – I used this thesis to heed to that call.

Theoretically, my discourse used Bourdieu's concepts of *field*, *habitus*, *capital*, *illusio*, *libido*, *pedagogical authority*, *doxic order*, and *symbolic violence* to investigate the milieu, relationships, processes, practices, and the sense of attachment and investment that orient the organisation of doctoral education and socialisation. This in regards to both an enterprise tasked with the production of advanced knowledge and the training of future stewards of the disciplines. Drawing on Bourdieu's concept of the *field*, the discourse illuminated the *struggle* that occurs among social institutions and agents that participate in doctoral education and the socialisation process. Though the study illuminated the struggle Bourdieu theorised about, I dissented with him on his lack of theorisation about *exchanges* that occur in the social field that enhance the struggle. Perceiving doctoral education as a social field in Bourdieu's terms, I proposed a new understanding of doctoral education as a social field characterised by *exchanges* in the form of *collaborations and partnerships* that promote the survival and growth of the doctoral enterprise as an institution and a practice. Through the use of a schema, I have been able to elucidate the *struggle* and *exchanges* that occur amongst social institutions such as universities and agents involved in the practice of doctoral education and socialisation at both the global and national levels.

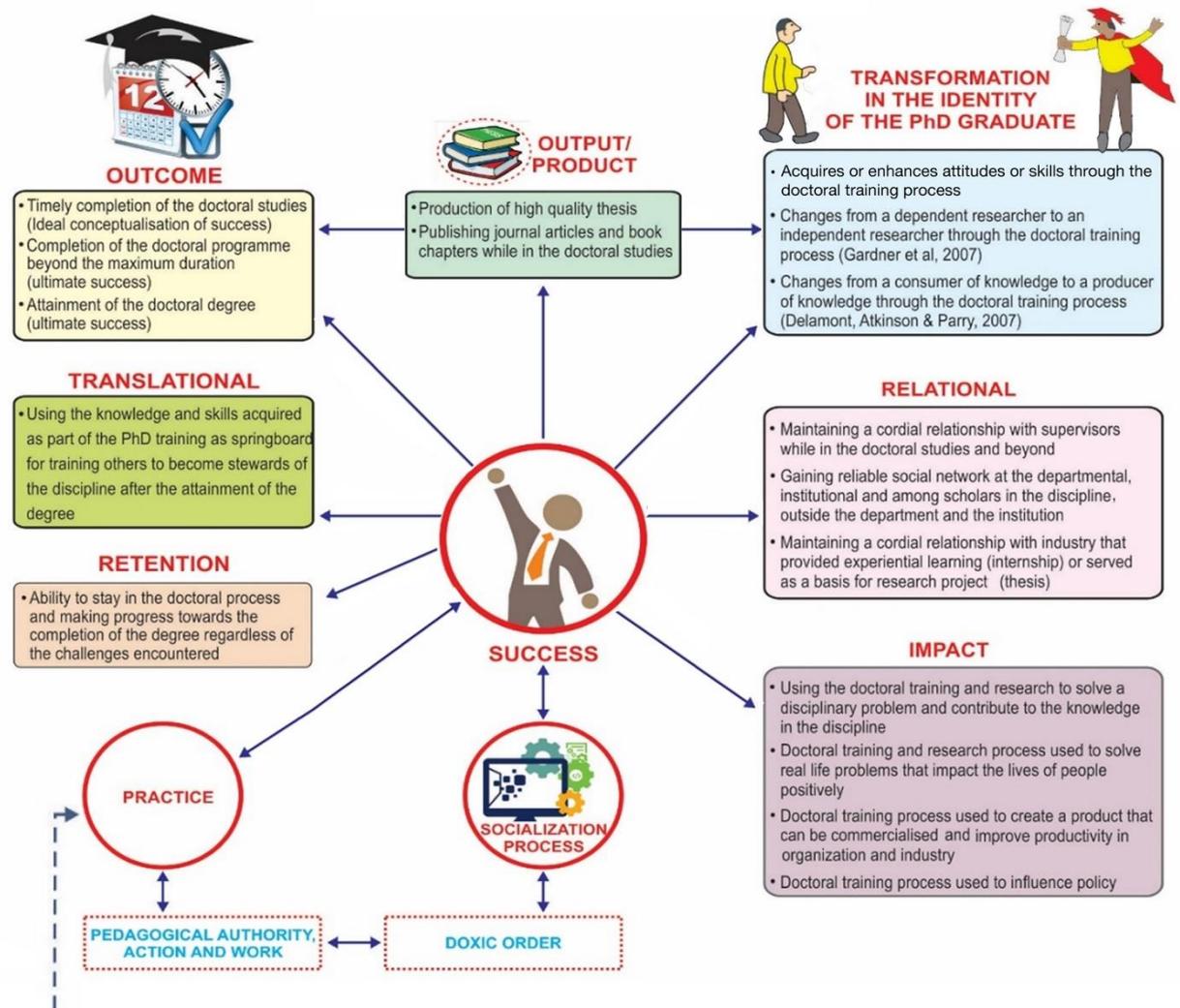
10.4 Implications for Research and Practice of Doctoral Education and Socialisation

This section of the concluding chapter addresses the implications of this research for future research into doctoral education and the socialisation experiences of doctoral students. The section also considers implications about the organisation of doctoral education as an institutional framework and a practice concerned with the production of specialised knowledge and training future disciplinary stewards.

This study is the first to apply Bourdieu's concepts to provide theoretical and empirical discourse and insight into doctoral education and the disparate doctoral socialisation experiences within the Ghanaian context. As such, it has opened the door on opportunities for future scholarship in the area. The application of Bourdieu's concepts in this study has laid the foundation for the use of his concepts and other ideas from social theorists such as Foucault, Gramsci, and Marx to further our understanding of practices and issues associated with doctoral education and socialisation experiences of students in the African context. Though using these Western theorists to construe the way doctoral education and socialisation occurs in the African context may not be perceived as Afrocentric, it fosters African scholars' connectedness to Eurocentric theories. By borrowing these ideas as theoretical lens, researchers can explain their realities and experiences with their society in mind.

Taking into consideration that Bourdieu's concepts of field, habitus, capital, and the exercise of pedagogical authority shape the doctoral experience, continuous research is needed if we are to understand how the dynamics and nuances related to these concepts contribute to the success or attrition from doctoral study. I propose that the study of doctoral success should attempt to examine how *field*, *habitus*, *capital*, and *pedagogical authority* play a role in the student's continued enrolment, satisfaction and the fulfilment of the requirements of the doctoral process. The schema below is a proposition been advanced for studying the concept of success in the doctoral socialisation process from nine perspectives which are interconnected with each other. The perspectives for conceptualisation doctoral success are *outcome*, *output*, *transformation in the identity of the PhD graduate*, *relational*, *impact*, *translational*, *retention*, *practice* and *process*. It should be acknowledged that the conceptualisation of doctoral success as a *practice* and a *process* is built on Bourdieu's concepts of practice, habitus, capital and field. The interface of the habitus and capital of the doctoral student and supervisor operating within the field (discipline, department/institution) and other communities of learning may culminate in a practice or process that ensures the success of the student. The conceptualisation of doctoral success as a practice and a process form the foundation for achieving the perspectives for construing doctoral success as captured in the diagram below. The existing literature projects the *outcome* perspective of success as the overarching interpretation of doctoral success with little or no attribution to other contributors to the success in the doctoral journey. The schema presented below calls for a rethink of the concept of doctoral success from the outcome perspective to embrace an eclectic approach that looks at success from

a holistic perspective which incorporates the other eight perspectives while still articulating the outcome concept of doctoral success as the ultimate in the doctoral journey.



PRACTICE		(HABITUS)		(CAPITAL)		FIELD
		Doctoral Supervisor	Doctoral Student	Doctoral Supervisor	Doctoral Student	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Student engaged in extensive reading, writing of journal article, book chapter and thesis Student sharing knowledge and information on his research interest with fellow doctoral students, researchers and faculty online 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Previous experience as a doctoral student Experience supervising doctoral candidates Quest for academic promotion and reputation Expectation of the role of the student Importance attached to the supervisory role Supervisory style Personal attitudes and disposition 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Early childhood socialisation in the family and school (previous level of education) Expectation of the role of the supervisor in the supervisory relationship Motivation for the pursuit of the doctoral programme Attitudes possessed by student 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cultural capital (Academic credentials) Social capital (Community service, social networks formed in the academy and industry, research and publication collaboration) Academic capital (scholarly expertise, contextual knowledge of the doctoral programme, number of publications, contribution made to the discipline and trade secrets) Symbolic capital (Academic laurels, repute & prestige) Economic capital (Funding opportunities for research and PhD student mentorship) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cultural capital (knowledge of the discipline & conventions regarding language and writing used in the discipline, educational qualification and skills set possessed by the student) Economic capital acquired for doctoral studies (scholarship, research grants, teaching and research assistantship stipends) Social capital (Family and friends, social network formed with doctoral peers, scholars in the discipline and industry experts) Academic capital (number of journal articles, books and book chapters published) 	<p>Represents either the discipline, department, the doctoral enterprise or the institution of higher learning</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The discipline as a field has its own knowledge base, conventions, language and writings style that determines the way knowledge is produced. The discipline as a field has pedagogies both the supervisor and the student should be able to use in the knowledge transmission and creation process that characterise the doctoral enterprise. The department as a field in the doctoral enterprise is the focal site for the socialisation of doctoral students and it serves as a conduit for the transmission of policies related to admission, financial support and criteria for degree completion (King, Bruce and Gilligan, 1993). It is the locus of control in the academic life of the PhD candidate (Gumpert, 1993 a&b). Contextually, the field can be perceived from a micro or macro level and its characterised by struggle (competition for dominance or capital in the knowledge creation process). 	
<p>Main pedagogies used in the discipline and department</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> PhD faculty lecturing students on course work Student presenting his/her work to peers and faculty in the department Student meeting with his/her supervisor on his/her writing Student performing laboratory experiment on his/her research/thesis 	<p>Other pedagogies used in the discipline, department and in the supervisory space</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Attending and participating in conferences Experiential learning (internship) in industry Journal club (used in the sciences) Group supervisory meeting organised by supervisors Writing group Written & oral examinations Workshops and symposia Joint publication between supervisor and supervisee 					
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Supervisor reviewing students write-up and providing feedback Supervisor discharging institutional duties related to his/her supervisory roles 						

Figure 4: Conceptualisation of success in doctoral education

Research and reform of doctoral programmes should focus on how the interplay of departmental or institutional rules, processes, activities, practices, relationships, expectations and the competencies and attitudes of supervisee and supervisor create disparate experiences for doctoral students. The research and reform endeavours should contribute to the development of the right academic habitus, the accumulation of cultural capital, and a balanced exercise of pedagogical authority, love and tact.

The study proposes for the conceptualisation of doctoral education as an enterprise that is constituted by competition and exchanges among social institutions (universities) and actors (doctoral students and supervisors). These exchanges create differential positioning based on the accumulation of capital. This supposition gives room for universities, doctoral students, and supervisors to change their position in the field of doctoral education by taking opportunities to accumulate economic, social, and more importantly cultural capital. To dominate the competition, the social institution or actors must accumulate existing resources and produce exceptional cultural capital over time, which serve as an exchange for other forms of capital. Exchanges such as collaborations and partnerships are healthy for social institutions and need to be encouraged among universities, doctoral faculty, and students as means of perpetuating the specialised craft of knowledge production. Such actions will support growth in the knowledge economy. Social capital amassed in the form of friendships with scholars from the same university or other universities within and outside the territorial location may be used as avenues for publishing journal articles and books and engaging in collaborative research projects that contribute to the community.

The study's findings suggest that supervision, which is the principal pedagogy for training doctoral students, is perceived as a practice and a relationship. As a practice it is characterised by a sense of professionalism that requires periodic reflection of one's supervisory practice in order to become abreast of one's commitment to the needs, cares and concerns of the supervisees. Supervisors who are keen on assessing the impact of the exercise of structural power in the supervisory relationship need to periodically touch base with their supervisees by having a candid and open interaction that reveals the pitfalls of the unequal power relations and strategies for redress. Referring to the Akan adage (from Ghana) in Chapter One: "*Nea oretwa sa (kwan) no onim se n'akyi akyea*" (The one weeding does not know his trajectory is crooked). Thus, it will take someone behind the one weeding to reveal that the path is crooked. This adage highlights that the supervisor engaged and engrossed

in a practice may not realise the flaws and weaknesses associated with the supervisory style and practice. When supervision is understood as relationship to be nurtured by the supervisor, the supervisory relationship may be built as a balance between the exercise of structural and relational power. The ability of the supervisor to establish a balance between these two forms of power in the supervisory space may guard against their supervision practice being experienced by the supervisee as malignant or maladaptive. The exercise of pedagogical love and tact by some supervisors indicated that they viewed their supervisees as deserving to be treated with respect, love, and care if they are to succeed in the doctoral becoming.

The exemplary display of a balance between the exercise of structural and relational power should be extolled and rewarded by means of award schemes. Awardees for excellence in supervision should be given the opportunity to give presentations, sharing their experiences with new doctoral supervisors to embrace some supervisory practices that promote a balanced power relationship between supervisor and supervisee. The findings suggest that the majority of students experienced the exercise of pedagogical authority by their supervisors in an authoritative way, which shows that the supervisors were skewed towards structural power. Too much exercise of supervisory structural power without a balance with relational power may make the supervisory relationship domineering – supervisees may not be given an opportunity to express themselves in the research process, which is owed to them. An authoritative supervisory approach may produce resistance, tensions, frustrations, a lack of originality and creativity, and sometimes attrition from the doctoral programme. Thus, mandatory programmes and evaluation mechanisms should be instituted as a way of reforming the tendency of supervisors to become authoritarians in their supervision practice. Programmes should address ways supervisors may practically exercise a balance in their use of power in their supervisory relationships. Strategic workshops and accountability mechanisms should enlighten supervisors on best and successful practices used in guiding supervisees to develop and succeed in the doctoral process.

10.5 Limitations and Challenges of the Study

One limitation associated with this study is the inability to generalise the findings due to the qualitative approaches used in collecting and analysing data. The results from this research are focused on individuals at the University of Ghana – hence I cannot claim that the findings may occur in another institution. The findings cannot even be broadly applied to all students at the

University of Ghana. Given the population of my participants, the anecdotes presented and analysed in this study may not capture the entire experience of all doctoral students and supervisors at the university.

Another limitation lies with respect to the issue of inequality takes centre stage in Bourdieu's theory of practice and academic capitalism. However, my study did not seek to examine how inequality created by gender, race, ethnicity (tribalism), "old boy or girl" and "godfather" affinity, or religious and political affiliation influence the disparate experiences of PhD students at the University of Ghana.

A challenge I encountered was the limited literature that exists within the Ghanaian and African contexts on the socialisation of PhD students. This limitation was evident from the fact that the literature section of the thesis came mostly from western-centred sources. The literature section does not provide a snapshot of doctoral socialisation taking place within Ghanaian and African contexts due to the scarce literature I had sourced on these geographical contexts. In addition to this challenge, little application of Bourdieu's theoretical concepts has been applied to the explanation of the practice and organisation of doctoral education and socialisation of doctoral students in the African context. Thus, I had limited material to use from an African context to inform my study.

During the empirical phase of the research I encountered a series of methodological challenges. The first methodological challenge I encountered had to do with obtaining ethics approval from both the University of Auckland and the University of Ghana. On the part of the University of Auckland, the Human Ethics Committee required that I supply them with a letter from the University of Ghana granting me permission to conduct my fieldwork. They also requested I supply them with letters from the heads of departments where the data collection would take place. I contacted the University of Ghana's administrative secretary in charge of ethics and she gave me the requirements for obtaining permission to conduct my study. After I had sent all the necessary documents to her in both electronic and print format she made another request, which was for me to contact a University faculty member with expertise in the area I was conducting my research in to give me an introductory letter. These bureaucratic processes involved in obtaining approval

from the University of Ghana (the “gatekeeper”) delayed my fieldwork for approximately three months.

The second methodological hurdle I encountered had to do with the data collection process from the participants who expressed interest as potential interviewees. After the participants had signed the CF and given me the meeting time and venue for the interviews, on numerous occasions they rescheduled the interview appointments. Some participants postponed the interviews four to eight times before I finally got the opportunity to interview them. Dealing with the PhD supervisors was the most difficult aspect of the data collection process since I had to visit the office or venues that they gave me for the interview between four to 20 times without meeting them. I vividly recollect my encounter with a supervisor in the College of Basic and Applied Sciences who requested I come after a certain date because he was attending a conference. I went to his department more than 20 times without meeting him. When I finally met with him, he requested that we reschedule the appointment for a weekend on campus in his office. Heeding Punch’s (1986) advice that field researchers exercise common sense and moral responsibility by always putting the subjects first, the study next, and themselves last, I agreed to reschedule the interviews. This postponement of interviews greatly impacted on the duration I spent in the field since I had to go beyond the timeframe I had planned for data collection. The extension of my fieldwork required that I had to reschedule my trip back to New Zealand and this came with financial implications as I had to pay extra money to change my travel date.

The third challenge I experienced while conducting the fieldwork was in connection with the duration of the interview. Even though I had informed my participants that the duration would be 90 minutes some participants complained that the time was too long, and they requested the interview be limited to 45–50 minutes. I had to give in to their demands by limiting my probing questions during such interviews. Participants who asked me to limit my interview time were busy attending to other activities such as typing on a computer or texting on the mobile while being interviewed hence they had divided attention. Due to their divided attention they gave short answers to some of the questions I asked, which required them to have given detailed responses. This inability to pose some probing questions to elicit further information from the participants greatly affected the responses I gathered from the interviews.

The fourth challenge I encountered was the loss of some recorded interviews on the electronic recorder due to a virus. I lost about ten interviews that I had saved on the electronic recorder, but I was able to retrieve eight I had saved earlier on another device. However, a whole interview along with part of another I had conducted with two PhD students got lost due to a computer virus. I tried several times to recover these lost recordings but was not successful. I subsequently paid a visit to these individuals and explained my situation to them and they agreed to grant me another opportunity to interview them. The problem I had with these new interviews was that the first interviews were richer and deeper in terms of the responses advanced by the participants.

The fifth challenge I faced had to do with the interview process. Some of the PhD supervisors “hijacked” the interview process, probably because they saw me as one of their PhD students and started interviewing me. Being tactful, I had to cut in and rephrase some of my questions to get them to respond rather than ask me questions. Even when I rephrased my questions, the responses that were elicited addressed their socialisation as a PhD student in a foreign university. Since the questions I asked centred on PhD socialisation it was enlightening to have them spicing the conversation with some of their socialisation experiences as PhD students. At the same time, it was difficult to prevent them from recounting their experiences.

10.6 Conclusion

The study sought to explore the organisation of doctoral education and the disparate experiences of doctoral students through Bourdieu’s concepts of *habitus*, *field*, *illusio*, *libido*, *capital*, *pedagogical authority*, *doxic order*, *symbolic violence*. These concepts were indispensable in furthering thinking and understanding of distinctions occurring in doctoral education from an institutional perspective with the doctoral student as the prominent actor. The study illuminated that doctoral education as an institution and a practice is characterised by struggle and exchanges that sustain the “academic game” and the attachment of the actors to the game. The study did not treat Bourdieu’s concepts as an “end in themselves” but brought them into practical use to understand the role of habitus, capital, and pedagogical authority in the disparate doctoral experiences.

Fundamentally, employing habitus as a concept offers a framework through which to evaluate and understand the influence of personal disposition, skills, and attitudes in the doctoral experience.

The study showed that habitus is a practical tool to construe the way students perceived challenges and restructured their habitus to persist in the doctoral development process. Thus, habitus became a useful methodological and analytical tool to understand the *individual factors* contributing to disparate doctoral experiences. Interestingly, with the exception of cultural capital, which has both intrinsic and extrinsic components that influence disparate experiences, the study revealed that economic and social capital were *external factors*. Thus, in my quest to understand the disparate doctoral experiences, these two variables cannot be underestimated.

Cultural and social capital played an important role in *continuance* and *developing resilience* in the doctoral process. The quest to amass cultural capital fostered the doctoral student's *attachment to scholarship* and the discipline despite the challenging nature of the doctoral process. On the other hand, social capital that encompasses *relationships* the student possesses within the supervisory, departmental, disciplinary community and familial spaces are vital for developing the student's connectedness to support systems and associated benefits and rewards. These support systems, benefits and rewards may act as substitutes for other forms of capital such as cultural and economic.

The study showed that the exercise of pedagogical authority is instrumental in the development of the doctoral student and the transition from dependent researcher to doctor. However, the way pedagogical authority is exercised and experienced by the student shapes their outlook of how supervision as a pedagogy is practised. When pedagogical authority manifests as imposition and dominance it has the tendency to produce conflict and resistance on the part of the student. However, the study showed that the ability to balance the exercise of pedagogical authority with pedagogical tact may yield co-operation and collegiality. These two binary experiences of the exercise of power in the supervisory space may serve as a mental representation for *intergenerational mirroring of supervision* as a pedagogy given the tendency that one's practice of supervision is anchored on the way he or she was supervised.

Terminating my expedition to Bourdieu's world I will say:

The point of my work is to show that [*habitus, capital and pedagogical authority*] aren't simply ... minor influence [*in the doctoral socialisation process*]. They are hugely important in the affirmation of difference

between [*doctoral students*] [*and*]... in the reproduction of those differences (Eakin, 2001, *New York Times*, January 6, 2001, emphasis added in italics).

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APPENDIX A

PHD STUDENT SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE

Demographic data of PhD Student

The age, sex, programme of study, department, fulltime or part-time status and year in the doctoral programme will be gathered in the initial phase of the interview.

General questions

1. Why are you doing a PhD?
2. What expectations did you bring to the PhD programme in the University of Ghana?
3. What is the nature of the PhD programme you are pursuing?

Questions related to doctoral study, experiences and prerequisites for success in the doctoral journey

4. What skills do you need to succeed in the PhD studies?
5. How has the PhD programme helped you to acquire or enhance the skills relevant to your success in the doctoral journey?
6. What people are important for you to acquire the skills you need to succeed in your doctoral studies?
7. How have your PhD supervisors helped in your development/enhancement of the skills relevant to your success in the doctoral journey?
8. What have you done personally in order to acquire the skills you need to succeed in your doctoral studies?
9. How have your peers helped in the acquisition of the skills you need to succeed in your doctoral journey?
10. What resources are available in the department or the university that are meant to help you acquire the skills you need to succeed in your doctoral journey?
11. What attitudes/dispositions do you need to succeed in the PhD studies?
12. How has the PhD programme in the University of Ghana helped you to develop/shape the attitudes/dispositions relevant to your success in the PhD journey?
13. How did your PhD supervisors help in your development/shaping of these attitudes/dispositions relevant to your success in the doctoral journey?
14. What did you personally do in order to acquire the attitudes/dispositions you need to succeed in your PhD studies?
15. What more could (you/your supervisor/your department) do to help you acquire the skills, attitudes and disposition needed to succeed in the PhD journey?

APPENDIX B

DOCTORAL SUPERVISOR SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE

Demographic data of doctoral supervisors

The age, sex, rank in the university, department, the number of PhD students they are currently supervising, number of students they have supervised in the capacity as the lead supervisor to complete their PhD will be gathered in the initial phase of the interview.

General questions

1. What reasons do you think make your students enrol to do the PhD programme?
2. What expectations do they bring to the PhD programme in the University of Ghana?
3. What is the nature of the PhD programme in your department?

Questions related to doctoral study, experiences and prerequisites for success in the doctoral journey

4. What skills do your PhD students need to succeed in the PhD studies?
5. How does the PhD programme help them acquire or enhance the skills relevant to their success in the doctoral journey?
6. Who are important for your PhD students to acquire the skills they need to succeed in their doctoral studies?
7. What do you perceive your PhD student(s) should do in order to acquire the skills they need to succeed in their doctoral studies?
8. How do their peers help them acquire the skills they need to succeed in their doctoral journey?
9. Who else should have a role in the department or university to help your PhD students acquire the skills they need to succeed in their doctoral journey?
10. What resources are available in the department or the university that are meant to help your PhD students acquire the skills they need to succeed in their doctoral journey?
11. What attitudes/dispositions do your students need to succeed in their PhD studies?
12. How has the PhD programme in the University of Ghana helped them develop/shape the attitudes/dispositions relevant to their success in the PhD journey?
13. How do you as a PhD supervisor help your students develop/shape these attitudes/dispositions relevant to your success in the doctoral journey?
14. What do you perceive your students do in order to acquire the attitudes/dispositions they need to succeed in their PhD studies?
15. What more could (you/your supervisor/your department) do to help you acquire the skills, attitudes and disposition needed to succeed in the PhD journey?

APPENDIX C

Critical Studies in Education
Te Kura o te Kōtuinga Akoranga Mātauranga
(Incorporating Education Studies and Pasifika Education)



CONSENT FORM FOR PHD STUDENT

Project Title: **Socialising PhD students to succeed in the doctoral journey: An exploratory study of the University of Ghana**

Name of Researcher: **Edward Okai**

I have carefully read the Participant Information Sheet (PIS) provided by the researcher and I have understood the form of research to be carried out and the rationale for being selected as a participant. I have had the opportunity to seek clarification on aspects of the research which seemed unclear.

Based on the information I have received about the research:

- I agree to take part in this research.
- I understand that participation in this research is strictly voluntary and I can withdraw my participation till 30th October, 2015.
- I agree/ do not agree to an audio recording of the interview.
- I wish/ do not wish to receive a summary of the research findings. I understand that data gathered by means of this research will be stored for 6 years and destroyed after this period.

Name of Participant

Signature Date

Email

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 1ST DECEMBER, 2014 FOR 3 YEARS, REFERENCE NUMBER 013361.

APPENDIX D

Critical Studies in Education
Te Kura o te Kōtuinga Akoranga Mātauranga
(Incorporating Education Studies and Pasifika Education)



CONSENT FORM FOR DOCTORAL SUPERVISOR

Project Title: **Socialising PhD students to succeed in the doctoral journey: An exploratory study of the University of Ghana**

Name of Researcher: **Edward Okai**

I have carefully read the Participant Information Sheet (PIS) provided by the researcher and I have understood the form of research to be carried out and the rationale for being selected as a participant. I have had the opportunity to seek clarification on aspects of the research which seemed unclear.

Based on the information I have received about the research:

- I agree to take part in this research.
- I understand that participation in this research is strictly voluntary and I can withdraw my participation till 30th October, 2015.
- I agree/ do not agree to an audio recording of the interview.
- I wish/ do not wish to receive a summary of the research findings.
- I understand that data gathered by means of this research will be stored for 6 years and destroyed after this period.

Name of Participant

Signature Date

Email

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS
ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 1ST DECEMBER, 2014 FOR 3 YEARS, REFERENCE
NUMBER 013361.

The University of Auckland

Faculty of Education
Private Bag 92601, Symonds St,
Auckland 1150, New Zealand

Epsom Campus

Gate 3, 74 Epsom Avenue,
Auckland 1023, New Zealand
Telephone: +64 9 623 8899
Facsimile: +64 9 623 8898

APPENDIX E

Critical Studies in Education
Te Kura o te Kōtuinga Akoranga Mātauranga
(Incorporating Education Studies and Pasifika Education)



PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET (PHD STUDENT)

Project Title:

Socialising PhD students to succeed in their doctoral journey: An exploratory study of the University of Ghana

Researcher:

I am Edward Okai, a PhD student from the School of Critical Studies, University of Auckland, New Zealand. I seek to understand how PhD students are socialised in the University of Ghana to succeed in their doctoral study. This participant information sheet is meant to provide you with the information regarding the research.

Your voluntary participation is being sought in the interview phase of my research to enable me gather the necessary data for informing my doctoral thesis. You are being asked to give 60-90 minutes of your time to participate in an interview.

The interview session will be audio-taped and later transcribed by me. I assure you that any information gathered through your participation in the interview will be kept with the utmost confidentiality and anonymity. However, if you later decide that you want to withdraw your interview data from the research you can do so until 30th of October, 2015.

Participation in the study will not be rewarded. However, you will be sent the data analysis chapter upon request. Additionally, the full thesis report will be made available online after the submission of the thesis for those interested to read it.

I understand that my Head of Department has assured that my participation or nonparticipation will not affect my relationship with my supervisor or the university.

All data (audio recordings and transcripts) will be stored for a period of six years on the researcher's computer in the University of Auckland. Hardcopies of transcripts will also be stored in a locked cupboard in the researcher's office for six years from January, 2016. The hardcopies of the transcripts will be shared only with the researcher's supervisor (Associate Professor Barbara Grant). Electronic files will be deleted and transcripts will be shredded after the end 2021.

I would be happy to meet with you to discuss any queries you have about my research. Please contact me at: eddieokai2010@yahoo.com or eoka376@aucklanduni.ac.nz Ghana Mobile: 0244113311 New Zealand Mobile: 00642102840239

For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact the Chair, The University of Auckland, Research Office, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Telephone 09373-7599 ext. 83711 or 87830. Email: r-ethics@auckland.ac.nz

**APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS
ETHICS COMMITTEE ON THE 1ST DECEMBER, 2014, REFERENCE NUMBER
013361.**

APPENDIX F

Critical Studies in Education
Te Kura o te Kōtuinga Akoranga Mātauranga
(Incorporating Education Studies and Pasifika Education)



PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET (DOCTORAL SUPERVISOR)

Project Title:

Socialising PhD students to succeed in their doctoral journey: An exploratory study of the University of Ghana

Researcher:

I am Edward Okai, a PhD student from the School of Critical Studies, University of Auckland, New Zealand. I seek to understand how PhD students are socialised in the University of Ghana to succeed in their doctoral study. This participant information sheet is meant to provide you with the information regarding the research.

Your voluntary participation is being sought in the interview phase of my research to enable me gather the necessary data for informing my doctoral thesis. You are being asked to give 60-90 minutes of your time to participate in an interview.

The interview session will be audio-taped and later transcribed by me. I assure you that any information gathered through your participation in the interview will be kept with the utmost confidentiality and anonymity. However, if you later decide that you want to withdraw your interview data from the research you can do so until 30th of October, 2015.

Participation in the study will not be rewarded. However, you will be sent the data analysis chapter upon request. Additionally, the full thesis report will be made available online after the submission of the thesis for those interested to read it.

I understand that my Head of Department has assured that my participation or nonparticipation will not affect my relationship with my supervisor or the university.

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For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact the Chair, The University of Auckland, Research Office, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Telephone 09373-7599 extn. 83711 or 87830. Email: r-ethics@auckland.ac.nz

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON THE 1ST DECEMBER, 2014, REFERENCE NUMBER 013361.

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APPENDIX G

Office of the Vice-Chancellor
Finance, Ethics and Compliance



**THE UNIVERSITY
OF AUCKLAND**
NEW ZEALAND
Te Whare Wānanga o Tāmaki Makaurau

The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland, New Zealand

Level 10, 49 Symonds Street
Telephone: 64 9 373 7599
Extension: 87830 / 83761
Facsimile: 64 9 373 7432

UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE (UAHPEC)

01-Dec-2014

MEMORANDUM TO:

Assoc. Prof Barbara Grant
Critical Studies in Education

Re: Application for Ethics Approval (Our Ref. 013361): Conditional Approval

The Committee considered your application for ethics approval for your project entitled **Socialising PhD students to succeed in their doctoral journey: An exploratory study of the University of Ghana.**

Your application has been conditionally approved.

This means that you need to make the following revisions or provide further documentation as outlined below.

1. Section D1: Please amend to give potential participants the right to choose to, or choose not to participate.
2. Section H:1 What are the possible benefits to research participants of taking part in the research? The answer to this question needs to be expanded.
3. The letter requesting site access needs further information to enable site access to be granted or not (e.g. attach a PIS (Supervisor) to provide the necessary detail).
4. This letter should also include a statement that no student-supervisor pairs shall be selected.

5. PISs: Please amend these to address each of the stated issues in the UAHPEEC Manual PIS section, including: participants' right to withdraw from the interview / not answer a question; participants' right to withdraw their participation at any time; a comment re non-guarantee of anonymity; a comment regarding how confidentiality will be provided in publications; the addition of an email address for UAHPEEC; the shifting of information in the footnotes of PISs to the headers. Similarly amend CFs.
6. Although the participants are not in the department of the researcher, they are students, and a statement that neither grades nor academic relationships will be affected by either refusal or agreement to participate would still be appropriate.
7. The student PIS and CF contain the sentences "Participation in the study will not be rewarded. However, you ask to be sent the data analysis chapter". Presumably that means that participants can ask to be sent the data analysis chapter". If that chapter is the same as the "summary of findings" that participants are given the option to receive, then the words need to be the same, and there needs to be a

space for participants to enter their email addresses within the CF.
8. Your email address and telephone contact numbers on the PIS and CF should be your University of Auckland number and address, and not a personal one.

In order to progress the approval process, please revise your application (as applicable):

- Open the application eform (using the steps below) and make any required changes to the responses within the eform;
- Revise any supporting documents using **tracked changes** and upload them onto the eform;
- Prepare a **memo** addressing each concern in our letter, and attach it to the eform.

To access and re-submit your application eform:

1. Open your submitted protocol in the [Human Ethics module](https://researchmanagement.auckland.ac.nz) (researchmanagement.auckland.ac.nz).
2. In the Protocol tree menu, click on "Submissions". You should then see a blue Respond link next to the status "Conditional approval".
3. Click on the blue Respond link and in the pop-up screen, select "Conditionally Approved", Save, Close.
4. A new version of your eform application will now be available for you to make revisions in.
5. Click "Edit" to open the new version of your eform.
6. Untick the "Complete" tick box to make the required changes within the eform and/or to upload new versions of the supporting documents.
7. Once changes have been made, save the changes, re-tick the "Complete" tick box and then re-submit the application if you are the PI, or ask your supervisor to re-submit the application.

Please note that until you submit the revisions and receive an approval letter, the application does not have ethics approval. Please provide a complete set of documents with the memo and quote this reference number: **013361** to all documentation.

If the requested revisions / clarifications are still outstanding after six months, the file will be closed and you will need to submit a new application.

The Chair and the members of UAHPEC would be happy to discuss general matters relating to ethics approvals. If you wish to do so, please contact the UAHPEC Ethics Administrators at roethics@auckland.ac.nz in the first instance.

(This is a computer generated letter. No signature required.)

UAHPEC Administrators

University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee

c.c. Head of Department / School, Critical Studies in Education

APPENDIX I (PART I): ADVERTISEMENT POSTER FOR STUDENT PARTICIPANTS

Tell me about your PhD experience

If you are a PhD student in the University of Ghana:

- **Studying fulltime or part-time**
- **At any stage in the PhD study**
- **In any discipline or programme**

Edward Okai, a PhD student from the University of Auckland, New Zealand invites, you to participate in his research: **Socialising PhD students to succeed in their doctoral journey**. Currently, scant research exists on this topic in Ghana, so your views are important. This study is designed to gather data for the purpose of informing my doctoral thesis.

If you would like to participate in this research, you will be asked to have a 60-90-minute interview with Edward.

CONTACT

Email: eddieokai2010@yahoo.com or eoka376@aucklanduni.ac.nz

Ghana Mobile: 0244113311

New Zealand Mobile: 00642102840239

APPENDIX I (PART II)
EMAIL TO SUPERVISORS

Dear Dr./Prof.

I am Edward Okai, a PhD student from the School of Critical Studies, University of Auckland, New Zealand. I seek to invite you to participate in my research: **Socialising PhD students to succeed in their doctoral journey**. Currently, scant research exists on this topic in Ghana, so your views are important. This study is designed to gather data for the purpose of informing my doctoral thesis.

If you would like to participate in this research, you will be asked to have a 60-90 minute interview with me. Please find attached the participant information sheet which gives details about my research. I can be contacted at: eddieokai2010@yahoo.com or eoka376@aucklanduni.ac.nz
Ghana Mobile: 0244113311. New Zealand Mobile: 00642102840239.

Regards

Edward Okai

APPENDIX K

Critical Studies in Education
Te Kura o te Kōtuinga Akoranga Mātauranga
(Incorporating Education Studies and Pasifika Education)



The Public Relations Officer
The Public Affairs Directorate
University of Ghana
Legon-Accra

20th October, 2014

Dear Madam,

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN THE UNIVERSITY AND USE PHD POLICY DOCUMENTS

I am Edward Okai, a PhD student from the School of Critical Studies, Faculty of Education, University of Auckland, New Zealand. I seek permission to conduct research in the University of Ghana and use policy documents related to PhD studies. The study, which has been approved by the University of Auckland, is designed to gather data which gives a snapshot on how PhD students are socialised in the University of Ghana to succeed in their doctoral study.

I would like to gather data from 25 PhD students and 25 doctoral supervisors from all colleges on their experiences of the socialisation process. The data gathered will be used to inform my doctoral thesis.

I would be grateful if the necessary assistance could be extended to me to carry out the study in the University of Ghana. I can be contacted through the following: [eddieokai2010@yahoo.com/](mailto:eddieokai2010@yahoo.com) eoka376@aucklanduni.ac.nz or call mobile on 00642102840239.

Respectfully,

Edward Okai

**APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS
ETHICS COMMITTEE ON THE 1ST DECEMBER, 2014, REFERENCE NUMBER
013361.**

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