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A fundamental constituent of the reaching *habitus* of bachelor's degree-holding professors at Instituto Federal de Minas Gerais (IFMG): professional capital***Constitutivo fundamental do *habitus* professoral de professores bacharéis do Instituto Federal de Minas Gerais (IFMG): o capital profissional*****Walas Leonardo de Oliveira^a**

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ABSTRACT

The objective of the present study was to identify the constitutive elements of the teaching *habitus* of bachelor's degree-holding professors working at Instituto Federal de Educação, Ciência e Tecnologia de Minas Gerais (IFMG). This is a predominantly qualitative case study. The research followed twelve teachers who graduated from bachelor's programs – mainly engineers – all of whom did not hold teaching degrees. The main data collection methods were interviews and online classroom observations. The theoretical framework adopted was based on Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus*, field, and capital, as well as the notion of teaching *habitus*, understood as a specific inflection of *habitus*. Data were organized and analyzed using a content analysis approach. The results highlight the centrality of a fundamental component in the teaching *habitus* of the participants: professional capital, understood here as the set of experiences and knowledge acquired by teachers through substantial and meaningful work experience in companies prior to their entry into the field of Professional and Technological Education (EPT).

Keywords: Professional Education. Federal Institutes. Teaching *Habitus*. Professional Capital.

RESUMO

O objetivo do presente trabalho foi identificar constitutivos do *habitus* professoral de professores bacharéis que atuam no Instituto Federal de Educação, Ciência e Tecnologia de Minas Gerais (IFMG). Trata-se de uma pesquisa predominantemente qualitativa, do tipo estudo de caso. Foram acompanhados doze professores graduados em cursos de bacharelado, principalmente engenheiros, todos sem graduação em licenciatura. Realizou-se entrevista e observação de aulas, *online*, como principais instrumentos de coleta de dados. A fundamentação teórica adotada foi o conceito de *habitus*, campo e capital, de Pierre Bourdieu e *habitus*

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professoral, uma inflexão do *habitus*. Os dados foram organizados e analisados por uma aproximação, a Análise de Conteúdo. Os resultados apontam para a centralidade de um tipo de constitutivo fundamental do *habitus* professoral dos sujeitos acompanhados: o *capital profissional*, compreendido aqui como o conjunto de experiências e saberes adquiridos por professores com grande e significativa vivência de trabalho em empresas, anterior ao seu ingresso no magistério da Educação Profissional e Tecnológica (EPT).

Palavras-chave: Educação Profissional. Institutos Federais. *Habitus* Professoral. Capital Profissional.

Introduction

The objective of this research¹ was to identify the constitutive elements of the teaching *habitus* of bachelor's degree-holding professors working at Instituto Federal de Educação, Ciência e Tecnologia de Minas Gerais (IFMG), or, in English, the Federal Institute of Education, Science, and Technology of Minas Gerais. The following question guided this study: which social and formative trajectories (primary socialization and secondary socialization) did the professors go through before teaching at the above-mentioned institute, having quality teaching practices in mind? After finishing the first part of this investigation, which was the bibliography review, it was found that in the time frame from 2008 to 2020, five papers, two dissertations and three theses drew on concepts from Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Social Fields in order to understand Professional and Technological Education (EPT) in Brazil (Ferreira, 2017; Lima, 2013; Santos, 2019; Silva, 2017; Souza, 2012). Despite the few studies regarding EPT based on Bourdieu's theory, it can be highlighted that these documents present significant clues about the features that constitute the teaching *habitus* of EPT teachers, such as: a) the importance the teachers attribute to practical and expository lessons; b) limited use of more active methodologies; c) appreciation of life experiences and experiences shared among peers; d) recognizing influences from previous teachers in pedagogical practice production, notoriously in the papers by Santos (2019), Silva (2017) and Souza (2012). These findings were incorporated in this study and promoted the understanding of professional capital, which was conceived as the hegemonic finding.

Theoretical framework

According to Bourdieu (2010), the *habitus* concept originated from the Aristotelian *hexis* notion. Therefore the *hexis* was the precursor of *habitus*. Although *hexis* can be translated as habit in Aristotelian philosophy, in Bourdieu the *hexis* which is denominated as *habitus* is not merely a habit, meaning an inflexible action, rigidly formatted and maintained. It is a complex cognitive/emotional structure, a generating principle that has stability and flexibility simultaneously or even – at first

¹ This article derives from a doctorate in education thesis, which was defended at the Graduate Program in Education at Universidade Estadual Paulista (UNESP), in the city of Rio Claro. As this study involved human beings, it is relevant to inform that the research was duly approved by the Research Ethics Committee (CEP) from UNESP Rio Claro.

glance – a custom from which originated one or multiple similar behaviours that are produced and reproduced in distinct or consonant situations.

Bourdieu (2015a) points out that the *habitus* is developed throughout life and its characteristics depend on what one sees, hears, produces and reproduces from – and with – the information and representations derived from daily life dialectics, in other words, from social/cognitive/emotional experiences generally experienced in life as a whole. According to him (Bourdieu, 1986; 2010; 2011a; 2011b; 2013; 2015a), one experiences preferences, choices, perceptions, an ethic and a moral for the first time within family practices, this being the primary socialization, in other words, the constitution of the first structures of a *habitus*. Or it constitutes the base for social practices that emphasize the ways to be and occupy the world from a specific social class, an individual or a group of individuals within a class. Secondary socialization, as stated by the aforementioned author, is mediated by the school. Thus, primary socialization is mainly a family responsibility, while schools are mainly responsible for secondary socialization. The *habitus* is a structured, structuring structure, as it is inert and moving at the same time.

The apparently singular manner a certain agent traverses the space they are in is greatly associated to their class *habitus*. Nonetheless, school and labor trajectories can alter an individual's original *habitus*. For example: the academic path taken by an agent that came from lower-class settings might have more adversities (failure, evasion, interruptions, etc.) than the one taken by an upper-class individual. This occurs due to their class *habitus*, which is generally linked to a lower cultural capital. On the other hand, if that same agent experienced another social environment – different from their original one – systematically, meaning coexisting for a long period of time in a socially and intellectually robust environment, with greater cultural capital, these new socializations could alter their original *habitus*.

The *modus operandi* in question also confronts material and symbolic weights from the field where it may come to action and where it leaves its fingerprints as well. In turn, the fields, as stated by Bourdieu (2010), hold stable laws of operation, reaffirming the existence of general laws that rule the fields' functioning. In the fields or in a field there are dispute objects, there are concerns regarding the power that establishes itself and is established by the agents who operate and are operationalised by it, material and symbolically. There are social conflicts – whose conflagration occurs through the game that is played – for social positions in that field, aiming to benefit oneself in said field and in society as a whole.

In Bourdieu, the *capital* concept is transmuted in power as well. But not only economic. The typology the above mentioned author formulated about the capital contemplates four types: economic, cultural, social and symbolic, all of which transmute in power, with the difference that the economic capital is self-emphasizing whereas the others are opaque at first sight. Not because they are less valuable, but because they are also enveloped in a symbolic aura. Exactly what occurs with capital of an eminently symbolic nature. It is in this sense that the author repeatedly asserts throughout his work that there is no uninterested act, as in societies, such as ours, distributed in

distinct social classes, favored and unfavored, with social strata fractioned within the two classes, the social agents experience the tempest of power disputes on a daily basis. This applies to the constitution of *habitus* and the fields particularly and generically.

It is necessary to provide some clarification regarding cultural capital, as this capital is central to teaching *habitus* analysis. As Bourdieu (2015c) states, cultural capital has three forms: a) embodied state; b) objectified state and c) institutionalized state. Embodied, when “having becomes being” (Bourdieu, 2015c, p. 83) through the acquisition of cultural capital, an arduous effort of the agent upon itself, which presumes time and investment, both personal and from one’s family. Objectified, when the cultural capital is objectified in what is referred to as cultural goods, in this case, paintings, sculptures, books, instruments and machines. Finally, institutionalized capital, materialized through diplomas and certificates which serve to legitimate the ownership of cultural capital, attesting the competence of its owner.

The constitution of teaching *habitus* follows a similar logic to the base *habitus*. Likewise, it is structured throughout life, only in this case, it is necessarily during teaching practice. Its structure is a result from the constitution of each agent’s original class *habitus*. One of the previously mentioned capitals, the cultural capital, is fundamental to the constitution of teaching *habitus*, bearing in mind the teaching quality it expresses. It is worth noting that the same *modus operandi* that constitutes a *habitus* is being adopted here in order to understand the constitution of a teaching *habitus*. The difference lies in the fact that a teaching *habitus* is, in itself, a professional *habitus*.

In this case, this professional *habitus*, beyond the characteristics from the teacher’s class of origin, is also composed of elements such as: codes of conduct specific to school teaching that are legitimated in a distinct social context and historical moment, instruments or work tools appropriate to that labor activity and commonly used by said professionals, language codes related to the nature of the profession, and even collective clothing choices, expressing a “style” produced within the profession (Carlindo, 2014; Silva, 2017). Therefore, in order to structure a professional *habitus* – in this case the teaching *habitus* – it is necessary to practice this occupation as a profession. It is acceptable that its initial structuring takes place since the beginning of school years, as well as during it, including, of course, initial education, be it a teaching or bachelors degree, through observations about the way of being and acting in one’s teachers’ teaching practices. In this sense, Tardif (2014) states:

[...] this ability to face situations is formative: it is the only one that enables the teacher to develop certain *habitus* (that is, certain dispositions acquired in and through real practice) which will make it possible for teachers to face the conditionings and the non-negotiables of the profession. The *habitus* can be transformed into a teaching style, into ‘tricks of the trade’ or even into ‘professional personality’ traits: it expresses itself through a personal and professional know-how to be and know-how to do, validated by daily life labor (Tardif, 2014, p. 49).

The empirical research

A predominantly qualitative research, of the case study modality, was conducted. According to Yin (2001), the above mentioned research type may include either singular case studies or multiple case studies. Case studies of the singular type refer to studies in which the analysed case represents the decisive, rare, extreme and revealing case. Multiple case studies, in turn, occur when the same study contains more than one case. This paper is set between the singular and multiple cases, as it addresses an Institute similar to others in the country. According to item XIII of Article 5 of Law No. 11,892/2008 (Brasil, 2008), IFMG was created through the integration of the CEFETs (Centro Federal de Educação Tecnológica, or Federal Center for Technological Education) in Ouro Preto and Bambuí, with the Escola Agrotécnica Federal de São João Evangelista. As Unidades de Ensino Descentralizadas² (UNEDs), or Decentralized Teaching Units, from Formigas and Congonhas also composed the IFMG in this initial stage. The other campuses were created afterwards. Currently, the institution has 18 campuses and an innovation center.

IFMG currently has 18 campuses that offer 164 courses, in the on-site modality: 51 integrated technical courses, 18 subsequent technical courses, 12 concomitant technical courses, 45 bachelor's, 12 teaching courses, 11 technologist courses, 11 specialization courses and four professional master's³.

There were 12 monitored subjects, who received the following fictional names: Bernardo, Cláudio, Isabela, Josué, Lucas, Marcelo, Paulo, Ricardo, Roberta, Roberto, Vinícius and Yasmina. 12 interviews (one with each subject) were held, each one lasting approximately one hour, all done through *Google Meet*, as data production happened during the COVID-19 pandemic. Two to six classes from each of the 12 professors were watched, most of which were held in the mentioned platform as well. Only two professors used *Microsoft Teams* as the preferred platform for their classes.

Content Analysis was chosen as inspiration to organize and interpret part of the data, and from these findings an analytic logic was kept in the production of the data analysis as a whole. According to Bardin (2009), Content Analysis is a technique that enables the clustering of sense units, which express the interest of the researcher, in accordance with the objective of the research. The sense units consist in the *lócus* of understanding and organization of the categories mentioned in the objective of the study, which will indicate correlations, *doxas* and the analytic logic to be simultaneously formulated and used in the empirical data treatment. For this research, the categories received the function of highlighting the constituents of the subjects' teaching *habitus*.

2 The UNEDs are new units that come to existence related to an already existing campus, being kept dependent on matters such as administration, pedagogy and finances until it becomes an independent campus.

3 Data from Plataforma Nilo Peçanha (2023).

Initially, the sense units (or themes) were identified within their respective context units in the referred interview transcripts⁴ text. For example, when the respondents said the expressions “experience” or “practice”, we aimed to categorize such expressions according to their context, that is, “work experience”, “life experience”, “academic experience” and so forth. However, not all of the identified sense units were directly present in the responders’ speech. In these cases, it was necessary to interpret such units using the chosen theoretical framework. For example, when the responders talked about “observing high school or undergraduate course teachers” such theme was semantically translated as “student *habitus*”⁵.

Presenting the subjects

Concerning the initial education and academic qualification of the 12 professors, most of the responders, nine teachers, held an engineering degree, with a prominent incidence of mechanical and production engineering degrees. Nearly all of these individuals held *lato sensu* postgraduate specialization degrees as well, 11 teachers, seven of whom are doctors. Only one professor from the sample did not hold a *lato sensu* postgraduate specialization degree. The breakdown of the monitored professors’ qualifications can be seen in Table 1:

Table 1: Education and academic qualification of the monitored professors

PROFESSOR	UNDERGRADUATE COURSE	ACADEMIC QUALIFICATION/DEGREE	PEDAGOGICAL QUALIFICATION/TYPE
Bernardo	Mechanical Engineering	Master’s Degree in Materials Engineering	Pedagogical Complementation
Cláudio	Production Engineering	Doctorate Degree in Materials Engineering	None
Isabela	Law	Doctorate Degree in Law	<i>Lato sensu</i> Postgraduate Specialization
Josué	Mechanical Engineering	Doctorate Degree in Mechanical Engineering	<i>Lato sensu</i> Postgraduate Specialization
Lucas	Mechanical Engineering	Doctorate Degree in Mechanical Engineering	None
Marcelo	Production Engineering	Postgraduate Specialization in Production Management	<i>Lato sensu</i> Postgraduate Specialization
Paulo	Production Engineering	Doctorate Degree in Production Engineering	<i>Lato sensu</i> Postgraduate Specialization
Ricardo	Architecture and Urbanism	Doctorate Degree in Architecture and Urbanism	<i>Lato sensu</i> Postgraduate Specialization
Roberta	Metallurgical Engineering	Doctorate Degree in Mechanical Engineering	<i>Lato sensu</i> Postgraduate Specialization
Roberto	Industrial Electrical Engineering	Doctorate Degree in Electrical Engineering	<i>Lato sensu</i> Postgraduate Specialization
Vinícius	Control and Automation Engineering	Doctorate Degree in Electrical Engineering with a focus on Control and Automation	<i>Lato sensu</i> Postgraduate Specialization
Yasmina	Accounting	Doctorate Degree in Education	<i>Lato sensu</i> Postgraduate Specialization

Source: author’s own elaboration.

⁴ It is necessary to clarify that, in this sense, the “communication” was constituted by transcribing the interviews.

⁵ Student *habitus* is a formulation that was developed from the formulation of teaching *habitus* by Silva (2003; 2005; 2011).

Regarding age range, the responders were 29 to 59 years old. Thus, there was a three decade age gap between the oldest teacher (Bernardo) and the youngest (Josué). Although the subjects held bachelor's, not teaching degrees, 10 of them, until that moment, had done some type of pedagogical qualification. It is worth noting that most of the teachers who went through some type of pedagogical qualification opted for a *lato sensu* postgraduate specialization instead of a pedagogical complementation course.

Data indicates that this occurred for two reasons: firstly, because IFMG itself offered this type of course in Arcos Campus⁶. Secondly, as some responders said, as they are professors who hold master's and/or doctorate degrees, they preferred doing a *lato sensu* postgraduate specialization in the educational area instead of another type, for example a pedagogical complementation course, which would be closer to a simple professional qualification and, therefore, hold low social *status*. For greater clarification, most of these subjects are part of the middle class and, in this regard, Bourdieu (2015b) notes that middle-class individuals tend to be more responsive to options that they perceive as more lucrative and socially valued while spending less resources, that is to say, they make choices with the best cost-benefit, always taking objective conditions into account. The responders probably perceived the *lato sensu* postgraduate specialization as more prestigious and compatible to the position they occupied socially and in the educational field. Additionally, it must be stated that most of the teachers vehemently rejected the possibility of taking a licentiate degree course; it was Roberto's case, for example:

A licentiate degree, no way! I think a licentiate degree is absurd, because you'll send someone who already has an undergraduate degree, already has a masters, will do a doctorate... so the guy has to study three or four more years? And that would demotivate a lot of people with good technique to go into the academic environment [...]. So I think a licentiate degree is a terrible idea! (Professor Roberto, Engineer, Doctor).

However, it is noteworthy that 10 out of the 12 researched teachers considered it important for bachelor's degree-holding professors that work in EPT to go through some type of pedagogical qualification. It was identified that the most vigorous defendants of pedagogical qualification for bachelors were two female professors, Isabela and Yasmina. For the former, it is absolutely necessary that EPT professors have some pedagogical qualification, as such teachers have a strong tendency to rely on traditional methods for classes, that is, expository lessons, with little to no student participation. In Isabela's opinion, pedagogical qualification would contribute for the bachelors' lessons to be more innovative. In turn, professor Yasmina – the most experienced professional in the sample group – argued that bachelors do not know didactics and that teaching practice may help, but it does not make the individual a good teacher. Therefore, in her opinion, it is necessary that

⁶ IFMG's Arcos Campus offered a *lato sensu* postgraduate specialization in teaching, in distance learning format, with an emphasis in EPT (Professional and Technological Education) teaching. Many professors from the institution took this course under the guidance of the Rector's Office.

unlicensed teachers go through a teaching qualification course. Generally, all monitored teachers attributed some importance to pedagogical qualification, except for two professors, referred to as Cláudio and Lucas here. Ultimately, 10 out of the 12 subjects demonstrated receptivity and interest for pedagogical qualification courses, however, not considering a licentiate degree. It became clear that they prefer short courses focused on teaching practices, in other words, it can be said that the group expects the pedagogical qualification to provide practical and operational tools, especially techniques to teach and evaluate the students, in order to achieve better teaching results. It is reiterated that: they want to remain bachelors and do not want a licentiate degree. Could it be that holding a licentiate degree and not a bachelor's, in the context of the disputes within their field of action, leads to less socially respected positions in the field and generally? It must be taken into consideration that our subjects are part of the middle class and long for greater prestige. Could this attitude derive from an *ethos* from the origin class *habitus*?

Regarding the subjects' teaching experience, according to Day (2001), characterizing a teacher as experienced, although it may appear to be an easy task at first glance, is not, as the professional development of teachers is not continuous. It involves moving oneself forward and backward. Additionally, there are phases or stages that may overlap, as Huberman (2013) refers, when researching the professional life cycle of teachers, involving the characterization of the different teaching career phases. Specifically in the case of the most experienced teachers in the sample group, their interviews revealed that some of them had worked many years as EPT professors. For example, professor Bernardo was an instructor at Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem Industrial (SENAI), the National Service of Industrial Training, for many years, before working at IFMG. Only two professors, Roberta and Vinícius, had little experience in this modality according to the adopted criteria, with just three years each.

In terms of the origin of the subjects' social class⁷, it was observed that seven of the interviewed teachers have at least one parent who holds a higher education diploma. It is worth highlighting that, within this group, two subjects, Josué and Lucas, have parents that, in addition to an undergraduate course, hold a master's degree. Also within this group, one of the professors, Paulo, stated that his parents (both) hold degrees in medicine, a course known to be pursued by socially favored families. Therefore, it can be declared that almost 60% of the professors have middle-class family backgrounds and, probably, with a high or medium cultural capital volume.

Regarding the profession of the responders' parents, firstly, it was possible to observe a clearer correlation between university education, for those who have it, and the professions they practice. When it comes to the subjects with no higher education, the occupations they had appeared to have no clear connection with their schooling. Secondly, the significant number of parents who are teachers, six, must be emphasized. This data is supported by research that points to the fact that

⁷ Here, based on the chosen theoretical framework, Pierre Bourdieu, social class is understood as the set of agents in similar social positions; who, put in similar conditions and exposed to similar determinants, have similar attitudes, interests, perceptions and assessments, in other words, there is a common *habitus* among all the constituents of this same social group.

children of teachers have a greater tendency of practicing this profession as well, such as the study by Machado (2004). If this quantitative takes the mothers of Bernardo and Roberta into account, who worked at schools as auxiliaries/janitors, it can be found that eight of the responders' parents had schools as their workplace. This is revealing data: the responders' familiar *habitus* was probably influenced by experiences related to the schooling institution. This data is extremely important to understand the constitution of this group's teaching *habitus*. Moreover, it is worth noting that those teachers who have at least one parent that holds a higher education diploma and has a profession corresponding to this level of education, were considered as part of high cultural capital families. Those who have at least one parent who completed their high school education, not necessarily having a profession corresponding to it, were considered as having medium cultural capital. Lastly, with evidence of low cultural capital were the teachers from lower-class backgrounds, with parents who did not complete their basic education (BE) – which in Brazil includes early childhood, elementary, and secondary education – and were manual labor workers. The education levels and professions of the subjects' parents can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2: Level of education and profession of the teachers' parents

	HIGH CULTURAL CAPITAL VOLUME		INTERMEDIATE CULTURAL CAPITAL VOLUME		LOW CULTURAL CAPITAL VOLUME	PROFESSION	
	Mother and father with a higher education diploma	Only one parent with a higher education diploma	Mother and father who completed BE	Only one parent who completed BE	Mother and father with incomplete BE	Father	Mother
Bernardo					x	Side jobs, rural worker and factory worker	Homemaker and school janitor
Cláudio					x	Factory worker	Homemaker
Isabela	x					Businessman and lawyer	Teacher and school principal (at a BE institution)
Josué	x					Engineer and university professor	Economist and lawyer
Lucas		x				Engineer, university professor and businessman	Homemaker and BE teacher
Marcelo	x					Engineer	BE teacher and lawyer
Paulo	x					Doctor	Doctor and homemaker
Ricardo			x			Small business owner	Seamstress
Roberta				x		Factory worker	Merchant and general services auxiliary at a school
Roberto			x			Farmer, merchant and factory worker	Teacher, merchant and homemaker
Vinícius		x				BE teacher	Manicure
Yasmina		x				Accountant, public server, businessman and lawyer	Homemaker

Source: author's own elaboration.

It is important to remember that Bourdieu (2011b, 2013, 2015a, 2015b) states that there is a correlation between cultural capital acquisition and proficient usage of the standard form of one's native language as a result of one's *habitus*. This was taken into consideration in this paper's data interpretation. In this sense, the cultural capital acquired by the subjects interferes in their mastery of the content from the course they teach. Among the seven professors that were considered part of this group, it was observed that six communicated with the students with natural linguistic fluency, mastery of the standard form of language since birth.

Except for professor Marcelo, the six remaining professors in this group with greater cultural capital follow in the same direction as Bourdieu's thesis on correlations between subjects' cultural heritage and their success at school. In the interviews, it was possible to notice some common elements that are specific to culturally privileged families: knowledge and school appreciation; encouragement of reading habits; parents' intense participation in their children's school life, as well as a socialization network with other culturally and economically privileged people, of course. What professor Paulo reports is a good example of the familiar cultural investments he received as a child, especially when it comes to the fostering of reading habits:

So we, me and my siblings, would choose a book and then, at the end of the day, we sat down to read. So we would sit, me, my siblings and my mom, while my dad hadn't gotten home from work yet, and we would read. So each one read a piece, each person read a snippet [...]. Always, I was always exposed to books since I was little, not only at school, but especially at home, it was thing, it wasn't unplanned, it was a planned and thought out task, let's say, on my parents' part as they understood the importance it would have in my development, in my education. (Professor Paulo, Engineer, Doctor).

Although maybe the families of these six professors can not be classified as economic elites in Bourdieu's terms, they undoubtedly transmitted a significant cultural heritage to their children, which granted them a higher cultural capital that, in turn, was well applied in their education and work as teachers. Our subjects are divided into two groups when it comes to cultural capital acquisition: the one that inherited it from the family (professors Isabela, Josué, Lucas, Marcelo, Paulo, Vinícius and Yasmina); and the one acquired it during their initial qualification or teaching work itself (professors Ricardo, Roberta and Roberto).

A noteworthy fact is that three teachers, Ricardo, Roberto and Roberta, who are part of the aforementioned second group regarding cultural capital acquisition, although their parents do not hold a higher education diploma, presented characteristics in their teaching *habitus* almost identical to the ones from the teachers in the first group, that is, mastery of the standard form of language, with fluent communication, beyond their mastery of the content. With regards to this phenomena, Bourdieu (2015b) states that it is a transition class or middle class, they did not inherit high cultural capital from their parents, instead acquiring cultural capital through their schooling trajectory in good institutions. These three teachers did their undergraduate, master's and doctorate courses in

high-quality federal educational institutions. The three of them also have other characteristics in common, such as: encouragement and support from the parents or family to continue their studies; teachers' encouragement; above average academic performance, especially during basic education; intense and mindful effort and dedication to studying.

Professor Roberto's case is a good example, as the following excerpts demonstrate the constant school transfers in pursuit of higher-quality education:

[...] I didn't let myself disappoint my parents. So I put in the effort to be compatible with getting 9's and 10's. I was a straight A student, you know. I really had this commitment, right, of meeting the school's standards in a grade A level. When I went to the 5th grade, I got out of this catholic school, right, this private school, and went to a school that... wasn't exactly a private school, it was a school from a cooperative [...] It was a school that, if I had to compare, its level of education was worse than at the private schools in our region at the time, but it was better than at the municipal schools [...] So I would say I was at an intermediate school and my grades were still 9 or 10 there and when everything went wrong I would get an 8. When I got to the 7th grade, a dentist that was my [...] science, biology teacher, she called my dad one day and said: "you have to get Roberto out of here because this school is not for him, you have to put him in [...] and stuff, cause he is really good and all that". She went on and on with the compliments, right. And it ended up that only in the 8th grade, from the 5th to the 7th I was at [school name], and only in the 8th grade I went to a catholic school. So there I really, it was really good for me because I found out I was just average [...] (Professor Roberto, Engineer, Doctor).

Ultimately, this second group evidences the power of cultural capital in the constitution of high-quality teaching, even though the cultural capital of the aforementioned teachers was not inherited from birth, instead, it was acquired during their own schooling process.

Bernardo and Cláudio were the professors with the greatest socio-cultural disadvantages, constituting a third group within the sample group, coming from lower-class families, with parents who did not finish BE. Although they presented difficulties in the communication with students, as Marcelo did, it was possible to identify that in their case these issues were related to a low cultural capital. For example, Bernardo stated that he was always shy and, additionally, always faced difficulties when pronouncing some words. In his opinion, these two characteristics exceedingly undermined him throughout his entire schooling and academic trajectory, interfering in what he names as "lesson mastery". During his interview and class observations, beyond the diction problems, it was possible to notice difficulties with subject-verb agreement, verb conjugation and other issues.

Professor Cláudio, similar to Bernardo, had difficulties with subject-verb agreement and verb conjugation. In addition to these, other problems were present in his communication, both in the interview and in the observation of his lessons, such as: use of words whose meanings did not fit the context; language that was at times overly formal, at other times too colloquial, and so on.

Regarding language, in Bernardo's and Cláudio's case, the lack of fluency in the mother tongue during classroom communication was notorious, which is possibly the result of a combination

of lingos from different instances: one from the subjects' class *habitus*, originally lower-class, and another specific to the scientific and academic field, which is constructed daily. Evidently, according to Bourdieu (2015b), both professors are class defectors, therefore, their teaching *habitus* carries elements from the structures structured in their first socializations, but also from new structures and/or structures that were modified by the specific field where they transit now.

As Bourdieu (2015b) states, only children from privileged social classes demonstrate actual naturalness in their attitudes and skills, as these constitute the "culture" of this class, which, in turn, is quite close to the culture that schools value. On the other hand, the children from less favored classes only painfully acquire what the elites' children inherit with no sacrifices or obstacles. Therefore, as it is not natural to them since birth, the culture that schools value, in its practices, sounds artificial, resulting in a *habitus* that goes through constant restructurings in a field that is different from the one originally specific to their class.

However, in terms of the mastery of the content these two teachers had in their respective areas, it was possible to observe similarities to the two previous groups, with greater cultural capital. Therefore, some questions can be formulated: if these two professors had low cultural capital, how did they master the content they taught so well? What could have occurred in their trajectories that, despite the low cultural capital, regarding mastery of the contents, brought them closer to the other teachers who have greater cultural advantages? The answer to these questions lies in another constitutive of the teaching *habitus*: the professional experience in the job market, a professional capital that is greatly valued in EPT.

In this sense, data revealed that professional experience in the job market, previous to entering the teaching field, is a differential. It was noticeable in the interviews and, especially with the lesson observations, that the students greatly value teachers who have previous experience in the market. Regarding this, the 12 professors were divided into three groups: a) professors with extensive experience in the job market (over 10 years of experience); b) professors with medium experience in the job market (from three to 10 years); and c) professors with little to no experience in the job market (up to three years).

For example, Bernardo and Cláudio had worked in the industry for many years, in areas related to the subjects of the courses they taught. Bernardo had 16 years of experience in the industry before becoming a teacher at IFMG. Additionally, he had 13 years of experience as an instructor at SENAI, as well, which for formal effects equates to being an industry worker within the S System. Thus, he dedicated 29 years of his life to the industry. Professor Cláudio had 15 years of experience in the industry prior to entering the aforementioned institution. These two teachers were part of the lower class, they had parents with low schooling, their entire basic education was at public schools and they conciliated work with their studies their whole lives. At last, although these subjects have low cultural capital in their social origin, they had another capital, which is quite valuable, at least in the EPT field: high professional capital.

High professional capital is understood as a significant experience, in quantitative and qualitative terms. In other words, an experience that was, in fact, valuable, in accordance with the perspective of what the job market itself considers legitimate, particularly in the engineering field. This occurred in the case of some of the interviewed teachers who had professional experience in big companies, including multinationals.

Regarding professors Bernardo and Cláudio specifically, we believe the lack of a high cultural capital, in the bourdiesian perspective, was compensated by a high professional capital. In the specific reality of EPT, what is at stake is the teaching of a profession, in technical or superior level. In the specific case of higher education, despite the fact that many courses offered at the federal institutes are offered at universities as well, the difference is that, in the courses offered by the IFs, the great educational objective is to prepare the student for the job market. Although the federal institutes have to work with the education, research and extension triad, the main focus is education, particularly directed towards the training of highly qualified professionals. Therefore, when an IF professor has previous experience in the job market, in the area they teach, this teacher is more valued, both by the institution and by their peers and students.

During the observation of the subjects' lessons, especially the most experienced ones, it was noticeable that when they gave examples from their professional practice at companies, the students demonstrated much more interest and participation while listening to these descriptions of the professional practice, compared to moments when the professors presented theoretical contents. Some students, particularly the ones who work in the area, always interacted with the professors in these moments, exchanging experiences and practices. This was more present in the engineering courses than others, possibly signaling an essential difference in the engineering field: the practical dimension, related to action, stands out over the theoretical/reflexive dimension. In this sense, it was observed that the engineering classes are extremely practice oriented and closely related to the job market's needs.

Finally, it can be argued that the absence of high cultural capital in professors Bernardo and Cláudio was compensated by a high professional capital that was acquired in the industry, specifically, which is relevant for professors and students in the engineering courses. What is being discussed here is a situation where the professional experience in the job market transforms into a type of "practical cultural capital" that compensates for the absence of the cultural capital dimension, the "theoretical" one, which is usually more valued. In the context of the federal institutes, where students are mainly prepared for the job market, particularly in the engineering courses, it can be declared that practical knowledge is as important as, or even more important than theoretical knowledge. At least, that is what was observed in the subjects' lessons.

Professor Yasmina, in turn, had 35 years of experience in the job market, in the accounting area, before entering IFMG. Similar to professors Bernardo and Cláudio, she gave many practical examples in her classes, a product of her high professional capital. The difference between her and these other two teachers is that, beyond having great professional capital, she had high cultural

capital as well. Regarding professors that, as Yasmina does, have both high cultural capital and high professional capital, the latter qualifies their teaching, in other words, it makes the teaching of the profession more realistic and compatible to the job market's demands. Thus, if Bernardo's and Cláudio's high professional capital compensates for the lack of an inherited cultural capital, to teachers like Yasmina, the professional capital acts as a resource that perfects their teaching process. This is the power of the cultural capital as a high-quality teaching *habitus* constituent.

Another teacher in the second group, with medium professional experience in the market, that was seen using his experience in lessons was professor Roberto. When he was questioned about his thoughts on bachelor's degree holding professors, who do not have a teaching degree, and work in EPT, having to go through some type of pedagogical qualification, said teacher responded: "[...] Most of the time we need someone with real factory floor experience, that brings a lot to professional education" (Professor Roberto, Engineer, Doctor). When observing his classes, it was clear that, as professors Bernardo and Cláudio, who have great experience in the market, Roberto's classes are full of examples and situations from the experience he acquired in factories within his field of qualification, industrial electrical engineering.

On the other hand, half of the monitored subjects, six professors, had little to no experience in the job market. These professors had a more academic profile: among the six of them, five were doctors or doctorate students, whose lessons were mostly based on the knowledge these teachers acquired in their undergraduate and academic graduate programs (master's and doctorate), except for Marcelo, the only teacher in the sample who does not have this type of academic qualification.

It is noteworthy that four out of these six professors – Paulo, Roberta, Vinícius and Marcelo – made it clear that they had some difficulties entering the job market as engineers soon after graduating, which contributed to their transition to the educational path.

However, teaching experience itself was another important constituent of the monitored subjects' teaching *habitus*. This knowledge, according to Tardif (2014), is not systematized in doctrines or theories, as it is practical knowledge, that would constitute a range of representations through which the teachers understand, interpret and guide their everyday classroom practices. This knowledge would constitute teaching culture in action and express certain dispositions acquired in and through real practice, resulting in *habitus*. In this case, professional: the teaching *habitus*.

It should be emphasized that 10 out of the 12 professors showed acknowledgement of the importance of experiential knowledge in their teaching practice, or, in other words, in their teaching *habitus* constitution. These 10 professors highlighted that their own teaching experience has granted them important assistance to their classroom practices. Additionally, 10 teachers used expressions that refer to an individual search for improvement and development in the profession. Thus, "to go after", "self-learning", "to poke around", "trial and error", "progress", and so on, are expressions that describe an individual effort from the teacher, although this self mobilization often occurs with the support of colleagues.

This individualized search in the development of a teaching *habitus* appears to be more present among teachers who are engineers. Although this element was also present among our three subjects who hold bachelor's degrees in other courses, we noticed that autonomous learning and development of teaching practices is more prevalent for professors in the engineering field. Reinforcing this argument, Silva (2017) verified in his research that many engineers seek to learn how to teach and develop their ways of being in the classroom very autonomously. The researcher states that this could result from the characteristics of Brazilian engineering courses, which, according to him, privilege individual activities over collective ones, therefore making the students predisposed to also working this way once they graduate.

A second noteworthy point about teaching experience as a constituent of teaching *habitus*, in EPT, is some professors' understanding that teaching with excellence is, among other things, a matter of training. Here, training is understood as the practical experience exercised in the classroom, an everyday activity that can be improved over time. Ricardo, for example, is a bachelor's degree holding professor that described the formative potential of teaching experience within the training perspective. Especially regarding evaluation, the teacher stated: "One way is experience itself. It's the natural act of experimenting and applying it in the next semester or next year, trying to do better" (Professor Ricardo, Architect, Doctor). Could this be an indication of possibly disdaining pedagogical theories and reflexions in favor of a practical form of dealing with the teaching and learning processes? That is the age-old question that remains relevant: the relationship between theory and practice in the classroom within the scope of teaching work.

Final considerations

In this research, three constituents of the teaching *habitus* were revealed as the most recurrent ones when it comes to high-quality teaching work in EPT: a) cultural capital and class *habitus*; b) professional capital; and c) teaching experience. However, data analysis signaled towards a greater prevalence of the professional capital as a structuring constituent of the teaching *habitus* developed in such institutions' classrooms. At least, that is the perspective of the teachers, our subjects, who work in this modality of education.

Additionally, it is believed that, in EPT, the professional capital is as important as the cultural capital in the teaching practice, as it was noted that when cultural and professional capital were combined in the same professional's experience the result was extremely positive. It must be emphasized that it is not a matter of reproducing or recreating the old controversial issue regarding theory and practice in teaching qualification and practice. It is a matter of presenting a new element to the scope of questions that revolve around EPT in the Brazilian educational field, especially the ones regarding teacher training. However, it is acknowledged that the central constituent of the teaching *habitus* that is produced and reproduced in EPT, the professional capital, requires further analysis, as it affects broad institutional matters concerning the training and professional practice of teachers throughout Brazilian professional education as a whole, not just that offered at and by IFMG.

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