

**Teacher and Government Officer Policy
Perspectives and Participations in Guernsey's
Changing Education Policy Landscape**

by Rebekah Fant

for MA Education, Policy and Society, King's College London

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Abstract

For some time now, educational policy making has been shaped by neoliberal influences. This has led to some profound changes based on the insertion of market principles into education provision. Over three decades of research, predominantly based in English schools, has focused on understanding how marketisation, new forms of management and accountability regimes based on performance data and inspection judgements have impacted schools and the teachers working within them. This study traces some neoliberal reforms currently being enacted in Guernsey, a novel setting for this type of empirical policy research. Guernsey's educational provisions are undergoing many significant changes, with this paper focusing on the policy areas of curriculum, assessment, monitoring and accountability. The intention is to explore how neoliberal influences are reflected in related policy documentation, as well as how a range of educational professionals experience, consolidate and participate in reforms processes.

Employing Foucault's perspectives on discursive practices, critical policy analysis of the public introduction of Ofsted to Guernsey uses Bacchi's (2009) *What is the problem represented to be?* framework and excerpts of other key policies, discussed alongside empirical findings of a small-scale study involving ten policy actors currently working in Guernsey's state education sector. Participants broadly consist of education professionals involved in curriculum, assessment, monitoring and accountability: teachers leading one or more subject areas (subject leaders); school senior leaders and government officers working with these school-based leaders. Adopting a qualitative approach, perspectives towards policy changes and teacher participations in policy processes are explored using semi-structured interviews.

The findings indicate that discourses associated with neoliberal reforms are prevalent in policy documentation and interview data, namely justifications based on raising standards and equitable outcomes. Participants hold varied perspectives towards policy changes and work on policy by reproducing and contesting discourses, suggesting the work of consolidating policy reforms into policy enactments and their professional identities is ongoing. This paper also considers shifts towards more heterarchical networking of policy involving a broader range of policy actors. Government officer roles shift towards facilitating, training and relating with networks of teachers previously separated from policy processes. It is hoped that opening up possibilities for further case study research of specific policy enactments and network ethnography will support new and existing policy-makers to reflect on dominant neoliberal discourses, identifying potential policy consequences and their implications for the future of Guernsey education, and consider how alternative policy perspectives can be included.

Contents

List of Figures	6
List of Tables	7
Chapter One: Introduction	8
Chapter Two: Contextual and Theoretical Background	11
Chapter Three: Research Methods and Methodology	22
Chapter Four: Discussions of Findings	35
Chapter Five: Conclusions	53
References	56
Appendices	67
<i>Appendix A: Summary of additional mitigations employed by a study with similar ethics challenges – Table 1 in Petrova et al (2014)</i>	67
<i>Appendix B: Indicative email copy identifying study features at first consideration as one of this study’s ethics considerations</i>	68
<i>Appendix C: Teacher Information Sheet</i>	69
<i>Appendix D: Policymaker Information Sheet</i>	71
<i>Appendix E: Teacher Consent Form</i>	73
<i>Appendix F: Policymaker Consent Form</i>	74
<i>Appendix G: Teacher Interview Guide</i>	75
<i>Appendix H: Policymaker Interview Guide</i>	77
<i>Appendix I: Minimal Risk ethics clearance approval letter</i>	79

List of Figures

<i>Figure 1: WPR Framework (Bacchi, 2009, p.2).....</i>	<i>33</i>
<i>Figure 2: Hook-and-eye analysis (Cresswell and Cresswell, 2018) of SoG’s “Inspections” webpage (SoG, n.d.-a)</i>	<i>36</i>
<i>Figure 3: Policy actor network diagram showing connections between government officers and teachers employed by Education (state sector) as emerged from research findings.</i>	<i>50</i>

List of Tables

<i>Table 1: Breakdown of all participants by role.</i>	<i>25</i>
<i>Table 2: Breakdown of teaching participants by phase. Should any participant teach across more than one phase, they have been characterised by the dominant group.</i>	<i>25</i>
<i>Table 3: Breakdown of teaching participants by experience at the time of interview.</i>	<i>25</i>
<i>Table 4: Participant Pseudonyms – how I will refer to participants in the study. As far as possible, I have avoided identifying any participant by both role and phase.....</i>	<i>26</i>
<i>Table 5: Code categorisations based on areas of policy and practice.</i>	<i>27</i>
<i>Table 6: Policy discourses. Various documentation types, including States of Guernsey Billet d’Etat (similar to a parliamentary bill) and articles (media releases); reports on education provisions, formal policy documentation, and webpages.</i>	<i>29</i>

Chapter One: Introduction

In this short chapter, I explain my motivations for setting this study in Guernsey (the location of the empirical work), before briefly outlining this study's theoretical background research using some examples from academic literature and what is meant by discourse in this context. Following this, I set out my research questions and the structure of this paper.

Personal Connections and Research Motivations

I was educated in Guernsey, under its now-former academically selective system. I saw how this branded some students “winners”, and others “losers”, through connotations of “passing” to certain schools. I remember this was a core argument against selection at the time, a decade before the government voted for its removal. Despite “winning” a scholarship, I soon felt I did not *belong* in my new school. Its high-pressure, competitive environment notwithstanding, many scholarship students openly stated their parents could afford the school fees. While I had practiced with my Gran (whose support I am endlessly grateful for), they had paid tutors helping “win” a scholarship to circumvent the fees. Therefore, few others were from “ordinary” backgrounds. I went on to train and work as a teacher in England, including one near to highly-performing selective schools. Experiencing first-hand the pressures of teacher and school performance measures, I came to understand that England's comprehensive schools also produced “winners” and “losers” – for teachers, as well as students. As I became interested in how education policy shaped teachers' professional lives, I viewed the changes afoot in Guernsey with new eyes. I recognise, and tackle through this research, my own assumptions and biases about the research site and what it means to be a teacher in neoliberal times.

Justifying the Theoretical Approaches

Turning to my theoretical lens, I concede I was resistant to “tarnish” Guernsey with an English “brush”, but neoliberal and, dare I say it, *English* influences became increasingly apparent through policy and empirical analysis. Neoliberal reforms have markedly changed public services. They are pervasive, continually shaping our definitions of success towards market principles (Ball, 2016), while their rationalisation as *common sense* makes older discourses of welfarism and the common *good*, illegitimate (Hall & O'Shea, 2013). Although neoliberal mechanisms of control are evident in global reforms, I use three examples from England to show some implications for teachers, shifting accountability and further policy-making.

Firstly, I consider two studies based in English primary schools as snapshots of changing policy demands reconfiguring teacher *professional identities*, by which I mean, how teachers' work aligns with their motivating beliefs. When England introduced a national curriculum and standardised assessments, Acker (1990) found teachers were forced to see their existing practice as problematic and accept ‘that to be a good professional, one would

have to accept the prescriptions and work harder, whatever one's doubts' (p.270). Three decades later, in a policy environment focused on generating and monitoring assessment data, Braun and Maguire (2020) characterised teachers' work as 'ever more exhausting and intensive', with targets which 're-vision what it means to be a "good" primary teacher as producing the required results' (p.443). Through this latter paper, I understood my own 'transformation into a neoliberal subject' (Ball, 2016, p.1047).

Secondly, I offer a short account of England's changing surveillance and performance mechanisms. In the first example, during Acker's (1990) study, teachers were still directly employed and schools overseen by (local) government, as in Guernsey. Then, introducing standardised curricula and assessments made possible monitoring through data and accountability to public judgements of schools' *performance* (Sahlberg, 2006). Shortly after, England's Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills (Ofsted) was formed. Its inspections have increased the visibility and comparability of school accountability to government objectives and offered another, high-stakes public performance judgement. Increasing central control of schools enabled England to embrace the (theoretical) cost-efficiencies of almost entirely removing local government from education provision. However, some consequences of judgments, positive and negative, have driven schools and their teachers to adopt behaviours which are inherently harmful (Falabella, 2014).

I lastly exemplify unintended consequences of policy making. A measure of the percentage of students attaining a "pass" grade in GCSE examinations *rewarded* schools targeting support towards some students over others (Perryman et al, 2011). Interestingly, this led policymakers not to change the policy encouraging these fabrications, but how its judgements were represented to account for every student equally¹, although in reality, fabrications persist. Simultaneously, this added criteria prioritising certain subjects over others, demonstrating how *problems* with neoliberal "technologies" can actually permit further, dynamic (re)shapings of education policy along neoliberal lines.

This brief introduction to some implications of neoliberal education reforms on teachers and their professional identities outlines some aspects of the theoretical background on which this study builds, and introduces that these might be differently experienced by teachers according to factors such as their role, phase of education and level of experience. Through this literature, I have also understood policy approaches used in similar research. This study explores written and verbal *discourses* of policy shifts, defined by Foucault as not just what is said or written, but "knowledges" or "truths" produced by 'the difference between what one could say correctly... (under the rules of grammar and logic) and what is actually said' (1968, in Bacchi and Bonham, 2014, p.179). This paper focuses on teachers' experiences of

¹ This is not strictly true. In England, GCSE performance is also broken down by, most notably, an indicator of economic disadvantage. Schools still target students towards certain grades and those close to grade boundaries, along with suspicions of much more insidious, illegal fabrications (e.g. Done, 2022).

changes to policy areas of curriculum, assessment, monitoring and accountability. It contributes to the strong existing research base through its novel setting as a case study site for further empirical research into Guernsey's many and significant ongoing education policy changes and the inclusion of government officer perspectives alongside teachers' to offer a richer, more nuanced narrative in a complex and shifting policy landscape.

Research Questions and Structure of the Paper

My initial intention to investigate 'How are teachers in Guernsey impacted by recent policy changes to curriculum, assessment and monitoring/accountability practices?' is broken down into three research questions, which I explore in this study, as follows:

- 1: What are school-based curriculum and assessment leaders' perspectives towards recent policy changes and their participations in policy processes?
- 2: What are government officers' perspectives on policy changes to curriculum and assessment? What are their roles in policy participations?
- 3: How have changes to monitoring and accountability affected teachers' policy participations, and what are the implications for policy enactments?

In the next chapter, I explore relevant aspects of Guernsey's educational context, critical policy analysis and neoliberalism as further background to this study. Chapter Three contains the methods and methodology. The fourth chapter explores *teachers' and government officers' perspectives towards key policy changes, and teacher participations within policy processes*. The final chapter concludes with an overview and some recommendations for policy and further research.

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Chapter Two: Contextual and Theoretical Background

In this chapter I will set out the theoretical and contextual background for the study. I will start with a short summary of education policy and practice in Guernsey (the location of the empirical work) before highlighting some recent policy changes and tensions. I then briefly explore what is meant by critical policy analysis in the context of this study, as well as detailing what is involved in *neoliberalising* education. I will explore three key facets of dominant reforms: marketisation, managerialism and performance which I will deploy in this study in order to critically reflect on education policy and practice in Guernsey. In what follows, I will examine the impact of neoliberal policies on education provision.

Contextualising the Study

The Bailiwick of Guernsey is an archipelago of eight islands which are culturally, political and judicially distinct from its closest neighbours, England and France (Cassell and Taylor, 2016). Its government, States of Guernsey (SoG), is politically made up of 38 individually-elected “Deputies” (politicians) who form committees and, unusually for its size, must reach consensus in their decision-making (Reardon and Pich, 2021). SoG’s Committee *for* Education, Culture and Sport (ECS) and bureaucratic equivalent, The Office of the Committee *for* Education, Culture and Sport, colloquially and hereafter known as *Education*, are responsible for education services on the islands, among other functions. SoG directly employs all teachers in state-maintained schools through *Education*, educating almost 9,000 pupils (Cassell & Taylor, 2016). Within this study’s remit are eleven primary schools, assigned as partner schools (feeder primaries) to the four secondary schools (ESC, 2020) on Guernsey, the largest island in the Bailiwick. Beyond this study’s scope is SoG’s provision of schools on two smaller Bailiwick islands, post-16 education (also undergoing significant change) and oversight of three fee-paying “colleges” (Cassell and Taylor, 2016).

The historical account of Guernsey’s schooling system by Cassell and Taylor (2016) was published in the same year Deputies voted to restructure secondary phase by removing the “11+” examinations for academically-selective admission to the Guernsey Grammar School and the “colleges” on fully-funded scholarships. Nevertheless, Cassell and Taylor (2016) contextualise education reforms by demonstrating that, since the early 20th Century (when school inspectors carried out the first recorded independent review), Guernsey education has taken influence from law and practices in England, although they also warn against downplaying its unique features. Zadori (2016) highlights the influence of economic drivers on education in the 20th century, crediting this with the island’s economic adaptability and resilience, encouraging Guernsey to continue to ‘hold on the market needs... [by] creat[ing] an adaptive, flexible and well-educated population’ (p.80).

In 2011, two schools' GCSE examination results seemed low when compared with English school results for the first time². Sherbourne (2016) explains the unjust 'public outcry' (n.p.) that followed prompted him to stand for political office. It led *Education* to commission an independent review from a (Guernsey-born) former UK Headteacher, Denis Mulkerrin, whose recommendations broadly endorse an English system of decentralised governance, accountability and performance-related pay (SoG, 2012a). However, much to Mulkerrin's chagrin, over a decade later many of these recommendations are still not implemented, including updating the Education Law. He recently questioned, 'Why has Guernsey retained an education structure that was kicked out in England over 30 years ago?' (Bowditch, 2021, n.p.). Beyond education, *A Framework for Public Service Reform 2015-2025* (SoG, 2015) demonstrates an agenda towards widespread reforms³. Sherbourne (2016) states that, in this same political term, 'raising standards was [ESC's] prime objective' (n.p.). Interestingly, no available documents state *what* was being taught (curriculum) or how it was assessed. A strategic inspection by Education Scotland (2015) suggests Guernsey was following (an adapted version of) the English National Curriculum and reporting English National Curriculum levels. It encouraged the continuation of work to ensure 'access to a broad and balanced curriculum with continuity and progression' (Education Scotland, 2015, p.12).

Turning to the 11+ vote, Sherbourne (2019) provides a first-hand retrospective on four decades' work persuading public and political opinion that the "social mobility" discourse on which Grammar schools had been formed was not a lived reality⁴. He argues that social *equity* was the 'professional view... [which] persuade[d] public opinion' (n.p.). However, it was not the only driver to ending selection, notably, Primary Headteachers' opposition to the pressure of high-stake examinations (ITV, 2016). However, Sherbourne (2016; 2019) omits the economic case, despite a review of school infrastructure forecasting a declining school-age population and potential cost-efficiencies of comprehensive education (Nicholls et al, 2015). To summarise, while this vote disrupted the status quo which arguably helped bring about the changes from 2016, many of the underpinning ideas were already in place.

The Policy Landscape Post-2016 – key changes and tensions

Since Cassell and Taylor's (2016) account, two primary schools have closed, which ministers argue was to improve education rather than save money (BBC, 2013), one secondary school is due to close in 2025 and an Alternative Provision has been opened (Leach, 2023).

Secondary phase restructuring has been subjected to various consultations, proposals and a complete change in the agreed model, yet uncertainty continues into current plans for the Secondary Schools Partnership: three 11-16 schools of similar size and a separately-located

² Sherbourne (2016) alludes to political decisions a decade prior. I believe this refers to secondary school placements - based on 11+ results - for that (my) year group's unusually small student cohort size.

³A full breakdown of policies reviewed in the course of my research is provided later in the study (Table 6).

⁴Very few children from social housing attended the Grammar School, and none received scholarships to the "colleges", in the system's final decade (Sherbourne, 2019).

Sixth Form Centre (ESC, 2023a), which ‘makes recruitment challenging’ (p.6). Implications of school restructures are beyond the focus of this report, except where they overlap with the policy areas in focus. However, these have significant implications for teachers’ professional and personal lives, including a new staffing structure to ‘give staff certainty over their future roles for the first time in almost a decade’ (ESC, 2024, n.p.). Prior to removing selection, Education Scotland (2015) reports that secondary schools had begun working together as a “federation”, a precursor to the current Secondary Schools Partnership (ESC, 2024). Similarly, Sherbourne (2016) shares the planned appointment of an executive headteacher prior to the vote and forthcoming ‘governance structure that will effectively allow our Guernsey School to manage its own affairs’ (n.p.). The positioning of Guernsey School in the singular appears in conflict with Sherbourne’s (2016) view as a school leader that ‘those at the centre too often interfered in what we were trying to achieve in schools’ (n.p.) and his assurances that *Education* ‘have recognised the need for the schools to have autonomy’ (n.p.), unless one considers “the schools” in the latter quote as a singular entity, autonomous from *Education*.

Another key policy change since 2016 is *The Bailiwick Big Picture Curriculum* (Bailiwick Curriculum) (SoG, 2016). Developed with two educational consultants, including Mick Waters, former Curriculum Director of England’s Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA, 2008), the Bailiwick Curriculum makes no mention of either consultants’ experience in England. Waters’ foreword bears remarkable resemblance⁵ to that of *National Curriculum: progress and opportunities* (QCA, 2008) while the phrase “big picture” is defined in QCA (2008) as ‘the entire planned learning experience that young people go through’ (p.32). Also present are the first three of the four Core Purposes: ‘Successful Learners’, ‘Confident Individuals’, ‘Responsible Citizens’, ‘Effective Contributors’ (SoG, 2016, p.8), demonstrating Waters’ influence on the development of the Bailiwick Curriculum.

Turning to assessment and accountability: a year after the uproar over GCSE results, SoG (2012b) proudly announced ‘GCSE “Gold Standard”⁶ up by 15%’ (n.p.). An English performance indicator which Sherbourne (2016) calls, ‘rightly or wrongly,... our academic measure of success’ (n.p.), as by this time England had adopted a new measure⁷. When Guernsey again introduced a similar version of England’s new measure, ESC (n.d.-a) called the “Gold Standard”, ‘an outdated English measure... [which] leads to a number of unintended consequences’ (n.p.)⁸. Attainment 8 considers all GCSE grades from three more subjects than previously; weights performance in English and Mathematics twice as highly

⁵ A side-by-side comparison of these documents is later discussed (Table 7).

⁶ The GCSE “Gold Standard” refers to students attaining five GCSEs, including English and Maths, at a C grade or above, the percentage published by school.

⁷ This new, current measure is “Progress 8”: a measure of the difference between predicted GCSE performance based on primary assessment results, and actual grades attained.

⁸ Some unintended consequences are low expectations for students who could have achieved higher than a C grade and targeting resources towards students at the C/D or “pass/fail” boundary. Fabrications still exist under Progress 8, but in different forms.

as other subjects and prioritises the same 'extended core subjects' (ESC, n.d.-a, n.p.) as England, without implementing England's primary assessment series.

Inspection changes are a key aspect of accountability reforms. Education Scotland conducted a strategic inspection of *Education's* government officers in 2015, from which *Education* (2015) set out an updated framework for validated self-evaluation of schools. Following this, inspectors conducted "validation visits" of Guernsey schools until 2018, according to the most recently published report (Education Scotland, 2023). Through self-evaluation, schools are 'constantly seeking to improve and are in a continuous cycle of review and planning' (Education, 2015, p.5) involving government officers. Additionally, this report references 'an ongoing process of workplace reform' (Education, 2015, p.12), likely relating to SoG's (2015) public service reform framework and the 'secondary transformation programme' (p.12) which is very similar in name to the current secondary schooling restructure *Transforming Education Plan* (SoG, 2023), although neither reference specific policies. As for why the contract with Education Scotland ended, SoG (2021) simply says the 'arrangement ceased' (n.p.) and that ESC had been working with Ofsted on a school inspections framework 'based on England's new and ambitious quality assurance framework but which would be carefully tailored to the [Guernsey] context' (n.p.). ESC (2023a) published schools' inspections, and secondary standardised assessments, results in its first annual report.

Finally, this article connects changes to inspections with ESC's Education Strategy and its 'strategic priorities and commitments' (SoG, 2021, n.p.). The Strategy is described on its dedicated website:

a guiding compass for what the Bailiwick's education system needs to deliver... to ensure the best possible outcomes for all learners so that the education they receive makes a tangible difference to their lives and the community as a whole.

(ESC, n.d.-b)

The role of teachers and leaders in co-developing Strategy priorities, and the subsequent consultation of learners (school-age and adults), is emphasised within its first annual report (ESC, 2023a). Additionally, the Strategy Network (ESC, n.d.-c) is '[a] group of more than 20 aspiring education leaders' (n.p.) meeting every half term to continue to develop the Strategy, representing almost all educational settings, and "champion" its implementation. This approach is significantly different from Sherbourne's (2016) view of overly-bureaucratic, interfering centralised control and instead reflects an adaptability he and Zadori (2016) beckoned. Reardon and Pich (2021) highlight advantages for Guernsey:

where people have their own governance... you can see that overtaking manoeuvre happening. Islands have shot from being desolate to being innovative and agile national states in my lifetime. ... That is the new renaissance.

(Reardon and Pich, 2021, p.153)

Policy Approach – policy as discourse

I now briefly explain why my policy approach focuses on the people of policy. Normatively, *polycymaking* is thought to originate from government, made (written down) by politicians and civil servants and “implemented” in the policy context. This view separates the *making* and *doing* of policy, and the *makers* from the *doers* (Ball et al, 2011a). Alternatively, Colebatch (2006) presented (government) policy as developing from policy contexts and considers interpretations and translations, both verbal and written, within policy *processes* to centre the *people* of policy. A critical policy analysis takes this approach further, that policy is worked on by a range of people – policy actors. Ball et al discuss teacher policy actors both being acted on by policy (2011a) and enacting policy (2011b) and legitimises less obvious or “silent” policy enactments such as quiet compliances and resistances (Ball et al, 2011a).

Similarly, a framework for analysing how policy “problems” are represented (Bacchi, 2009) demonstrates how these representations benefit some people and marginalise those “problematized” or left out by the way it is represented (Bacchi and Bonham, 2014). This approach sees *policy as discourse*. Furthermore,

[t]he term “discursive practice/s” describes those practices of knowledge formation by focusing on how specific knowledges (“discourses”) operate and the work they do.

(Bacchi and Bonham, 2014, p.174)

This means that language choices generate meaning about the policy context and can reveal who benefits and who is left out. This approach presents policy work in a richer and more complex manner than is sometimes implied by normative approaches. Through this I will deconstruct meaning generated about the policy context and who or what is problematized or left out to consider how Guernsey policy actors do education policy work as they reproduce and reconfigure policy through discourse.

Neoliberalised Education

There is a very large body of research on the proliferation of integrating economic principles to “reform” education, meaning increasing its “quality” and “cost-effectiveness”. This approach uses market theories to position people and resources as *commodities* in a competitive marketplace and makes judgements based on performance indicators and high-stakes accountability mechanisms (Sahlberg, 2016). In education, the pressures of publicising schools’ external examination results and inspection reports result in increased stress and “performative” teacher behaviours. These effects have been shown in country-specific empirical studies (Perryman, 2009; Wilkins et al, 2021) and globally, in Falabella’s (2014) meta-review.

Previously, I saw neoliberal reforms as the “the global political elite” *deciding* to insert market drivers and managerialism into education to preserve power and make money. However, this positions schools and teachers as subject *to* reforms, imposed by an external

force. It also presupposes a visibility to reforms. Instead, I have moved towards the view that *neoliberalising* education is us, as educational policy actors (Ball et al, 2011b), internalising small, cumulative rationalisations of market economics in educational policy-making (Clarke, 2012). We are therefore not passive victims but facilitate its progress as we make and enact policy that reflects the globalised market principles to which we are increasingly accustomed (Gulson et al 2017). Ball has contributed extensively to the theoretical and empirical research-base for this study. I draw on this work to focus attention on,

...interpersonal relations,... how we value ourselves and value others, how we think about what we do, and why we do it. ...the general reworking of the relationship of education, in fundamental and intimate ways, to the needs of the economy...

All of [this]... [is] as much about me as about you. ...part of my everyday practice, part of my transformation into a neoliberal subject, part of my own ambivalence and frustration and distress.

(Ball, 2016, p.1047)

Similarly, I do not judge, but encourage, the reader to engage in self-reflection with (re)new(ed) awareness of neoliberal policy pressures and what it “problematizes”: positions as problematic (Bacchi, 2009). I cannot fully characterise here how neoliberalism ‘has produced impacts and inequalities that far exceed the imagined fears’ (Gale and Parker, 2017, p.315), but its pervasiveness in Guernsey’s public services reforms as globally means I adopt a stance which recognises neoliberal reform discourses as I analyse recent policy shifts, albeit with sensitivity towards contextualised pressures and alternative positions.

Butler and Sinclair (2020) argue in their meta-analysis that, ‘place inquiry and spatial methods [can] surface patterns of inequality *and*... opportunities for people and communities to challenge these patterns’ (p.84, emphasis added). With few academic sources available on Guernsey education, I turn to Zadori (2016) and Sherbourne (2019) who both used quantitative and qualitative data to inform positions which reproduce the normative position. Zadori (2016) explicitly uses market theory, emphasising the need for education to equip a workforce of adaptable, critical thinkers in order for Guernsey to retain its economic competitiveness. Whereas, Sherbourne’s (2019) aim ‘to identify and correct the many shortcomings in the Guernsey Education Service... [and] improve its performance and its accountability,’ (p.137) to ‘ensure much fairer outcomes for all our children’ (p.139) reflects the ‘insidious... deficit discourse and practices associated with neoliberal reform [which] are de- or re-professionalising educationalists’ (Ball, 2016, p.1046).

Neoliberal Technologies - how neoliberalism ‘works’ in practice

I employ Ball’s (2016) structure towards shifting policy discourses in Republic of Ireland to consider neoliberal “technologies” of marketisation, management and performance. Guernsey, similarly outside direct influence, yet linked economically and politically to England, I take a critical lens to the (unintended) consequences of UK-influenced technologies, before turning to policy actor resistances.

Marketisation. Guernsey has not adopted parent choice in state-funded school admissions. However, a much higher proportion of parents choose fee-paying schools (~30% of admissions) compared to ~6% in England (ESC, 2017). This has increased slightly with state sector uncertainty, although future trends are unclear. Zadori (2016) recommends another form of marketisation for cost-efficiency; Guernsey has recently contracted wide-ranging educational services from on- and off-island providers, including consultancy for the Bailiwick Curriculum (SoG, 2016) and school buildings and technology (TEP, 2019). For-profit education service providers, “edu-businesses”, have grown globally (Ball, 2012; Edwards and Means, 2019) and are not new, as previous 11+ exams and GCSEs were administered by global for-profit edu-businesses (SoG, 2012c; SoG, n.d.-c). However, their involvement is not universally accepted: concerns over companies profiting from public funds in Sweden (Jobber, 2023) align with Ball’s (2019) towards relying on edu-businesses for essential services and their emergence as policy actors, which I will return to later. Moreover, large corporations tend to not adapt to the consumer, requiring the consumer to adapt to the company’s service (Edwards and Means, 2019). Macdonald et al (2020) found commercial curriculum resources were not easily adapted by teachers, while Poulton (2020) found similar impacts on teacher enactments from prescriptive standardised assessments (Poulton, 2020). Given the recent introduction of Guernsey’s *Bailiwick Curriculum* (SoG, 2016), this form of marketisation is particularly relevant.

Management refers not only to “structures” of people and resources, but reforms which shape public services to become much more like the private sector, centralising services and making those who *people* it increasingly accountable for its cost-effectiveness and performance (Wilkins et al, 2021). With seemingly *noble* aims like “raising standards” and “equitable outcomes”, competitive environments reward entrepreneurial leaders, driven by ‘the possibility of excellence, of improvement, of choice, of autonomy, of innovation’ (Ball, 2016, p1050) and those who *seen* as “successful”. However, freedoms offered are, paradoxically, contingent on continual monitoring. Perryman et al (2018) reveals this to be a mechanism of control beyond Foucault’s “panopticon”, where the potential to be seen and judged causes individuals to self-regulate their behaviour, to one of continuous monitoring and continual self-regulation, with individuals always behaving as though they are being watched. Moreover, school leaders are made personally responsible for the successes and failures of the school they lead, rationalised by the moral obligation and pressure from their standing in the community that *children’s futures depend on them* (Wilkins et al, 2021). Furthermore, *responsibilising* teachers – making them individually accountable, may require fewer managers as teachers regulate themselves. In market theory, generating competition for leadership roles would result in “higher quality” leaders. However, this problematically defines “quality” as *visible performance* against measurable outputs and ignores the disadvantages of amplifying micropolitics, which Innes (2023) found in some school networks promoting competition for leadership roles. Finally, whilst managing in this way might be heralded by the dominant paradigm as increasing schools’ adaptability and cost-effectiveness (Ball and Junemann, 2012), the increased pressure on Headteachers (or Principals) in particular can have tragic consequences, exemplified in the suicide of Ruth

Perry, an English headteacher who took her life as a result of extreme anxiety from the school inspection processes (Sinmaz, 2023).

Performance has become defined by factors which can be easily quantified, reducing teachers (and schools, students, and all of us) to measurable outputs on which they may be comparatively judged (Ball, 2016). In England, schools are *accountable* to public judgements based on league tables of GCSE and SATs (standardised assessment) results, and publicly-available Ofsted inspection reports. Inspections follow a set framework, alongside a handbook defining expectations such as having a well-sequenced curriculum that can be evaluated for *impact* (Ofsted, 2024). Drawing on Bacchi and Bonham (2014), policy as a discursive practice *works* to encourage tracking, monitoring and evaluation of assessment data (Perryman et al, 2011). Moreover, since the new Ofsted framework was introduced, schools' internal data is not reviewed, serving to *reinforce* self-regulatory performativity (Wilkins et al, 2021). This reframes inspections as a distinct performance indicator focused on curriculum. Furthermore, language used in Ofsted reports forms knowledge about what *successful* schools do and look like, even when their praise or denigration relates more to factors it cannot control than its policies and practices (Keddie, 2014), which supports the position that discourses *are* and *make* policy (Bacchi and Bonham, 2014).

Negative Ofsted judgements carry high-stakes consequences for schools, and their teachers. A school teacher and leader described the impact of publicised examination comparisons under the previous, selective system:

there were a number of extenuating circumstances that impacted upon the exam results of [two] particular schools... [that] were condemned, their teachers were publicly castigated, and the morale of their communities sank to an all-time low. ...selective schools could... do no wrong. Their teachers were flagged... as superior, their practices as more worthy, their ethos as exemplary; the public could not be persuaded to look beyond this for an explanation of the disparities in the GCSE results.

(Sherbourne, 2019, p.136)

Like the school in Keddie (2014) whose selective intake upholds its practices as “successful”, this example validates in context the assertion that public judgements about schools have the potential to harm teachers and their standing in the community.

In England's changing system of governance, an “Inadequate” judgement may result in an academy order, which forces the school to join a Multi-Academy Trust (MAT) (DfE, 2023). This threat was called a “sword of Damocles” by Whittaker (2019) – a common phrase capturing fear of Ofsted inspections more generally. Other effects include increased difficulties in recruiting and retaining teachers and school leaders. Greenway (2023), Chief Executive Officer of a MAT in England, explores the negative impacts of Ofsted not only on staff wellbeing, but on bolstering ‘bad practice’, suggesting that some performative practices do not improve the quality of education. In the following extracts he also refers to support for leaders, not to prevent negative consequences, but *resulting from* Ofsted outcomes.

[T]he reason [school leaders] fear a rigged accountability system is because we have not done our job. We have not told them regularly that Ofsted is merely an audit, one input among many others about school effectiveness. We have not reassured them that an unfavourable judgment leads to support and reinforcement rather than exile and shame.

... Respected internationally, [Ofsted] is in the main staffed by people who are knowledgeable and passionate about education and who want to improve our education system. ... Knee-jerk responses to single inspections are driving this pervasive and high-stakes sense of dread and all the bad practice it engenders.

(Greenway, 2023, n.p.)

This is a call to reclaim the purpose of accountability systems. The power Ofsted holds as an organisation, through the fear its judgements engender is not determined by Ofsted, but by the culture of the system it operates within. Negative consequences, such as parents choosing to move or not enrol their children in schools according to Ofsted judgements reduce school funding, embedding fear of inspections rather serving to identify support for leaders Greenway (2023). As a MAT leader, he uses his position to present discourses generating alternative truths about the purposes and outcomes of inspections within the network of schools he leads. This may also counteract negative network-level effects of holding single members accountable (rather than networks as a whole) such as disincentivising collaboration and creating tensions between schools where one is required to support another whilst maintaining its own status (Ehren and Godfrey, 2017).

Performative practices may also conflict with teachers' professional identities (Braun and Maguire, 2020). They may also inhibit policy enactments where performance indicators do not align with policy outcomes (Poulton, 2020) or where policies are not explicitly measurable (Maguire et al, 2013). Performative behaviour might target specific groups of students for support who have the greatest impact on the school's performance metrics, to the exclusion of others (Perryman et al, 2018) and schools under pressure to make rapid improvements to inspection and examination results might even illegally exclude students expected to negatively impact performance indicators, termed "off-rolling" (Done, 2022).

However, compliance with these *neoliberal technologies* of marketisation, management and performance is not absolute.

Resisting neoliberalism – managing in neoliberal times

Schools perceived to be "successful" are better able to resist policy changes, whereas others, particularly following a poor inspection judgement or when expecting inspection, are under greater pressure to enact every new initiative (Perryman et al, 2018). However, resistances may not be immediately obvious due to the language of policy being adopted by policy actors, particularly middle and senior leaders who need to be *seen to be doing* policy (Maguire et al, 2019). Furthermore, despite being central to new management reforms which change the role of government from being *part of* the educational hierarchy, to one

of “governance”, managing schools *from a distance* (Ball, 2016), monitoring of schools using performance data is not devoid of resistances. The use of data infrastructure software has been a source of contention concerning both the involvement of for-profit edu-businesses (Lingard, 2019), and how non-enactment of centralised data policies can disrupt new governance control mechanisms (Landri, 2021). Schools positioned as *successful* through higher-performing student intakes or established as innovators were most able to enact resistances. In summary, whilst policy *work* delegated to school leaders is “steered” by central policies, such as national curriculum frameworks, the degree to which policy enactments resemble “intended outcomes” is in part due to the extent it is enforced by centralised accountability mechanisms.

A range of policy actors

Policy work is not just done by teachers and school leaders working inside their schools. Governance through performance indicators has also changed civil servants’ roles, making them accountable to current politicians, rather than to the long-term benefit of the community (Thomson, 2020). Moreover, marketisation of schools and education services requires government policy actors to do *business as policy-work*, further rationalising the depoliticisation of education policy (Clarke, 2012). Crucially, this has connected policymakers and business actors with a vested stake in education policies and created new policy actors driven by profit-making (Jobber, 2023). Ball and Junemann (2012) conceptualise the formation of “networks” of connections between different policy actors, which may also include not-for-profit, lobbying and arms-length organisations, whose relational discourses make policy move and become. They argue governance from a central point has in England given way to “network governance”, which relies on trust – and bargaining – within policy actor relationships (Ball and Junemann, 2012). Thus, in order to fully appreciate shifts and changes in the education policy landscape, it seems useful to explore the views and work of policy actors such as those working in Guernsey’s government *Education* office or in senior, system-level leadership roles.

Summary

To contextualise this study, I briefly explored the educational system of the island of Guernsey, where the empirical study is based. Guernsey has its own political traditions and history; its adaptability has seen the island prosper through adversity by its position in its main industry of financial services. However, demographic changes are among pressures that call for the reduction in school places and the need for economic efficiency in its educational provision. In light of these local, as well as global shifts in discourses linked to educational and wider public services reforms, I have argued that it is most appropriate to analyse recent policy shifts with a lens on neoliberal influences on governmental policy. Valuing cost-effectiveness, increased productivity, public accountability and other free-market technologies, as well as arguing for a reduction in state-led provisions, neoliberalising education has had multiple and complex outcomes. In this chapter, I have

concentrated on some of the dominant factors that make up neoliberal educational policy—that is, marketisation, management and performance.

In terms of neoliberalism and education in Guernsey, I have argued that cost-efficiencies have driven the closures of (some) schools in Guernsey. I have also argued that management structures more aligned to neoliberalism have come into play and that these changes are interwoven with a range of mechanisms or technologies of surveillance and control – notably, school-level accountability through performance comparisons. All this opens up questions of how teachers are positioned, or position themselves, within the policy process and how this impacts policy participations. I have argued that a people-/policy actor-centred approach can give more critical insights into how policy work is made and reconfigured through processes such as how the problem is represented, translated and enacted. In this endeavour, I felt it important to include the voices of government education officers, to begin to understand their roles in current policy landscape more fully. This includes: the States of Guernsey (government) *Office of the Committee for Education, Sport and Culture*, hereafter referred to as *Education*, in which the government education officers are positioned; schools and the teachers and leaders working within them; the elected political body of the *Committee for Education Sport and Culture*; and other actors such as companies or other educational organisations, including Ofsted as a contracted organisation.

Word count: 4,910

Chapter Three: Research Methods and Methodology

The aim of this research is to explore teachers' experiences of policy in an environment of significant change, within a global context where market technologies are commonly applied to education reforms (Falabella, 2014). A qualitative approach was chosen for this illuminative study (Cresswell and Cresswell, 2018) as this would allow for analysis that is not variable-driven as with quantitative studies, but considers multiple and varied reasons for why phenomena are conceptualised (Byrne, 2002). Qualitative research also concentrates on the lived experiences and perceptions of participants. As a small-scale study, the intention is that findings might be relatable rather than generalisable, providing insight into the education policy context of Guernsey to inform future research (Bell and Waters, 2014). This chapter provides an overview of the methodology deployed, the research tools (methods) used as well as discussion of ethics, sample and data management.

Research approach and challenges

A lack of education policy research in Guernsey suggested exploratory and open, inductive methods for data collection and analysis would be most appropriate: the data itself should inform the outcome. This required a flexible research strategy, rather than choosing methods according to a defined epistemology (Robson, 2002). From an interpretivist paradigm: interviews are considered constructivist, based on the premise that people construct meaning, conveyed through language choices (Cresswell and Cresswell, 2018), although this is rejected by some research academics (Silverman, 2019). In analysis, I leaned progressively towards *transformative* approaches and critical theory which challenge dominant structures (Cohen et al, 2017), in this case, neoliberalism. This aligns with the policy approach, previously discussed as recognising power through discourses (Bacchi and Bonham, 2014). I do not challenge power held in gender, class, race and other axes of differentiation as I wanted to construct a critical discussion based on rigorous, *inductive* methodology.

The biggest challenges I faced were twofold. First, time: to collect data from sufficient participants across different roles with appropriate breadth and depth to discuss perspectives and participations concerning each policy area, and analyse data sufficiently. This is a common issue in studies of this size and scope (Miles and Huberman, 1994 in Bell and Waters, 2014). Second, the nature of the research site: my personal connections facilitated recruiting participants easier, however, a greater reflexivity was required to examine potential impacts of my intimate involvement with the research site (Cohen et al, 2017). Heavily scrutinising ethics practices, including presenting findings with criticality, adds to the credibility of this research (Cresswell and Cresswell, 2018). A close relationship to the data can elicit richer interpretations (Blair, 2015) but researchers must do the work of

challenging bias within oneself (Cresswell and Cresswell, 2018). I can attest that the work to examine myself and the meaning I construct should not be underestimated, although as Cohen et al (2017) note, this is relevant to all researchers. Furthermore, Singh et al (2014) argue that researchers of policy enactments should 'slow down' (p.836) and not make quick or unjustified conclusions which reproduce those of existing research.

Ethics Considerations

Confidentiality and anonymity as a default position in research are sometimes contested on the basis of feasibility (Tolich, 2018). Additionally, Giordano et al (2007) present some benefits of identification for participants and Baez (2002) some opportunities for challenging dominant structures. Nevertheless, as the most fundamental principle of ethics is to do no harm, and identification can be a source of harm (Tolich, 2004), I chose to offer confidentiality (not disclosing identifying characteristics) and anonymity (disguising participants' names), as defined by Saunders et al (2015). However, anonymised participants whose identities become known (de-anonymisation) may be at greater risk than if originally identified (Moore, 2012). Although this study meets the minimal-risk ethics criteria (CREC, n.d.), I evidenced measures (Appendices B-H) above the minimum standards expected (eg. ERSC, 2015) due to the increased risk from: a) unique characteristics of the policy context; b) distinctiveness of participants and c) my connections to Guernsey. I received clearance from King's College London [Ref: MRSU-22/23-34165] on 12/10/2022, prior to recruiting participants (see Appendix I). However, I cannot mitigate for participants disclosing their or others' involvement (if known) (Tolich, 2004). As participants and (some) readers are expected to be at least tangentially known to each other, I politely request that known or suspected identities are not discussed, with empathy and respect for participants' contributions to this study.

First, anonymising location is common practice in larger regions or countries (e.g. Braun and Maguire, 2020) but does not mitigate for lack of care in report writing (e.g. Perryman, 2009), and the number of schools influenced by Guernsey policies prevents this. Additionally, redacting localisations would render policies (e.g. SoG, 2016), unreadable, and distinctive characteristics such as Guernsey's political independence (Reardon and Pich, 2021); the removal of selective education and the involvement of Ofsted should be available for review and scrutiny (Nespoor, 2000). Second, participants are from small, discrete, distinctive groups within the community, warranting additional measures to maintain anonymity (Petrova et al, 2014). Sherbourne (2019) documents reputation-damage for Guernsey teachers following assessment results, and similarly, de-anonymisation carries professional risk. Moreover, there are a very small number of teachers involved in island-wide policy-work and while *Education* does not list the estimated 7 government officers publicly, they will be known within the professional and wider community, increasing the risk of de-anonymisation. Ethics literature does not make suggestions for such exceptional

circumstances (Saunders et al (2015) so I referred to ethics practices in a study with similar participant characteristics by Petrova et al (2014) and have included their summary in Appendix A.

Last, I acknowledged and remained cognisant of unconscious biases throughout the research process. I identified within myself a risk of presenting participants and Guernsey education positively, to the exclusion of other views (Cresswell and Cresswell, 2018), or conversely reporting performative behaviours where not truly representing data (Singh et al, 2014). Recognising the researchers' influence on all participant interactions (Cohen et al, 2017), particularly interviews where 'a power imbalance exists between the data collector and the participants' (Cresswell and Cresswell, 2018, p.150), I reflected on prior discussions and how sharing my views might have influenced certain individuals' perspectives. It was likely participants would consider me "one of them", potentially privileging me to less guarded conversations (Modan and Shuman, 2011), while Savage et al (2021) note similar effects towards white female researchers and stress the importance of self-reflection towards (non-conflicting) professional connections in researchers' credibility. Conversely, connectedness gave me acute awareness of participant welfare. Nespoor (2000) argues trust in the researcher is more important than promising confidentiality, however, where participation is on this basis, I believe preventing de-anonymisation is integral to honouring participant trust.

Sampling

I sampled purposively, recruiting participants currently in roles with responsibility for curriculum and assessment, as specifying relevant experience supports research validity (Morse et al, 2002). I aimed for a balance across phase, role and, as suggested by Wilkins (2011), teaching experience, although did not exclude on this basis. As the Bailiwick Curriculum (SoG, 2016) covers Years 1-9, I included teachers of Key Stage 4 and 5 only if their responsibility role or teaching were not specific to this phase. I excluded four very close connections at risk of participating out of obligation or being influenced by personal views I had previously shared. The "policymaker" group was initially framed as only government officers in *Education* but during sampling this widened to include teachers engaged with centralised policy-work. Before findings are made publicly available, these participants will be offered an early-reading of the report to mitigate their increased risk of de-anonymisation (Hennick et al, 2011).

I rejected the advantages of building relationships prior to recruitment (Petrova et al, 2014) as I consider the investment of time a 'sunk cost' (Arkes & Blumer, 1985, p.124). This was shown to affect participants' judgement (Meyers et al, 2019) and therefore, although not discussed in research ethics literature, may compromise consent. I approached all participants by email (Appendix B), establishing expectations and ethics considerations at

initial contact together with the relevant information sheet by role (Appendix C, D). Participants were recruited by contacting existing contacts directly (6); being contacted by individuals who heard about the project (2); and snowball sampling (2) where participants recommended additional contacts (Browne, 2005). In Tables 1-3 below I present a breakdown of participant characteristics by role, phase and experience. To prevent de-anonymisation, this is grouped rather than by individual, however, there was no obvious skew towards any combination except unsurprisingly, middle leaders were on average less experienced than senior leaders.

Table 1: Breakdown of all participants by role. N.B. the policymaker group includes the government officers, plus two teachers engaged with islandwide policy work.

Government officer	3
Teacher - Senior leader (Assistant / Deputy Headteacher)	3
Teacher - Middle leader (Subject Lead / Head of Department or Faculty)	4
Total participants	10

Table 2: Breakdown of teaching participants by phase. Should any participant teach across more than one phase, they have been characterised by the dominant group.

Primary	3
Secondary	4
Total teacher participants	7

Table 3: Breakdown of teaching participants by experience at the time of interview.

0-5 years	2
10-15 years	2
15+ years	3

Table 4: Participant Pseudonyms – how I will refer to participants in the study. As far as possible, I have avoided identifying any participant by both role and phase.

Pseudonym	Role	Phase
Alex	Government Officer	Unspecified
Charlie	Government Officer	Unspecified
Jamie	Government Officer	Unspecified
Rachel	Teacher-Policymaker (school role unspecified)	Primary
Steve	Teacher-Policymaker (school role unspecified)	Secondary
Beatrice	Unspecified	Primary
Paul	Unspecified	Primary
Daniel	Unspecified	Secondary
Kathryn	Subject Leader	Unspecified
Tricia	Senior Leader	Unspecified

Data Collection

Semi-structured interviews allow participants to discuss their experiences in their own words within the direction provided by the interviewer (Cohen et al, 2017) and for this reason, are commonly used in qualitative policy enactment studies (eg. Perryman et al, 2018; Wilkins, 2011). The research called for careful balance of breadth and depth of inquiry. I prepared interview guides (Appendices G,H) according to ‘[p]rompts and probes’ (Morrison, 1993 in Bell and Waters, 2014, p.66, original emphasis) concerning curriculum, assessment, monitoring and accountability, informed by a keyword search of the SoG website and reading (SoG, 2016) and (Ofsted, 2019), ‘structuring the flow of questions to lead the conversation pointedly yet comprehensively toward the larger research questions of the study’ (Dilley, 2000, p.133). Whilst I ensured every prompt was covered, I did not use the guide rigidly, prompting and probing conversationally. Additionally, I sought to respect when interviewees did not wish to answer, or avoided questions, as what is *not* said is as important as what *is* said (Foucault 1968 in Bacchi and Bonham, 2014). Whilst I could not reliably determine what was left out, I did not press participants to discuss each policy area “equally” such that a relative importance might be reflected in the data.

Participants arranged interviews for a time and location of their choice. At the start, information sheets (Appendices C,D) and consent forms (Appendices E,F) were offered for review. I explained the scope of indicative questions, use and storage of data in accordance with UK GDPR (2018) and all participants consented to audio-recording with Otter.ai. I prompted participants to discuss any questions or concerns prior to giving consent, reiterating they could decline to answer any question or retract their consent and remove data any time before the final write-up. With policymakers, I discussed the additional

measures for preventing de-anonymisation and offered the option of identification. All chose anonymity, as the default position.

Interviews took place in person (7); over video call (1); or in two parts, with the first in person, then continued via video call due to unforeseen circumstances interrupting the interview (2) in October and November 2022 (9) and February 2023 (1). Interviews were expected to last 60 minutes, although varied in length between one and two hours. Provision was made for follow-up interviews, but due to the depth and detail of the initial round, no follow up interviews were conducted.

Data Processing and Analysis

I made methodological choices according to inductive development of conceptualisations, rather than following a rigid, predefined process, which Robson (2002) argues is valid as long as the method is clear and applied systematically. To prepare transcripts for analysis, I first assigned each participant a pseudonym with no correlation to their (perceived) gender or other characteristic, then used Otter.ai software for an approximate transcription, connected to the interview audio. This enabled me to listen to participants' intonation as I corrected these verbatim through Otter.ai, addressing a criticism that transcription loses meaning (Cohen et al, 2017) by noting pauses, emphases and where the text alone did not capture meaning. To direct quotations in the final write-up, where I thought someone known to the participant might “hear” them through in the text (Dilley, 2000), I removed identifiable filler words or phrases (Tolich, 2004), but did not reword text to preserve original meaning. Prior to coding, I exported the transcripts to Microsoft Word for consistent formatting (Thomas, 2006). With 10 transcripts, manual analysis was preferred over specialist software (Robson, 2002).

My supervisor and I both applied open coding to a random transcript and met to discuss our identified codes and emerging links to theory. After this, I read one primary, one secondary and one government officer transcript for familiarisation, noting commonalities and significant discussion points. I noticed participants drew on context-specific examples from their varied professional experiences; using an inductively-derived codebook analysis (eg. Weston et al, 2001), would disconnect codes from policy. Therefore I categorised codes according to policy area, with sub-categories inductively generated from initial readings and through the coding process (Table 5). Informed by Thomas (2006), I focused on asking, ‘What are the core meanings evident in the text, relevant to... research objectives?’ (p.241).

Table 5: Code categorisations based on areas of policy and practice.

Policy area								
Curriculum		Assessment	Monitoring		Accountability		Multiple	
Bailiwick Curriculum	Entitlement Documents		Internal	External	Reporting (parents)	Ofsted	COVID19	Secondary restructure

Influenced by Miles and Huberman (1994 in Robson, 2002), I concurrently refined data, represented it using summary sheets and diagrams and developed conceptualisations, contrary to Thomas (2006) who applies this sequentially. For example, categorising codes by participant enabled identification and omission of codes beyond the research aims, without losing codes with relevant policy links unnecessarily. A drawback is the additional analysis across participants (Cohen et al, 2017), although categorising by policy area helped with making connections across phase, subjects, role etc. Moreover, I had concurrently represented similarities and differences between policymaker and teacher participant groups, which supported identification of outlier positions in emerging themes. For example, one teacher was mostly positive about Ofsted, opposing an emergent theme of fear towards the inspectorate. I welcomed counter-positions in the data, using them to develop concepts (Cohen et al, 2017), challenging conclusions until data elicited no alternative conceptualisations (Byrne, 2002).

I presented data to verify emergent themes (Robson, 2002), identifying evidence and counter-positions through keyword searches of raw data and participant summaries (Cohen et al, 2017). I then reflected on how the four initial themes answered the research questions and revised themes accordingly, which Robson (2002) identifies in overcoming limitations of human analysis. Subsequently, I considered the impact of Ofsted overstated, and other barriers underdeveloped. Moreover, facilitations of policy participation were not represented. Chronologically, by policy, I presented connections between policy actors, which I again verified against raw data. Furthermore, akin to developing a grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1994), a conceptualisation emerged which connected all remaining data representations, which Byrne (2002) argues is based in critical realism. Identifying facilitations and barriers to policy participations as ultimately rooted in neoliberal reforms, a mechanism of reproducing power (Clarke, 2012), I therefore discuss findings with a critical lens on neoliberal influences (Cohen et al, 2017).

Policy Analysis

I initially identified some relevant webpages and current documentation relating to reforms using a keyword search of the *Education* website. However, I found a search engine of key phrases such as “Guernsey curriculum”, “Guernsey inspections” etc. returned far greater results. All those reviewed are listed in table 6:

Table 6: Policy discourses. Various documentation types, including States of Guernsey Billet d'Etat (similar to a parliamentary bill) and articles (media releases); reports on education provisions, formal policy documentation, and webpages.

Title	Policy Area	Brief Description	Authorship	Contribution
<i>SoG, 2012a: Implementing the Mulkerrin Recommendations</i>	Island-wide Review / Future of Education	Implementation plan for the Mulkerrin Review, commissioned following “poor” GCSE results. Recommendations heavily-influenced by English system of governance and accountability.	SoG Education Department - original review by Denis Mulkerrin, a Guernsey-born UK Headteacher	Context – background and change drivers
<i>SoG, 2012b: GCSE 'Gold Standard' up by 15%</i>	Accountability Reforms	Article published on SoG webpage praising increase in “gold standard” measure - 5 GCSEs at grade C or above, including English and Maths.	SoG media release	Contextual background of accountability reforms.
<i>SoG, 2012c: Streamlining the 11+ Process</i>	Precursor to Secondary Restructure	Consultation paper on changes to the logistics of administering 11+ exams; no plans to remove academic selection at the time.	SoG Education Department, based on Mulkerrin recommendations	Context around the administering of the 11+ by a UK for-profit edu-business.
<i>Education Scotland, 2015: Strategic inspection SoG Education Department</i>	Island-wide Review / Future of Education	Report on the States of Guernsey Education Department.	Education Scotland, contracted inspectors.	Limited by discovery late into the study. Recommended for analysis in future research
<i>Education, 2015: Validated School Self-Evaluation Framework...</i>	Accountability Reforms	Framework ‘based upon Education Scotland’s ‘How Good Is Our School?’ (HGIOS) and the adapted, ‘How Good is Our College?’ (HGIOC), (HMIe 2007)’ (Education, 2015, p.3)	<i>Education</i> , SoG, based on recommendations by contracted inspectorate, Education Scotland.	Limited by discovery late into the study. Recommended for analysis in future research
<i>SoG, 2015: A Framework for Public Service Reform 2015-2025</i>	Public Services Restructure	Highlights economic drivers of change Consumerist view of public service users.	States of Guernsey, other party involvement unclear but reproduces dominant/English view.	Discussed as an underpinning but “hidden” policy / change agenda. Comparisons made with other policy discourses.
<i>Nicholls et al, 2015: La Mare de Carteret Schools Project</i>	Secondary Restructure	Independent review of school buildings on one site, with primary and secondary provision in line with other policies on student:space ratios based on, but more generous than, UK mainland. Considers, among other factors, the cost-efficiencies of removing academic selection.	Independent consultants from Guernsey and English companies specialising in education services – building, project management.	Context – background and change drivers to ending selection and resulting uncertainty around restructure.

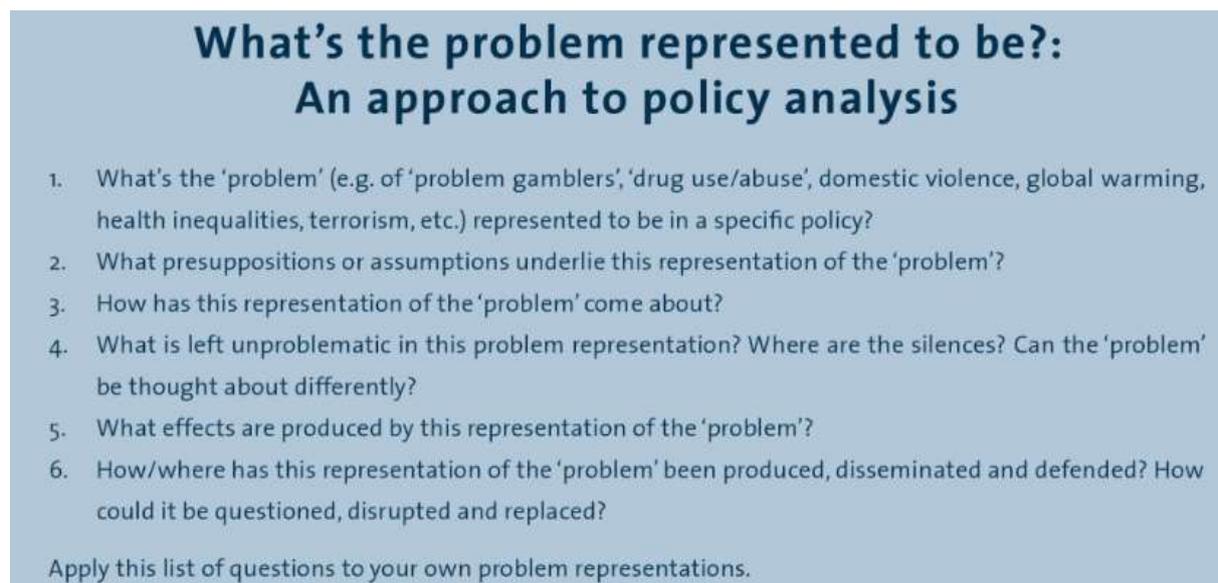
<i>HSSD, 2016: Children and Young People's Plan (CYPP) 2016-2022</i>	Future of Education	Publicly-accessible format. Referenced by other policies including Bailiwick Curriculum (SoG, 2016) and Education Strategy (SoG, n.d-?). Sets direction, based on health and wellbeing.	On-island policy actors including cross-committee politicians.	Informational, not discussed.
<i>SoG, 2016: Bailiwick Curriculum</i>	Curriculum Reforms	Teacher Handbook (v2) of the Bailiwick Curriculum, setting out its purposes, aims and curriculum (skills) content in full.	Two English consultants, including Mick Waters (former QCA Chief), plus on-island government officers and teacher-policymakers.	Discussed in relation to its broad aims and specific discourses identified for comparison with situated curriculum discourses and policy actor influence (Table 7), however a full analysis was beyond the scope of this study.
<i>ESC, 2017: The Role of the Grant-Aided Colleges and their Future Funding Arrangements</i>		Proposed directive that SoG vote to taper funding for grant-aided (fee-paying) colleges, an '80% reduction in States funding' (ESC, 2017, p.8).		Background figures on numbers of students in colleges and impacts of changing school structures.
<i>TEP, 2019: Transforming Education Programme: The Programme Business Case</i>	Secondary Restructure	ESC-commissioned proposal detailing schools restructuring into one 11-18 school on two sites, now repealed. References importance of cost-efficiencies and alignment with <i>Public Service Reform Framework 2015-2025</i> (SoG, 2015) and Children and Young People's Plan (HSSD, 2016).	Transforming Education Programme (undefined). Suspected to be cross-department panel of senior government officers and ESC.	Discussion of its discursive practices in education-specific policies and in situated practice (interview data)
<i>Ofsted, 2019: The education inspection framework for [SoG]</i>	Accountability Reforms	'The [EIF] sets out how Ofsted inspects fully states-funded schools and further education in the States of Guernsey, and Alderney' (Ofsted, 2019, p.1).	'Her Majesty's Chief Inspector' of Ofsted (2019, p.3), contracted English inspectorate	Studied in detail, but due to focus on public discourses, analysis of discursive practices not presented in this study.
<i>Ofsted, 2021: [Guernsey] School inspection handbook</i>	Accountability Reforms	Very similar in approach to English handbook (Ofsted, 2024). References local policies incl. Bailiwick Curriculum (SoG, 2016) and CYPP (HSSD, 2015). Does not give single-word judgements.	As above: Ofsted as Guernsey's contracted inspectorate.	Informed study, although analysis beyond scope, therefore focused on introduction and SoG (2019).
<i>ESC, 2020: Admissions: Secondary</i>	Secondary Restructure	Sets out new "Partner Schools" system, including how changes will phase in as one of the secondary schools closes.	ESC, Education	Cited for context around schools restructure.

<i>Boddison and Gibson, 2021: Guernsey and Alderney SEND Review</i>	Island-wide Review / Future of Education	Report on independent review conducted into provision and inclusion of SEND throughout Bailiwick of Guernsey's educational provisions.		Informational, not otherwise cited.
<i>SoG, 2021: Ofsted's Bailiwick school inspection framework now in place</i>	Accountability Reforms	Government release on the changes to inspections under Ofsted.	SoG – quotes from Director of <i>Education</i> , President of ESC and Ofsted's Regional Director for South West	Identified late in write-up.
<i>SoG, 2023: Transforming Education Programme 2023</i>	Future of Education	Outline of current policy towards three 11-16 schools and Sixth Form, plus Guernsey Institute for post-16 education.	ESC and <i>Education</i> officers	Background context
<i>HSC, 2023: Children and Young People's Plan 2023-2026</i>	Future of Education	Updated version of the Children and Young People's plan.	Policy actors from across government political committees and bureaucratic functions.	Informational, not otherwise cited.
<i>ESC, 2023a: Education Strategy Annual Report 2023</i>	Future of Education / Accountability Reforms	First annual report of progress on Guernsey's Education Strategy and school-level key performance indicators comparing attendance, examination results and Ofsted inspection grades, published publicly and prominently on <i>Our Education Strategy</i> webpage (ESC, n.d.-b)	ESC and <i>Education's</i> Director of Education listed.	Discussion of its purpose and discursive practices in changing governance and comparisons of school performance.
<i>ESC, 2023b: Education Law Review</i>	Education Law / Future of Education	SoG proposal amendment to repeal Education Law 1970 and set out direction of new law.	ESC for SoG Deputies	Cited for future recommendations
<i>ESC, 2024: ESC Transformation</i>	Future of Education	Webpage outlining current model of secondary restructure.	SoG: ESC, <i>Education</i>	
<i>ESC, n.d.-a: Attainment 8</i>	Accountability Reforms	Webpage on changes to key school performance indicator: from number of GCSEs at grades C and above, prioritising English and Maths to all GCSE grades included in measure, prioritising English, Mathematics and 'extended core' subjects (ESC, n.d., n.p.).	ESC	Contextual background of accountability reforms.

<i>ESC, n.d.-b Our Education Strategy</i>	Future of Education	Webpage outlining the four priorities (workstreams) of the Education Strategy for a public audience: Equity, Safety and Inclusivity; Meeting the needs of our community; High quality learning and excellent outcomes and Outstanding leadership and governance, and 'how these priorities are realised through a series of more detailed commitments' (ESC, n.d.-b, n.p.). The first publicly-viewable annual report is published on this webpage (ESC, 2023a). Accessible format for general public.	<i>ESC, Education</i>	Contextual background to the Education Strategy, but otherwise, the annual report (ESC, 2023a is cited)
<i>ESC, n.d.-c The Strategy Network</i>	Future of Education	Article linked from Our Education Strategy webpage (ESC, n.d.-b) on the composition and purposes of the Strategy Network. Engaging for public audience with video clips of Strategy Network members (teachers).	ESC	Context to the Strategy Network.
<i>SoG, n.d.-a Inspections</i>	Accountability Reforms	Webpage announcing changes to inspections under Ofsted, rather than Education Scotland. Very formal wording, formal format seemingly aimed towards professional audience, rather than general public.	SoG, unspecified	Analysed using WPR (Bacchi, 2009) and Hook-and-Eye analysis (Cresswell and Cresswell, 2018) and discussed in comparison with situated interview data (Clarke, 2019).
<i>SoG, n.d.-b Bailiwick Curriculum</i>	Curriculum Reforms	Webpage outlining changes to curriculum. Accessible format and language for general public. Videos and colourful documentation/graphics, although some of the videos are now unavailable, suggesting the webpage is no longer updated.	SoG	Comparison in terms of accessibility of format with <i>Inspections</i> webpage (SoG, n.d.-a)
<i>SoG, n.d.-c KS4</i>	Curriculum Reforms / Assessment	Webpage explaining the changes to KS4 examinations with English examinations boards including a for-profit global edu-business.	SoG, unspecified	Referencing history of edu-business involvement in Guernsey education.
<i>SoG, n.d.-d Education Law</i>	Future of Education	Webpage – public site providing FAQ-style information about the upcoming changes to Education Law (1970)	SoG, unspecified	Informational, recommended for future research into Education Law policy processes.
<i>St Annes School, n.d.: Curriculum Entitlements</i>	Curriculum Reforms	School webpage, hosting Curriculum Entitlement documents. However, from their format and that they are not yet officially published, I suspect these are final draft versions.	Authorship unclear	Recommended for future research on curriculum reforms.

Positioning this study as a springboard to enable further study, I adopted a compromise position of analysing public-facing discourses to maintain a broader policy perspective based in these empirical data. I do not claim a comprehensive analysis, and will conclude by recommending specific policies for further research. This study would benefit from understanding Guernsey's policymaking networks (Browne et al, 2018) or network ethnography (Ball and Junemann, 2012), but the SoG website elicited no such representation, while the Education Strategy Network (SoG, n.d.-c) is comprised of around '20 aspiring education leaders' (n.p.) who are, like government officers, not listed publicly.

I used Bacchi's (2009) WPR framework to identify gaps and problematisations which can be applied to any policy discourse, not just structured policies. Additionally, Tawell and McCluskey (2022) found it applicable to very different discursive practices. When Ofsted emerged as a key theme in data analysis, I decided the government *Inspections* webpage (SoG, n.d.-a) would be the best source to analyse problematisations in public-facing discursive practices. I selected the most appropriate questions from WPR (Bacchi, 2009, p.2), omitting Q6 in favour of discussing situated practice (Clarke, 2019).



**What's the problem represented to be?:
An approach to policy analysis**

1. What's the 'problem' (e.g. of 'problem gamblers', 'drug use/abuse', domestic violence, global warming, health inequalities, terrorism, etc.) represented to be in a specific policy?
2. What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the 'problem'?
3. How has this representation of the 'problem' come about?
4. What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the 'problem' be thought about differently?
5. What effects are produced by this representation of the 'problem'?
6. How/where has this representation of the 'problem' been produced, disseminated and defended? How could it be questioned, disrupted and replaced?

Apply this list of questions to your own problem representations.

Figure 1: WPR Framework (Bacchi, 2009, p.2)

Analysis of additional policy discourses were beyond the scope of work for this paper because, like Tawell and McCluskey, I found WPR time-intensive alongside empirical data collection and analysis. However, I drew on its underlying Foucauldian principles (Bacchi and Bonham, 2014) to discuss discursive practices within the government *Inspections* webpage (SoG, n.d.-a).

Summary

My study traces the impacts of some neoliberal reforms currently being enacted in Guernsey. The intention is to explore how this shift is reflected in policy documentation as well as from the lived experiences of a range of educational professionals. In this chapter I have considered the main issues that are have to be addressed when undertaking qualitative research that explores grey materials (texts) as well as conducting interviews. I have also highlighted the sorts of ethical pressures that emerge when researching in unique and small settings where there is a limited number of potential participants.

Word count: 2,789

Chapter Four: Discussions of Findings

The policy landscape in Guernsey is best understood by its changes where, 'each policy initiative lies alongside other, sometimes competing, sometimes overlapping policy imperatives' (Maguire et al, 2013, p.336).

In this chapter, I present and critically discuss findings relating to my research aims of teachers' and government officers' perspectives on policy change and implications for policy participations. I maintain a broader perspective than is conventional, drawing on analyses of interview data and prominent policy discourses from formal and informal sources (as described in Chapter 3: Methods). Arguably the most prominent policy shift is the decision to engage Ofsted, the English school inspectorate, because of its influence on curriculum, assessment and monitoring policy enactments.

First, I discuss how discursive practices in SoG's inspections webpage (SoG, n.d.-a) are reproduced and contested by teachers and government officers. Next, I explore the (re)positioning of discourses within curriculum reforms. Lastly, I discuss implications of changes to monitoring and being monitored on teacher roles and networked policy participations. A common thread throughout is the work of shifting discourses on teacher professional identities and the implications for policy enactments.

Conflicts in Accountability – dominant discourses and island identities

I begin with findings relating to the contentious policy decision of moving to an English-style approach to school inspections. Teacher speculations as to how and by whom the decision to contract Ofsted was made had no unifying features and even government officers' understanding of the process differed. By contrast, six out of seven teachers reasoned that Ofsted was contracted to *raise standards* in Guernsey, reflecting the prominence of this discourse in global reforms (Falabella, 2014). To establish the relevance of analysing public-facing Ofsted discourses, I start by discussing teacher perspectives towards discursive practices present in the *Inspections* webpage (SoG, n.d.-a), which publicly announces Ofsted (2019). In comparison with the colourful graphics and videos on the *Bailiwick Curriculum* webpage (SoG, n.d.-b), *Inspections* (SoG, n.d.-a) has been written for a professional audience with a formal structure and language.

Inspections

A new school and College of Further Education external education inspection agreement is now in place.

Schools in Guernsey and Alderney were previously inspected under a framework used by Education Scotland but this arrangement ceased more than two years ago, during which time there have been no external inspections in place.

A great deal of work - including specific training for Head Teachers, Principals and key staff - has been undertaken to prepare schools and the College of FE for this new standards framework and to ensure that inspection handbooks for Guernsey and Alderney retain fidelity to the research-based methodology behind Ofsted's new inspection process but also take into account the unique and specific differences between the education system in England and that of the Bailiwick.

The main purpose of school inspections is to provide all stakeholders and especially parents/carers, school staff, the Committee in its role as governors and the Education Office, with an independent and rigorous assessment of school performance and to drive further improvement across the system.

Inspection handbooks, which provide significant detail around the Bailiwick's inspection framework can be found on the downloads section of this page.

Downloads

- Education Inspection Framework States Of Guernsey And Alderney - November 2022
- Inspection Handbook For Schools States Of Guernsey February 2023
- Inspection Handbook For FES States Of Guernsey November 2022
- Ofsted Inspection Of Vale Primary School

Figure 2: Hook-and-eye analysis (Cresswell and Cresswell, 2018) of SoG's "Inspections" webpage (SoG, n.d.-a)

The progression shown in red (fig.2) of a previously non-descript 'framework' gaining 'new standards' and 'rigorous assessment... to drive further improvement' (SoG, n.d.-a, n.p., emphasis added) is reminiscent of the "raising standards" discourse which is reproduced most prominently by teachers. This phrase is also associated with the introduction of Ofsted in England at a time of adopting a neoliberal view of education reform (Perryman, 2009), while the tone emphasised here further renders the "raising standards" discourse as truth.

Ultimately, I suppose [Education] would argue [Ofsted is] linked to "raising standards". I don't know whether everyone would be in agreement of... Ofsted being **the** way forward. Because the uniqueness of this Bailiwick is that... we don't necessarily have to "toe the line" [to England]... I'm assuming it's also because [England has] experience in... implementing systems... that we are potentially going to adopt, or [are] in the process of adopting.

(Kathryn, Subject leader, original emphases)

Kathryn positions Guernsey's political independence to resist Ofsted's influence because she perceives the formation of a "federation" of secondary schools signals a move towards schools becoming more like English academies. She asserts that decreased teacher autonomy through standardisation of curricula has already increased existing retention issues. Only one other participant, Tricia, also recognises "raising standards" as a discursive practice, rather than as *truth*:

The previous [ESC] committee had pushed Ofsted as an "attainment-raiser"...

I'm not saying Ofsted are wrong. I'm just saying I don't think it's right for Guernsey, and I think the previous political board had put that in place. ...I can't imagine, if I'm honest with you, *anyone* – well in their current roles – suggesting that Ofsted, if it was a blank slate, would be the *right* framework.

(Tricia, Senior leader, original emphasis)

Kathryn and Tricia both feel changes as a result of Ofsted (2019) will not meet the needs of young people, who might be excluded from the types of “successful” academies Guernsey teachers have visited. Tricia said one English school leader on these visits asserted, ‘you won’t see any behaviour issues’, raising concerns for her of “off-rolling” students (Done, 2022). Moreover, their accounts and others reflect an uncertainty in this Ofsted decision which reproduces the non-explanation in figure 2 (green annotations), that the previous ‘arrangement ceased’. To further understand how “truths” generated by public discourses about Ofsted are reproduced and contested by teachers, I will now explore what the “problem” is represented to be in the discursive practices of *Inspections* (SoG, n.d.-a), using questions 1-5 (Fig. 1) from Bacchi’s (2009) framework.

Q1: The “problem” is represented to be current standards in schools, as introducing Ofsted to Guernsey is managed through the phrase, ‘[a] great deal of work... undertaken to prepare... for this new standards framework’ (n.p.). Extensive preparations for Ofsted are evident in the next section, supporting the notion that beyond discourse, this constitutes situated practice (Clarke, 2019).

*Q2: This problem representation presupposes that inspection frameworks define and drive improvements in the quality of education. The current reforms to Guernsey’s public services are typically neoliberal, of accountability through measuring performance indicators (SoG, 2015). Therefore, the default position is endlessly rising attainment in standardised assessments (Clarke, 2019), echoed in SoG (n.d.-a) ‘the purpose.... to drive further improvement’ (np.). Additionally, Paul calls government officers hired externally around this time ‘standards-driven people’ (Primary), suggesting *standards* are coming from elsewhere, perhaps global reforms (Sahlberg, 2016).*

*Q3: The problem representation has come about from the two-year absence of inspection and the inference that the previous framework lacked *rigour*. This aligns with the importance of accountability within neoliberal education reforms, globally (Fallabella, 2014). Moreover, the need for ‘independent and rigorous assessment’ (SoG, n.d.-a, n.p.) problematises school self-evaluations (Fig.2, blue annotations) and reveals that schools are assumed to be *below standard* before being inspected. Steve (Secondary) infers schools might be pre-judged to fit a narrative: ‘I suppose we’ll all be inadequate... maybe I’m cynical’ and experiences of a former Ofsted inspector corroborate his concerns (Bennett, 2023).*

Q4: Silences. There is no mention in SoG (n.d.-a) that external inspection is required by law (Gladwell, 2023, np), which leaves *unproblematic* the responsibility for the years with no inspection provider. No reason is given for the ending of the previous contract, or whether alternatives were considered.

Education Scotland recalled their inspectors to inspect Scottish schools more frequently - probably off the back of their last set of PISA results... then looked at different inspectorate options - this was under the previous committee, and their decision was to go with Ofsted.

(Alex Government officer)

The mention of poor PISA results (Scottish Government, 2016) triggering increased inspection reiterates that the problem is represented to be less rigorous inspection standards.

Q5: A resulting effect is pressures to rapidly raise standards, compounded by Guernsey's significant and ongoing curriculum policy changes. Additionally, a national union officer argued that despite Ofsted acknowledging Guernsey's 'unique and specific differences' (SoG, n.d.-a, n.p.), it has given English authorities the 'power to write the curriculum' (Gladwell, 2023, np), although no such criticism was made of Education Scotland. Many teachers feel Ofsted is driving curriculum change. A well-sequenced, knowledge-rich curriculum is the foundation of judgements under Ofsted (2019), therefore perceptions of inspectors' expectations may be driving school leaders' curriculum choices. However, government officer perspectives differ:

Ofsted potentially is seen as an English organisation that inspects English schools, and English curriculum. ...it is different in Guernsey. We have a different curriculum, we have a different educational history... people need to feel more reassured that [Ofsted] understand that.

(Charlie, Government Officer)

In contrast, Alex (Government officer) says, 'we're not inspected on exactly the English framework, but it's quite similar', furthering the union officer's declaration this is, 'an 'England-centric' system... imposed on Guernsey schools' (Gladwell, 2023, n.p.). Finally, another Jamie, reasons that

the [ESC] committee... backed by the present committee, chose to have Ofsted as the inspection framework... having a curriculum that is well-sequenced in terms of knowledge.

(Jamie, Government officer)

However, Jamie also recognised implications for wider policy enactments:

[UK governments] use drivers like accountability... to get compliance. And it has a certain amount... of success, but what you get is compliance rather than deep understanding. ...[when] people don't understand why you get resentment. ...[and] **mutations** when people do things in order to jump through a hoop, without really understanding why.

(Jamie, Government officer, emphasis added)

In summary, a range of policy actors expressed concerns about the suitability of an English approach to accountability for Guernsey and what aligning with Ofsted means for the future of education policy. SoG (n.d.-a) problematises a lack of inspection and rigour with an underlying tone of *common-sense neoliberalism* (Hall and O'Shea, 2013). Its *raising standards* discourse is reproduced by most teachers although is resisted by two participants as "not right for Guernsey". Meanwhile, confusion and speculation fill discursive 'silences' (Bacchi, 2009, p2) as to: a) why the previous inspections contract ended, and b) how, why and by whom Ofsted was chosen. Along with standardising curricula and visits to high-performing academies, some believe the Ofsted (2019) approach to accountability signals increasing English influences.

Curriculum Policy Enactments – changing discourses and influencing factors

A key dimension of policy reform relates to changing curriculum enactments, mainly involving the introduction of *Entitlement Documents* (which I became aware of during data collection) and the impacts of UK accountability mechanisms. I will first set out how enactments of the Bailiwick Curriculum (SoG, 2016) have been influenced by assessment in primary and secondary phases. I then explore the work of discourses reconciling or resisting the introduction of "knowledge-rich" *Entitlement Documents*. The tensions with an English approach build on the previous section, with some English curriculum influences resulting from accountability change.

I begin with a quote from Charlie to explain the purpose of introducing Entitlement Documents and the ongoing work to define progressions of content knowledge.

complementing the Bailiwick Curriculum then, is the Entitlement Documents... for certain subjects... what the actual content is to be delivered, because the Bailiwick Curriculum is a skills based summary, I guess. So the entitlement documents are there to kind of "flesh out" what actual content schools are expected to teach.

(Charlie, Government Officer)

Narratives towards the Bailiwick Curriculum differ by phase, with the Bailiwick Curriculum centrally positioned by primary provision, and in some cases, sidelined by secondary. The

low-specificity of the Bailiwick Curriculum (SoG, 2016) enabled a wide range of policy translations by primary school leaders. Four participants shared perspectives on polarised curriculum policy (non)enactments. Some schools continue with their previous curricula, based on England's QCA "old" National Curriculum, adopting only the *language* of change, as in Maguire et al (2013). Others drastically changed their approach, fully adapting curricula to pupil/teacher interests, consistent with the beliefs of the Bailiwick Curriculum's main consultant, Mick Waters (Mansell, 2008). On the whole, primary teachers have mixed perspectives towards the importance of defining content knowledge, with some resistances possibly due to lack of awareness of the purpose behind changes. Alex suggests most teachers have moved away from the position, that:

"Knowledge is not important, and what we care about is skills..."

...we're trying to stop talking about it as "let's do some knowledge and some skills", and more "what are the bits of knowledge that are best going to enable [children] to demonstrate those skills that we've all agreed are important".

(Alex, Government Officer)

Although all officers and teachers, except Daniel (quoted below), agree with the overarching aims of the Bailiwick Curriculum, differences by phase become increasingly apparent as we consider the impact of assessment. Supporting findings of Kneen et al (2023), primary teachers in this study are much more engaged with the Bailiwick Curriculum and the Entitlements than secondary teachers, who are more focused on terminal examinations and implications for curriculum standardisation.

I'm not too au fait with the [Bailiwick Curriculum]... they're trying to move away from it... with this big push to reorganise the schools... all teach the same curriculum, so... one [teacher] can cover for somebody else... [and] we don't have massive gaps in knowledge just due to one school doing a different syllabus

(Daniel, Secondary)

This demonstrates secondary perspectives towards content knowledge and the influence of examinations as Daniel a) refers to examination syllabus and curriculum interchangeably and b) focuses curriculum enactments towards content alignment across schools. All secondary teachers feel the decision to align to the same UK GCSE exam board is driving standardisations of curriculum and teaching methods. Moreover, neither of the two secondary teachers who say they enact the Bailiwick Curriculum recognise a conflict in using GCSE content requirements to inform Key Stage 3 curricula. This bolsters Paul's suspicions that continued use of UK assessment frameworks in primary, and recent decisions on English GCSEs, result in Bailiwick Curriculum non-enactments, asking 'was it done intentionally... that it would trickle down and make the Guernsey curriculum weaker?' (Paul, Primary). Curriculum consultant Waters, is a known critic of the impacts of high-stakes

accountability through assessment and inspection on curriculum enactments (Wilby, 2010). Jamie shares a similar view that,

when you have a low-specificity curriculum, assessment frameworks fill the breach, and become the de facto curriculum.

...you get sort of a “wannabe KS4 curriculum” done in KS3, which is inappropriate. And then in primary schools, because Reading, Writing and Maths were reported on, we had quite detailed grids with rubrics... teachers taught to the grid, [which] was really problematic.

(Jamie, Government officer)

From Rachel’s perspective, defining the content through the Entitlement Documents addresses the variations in curriculum enactments across primary schools, which she sees as problematic:

prior to the Entitlements, the Bailiwick Curriculum, which was very much... skills-based was also... very, very open. And so I don't believe... there was equity of knowledge for every child on the island. ...we really tried to - not narrow it down, but just *make it really purposeful, which is what the Bailiwick Curriculum always set out to do* – without losing the creativity.

(Rachel, Teacher-policymaker, emphases added)

The italicised phrase is a discursive practice which works on the Bailiwick Curriculum’s strapline ‘promoting joyous and purposeful learning’ (SoG, 2016, p2) to legitimise the Entitlement Documents as enacting ‘what the Bailiwick Curriculum always set out to do’. Not all teachers share this view, however, Beatrice, who only mentions the Entitlements briefly, ‘had heard... there was almost, too much freedom? ... it was almost, a work in progress, but it didn't really get finished!’ (Beatrice, Primary). The Bailiwick Curriculum (SoG, 2016) makes provision for changing enactments, having been ‘purposely designed to be dynamic, adaptable and able to continually evolve’ (p.130).

A key tension is the positioning of the Bailiwick Curriculum as locally developed and its *problematization* (Bacchi, 2000) of ‘the prescriptive nature of the previous curriculum frameworks’ (SoG, 2016, p.7). Echoing this sentiment that ‘entitlement documents [are] taking the freedom away... back to the stranglehold of the National Curriculum’ Paul (Primary) contests moving (back) to an English approach to curriculum.

Alternatively, Bailiwick Curriculum discourses suggest an English influence. Firstly, the foreword, written by Waters, shares many similar phrases with that of the National Curriculum developed during his tenure as Curriculum Director of QCA. This is exemplified in table 7, where even the core purposes of SoG (2016) are strikingly similar to phrases using in the English document’s foreword. In contrast with interview data refuting an “English influence” on the Bailiwick Curriculum, these discursive similarities are significant in

identifying Waters as a key policy maker and influence on policy (as) discourse. I do not further analyse what truths these discursive practices generate, except to note that Waters' senior role in UK Government has been *hidden* (Table 7) disguising his "English-ness" and playing a part in positioning the Bailiwick Curriculum as "not English".

Table 7: Comparison of excerpts from Guernsey's Bailiwick Curriculum (SoG, 2016) and England's National Curriculum: progress and opportunities (QCA, 2008). Both were written by Mick Waters, who led the co-development of both curriculum documents.

National Curriculum: progress and opportunities (QCA, 2008)	The Bailiwick Big Picture Curriculum Teacher Handbook: Second Edition (SoG, 2016)
Foreword written by Mick Waters, 'Director, Curriculum Qualifications and Curriculum Authority' (QCA, 2008, p.4).	Foreword written by Mick Waters, 'international curriculum expert and advisor' (SoG, 2016, p.6)
'Teachers, parents, education and employment communities, the media and the public should all see the curriculum as something to embrace, support and celebrate. Most of all, young people should relish the opportunity for discovery and achievement that the curriculum affords them.' (QCA, 2008, p.4)	'Teachers, parents and carers, the wider education community, employers, the media and the public at large should all see the Big Picture as something that they can embrace, support and celebrate. Most of all, young people should relish the opportunity for discovery and achievement that this new curriculum offers to them.' (SoG, 2016, p.6)
'modern and world-class curriculum and assessment system' (QCA, 2008, p.4)	'modern and world-class curriculum' (SoG, 2016, p.6)
In foreword: 'successful learners, confident individuals and responsible adults', (QCA, 2008, p.4)	'Core Purposes': 'Successful Learners', 'Confident Individuals', 'Responsible Citizens', 'Effective Contributors' (SoG, 2016, p.8)

Secondly, the Bailiwick Curriculum's aim to 'raise standards' (SoG, 2016, p.130) mirrors the Ofsted discourses in the previous section. Meanwhile, 'keeping the curriculum under review by evaluating and recording the impact' (p.130) and tracking 'key performance indicators' (p.129) align with dominant reforms, although interestingly, in this study just one teacher associated measuring impact with the Bailiwick Curriculum. Finally, while 'entitled to a broad and balanced curriculum' (SoG, 2016, p.3) is the only time a variant of *entitled/ment(s)* refers to curriculum directly, this could nonetheless be quoting England's

inspection handbook: ‘well-planned and sequenced, well-taught, broad and balanced curriculum’ (Ofsted, 2024, n.p.). Its positioning as disassociated from an English curriculum and accountability mechanisms has been “made” in situ to problematise English approaches to curriculum and accountability (Clarke, 2019).

Returning to Rachel’s phrase ‘equity of knowledge’ and the name *Entitlements*, these reflect Hirschian influences on England’s “knowledge-rich” curricula and accompanying “Gold-Standard” GCSE standardised assessments (Jones, 2021). Using a social equity discourse, she reworks the problematisation of *knowledge* and implicitly, English curriculum influences. Social equity discourses and the re-professionalisation of teachers (Wilkins et al, 2021) have been a powerful tool in England to legitimise reforms which uphold social *inequalities* (Gewirtz et al, 2021). Similarly, officer Jamie separates the Entitlements from the situated discourses of the previous section that Ofsted is “not right for Guernsey”.

We're not doing it because of Ofsted... it's genuinely the right thing to do for young people and Ofsted notice that... there's lots of evidence behind it.... Some people really really get that, and are excited by it... some people think it's, it's terrible... that it's “knowledge-rich”... and we have to do it because of Ofsted but actually its neglecting the children.

(Jamie, Government officer)

Jamie simultaneously tackles situated beliefs that *knowledge-rich* is a bad, “English” approach. He positions the Entitlements as “the right thing to do”, removed from influences of the English inspectorate. However, Rachel recognises the pressures of Ofsted accountability on primary curriculum enactments and directly challenges its impacts. She observes

heightened stress and tension... because it’s almost felt... like people have to rush [to] develop every subject at once... It seems like... [Ofsted is] "leading the way" when we don't want it to actually. We want the Bailiwick Curriculum and the Entitlements to be leading it, and driving that change forward.

(Rachel, Teacher-Policymaker)

Schools are under considerable pressure to make curriculum decisions quickly, influenced by what Ofsted inspectors will want to see. Lamenting on the influence of inspection on schools’ curriculum decisions, consultant Mick Waters expressed a similar view that ‘schools package it accordingly’ (Wilby, 2010). A consequence in some schools has been, sometimes hasty, decisions to use commercial curriculum resources from English companies ‘to get, “Bailiwick Curriculum-Ofsted-friendly”’ (Beatrice, Primary). This is one way education policy is “made” relationally between individual policy actors, rather than being driven by national frameworks such as the Bailiwick Curriculum (Gulson et al, 2017). Beatrice describes translating a bought-in curriculum as ‘a lot of work... cross-referencing... [which] I didn't

think I'd signed up for as a teacher', choosing units to 'tick them off' against Bailiwick Curriculum skills, evidencing this decision on behalf of the decision-maker. Furthermore, Macdonald et al (2020) found prescriptive resources prevented teachers adapting or using alternatives and challenging the decisions of senior leaders responsible for curriculum (Keddie et al, 2018).

To finish, I demonstrate some tensions of shifting accountability discourses using quotes from government officer Alex. Initially, they reproduce discourses of raising standards and social equity to justify curriculum and accountability reforms:

I think everything should be as focused... on the best outcomes for students... We're responsible for a really big component of the students' life chances - we should be accountable for that...

Then, noting the significant shift away from teacher autonomy, Alex challenges the pressures on leaders to be accountable for curriculum decisions at this early stage:

I [understand the] huge amount of pressure on schools and on teachers, and particularly on school leaders. ...it feels unfair to me to say... "Why isn't your curriculum properly sequenced?" when, not that long ago... sequencing [sort of] didn't matter. ...I think, in the event that it is criticised in an Ofsted inspection... we should be taking some responsibility...

On commercial resources, Alex sees benefits for teacher workload and student outcomes which have been verified through Ofsted judgements:

...some schools have picked up external curricular resources... are really positive about them, and have had good feedback on it from Ofsted. ...I don't think the answer... [is] pull Ofsted and [children] get a worse deal because it's too much work. But I think we should be sharing,... bringing in other things, where we know they're good enough, to get to the point of having a curriculum we think is good as quickly as possible.

(Alex, Government officer)

Alex identifies time-pressures of curriculum reform differently to Rachel by returning to their initial discourses focused on student experiences and outcomes. Ofsted is viewed as necessary to deliver curriculum improvements quickly without addressing implications for curriculum enactments.

In summary, while no one disagrees with the overarching aims of the Bailiwick Curriculum, its low-specificity led to varied enactments (and non-enactments) across primary and secondary phases, driven by pressures to *raise standards* according to (English) assessment frameworks. The skills-based Bailiwick Curriculum problematises the National Curriculum, and in situated discourses has been associated with moving away from an English approach, despite the use of dominant "English" accountability discourses. Entitlement Documents are

now being developed to address the “inequitable” variation in curriculum enactments by defining the content knowledge of the curriculum. However, standardising content knowledge is, in both phases, associated with a loss of teacher autonomy. In secondary provision, this is mainly driven by the decision for schools to align on English assessment specifications. Primary schools have retained autonomy over curriculum choices but accountability changes have shifted responsibility for curriculum increasingly towards senior leaders. The next section will explore these pressures in the context of monitoring, but in terms of curriculum enactments, in some schools this has enabled quick, highly-autonomised decisions to buy-in curriculum resources from English companies. The result is a justification of further mutations to the low-specificity Bailiwick Curriculum in order to rapidly improve the curriculum, using discourses of raising standards and social equity while concerns for teacher professionalism are rendered silent.

Monitoring and Being Monitored – school leaders and new governance

Alongside reforms to curriculum, assessment and accountability, there have been significant shifts to monitoring in schools. It is interesting to note that all senior leaders in this study described increased pressure on subject leaders, while they generally described senior leaders as driving monitoring and quality assurance practices. Findings suggest this increase has mainly been influenced by the continuous surveillance mechanisms to prepare for Ofsted’s “deep dives” (focusing on a few subjects in detail during inspections, rather than the whole school in less depth). Positioning students as “customers” and teachers responsible for their school “experience” is reinforced by Ofsted and engenders a justification based on “what is best for students”, which is very difficult to argue with (Gewirtz et al, 2021). Responsibilised school leaders instead cascade pressures onto school staff through compliance with curriculum and monitoring expectations. Under a guise of supporting staff and students, they reproduce the dominant narrative. Forming networks of school leaders enables participation from a greater number of actors and collaboration across schools, facilitated by government officers, however, highly-selective policy networking risks amplifying dominant voices and further marginalising those left out.

I will first consider implications of Guernsey public service reforms towards increased transparency and public accountability and its ‘customer first’ narrative (SoG, 2015, p.11) on discourses of equity and raising standards. The Education Strategy’s first publicly-available annual report states:

After a number of years of turmoil... this Strategy... ensures that everything we do has the learner at the centre. This means focusing on ensuring equity, safety, and inclusivity; delivering high quality learning and excellent outcomes; meeting the needs of the community; and enabling outstanding leadership and governance

(ESC, 2023a, p.5)

The problematisation of previous practice contradicts the child-centred motivations of many teachers in this study. Conversely, Daniel shows some adverse effects of positioning students as customers:

It seems like, especially with this increase in digital technology, that there is more and more accountability on teachers for ensuring everything is recorded. Everything's set. Everything's available and everything's accessible for parents and students, which is just massively increasing the workload... when I was in school. If you missed the lesson, you... copied it up word for word, right? ...Whereas *now*... I need to email them what was on the lesson.

...an expectation that students should be able to learn in 1,000,001 different ways. ...[we should] deliver six to eight different lessons in six to eight different ways... *beyond* making it accessible for those who find it difficult

(Daniel, Secondary, original emphasis)

This shift in responsibility for learning from students and parents onto teachers correlates with public service reforms utilising technology to increase speed and convenience for *customers* (SoG, 2015). Daniel explains the pressure to deliver lessons according to what students want increases workload whilst challenging the professionalism of teaching (Biesta et al, 2015). Steve demonstrates additional implications on student motivation:

the way [students] want to learn, it's- they've changed.

... [some students] don't want to put the best effort in, because they don't see the meaning behind it. So, we've kind of lost... the *value* of education... that's a real challenge for us.

... we are trying to get the parents involved... [but they] don't see the mean-the true love for it anymore, the true meaning behind it.

(Steve, Teacher-policymaker)

This customer-centric perspective furthers responsabilisation of teachers by implying teachers must communicate the *value* in education, as though selling a product to students (and parents). In the previous chapter, commercialised language – preventing ‘a worse deal’ for students (Alex, Government officer) justified schools buying external curricula. Similarly, “lesson walkarounds” or unannounced “drop-ins” (two of various terms used) and book “scrutinies”, both focusing on student experience for:

quality assurance. Um, so we want to ensure that the students are getting, you know, the right- the “deal” that they're buying into.

(Kathryn, Subject Leader)

Formerly, teachers were monitored through pre-arranged observations and their classes' assessment data. Kathryn welcomes the changes as what is *right* (for students), resolving a tension that Ofsted, which she opposes, arguably define the subjective definition of "quality" that she is "assuring" through monitoring practices. Alternatively, Kathryn may see this move as preferable to previous fabrications through targeting students to improve data and performative lesson observations (Perryman et al, 2011), practices seemingly prevalent in Guernsey as in England:

...in secondary... they needed to move away from... flight paths, and the focus on the C/D, or 3/4 [GCSE] borderline. And I think that was so hardwired into them that that's taken a while, and some people are still not there.

(Jamie, Government officer)

School league tables are a key lever of centralised control in more decentralised school systems (Perryman et al, 2011). Although external examination grades have previously been published on the SoG website, ESC (2023a) reports extensive performance indicators: examination results, attendance and Ofsted judgements by school. Alongside the "best deal for students" narrative, "increasing public accountability" is the *common sense* neoliberal justification (Hall and O'Shea, 2013). However, in a system without parental school choice, what is the benefit of promoting competition between schools through comparison? These statistics do not account for school catchment demographics or other contextual factors which impact performance indicators (Keddie, 2014), therefore placing schools and teachers at risk of unfair, public negative judgements as they have in the past (Sherbourne, 2019).

Moreover, while subject leaders might genuinely believe regular book scrutinies and lesson walkarounds are "what is right for students", as it is how *they* are judged - by senior leaders, officers and Ofsted, their position may depend on accepting and not questioning the new policy (Wilkins, 2021):

when I go in to quality assure... I will be speaking to the students, and not really looking at what the teacher is doing, because I get much more from talking to them. And that's quite Ofsted. They will come in and that's what they will do.

(Steve, Teacher-policymaker)

New monitoring is also student-centric by forming judgements of *teaching quality*, and therefore teachers, from how well students can articulate their learning. This is another "common sense" idea, but assumes students will answer fully and truthfully and further reinforces teacher responsibility for student motivation. Perryman et al (2018) indicate shifts towards teachers regulating their behaviour as though under continual observation, yet finding new ways to reclaim their professional identity and resolve tensions, exemplified in a less experienced teacher's policy perspective:

there's a stigma against observations... [but] I love walking around... It's been moved as a standard for [senior leaders]... I think it should be an expected standard for teachers... [although] that's leaning back towards teacher autonomy rather than the system that is in place...

(Daniel, Secondary)

Daniel embraces opportunities to learn from other teachers whilst also recognising colleagues feel judged by increased observations by Senior leaders. He thinks everyone should, regardless of role, but Senior leaders are *expected*, and may have additional non-teaching time, *enabling* their participation. Daniel experiences professional tensions between self-reflection and loss of autonomy in classroom management and curriculum standardisation. Together, these findings suggest a congruence with Perryman et al (2017) where teachers 'resolve... tensions between care and calculation... while striving for excellence in their practice' (p.755), reconfiguring self-surveillance as a self-reflective professional identity.

As with curriculum, policy participations and enactments differ by phase, with primary leaders in general experiencing more pressure to prepare for inspection and additional time constraints which limit their policy participations.

We haven't really had the time to release [subject leaders], or the training, to go in and do the monitoring and... know what [they're] supposed to know.

...subject leads are now getting release time – we've done it according to our action plans... hopefully you will have had release time and know what's going on before an Ofsted inspection, or you might be in trouble!

(Paul, Primary)

Paul's concerns highlight some effects of time constraints limiting primary subject leader policy participations, compared with Senior leaders and secondary peers. This has significant implications for inspection preparedness because, should their subject be chosen for a "deep dive" by Ofsted, inspectors will base judgements on the alignment of leaders' understanding of teaching in their subject area with Ofsted's observations, using the very methods inaccessible to subject leaders. Additionally, where senior leaders implement commercial curricula without their input, subject leaders may be 'vulnerable' at inspection, 'accountable for curriculum choices that weren't [their] own' (Paul, Primary).

Another key finding relates to how pressures of Ofsted inspection are managed. These mechanisms also give insight into how policy is made relationally and how different policy actors are positioned. Beatrice explains in these next two quotes how inspection fears originate and cascade through positioning measures which reproduce pressures are *supportive*.

[W]ith Ofsted looming, the pressure's coming down I think, on our [senior leaders], and I can see that clearly. And then it's pushed on to us, and it is hugely stressful.

She later cites Ofsted as the origin of this stress and infers this has implications on her policy enactments:

[Senior leaders] are obviously wanting to do more observations because of the "Damocles Sword" of Ofsted. Um, and the emphasis has been on- that we're not looking to catch you out, but we want to... make sure that we can support you, if you're not [short pause] doing something you should be.

(Beatrice, Primary)

The fear of Ofsted is juxtaposed by a supposed "support" from increasing observations. These likely reiterate for teachers that the curriculum reforms being monitored are "for Ofsted", towards which Officer Jamie expressed frustration in the first section. However, as decentralised governance holds leaders increasingly personally responsible for inspection judgements, teachers experience effects of their increased stress. Despite implications that accountability is shifting away from government officers, their involvement in schools' self-validation and curriculum work provides leaders with reassurance amidst the uncertainty of reforms:

...we're making sure there's a quality assurance process. So we're not just going down, off on a tangent, and actually, when we get inspected it's wrong. We're making sure that's very thorough, and it's checked by [Education]. So that's one challenge, of making sure that we're ticking the boxes externally.

(Tricia, Senior leader)

Echoing subject leaders' monitoring discourses, Tricia's use of "quality assurance" demonstrates the permeation of this discourse through curriculum policy translations and enactments. Furthermore, ESC's (2023) annual report uses the same phrase in reference to Ofsted inspection and, to a lesser extent, government officer visits. Tricia seeks validation of their curriculum translations to avoid negative Ofsted judgements; officers proactively deploy training to allay leaders' fears.

...we've really tried to support schools with, almost demystifying [inspection], ...so that it's **not this horrendous kind of Spectre that's looming**, but... "when I get that phone call, these are the three things that I need to do first,"... that kind of really practical advice and support.

(Charlie, Government officer, emphasis added)

Charlie repositions the Damocles-esque imagery to contest fears, removing power of Ofsted judgment, as 'merely one audit among many' (Greenway, 2023, n.p.). This is an example of discursive practices within professional development (CPD) (re)making policy with (groups

of) policy actors. This networking of policy resembles findings of Perryman et al (2017) that (CPD) is ‘sometimes... about clarifying policy’ (p.752).

One final finding considers the changing roles of government officers and influences on policy discourses. Guernsey previously had a more top-down hierarchy, with officers advising and line-managing autonomised headteachers. Schools were generally disconnected from one another, whereas now, groups of policy actors from different schools connect, facilitated by officers. Figure 3 represents the finding that officers act as “nodes” in a heterarchical policy actor network.

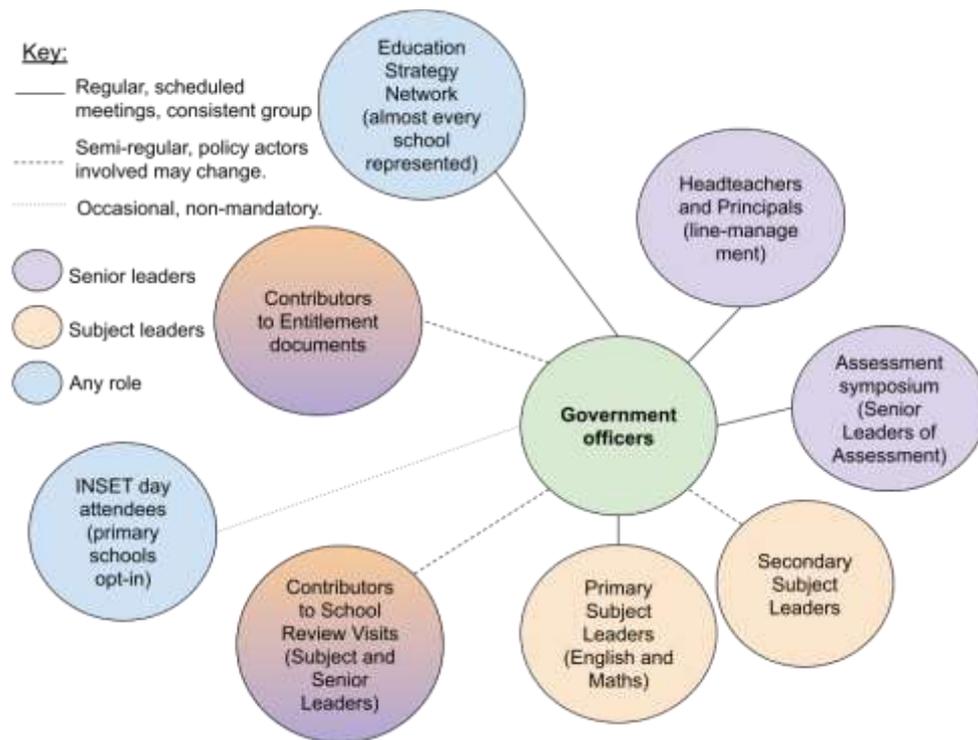


Figure 3: Policy actor network diagram showing connections between government officers and teachers employed by Education (state sector) as emerged from research findings.

This is a relationally complex system. Subject leaders are more able to share ideas and develop policy translations with peers from other schools and officers are directly connected to leaders, facilitating training and discussions, influencing policy enactments in schools. However, connections within schools are not shown. Senior leaders may hold conflicting perspectives, exemplified in the decision to implement a bought-in curriculum without subject leader input. This may be particularly apparent in primary, where there is no mandate towards curriculum alignment across schools, although only Mathematics and English subject leaders meet regularly. Another tension of selecting based on job role arises: teachers lacking privileged responsibility roles, perhaps due to caring responsibilities, are generally prevented from participating and therefore marginalised in policymaking.

Furthermore, the Education Strategy Network accepts teachers regardless of role, but their ‘hope to see members of the network being promoted into senior leadership positions...

[and] some members have already made this step' (ESC, 2023a, p.50), excluding teachers who are not 'aspiring systems leaders' (p.49). A member (unnamed) described *governance* changes as, 'what I've been *plugging* this half term' (Policymaker, emphasis added), suggesting their role is one of influencing as a policy advocate, although they also gather and present views of colleagues and parents to be discussed by the wider network. This might offer colleagues otherwise disconnected from policymaking opportunities to reciprocally influence members' policy perspectives. However, in another selective policymaking context, alternative perspectives could not be voiced (Perryman et al, 2017) and Wilkins et al (2021) discuss promoting competitive, entrepreneurial individuals as recruiting compliance with the dominant position. Supporting this view, in a podcast episode discussing Guernsey's changing policy landscape, a secondary principal described teachers in Guernsey as 'less compliant' than their English counterparts (ASCL, 2022). Participants most opposed to reforms seemed least involved in policy networking (Fig. 3): exposure to policy discourses and involvement in policymaking may alter perspectives in favour of reforms, or opposition to reforms may exclude teachers from networks, by their choice or through selection criteria.

To conclude, students are repositioned as consumers of education by commercialised discourses. This shifts accountability for student assessment performance onto teachers, reinforced by monitoring and inspection practices focused on student experience. Although monitoring policy reforms are welcomed by teachers in this study, maintaining their curriculum and assessment roles may influence their perspectives, due to some limited evidence of opposition from other teachers. Policy networking groups may similarly encourage compliance by selecting members based on certain additional responsibility roles and competitive advantages for career progression. Alternatively, new monitoring practices may be preferable over previous policies which encouraged fabrications and *performance*. Teacher role and phase both affect monitoring policy participations, with primary subject leaders most impacted by a lack of non-teaching time. Senior leaders' fear of negative inspection judgements are in tension with inspection methods shifting responsibility towards subject leaders. One teacher experiencing loss of autonomy reclaims professionalism by reconfiguring monitoring participations as continual improvement, congruent with research in England (Perryman et al, 2017). Similarly, forming networking groups shifts government officer roles towards facilitating policy changes by training and connecting leaders previously excluded from policymaking. This increases officers' awareness and influence on policy enactments (and non-enactments) and offers peer support to teachers siloed in the former hierarchical structure. However, inclusion based on responsibility role or desire for career progression may recruit compliant policy advocates, promoting teachers unwilling to challenge the dominant position.

Summary

The aim of my research was to explore teachers' experiences of policy in an environment of significant change, within a global context where market technologies are being applied to education reforms. In this chapter, I have explored these questions in relation to how policy work is done in Guernsey, using an examination of some key policy documents as well as interviews undertaken with a range of policy actors. What emerges is that a number of concerns are expressed about the potential unintended consequences of aligning towards English models of secondary school structure, assessments and school inspections on curriculum policy enactments and teaching as a profession. There are some deep anxieties over increasingly individualised teacher accountability and the implications for wellbeing, recruitment and retention. There is also evidence of teachers embracing opportunities to actively participate in making policy. However, their enthusiasm for change sometimes contradicts their perspectives towards other, overlapping policy changes. Therefore, it remains unclear whether teachers will be able to (continue to) deal confidently and successfully with these new policy demands.

Word count: 6,301

Chapter Five: Conclusions

The aim of my small-scale investigation was to explore teachers' and government officers' perspectives towards recent policy changes, and teacher participations in policy processes. In a global context of market technologies being applied to education reforms, I analysed neoliberal discursive practices and how they are reproduced and contested by policy actors. In this chapter, I will provide an overview of my key findings, outline some limitations of my small study and offer some suggestions for policy and further research.

Importance of Context

This study, as an exposition of curriculum, assessment and accountability policies, lays the groundwork for Guernsey as a case study site for policy research. With some English influences, as discussed, policy enactment frameworks developed in England, such as Ball et al (2012a) concerning policy actor personas, could be generalised and analysed for their transferability as methodological approaches, similar to Tawell and McCluskey (2022) WPR analysis. Ball and Junemann (2012) network ethnography could also be translated to a much simpler context, in terms of the number and range of policy actors involved. I neither claim to have explored present contextual dimensions, nor what constitutes success in Guernsey schools. However, I have discussed teachers' perspectives towards the normative position upheld by Ofsted and previous impacts of school performance comparisons. Guernsey teachers feel passionately that Ofsted is "not right for Guernsey", suggesting teacher beliefs and identities do not align with a neoliberal version of success. Fundamentally, contextualising methodological perspectives may challenge inequalities (Butler and Sinclar, 2020), which is pertinent given the dominance of neoliberal reforms.

Key Findings

Guernsey education stands at a precipice. Many factors are driving teachers towards reconfigured professional identities (Wilkins, 2011; Wilkins et al, 2021). However, I believe Guernsey's fate is not yet sealed. Benefit are an absence of parental choice and that primary assessment remains unburdened by public judgements. However, increased published data may drive competition between schools and comparisons with other countries. Moreover, there is evidence of teachers reproducing neoliberal policy discourses; recognising some negative impacts of the "hidden" *Public Service Reform* agenda (SoG, 2015) and accepting changes towards self-surveillance – and in some cases, a reconfigured professional identity towards continuous "improvement".

Networking groups have enabled more teachers to participate in policy making, holding power to challenge or uphold neoliberal drivers of reform, although may pressure members beyond the Strategy Network to 'champion' policy (ESC, n.d.-c, n.p.), excluding alternative policy perspectives. Furthermore, confusion surrounding the introduction of Ofsted, and

polarised curriculum perspectives, suggest purposes of policies are not always clearly communicated. Public “raising standards” discourses contribute to teachers questioning what these decisions mean for Guernsey teachers, who mostly welcome changes to assessment and monitoring but fear English influences are moving curriculum and accountability in a direction at odds with their beliefs as teachers.

Recommendations for Future Research

Due to the study’s exploratory nature, considerable data are beyond inclusion in this paper. For example, teachers’ concerns regarding recruitment, retention and job precarity due to continued uncertainties over changing school structures. Honing in on policy areas, I recommend applying a Bernsteinian lens to curriculum classifications, as strong subject delineations of the Entitlement Documents⁹ are likely in tension with blurred boundaries of conventional subject areas in the Bailiwick Curriculum. This may render some enactments illegitimate and ‘reveal the power structures... [the classification] reproduces’ (Bernstein, 2000, p7). Applying WPR analysis to Education Scotland and Ofsted inspections discourses could facilitate unusual comparison between inspectorates which typically operate within nation-state boundaries.

Future research might focus on teacher participations in policy processes and other policy actor involvement as assessment, monitoring and the Education Law review¹⁰, including how edu-businesses and Ofsted form “knowledges” about education through their discursive practices (Ball, 2019). Analysis of their influences on teacher policy enactments could enrich network ethnography (Avelar and Ball, 2023) or other policy mobility methodologies (Gulson et al, 2017). Additionally, as government officers are in direct relationship with political *and* school leaders, they do multiple “works”, adding another dimension to the Ball and Junemann (2012) networks model.

Policy Recommendations

Global research suggests that once market drivers are introduced in education, they set the direction. Rebutting the dominant position may be difficult, but not impossible (Landri, 2021). The Strategy Network could play a key role in defining what stakeholders in schools and the wider community consider to be successful *Guernsey* schools and students, and reflecting on whether existing systems include alternative policy perspectives and

⁹ Entitlement Documents were due to be introduced from September 2023, although current implementation progress is unknown. However, eight have been published by one school (St Annes School, n.d.) but, by their format, these appear to be final drafts and not official published documents.

¹⁰ ESC (2023b) presents a Billet d’Etat (parliamentary bill) to the wider body of States of Guernsey Deputies for a vote repealing the current law and setting out aims for the law review. A webpage in the style of “frequently asked questions” explains proposed changes to a public audience (ESC, n.d.-d).

marginalised actors. I suggest returning to the Bailiwick Curriculum as a starting point, as no one in this study disagreed with its principles, but it risks being reinterpreted through a neoliberal lens. If Strategy Network members were democratically elected from within their schools, perhaps the mandate of accountability to these values might sit with them. Meanwhile, this study's findings suggest government officers might, with support of ESC, create spaces to openly discuss and contest policy changes and think through policy consequences on the landscape as a whole.

In some school systems, third-party researchers – whose motives must be continually challenged (Savage et al, 2021) – work with teachers to understand their perspectives towards policy changes and test out underlying beliefs, moving towards more contextualised policy enactments. Exploring how teacher uncertainty affects engagement with professional learning (as policy translation) (Twyford et al, 2017) might be one avenue offering policy makers more nuanced insights on which to base policy decisions. Increased engagement could even highlight dissonances which might lead to teachers 'doing without believing' (Braun and Maguire, 2020, p.433). Along the same lines, teachers' anxieties towards Ofsted should not be ignored. I recommend reviewing accountability policies in light of recent Ofsted inquiries¹¹ and removing public comparisons of schools which engender competition and discourage collaboration (Ehren and Godfrey, 2017) – at odds with increased curricular alignment.

Acknowledging a need for public accountability under SoG (2015), there are alternatives to school-level judgements. Although beyond discussion here, Guernsey has introduced low-stakes standardised assessments benchmarking attainment against England, which should feature in further assessment research. Island-wide results could be published, taking some pressure away from GCSE results. Guernsey already enters students for the International Baccalaureate, and although further research is needed, its more holistic approach may be more aligned with principles set out in the Bailiwick Curriculum. Lastly, Ofsted's (2023) "summary evaluations" of school groups might provide a suitable framework for system-level accountability, with stakeholder consultation on whether individual school inspection results avoid grades entirely.

Limitations

A small study of ten Guernsey policy actors, these findings do not represent the views of all Guernsey teachers, or even of individual participants, whose data reflect specific interview conditions and are combined as a dataset. I also acknowledge that, by leaving out teachers without curriculum or assessment responsibility, I uphold barriers I have challenged in this study. Nevertheless, I maintain the need for this inclusion criterion because at times, discussion of topics beyond the remit of this study affected data saturation (Morse et al,

¹¹ If they have not done so already – this inquiry was undertaken after data collection for this study.

2002). On reflection, I might have addressed this during interviews without exerting undue influence as researcher.

Another limitation of semi-structured interviews over observations (Silverman, 2019) is that, at times, participants were visibly *doing self-surveillance*. Not labelling codes where I suspected this may have therefore reproduced existing findings of teacher self-regulation (Singh et al, 2014). Similarly, omitting codes relating to changing school structures has silenced this issue and potentially excluded some overlapping impacts. A broader analysis of policy documentation may yield a better understanding of implications, particularly of drawn-out policy processes relating to school structures.

Towards a conclusion and more questions

This study traced some neoliberal reforms currently being enacted in Guernsey which intended to explore how this shift is reflected in policy documentation and lived experiences of a range of educational professionals. One of the key findings concerns the stark contrast between a certainty that can be detected in policy documentation, and anxieties and varied perspectives of (an admittedly small number of) teachers towards the direction of curriculum and accountability reforms.

Cost-efficiencies are a hidden driver, almost entirely silenced in education policy discourses, which instead point towards a desire for social equity. Another key finding is that teachers widely reproduced “raising standards” discourses and accepted some changes to monitoring and accountability, although this sometimes contradicted other policy perspectives.

One question has to be whether teachers will be able to (continue to) consolidate policy enactments in reconfigured professional identities, e.g. towards self-improvement? Another concerns new governance, and whether community values will conflict with neoliberal drivers or become more highly regarded?

School systems are complex and there are no quick-fix solutions, but I believe taking time to understand policy demands on teachers and make considered policy decisions is a worthwhile investment in Guernsey’s future.

Word count: 1,543

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Appendices

Appendix A: Summary of additional mitigations employed by a study with similar ethics challenges – Table 1 in Petrova et al (2014)

Table 1. Research strategies when dealing with small qualitative sample.

During recruitment

- Ethical clearance – UREC/FREC or provider-based organisation
- Invitation letter
- Information sharing opportunities (with facilitated discussion about values and beliefs and motivations)
- Building a rapport
- Informed consent in discussion with participants

During data collection

- Revisiting consent in discussion with participants
- Two phases of semi-structured interviews
- Deepening the trust among the participants and the researcher
- Used to check authenticity of the data
- Location; chosen by the participants
- Ensuring confidentiality – no one apart from the participants and the researcher were present during the interview
- Limiting access to the audio tapes

During transcription and data analysis

- Revisiting consent in discussion with participants
- Using numerical codes
- Removal or cleaning of raw text in order to prevent from indirect disclosure
- Member checking – strengthening credibility of the study
- Validating with participants that the transcripts reflect their reality
- Minor changes to the participants' transcripts in relation to strengthen confidentiality
- Limiting access to raw data and transcribed data
- Participants to have access to their data for learning purposes

During dissemination of research results

- Revisiting consent in discussion with participants
- Final draft of the results is read by participants and by an independent person
- Each excerpt is labelled with the participants' designated code together with a number which represented the first or the second phase of data collection
- Referring to the participants by using a gender-free term or by using either the male or female pronoun regardless of their actual gender

UREC: University Research Ethics Committee; FREC: Faculty Research Ethics Committee.

Appendix B: Indicative email copy identifying study features at first consideration as one of this study's ethics considerations

Ethics - Teacher Information ...
18 KB

Hi (Name),

I hope you are well?

I hope you don't mind me reaching out in this capacity. I am researching the effects of changes to Guernsey education policy for my masters, and I am now contacting people who I think might be interested, to ask whether they would like to contribute to my research through interviews during half term and the week after.

There is no obligation to take part. Participation involves one, or possibly two, interviews about curriculum, assessment, monitoring and accountability in Guernsey (state) schools.

Might you be interested in taking part? If so, please read the information sheet attached which details how the research is being carried out, and let me know if you have any questions.

If you decide that you would be happy to participate, please let me know a suitable and convenient time and place for you to be interviewed. This could be a) at your place of work, if appropriate b) please feel free to suggest another public place, such as a quiet cafe, or c) I can make some suggestions in an area convenient for you. I will be available in the afternoons and early evenings of Monday 24th October - Wednesday 2nd November.

In addition, if you think of a colleague on the island who might be interested, with any kind of responsibility role relating to curriculum and assessment, please feel free to pass on these details and/or my email address for them to contact me.

Kindest Regards,
Rebekah

Appendix C: Teacher Information Sheet

Version Number 1 24/09/2022

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

Ethical Clearance Reference Number: MRSU-22/23-34165



YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS INFORMATION SHEET

Title of project

How are teachers in Guernsey impacted by recent policy changes to curriculum, assessment and monitoring/accountability practices?

Invitation Paragraph

I would like to invite you to participate in this research project which will contribute to my Masters dissertation. Before you decide whether you want to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what your participation will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. If anything is unclear or if you would like more information, please ask me, or contact me on the contact details at the end of this information sheet.

What is the purpose of the project?

The purpose of the project is to understand the impact of recent education policy changes on the teaching practices of teachers in Guernsey. This focuses on how teachers experience curriculum, assessment, and monitoring and accountability practices. The purpose is to understand whether recent education policies have resulted in changes to teachers' working practice.

Why have I been invited to take part?

You are being invited to participate in this project because you are currently working in Guernsey as a teacher, in a role with responsibility related to curriculum and assessment practices. If you do not consider yourself to meet these criteria, please discuss this with the researcher.

What will happen if I take part?

If you choose to take part in the project, you will be asked to participate in a semi-structured interview, reflecting on your experiences of curriculum, assessment and accountability and how you perceive any changes to these areas. This interview will also include questions about your experience as a teacher, and your current role. You may choose to also comment on the wider context of changes to curriculum, assessment and accountability in Guernsey, beyond your practice and/or institution. Participation will take place in person at your school or another public place between 24th October and 4th November 2022, or online at a mutually convenient time outside of these dates. Interviews are expected to last approximately one hour in length. You may be asked to participate in a second interview in February/March 2023 under the same conditions. The purpose of a second interview would be to elaborate further on areas within the themes previously described. This would be optional and there is no obligation to participate in a second interview. Audio recording and transcription software will only be used with your consent, and only for data analysis purposes. Recordings will not be shared with anyone else.

Do I have to take part?

Participation is completely voluntary. You should only take part if you want to and choosing not to take part will not disadvantage you in any way. Once you have read the information sheet, please contact me if you have any questions that will help you make a decision about taking part. If you decide to take part, I will ask you to sign a consent form and you will be given a copy of this consent form to keep. Please also keep a copy of this information sheet for your reference. I will obtain verbal consent of participation and recording permission at the start of the interview.

What are the possible risks of taking part?

There are no foreseeable risks associated with participating in this study. All data will be anonymised or pseudonymised. The interview(s) will be audio-recorded, but only with your permission.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

Whilst there are no direct benefits of taking part in this study, it offers the chance to reflect on your teaching practice and position within your school and island, as well as changes to education in Guernsey as a whole.

Data handling and confidentiality

Your data will be processed under the terms of UK data protection law (including the UK General Data Protection Regulation (UK GDPR) and the Data Protection Act 2018).

All interview data will be kept strictly confidential. Audio and transcription data will be collected on the recording and transcription instrument Otter.ai, and transcription data will be automatically anonymised for additional confidentiality. Where participants are identified in the final report, they will be pseudonymised, and this will only be done with your consent. Due to the nature of the policy analysis, Guernsey will be identified as the field of study. With this in mind, particular care will be taken so there will be no possibility of you as an individual being linked with the data. All data will be held securely during the project, and for the required period of 1 year post-completion. Should this study be published, the data may be held securely for up to 5 years post-publication, as required.

Data Protection Statement

If you would like more information about how your data will be processed under the terms of UK data protection laws please visit the link below:

<https://www.kcl.ac.uk/research/support/research-ethics/kings-college-london-statement-on-use-of-personal-data-in-research>

What if I change my mind about taking part?

You are free to withdraw at any point of the project, without having to give a reason. Withdrawing from the project will not affect you in any way. You are able to withdraw your data from the project up until 16th December 2022, after which withdrawal of your data will

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

Ethical Clearance Reference Number: MRSU-22/23-34165



YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS INFORMATION SHEET

Title of project

How are teachers in Guernsey impacted by recent policy changes to curriculum, assessment and monitoring/accountability practices?

Invitation Paragraph

I would like to invite you to participate in this research project which will contribute to my Masters dissertation. Before you decide whether you want to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what your participation will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. If anything is unclear or if you would like more information, please ask me, or contact me on the contact details at the end of this information sheet.

What is the purpose of the project?

The purpose of the project is to understand the impact of recent education policy changes on the teaching practices of teachers in Guernsey. This focuses on how teachers experience curriculum and assessment, and monitoring and accountability practices.

Why have I been invited to take part?

You are being invited to participate in this project because you are currently working as a government education officer in Guernsey, and you work with teachers on curriculum and assessment practices in schools. If you do not consider yourself to meet these criteria, please discuss this with the researcher.

What will happen if I take part?

If you choose to take part in the project, you will be asked to participate in a semi-structured interview, reflecting on your experiences of working with teachers across the island on curriculum and assessment, as well as monitoring and accountability, and any changes to these areas. This interview will also include questions about your experience and current role.

Participation will take place in person at your office, or another public place, between 26th October and 4th November 2022, or online at a mutually convenient time outside of these dates. Interviews are expected to last approximately one hour in length. You may be asked to participate in a second interview in February/March 2023 under the same conditions. The purpose of a second interview would be to elaborate further on areas within the themes previously described. This would be optional and there is no obligation to participate in a second interview. Audio recording and transcription software will only be used with your consent, and only for data analysis purposes. Recordings will not be shared with anyone else.

Do I have to take part?

King's College London - Research Ethics
May 2018

Participation is completely voluntary. You should only take part if you want to, and choosing not to take part will not disadvantage you in any way. Once you have read the information sheet, please contact me if you have any questions that will help you make a decision about taking part. If you decide to take part, I will ask you to sign a consent form and you will be given a copy of this consent form to keep. Please also keep a copy of this information sheet for your reference. I will obtain verbal consent for your participation and recording permission at the start of the interview.

What are the possible risks of taking part?

Whilst all data will be anonymised or pseudonymised, there is a risk of deanonymisation – where an individual can be identified from their anonymised data – in this instance, due to the small number of education officers in Guernsey. In consenting to participate, you are doing so on the understanding of this risk. However, I will mitigate this risk as much as possible through sensitive writing up and by providing you with an opportunity to review any quotes used to prevent deanonymisation, (see further details below). The interview(s) will be audio-recorded, but only with your permission.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

Whilst there are no direct benefits of taking part in this study, it offers the opportunity to reflect on the impact on teachers of changes to education policies.

Data handling and confidentiality

Your data will be processed under the terms of UK data protection law (including the UK General Data Protection Regulation (UK GDPR) and the Data Protection Act 2018).

All interview data will be kept strictly confidential. Audio and transcription data will be collected on the recording and transcription instrument Otter.ai, and transcription data will be automatically anonymised for additional confidentiality. Where participants are identified in the final report, they will be pseudonymised, and this will only be done with your consent.

Due to the nature of the policy analysis, Guernsey will be identified as the field of study. With this in mind, and given the small number of education officer roles on the island, there is a risk of you as an individual being linked with the data through the comments used and in the reporting on your role. In order to prevent this, I will approach writing up with these issues in mind, carefully choosing quotes that do not identify you by association. In addition, you will be offered the opportunity to review early-stage dissertation analysis, when any quotes to be used have been established, in order to judge any potential for deanonymisation and to allow you to contribute to revisions of your data in order to maintain your anonymity. This applies to any other publications your data might be used to contribute towards.

In addition, all data will be held securely during the project, and for the required period of 1 year post-completion. Should this study be published, the data may be held securely for up to 5 years post-publication, as required.

Data Protection Statement

Appendix E: Teacher Consent Form



Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research

Title of project: How are teachers in Guernsey impacted by recent policy changes to curriculum, assessment and monitoring/accountability practices?	
Ethical review reference number:	Version number: 24/09/2022
<i>Points 1-5 are essential for all consent forms.</i>	
	Tick or initial
1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet dated 24/09/2022, Version 1 for the above project. I have had the opportunity to consider the information and asked questions which have been answered to my satisfaction.	
2. I consent voluntarily to be a participant in this project and understand that I can refuse to take part and can withdraw from the project at any time, without having to give a reason, up until 16/12/2022.	
3. I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes explained to me in the Information Sheet. I understand that such information will be handled under the terms of UK data protection law, including the UK General Data Protection Regulation (UK GDPR) and the Data Protection Act 2018.	
4. I understand that my information may be subject to review by responsible individuals from the College for monitoring and audit purposes.	
5. I understand that confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained, and it will not be possible to identify me in any research outputs.	
6. I agree that the researcher may use my data for future research and understand that any such use of identifiable data would be reviewed and approved by a research ethics committee. (In such cases, as with this project, data would not be identifiable in any report).	
7. I consent to my participation in the research being audio recorded.	
8. I understand that I must not take part if I fall under the exclusion criteria as detailed in the information sheet and explained to me by the researcher.	
9. I understand that the information I have submitted will be published as a report	
10. I wish to receive a copy of the final report.	
11. I agree to be re-contacted in the future by King's College London researchers regarding this project.	
12. I agree that the researcher may retain my contact details so that I may be contacted in the future by King's College London researchers who would like to invite me to participate in future studies of a similar nature.	

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Name of Researcher

Date

Signature

Appendix F: Policymaker Consent Form

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH PROJECTS



Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research

Title of project: How are teachers in Guernsey impacted by recent policy changes to curriculum, assessment and monitoring/accountability practices?	
Ethical review reference number:	Version number: 10/10/2022
Points 1-5, are essential for all consent forms.	
	Tick or initial
1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet dated 04/10/2022, Version 2 for the above project. I have had the opportunity to consider the information and asked questions which have been answered to my satisfaction.	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. I consent voluntarily to be a participant in this project and understand that I can refuse to take part and can withdraw from the project at any time, without having to give a reason, up until 6 weeks after being offered a reading of the early analysis.	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes explained to me in the Information Sheet. I understand that such information will be handled under the terms of UK data protection law, including the UK General Data Protection Regulation (UK GDPR) and the Data Protection Act 2018.	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. I understand that my information may be subject to review by responsible individuals from the College for monitoring and audit purposes.	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. I understand that confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained as far as possible so that is not possible to identify me in any reports but I accept there is a risk of deanonymisation, mitigated through being offered an early reading. I accept that I must raise any concerns regarding maintaining anonymity within 6 weeks from being notified of the offer.	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. I agree that the researcher may use my data for future research and understand that any such use of identifiable data would be reviewed and approved by a research ethics committee. (In such cases, as with this project, data would not be identifiable in any report).	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. I consent to my participation in the research being audio recorded.	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. I understand that I must not take part if I fall under the exclusion criteria as detailed in the information sheet and explained to me by the researcher.	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. I understand that the information I have submitted will be published as a report	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. I wish to receive a copy of the final report.	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. I agree to be re-contacted in the future by King's College London researchers regarding this project.	<input type="checkbox"/>
12. I agree that the researcher may retain my contact details so that I may be contacted in the future by King's College London researchers who would like to invite me to participate in future studies of a similar nature.	<input type="checkbox"/>

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Name of Researcher

Date

Signature

Appendix G: Teacher Interview Guide

Semi-structured interview schedule – Teacher version

Topic title [draft]: How are teachers in Guernsey impacted by recent policy changes to curriculum, assessment and monitoring/accountability practices?

Rubric:

The aim of this (small-scale illuminative) study is to examine teachers' experiences of changes to education policies in Guernsey, relating to curriculum and assessment and monitoring and accountability.

The interview is expected to last approximately one hour, and I will ask you to focus on your experiences of these areas in your teaching practice and responsibility role. I will be using a pseudonym for all participants to ensure that confidentiality is maintained, and you and your school will not be named or identified in any way. It would be very helpful if I can audio-record the interview, unless there are any objections. If at any point you would like to terminate the interview please let me know. Before we begin, do you have any questions? Now, are you happy to begin? Thank you.

Setting the scene:

- **Can you tell me about how you came to be teaching in Guernsey?**
Probes: How would you describe your teaching role (subject/key stage)? Can you tell me a bit about your post of responsibility and what is involved? Have you always worked in Guernsey (if not yet covered)?

Curriculum Policy:

- **Can you tell me about some of the main changes you have seen in your area of the curriculum? What changes are you expecting (if any)?**
Probes: What do you think are the strengths of the Bailiwick Curriculum? How about any limitations?
- **Could you explain how any changes in the curriculum have affected your teaching practice? What about your responsibility role?** Probes: How has the introduction of the Ofsted framework affected your area of responsibility? In what ways do you think the Ofsted guidance on curriculum aligns with the Bailiwick curriculum? Are there any conflicts or misalignments between them?
- **Could you tell me about collaboration on curriculum on the island?** How much variety is there, do you think, in the teaching of your area of the curriculum within your school? What about between schools?
- **Could you tell me a bit about how you evidence curriculum in your area?** (e.g. lesson plans, SoW docs)
- If they have taught in the UK/overseas: **Can you tell me a bit about the differences between the curriculum you teach here and the UK/other?** How was your experience of adapting to the curriculum when you moved here? Is there anything else you would like to say in relation to the curriculum in Guernsey?
- **How do you think the changes to the curriculum affect the role of the teacher?**

Assessment Policy:

- **Turning to assessment, what does assessment look like for you?**
Probes: Could you tell me a bit about any recent changes to assessment practices? Why do you think these changes have been made? Could you tell me about any effect of these changes on the way that you teach? Impact on your workload?
- If UK/overseas: **What differences do you see in assessment here, compared to the UK/overseas?** Probes: Why do you think this is?

- **How much time is involved in assessment processes?** Probes: Is it all useful in your view? How could this area be refined?
- **How do you think these changes affect the role of the teacher?**

Monitoring Policy:

- **Can we now talk about monitoring. What forms does this take in your school?** Probes: What do (lesson) observations look like in your school? What does marking look like in your school? Are any other aspects of your work checked? If so, could you give examples?
- **What does monitoring look like in your responsibility area?** Probes: Why do you think teachers are monitored in these ways? Could you tell me how this affects your workload? What about how you prioritise your work?
- **In terms of the change to being inspected by Ofsted, what are your experiences and views here?** Probes: In what ways do you think this might be a positive change? Do you have any concerns about this?
- If taught in the UK/overseas: **In what ways do you think monitoring practices in Guernsey are similar to the UK/overseas?** How do they differ?
- **How does this affect the role of the teacher, do you think?**

Accountability Policy:

- **Can you tell me how accountability is addressed in your school?** Probes: What does feedback on your work look like? What about how you hold your staff accountable? In what ways is professional development supported? What about the role of coaching?
- **What does appraisal look like in your school?** In what ways do you evidence your teaching practice?
- **Could you tell me about evidencing in your responsibility role?** Probes: How is data collected and used? In what ways are you expected to show impact in your responsibility role? Has this changed recently? If so, how? Could you tell me about the effect of evidencing on your workload?
- **How do you think this affects the role of the teacher?**

General Questions:

- **What do you think the most positive recent change to Education in Guernsey has been?** Probes: Could you tell me how the changes to the 11+ and secondary school sites have affected you? What changes to your role are you expecting as a result of this?
- **Is there anything else you'd like to say about how teachers in Guernsey are impacted by recent policy changes to curriculum, assessment and monitoring/accountability practices that we have not already covered?** If you could make one change to education in Guernsey, what would it be?
- If they have taught in the UK/overseas: **How does teaching in Guernsey compare with the UK/overseas?** Could you tell me whether you think the role of a teacher is different in Guernsey compared with the UK/other?

Practical questions at end:

- Thanks!
- Is there anything you would like to ask me?
- Would you be able to recommend a colleague who might be willing to take part?

Appendix H: Policymaker Interview Guide

Semi-structured interview schedule – Policymaker version

Topic title [draft]: How are teachers in Guernsey impacted by recent policy changes to curriculum, assessment and monitoring/accountability practices?

Rubric:

The aim of this (small-scale illuminative) study is to examine teachers' experiences of changes to education policies in Guernsey, relating to curriculum and assessment, and monitoring and accountability. The interview is expected to last approximately one hour, and I will ask you to focus on your experiences of working with teachers on these areas.

I will be using a pseudonym for all participants to prevent you from being identified. However, there is a risk of deanonymisation – where an individual is identified from their anonymised data – due to the small number of education officers in Guernsey. I will mitigate this risk as much as possible through sensitive write up and the opportunity for you to review any quotes used to prevent deanonymisation, however, you consent on the understanding of this risk. Is there anything you would like to ask me about this?

It would be very helpful if I can audio-record the interview, unless there are any objections. If at any point you would like to terminate the interview please let me know, and you can choose to decline to answer any questions in the interview. Before we begin, do you have any further questions? Now, are you happy to begin? Thank you.

Setting the scene:

- **Can you tell me about how you came to be working in education in Guernsey?** Probes: In what ways do you work with teachers in this role? What roles/responsibilities do teachers you typically work with hold? Could you tell me a bit about your teaching experience before you came to work in this role? Have you always worked in Guernsey (if not yet covered)?

Curriculum Policy:

- **Can you tell me about the overarching aims of the Bailiwick Curriculum? What changes are you expecting to this curriculum (if any)?** Probes: What do you think are the strengths of the Bailiwick Curriculum? How about any limitations? How much variation is there, do you think, in the teaching of areas of the curriculum you've focused on within schools? What about between schools? Do you think this could be linked to the nature of the Bailiwick Curriculum?
- **In what ways do you work with teachers on curriculum?** Probes: Could you explain how any changes to curriculum have affected the ways you work with teachers? In what ways are teachers collaborating on curriculum work?
- **Could you tell me a bit about the decision to be inspected by Ofsted?** Probes: What effects do you think the Ofsted framework has had on curriculum work in schools?
- If they have taught in the UK/overseas: **Can you tell me a bit about the differences between the curriculum here and the UK/other?** Probes: Do you think it's difficult for teachers from overseas to adapt to the curriculum here? Why/why not? What effects, if any, do you think this has on recruitment of teachers from overseas? What about retention?
- **How do you think the changes to the curriculum affect the role of the teacher? What about moving to Ofsted inspection?**

Assessment Policy:

- **Turning to assessment, could you tell me a bit about any recent changes to assessment practices?** Probes: Why do you think these changes have been made? What do you think influences these changes?
- If UK/overseas: **What differences do you see in assessment here, compared to the UK/overseas?** Probes: Why do you think this is?
- **What do you think the effect of these changes on teaching practices on the island are/will be?** Probes: Are these changes to assessment all positive? Do you see the potential for any negative effects?
- **How do you think these changes affect the role of the 'Guernsey teacher'?**

Monitoring Policy:

- **Can we now talk about monitoring. What does this look like in Guernsey schools?** Probes: What do (lesson) observations look like, in your experience? How does this vary between schools? Could you tell me about any other ways teachers' work is monitored?
- **What is the purpose of these monitoring practices, from your perspective?** Probes: What are the strengths of these monitoring practices? What about any limitations? Could you tell me about how you think this impacts the ways in which schools implement policy changes?
- **In terms of the change to being monitored by Ofsted, what are your views on this?** Probes: In what ways do you think this might be a positive change? Do you have any concerns about this? How is data collected and used by teachers?
- If taught in the UK/overseas: **In what ways do you think monitoring practices in Guernsey are similar to the UK/overseas?** How do they differ?
- **How do you think changes to monitoring are affecting the role of the teacher?**

Accountability Policy:

- **I'd like to ask now about accountability practices. Could you tell me a bit about teacher accountability in your role?** Probes: Could you tell me about how receptive teachers are to feedback on their practices? What role does coaching have in schools? What about in your role – are you involved in coaching/mentoring staff?
- **What do you think about the appraisal system for teachers in Guernsey?** Probe: How do you think this could be improved? What are your thoughts on career progression within education in Guernsey?
- **In what ways do you support the professional development of teachers in your role?** Probes: What opportunities are there for professional development? How do you think teachers perceive professional development?
- **Could you tell me about how data is used in relation to accountability?** Probes: In what ways do teachers you work with use data to show impact? What about evidencing pupil progress? How is data used to inform professional development needs?

General Questions:

- **How do you think recent policy changes have affected recruitment?** From within the island? From overseas? What about retention?
- **What do you think the most positive recent change to Education in Guernsey has been?** Probes: What do you think of how policies are made in Guernsey? What are the strengths of this process? Any limitations? What is your role in the development of policies in Guernsey?
- **Could you tell me about the upcoming changes to secondary schools, in terms of the policy process?** Probes: What has been your involvement in this process? In what ways do you think the changes are positive for the island? What about any challenges you're anticipating?
- **Is there anything else you'd like to say about how teachers in Guernsey are impacted by recent policy changes to curriculum, assessment and monitoring/accountability practices that we have not already covered?** If you could make one change to education in Guernsey, what would it be?
- If they have taught in the UK/overseas: **How does teaching in Guernsey compare with the UK/overseas?** Could you tell me whether you think the role of a teacher is different in Guernsey compared with the UK/other?

Practical questions at end:

- Thanks!
- Is there anything you would like to ask me?
- Would you be able to recommend a colleague who might be willing to take part?

Appendix I: Minimal Risk ethics clearance approval letter

Research Ethics
Office

Franklin Wilkins Building
3.5 Waterloo Bridge Wing
Waterloo Road
London SE1 9AH
Telephone 020 7848 4020/4070/4077
rwo@kcl.ac.uk



12/10/2022

Rebekah Fant

Dear Rebekah

How are teachers in Guernsey impacted by recent policy changes to curriculum, assessment and monitoring/accountability practices?

Thank you for submitting your Minimal Risk Self-Registration Form. This letter acknowledges confirmation of your registration; your registration confirmation reference number is MRSU-22/23-34165

Important COVID-19 update: Please consult the latest College guidance (linked below) and ensure you have completed the risk assessment procedure prior to any data collection involving face-to-face participant interactions.

<https://internal.kcl.ac.uk/innovation/governance-ethics-integrity/research-ethics/applications/covid-19-update-for-researchers>

Ethical Clearance

Ethical clearance for this project is granted. However, the clearance outlined in the attached letter is contingent on your adherence to the latest College measures when conducting your research. Please do not commence data collection until you have carefully reviewed the update and made any necessary project changes.

Ethical clearance is granted for a period of **one year** from today's date and you may now commence data collection. However, it is important that you have read through the information provided below before commencing data collection:

As the Minimal Risk Registration Process is based on self-registration, your form has not been reviewed by the College Research Ethics Committee. It is therefore your responsibility to ensure that your project adheres to the [Minimal Risk Guiding Principles](#) and the agreed protocol does not fall outside of the criteria for Minimal Risk Registration. Your project may be subject to audit by the College Research Ethics Committee and any instances in which the registration process is deemed to have been used inappropriately will be handled as a breach of good practice and investigated accordingly.

Record Keeping:

Please be sure to keep a record of your registration number and include it in any materials associated with this research. It is the responsibility of the researcher to ensure that any other permissions or approvals (i.e. R&D, gatekeepers, etc.) relevant to their research are in place, prior to conducting the research.

In addition, you are expected to keep records of your process of informed consent and the dates and relevant details of research covered by this application. For example, depending on the type of research that you are doing, you might keep:

- A record of all data collected and all mechanisms of disseminated results.
- Documentation of your informed consent process. This may include written information sheets or in cases where it is not appropriate to provide written information, the verbal script, or introductory material provided at the start of an online survey.
Please note: For projects involving the use of an Information Sheet and Consent Form for recruitment purposes, please ensure that you use the KCL GDPR compliant [Information Sheet & Consent Form Templates](#)
- Where appropriate, records of consent, e.g. copies of signed consent forms or emails where participants agree to be interviewed.

Audit:

You may be selected for an audit, to see how researchers are implementing this process. If audited, you and your Supervisor will be asked to attend a short meeting where you will be expected to explain how your research meets the eligibility criteria of the minimal risk process and how the project abides by the general principles of ethical research. In particular, you will be expected to provide a general summary of your review of the possible risks involved in your research, as well as to provide basic research records (as above in Record Keeping) and to describe the process by which participants agreed to participate in your research.

Remember that if you at any point have any questions about the ethical conduct of your research, or believe you may have gained the incorrect level of ethical clearance, please contact your supervisor or the Research Ethics Office.

Data Protection Registration

If you indicated in your minimal risk registration form that personal data would be processed as part of this research project, this letter also confirms that you have also met your requirements for registering this processing activity with King's College London in accordance with the UK General Data Protection Regulation (UK GDPR).

More information about how the UK GDPR affects researchers can be found here: <https://internal.kcl.ac.uk/innovation/governance-ethics-integrity/research-governance-office/data-protection-law-and-research/how-does-uk-dp-law-affect-research>

Please note that any changes to the storage, management, or type of personal data being collected should also be included in a modification request.

We wish you every success with your project moving forward.

With best wishes,

The Research Ethics Office

On behalf of the College Research Ethics Committee