# An investigation into how professionals in English schools adapt to changes in careers information, advice and guidance policy

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**Doctor of Education**

**March 2019**

**Keele University**

## Abstract

This research explores the process by which school senior leaders and careers advisers received and enacted a change in Careers Information, Advice and Guidance (CIAG) policy. In 2012 the statutory responsibility to provide independent CIAG transferred from an external service to schools leading initially to inconsistent provision. This research contributes to original knowledge through exploring how the provision of CIAG policy change was received, perceived and enacted by school leaders (SL) and Careers Advisers (CAs) and how these stakeholders responded.

This qualitative methodology draws on Individual, in depth, semi-structured interviews with SLs and CAs working at five comprehensive schools within a West Midlands school district. Interview transcripts were analysed from a relativist perspective, using a constructivist grounded theory approach, underpinned by symbolic interactionism that drew on Bourdieu's thinking tools.

Findings categorise three distinct participant response groups to the change. Firstly, participants experienced policy change in a variety of ways including intellectual and emotional. These experiences altered dimensions of their individual identity including their perception of others and their autonomy. The second category described external observable responses in participants' practice caused by the policy change such as alterations to work behaviours and their relationships with others. Thirdly, participants described how success measures were influenced by their internal and external responses. Participants demonstrated an awareness of the need to justify their performance within the context of efficiency and effectiveness prevalent within the public sector.

Findings show that imposed policy mandates are adapted by policy enactors, including individual identity changes to accommodate aims. This work provides insight into professionals' responses and behaviour to policy change. In a wider context, this research contributes to the changing nature of professional identity.

## Acknowledgements

I would like to extend my thanks and sincerest appreciation to all those who have helped in the completion of this study and the writing of this thesis.

Thank you to my supervisor Professor Jackie Waterfield for the support, guidance, positive encouragement and help throughout this process. Thanks also to Dr Aneta Hayes, who was my second supervisor.

I would like to thank the participants for their time and thoughts, and to their senior colleagues who allowed me access to their workplaces.

I would also like to thank my family and friends for their support, encouragement, patience and understanding during my endeavours; particularly dad, Caroline and Andy.

*"Imagine some people living in an underground cave. They sit with their backs to the mouth of the cave with their hands and feet bound in such a way that they can only look at the back wall of the cave. Behind them is a high wall, and behind that wall pass humanlike creatures, holding up various figures above the top of the wall. Because there is a fire behind these figures, they cast flickering shadows on the back wall of the cave. So the only thing cave dwellers can see is this shadow play. They have been sitting in this position since they were born, so they think these shadows are all there are.*

*Imagine now that one of the cave dwellers manages to free himself from his bonds. The first thing he asks himself is where all these shadows on the cave wall come from. What do you think happens when he turns around and sees the figures being held up above the wall? To begin with he is dazzled by the sharp light. He is also dazzled by the clarity of the figures because until now he has only seen their shadow. If he manages to climb over the wall and get past the fire into the world outside, he will be even more dazzled. But after rubbing his eyes he will be struck by the beauty of everything. For the first time he will see colours and clear shapes. He will see the real animals and flowers that the cave shadows were only poor reflections of. But even now he will ask himself where all the animals and flowers come from. Then he will see the sun in the sky, and realize that this gives life to these flowers and animals, just as the fire made the shadows visible.*

*The joyful cave dweller could now have gone skipping away into the countryside, delighting in his newfound freedom. But instead he thinks of all the others who are still down in the cave. He goes back. Once there, he tries to convince the cave dwellers that the shadows on the cave wall are but flickering reflections of "real" things. But they don't believe him. They point to the cave wall and say that what they see is all there is."*

*Sophie's World*, **Jostein Gaarder**, 1991

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# Chapter 1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the subject of the thesis and includes the overall aim and research questions which have guided the study. Firstly, researcher context and perspective will be introduced. Next, the research questions are presented and justified within the policy context from which they were identified. This chapter outlines the overall structure of the thesis.

## 1.1 Purpose of the study

This research explored how the provision of Careers Information, Advice and Guidance (CIAG) policy change was received, perceived and enacted by school leaders (SLs) and Careers Advisers (CAs) and how these stakeholder groups responded to policy changes. This research focused on the accounts given by those involved in the provision of CIAG in one district of secondary schools in the West Midlands and created a 'snapshot' of policy enactment.

## 1.2 Personal biography

### 1.2.1 Process and purpose

This section of the thesis used a personal biography method that allowed critical reflection on certain events and situations that led to my interest in this research. Personal biography allows for reconstruction of past events and enables sense to be made of these experiences (Ochs and Capps 2001). The purpose of this was to provide authenticity of, justification for, this research. Such an approach is supported by Chamberlayne et al (2000):

> *'To understand oneself and others, we need to understand our own histories and how we come to be what we are. We make our own history but not under conditions of our own choosing, and we need to understand these conditions of action more if our future making of our own history is to produce outcomes closer to our intentions and projects*' (Chamberlayne et al 2000, p7).

The use of personal biographies to allow reflection and analysis of events in life has evolved considerably. The data in this research have been analysed using a four-part model exploring the dynamic link between the individual and influential events (Giele and Elder Jr. 1998). Firstly, the part played by history, society and culture was considered. Secondly, important groups and institutions were appraised. Thirdly, goals and ambitions were considered. Finally, the impact of timing of events regarding the choices made was evaluated. The biography acknowledges the high personal importance and influence of CIAG on education and career decisions. It also identifies how the research methods are influenced by previous learning.

### 1.2.2 The biography

#### *1.2.2.1 Educational transitions and support*

This personal biography focused on two key episodes. The first episode consisted of decisions and transitions between different educational institutions. This included the opportunities available to me at that time, the support and advice offered and my personal goals and aspirations at that time and reflection on the impact of these decisions in shaping my future biography.

My experience of major educational reforms, such as the introduction of the GCSE (Wise and Bush 1999) which aimed to ensure progression within and between schools (Aldrich 1994) was not wholly positive. I did not receive careers guidance to support either post-16 or university

choices. Additionally, the decision to progress to an MSc qualification was influenced by availability of funding, despite a dismissive discussion with my supervisor at the time because postgraduate study was not a requirement for my career goal of teaching. Certainly, socio-economic conditions were a contributory factor which impacted on the path my life took at this point (Gunnarsson 2009).

*1.2.2.2 A paradigm shift*

The second episode detailed events that focused on the widening of my perspective and philosophy from a positivist perspective. Education had developed my empirical approach based on observation and its subsequent verification (Delanty 1997). A widening of my approach through two courses of study in social sciences provided me with the opportunity to explain and describe social reality using explanation and interpretation in addition to observation. This point marks the start of the second episode of my personal biography.

Firstly, I completed an MA Educational Management to develop my career into school management and leadership. At that time, continuing professional development was responding to national priorities, such as national curriculum implementation (Graham 1996). School leadership was less of a priority until the National College of School Leadership was established in 2000. This coincided with increased public interest in education, following significant public funding commitments (Calderhead and Shorrock 1997). Political commitment to education was confirmed by a prime minister speech at the 1997 Labour Party conference:

> *'… I repeat the promise I made at the election, that over the lifetime of this parliament, we will reverse the Tory policy of cutting spending on education as a proportion of our national income and raise it once again …'* (Blair 1997)

The MA dissertation required less reliance upon quantitative research methods. I developed a hermeneutic approach to research (Delanty 1997) and wrote from the perspective that:

> *'reality is socially constructed. All aspects of both the physical and social world known to us are apprehended through human sensibility, and are given shape and meaning through the social processes of language and thought.'* (Goodson and Mangan 1991, p9)

The qualification led to deeper self-understanding and how this related to improvements in my professional practice. For example, understanding of how my own higher order needs are fulfilled through achievement, recognition, responsibility and advancement (Nias 1981) developed through studying needs theories including the hierarchy of pre-potency of needs (Maslow 1943 in Riches 1997, Sharma 1995) and hygiene theory (Herzberg 1959 in Skymark 2000). Such understanding developed my leadership skills to motivate others.

Secondly, I studied A level psychology as preparation for teaching the subject. The course included theories developed within different psychological schools. For example, development of gender from both biological (Young et al 1964, Money and Ehrhardt 1972), and social learning perspectives (Bandura and Walters 1963).

### 1.2.3 Reflections on personal biography

I recognise the significant impact that key transitions between educational institutions have played on my life and career to date. My most recent school leadership post included responsibility for careers information, advice and guidance (CIAG). I have observed a period of change regarding the importance, focus and content of CIAG offered to pupils preparing for key stage four. This change arose following legislative change introduced by the Conservative and Liberal coalition government in response to reviews of the educational system. For example, the

Wolf Report (DfE 2011a) investigated the content and value of vocational courses, and school performance measures changed, including the introduction of the English Baccalaureate (DfE 2011b). The narrative of my personal biography leads to the conclusion that had CIAG been different, my subsequent career path may have been significantly different. My interest in this area is to research the tensions involved and the solutions offered in the process of offering CIAG to young people, balancing the best advice to suit their future needs with the best advice to suit the needs of educational institutions. The second episode of the personal biography makes it clear to me that although my academic studies began with a positivist perspective, alternative paradigms can be used in research, although my scientific training continues to influence my choice of research methods and data interpretation.

The changes driven by the coalition government provided a unique opportunity to study how schools respond to a policy change regarding CIAG. I wanted to research how the careers information, advice and guidance offered to pupils changed. I was interested in how SLs make decisions and their motivations to change CIAG as schools responded to the competitive aspect of school performance whilst being mindful of pupils' needs to secure their progression to employment or further study following completion of their qualifications.

I anticipated that this research would reveal the impact that the national agenda had on professionals in schools, and uncover some of their responses to externally directed changes. Also, I expected to uncover how schools respond to the sometimes conflicting needs and agendas that arise from national policy change. The research identified participants responded both internally and externally to the policy change, adapting policy mandate into their context. Also, participants focused on the impact of their actions to justify the effectiveness of their work.

Analysis of participants' perspectives of CIAG policy change was informed by the work of Pierre Bourdieu. He described the education system as many complex and linked institutions which

symbolically reproduce the relations of power in a society (Bourdieu and Passerson 1977). This research used Bourdieu's thinking tools – practice, habitus, field and capital (Thompson 2005, Taylor and Singh 2005). Bourdieu described these tools as temporary constructs that take shape for and by empirical work. In summary, his work was:

> *'an attempt to understand how 'objective' supra-individual social reality and the internalised 'subjective' mental world of individuals as cultural beings and social actors are inextricably bound up together, each being a contributor to – and indeed an aspect of the other.'* (Jenkins 1992, p19).

Although Bourdieu was interested in the role of schools in advanced capitalist societies, he did not write explicitly on educational policy (Lingard, et al 2005). There are many examples of research in the field of educational policy that adopt Bourdieu's thinking tools which supports their use in this research. Rawolle and Lingard (2008), Ladwig (1994) and Codd (1998) used the concept of field for analysis of educational policy and Nash (2010) used agency and habitus. Studies that investigate destinations and transitions also take opportunity to apply Bourdieu's perspectives. For example, Ball et al (2000) researched young people's destination choices using habitus and cultural capital. Such research is often from the perspective of young people rather than those involved in the practice of policy. As a result, there exists potential to combine the research fields of policy change and transition, adopting an approach that investigates the effects of policy change on SLs, teachers and other professionals involved in CIAG for students preparing for transition.

## 1.3 Research questions

### 1.3.1 Research aim

*To develop an understanding of the process by which school leaders and careers Advisers involved in Careers Information, Advice and Guidance (CIAG) respond to a policy change regarding its provision through analysis of their narratives in one district of secondary schools in the West Midlands*

### 1.3.2 Research questions

Considering the current debates around changes in educational policy, the following research questions have been generated:

*1a. What factors do the participants think determine how the policy is enacted by the schools in this district?*

*1b. How well do the participants think this policy integrates with other policies and agendas: what conflicts arise and how are they resolved?*

This first question seeks to identify how participants think the structures currently in schools affect how this policy is enacted. Successful adoption of any policy requires integration within the existing frameworks and agendas of the school. I researched whether this policy provides participants with an opportunity to enhance other provisions or priorities within the school and what other structures are involved. I sought to discover if there is evidence that participants' perceptions of this policy conflicts with existing aspects of the schools' practice, how these are resolved and if this contributes to a change in perception of their own leadership behaviour.

2. *How have the success measures and professional knowledge and language around CIAG in the schools changed as a result of the new policy?*

Education culture is changing to one of accountability and performance, arising from other policy changes. I was interested to explore with participants if there has been a change in the way the outcomes of CIAG is measured such as recording the number of pupils not in employment, education or training (NEET). I anticipated that success criteria influenced the implementation and solutions put in place that form part of the response to the change. I identified the terminology and language used to express the purpose and value of CIAG to the organisations and individuals affected by it.

3. *How does the policy change contribute to changing perceptions of their own and others' professional identity, job satisfaction and leadership styles of teachers, school leaders and careers advisers?*

Through the final question, I sought to understand the impact of the state policy change on those it affects and how policy contributes to the new managerialism and the performance agendas that other recent educational policy reforms have done. This question provided an opportunity to examine if the policy change had any bearing on the professional identity of those working in CIAG and any impact this has on their actions. There also may be an impact on the satisfaction derived from their job. Thus, there may be changes in relationships between the agents involved with policy enactment.

**1.4 Background to the study**

The election of a new UK Government in 2010 led to a significant change in the policy regarding provision of CIAG in British secondary schools. Economically austere times resulted in a greater focus on targeted and intensive approaches to use of available resources and increased use of competitive contracting out of provision to the voluntary and not-for-profit sector (Oliver and

Percy-Smith 2014). The 2011 Education Act transferred into schools from September 2012 the responsibility to provide CIAG from an external service. Previously, the Local Authority (LA) provided support through a partnership with an external careers service. The Act created a statutory duty to ensure pupils have access to independent guidance and removed the duty for schools to provide careers education. This change provided schools with autonomy regarding implementation:

> *'… schools will be legally responsible for securing access to independent and impartial careers guidance for all pupils in years 9 to 11 … Apart from the elements identified in the statutory guidance, schools are free to decide what careers provision to make available in accordance with the needs of their pupils.'* (DfE 2012, p1).

Concerns were expressed by SL representatives that the new arrangements provided no additional funding to cover the costs of meeting these duties (ASCL 2012).

Early response to the change suggested that some schools commissioned a careers guidance service, utilising Careers Advisers from a variety of organisations. Others responded by providing telephone or online access to the new National Careers Service (NCS) which had no remit to provide face-to-face guidance to young people (Andrews 2013) and its website is predominantly targeted at adults (CEGNET 2012). A third option was for schools to employ their own careers Advisers (Andrews 2012).

A House of Commons Education Committee report (2013a) addressed the impact of the policy change in CIAG. Evidence provided suggested inconsistency and an overall deterioration in careers guidance. It concluded there were:

> *' … concerns about the consistency, quality, independence and impartiality of careers guidance now being offered to young people … Urgent steps need to be taken … to ensure that young people's needs are met'* (House of Commons Education Committee 2013a, p3).

The Government's response to the report suggested that the concerns raised reflected the very short time in which the new duties had been in place at the time of the report, and that:

> *'greater consideration could have been given to the need to allow the new arrangements time to bed in and evolve before drawing such firm conclusions'* (House of Commons Education Committee 2013b, p1).

The Government also suggested that the forthcoming thematic review of careers to be published by Ofsted in September 2013 (Ofsted 2013) and its priority in future Ofsted inspections (Hancock 2013) would hold schools to account regarding their responsibilities.

The first annual report of the National Careers Council (NCC) (2013) provided evidence regarding changes in quality and coverage of CIAG. It identified a skills shortage, high youth unemployment and a mismatch between aspirations and the reality of the jobs market as outcomes of careers guidance. The report recommended that a strategic body be created to oversee the expansion of the NCC to support schools and young people. The report also recognised the rapid change in the career development profession.

The policy change regarding CIAG provision in schools made this research timely and purposeful. CIAG has value through the opportunity to enhance, enrich and improve pupils' life chances. Their decisions impact significantly on future education and careers. The research is further justified by potential changes in the number of successful transitions of young people. Current success measures for transitions include the proportion of pupils described as being Not in Education, Employment or Training (NEET). Another indicator records those who don't sustain

their first destination following transition. In Staffordshire in 2011 three per cent of Year 11 pupils and two per cent of Year 13 pupils were NEET. 11% of Year 11 pupils and six per cent of Year 13 pupils were recorded as having left their first destination (DfE 2013). High quality CIAG serves to reduce such statistics.

Previous research has focused on the process of providing CIAG (Guile 2009, Raffe 2008), or its impact on young people (Ainley et al 2002, Bloomer and Hodkinson 2000). This research was significantly different due to its focus on discovering the role of policy change on those with responsibility for CIAG in schools and other organisations. Professionals experienced the impact of policy change on their own roles, found new approaches and adjusted their expectations for what could be achieved. The opportunity to provide such guidance forms a large part of the professional identity of many educationalists (Ozga 2001).

### 1.5 Structure of the thesis

Chapter Two presents a literature review based on the themes of policy change and internal and external responses that individuals and organisations make to establish the context for the thesis and provide background to the study. Section 2.2 places the policy change that prompted this research in the context of recent wider educational policy reform and examines research about policy change in public sector settings. Section 2.3 gives an overview of literature regarding how policy change impacts on the personal and professional identity of those responsible for policy enactment. Section 2.4 considers published work regarding the processes through which policy is implemented. Literature draws on policy change theories of mediation, diffusion, resistance, workaround and public sector entrepreneurship. Section 2.5 provides a historical perspective of structural change within the careers service. Finally, Section 2.6 describes and evaluates the theoretical framework used in this thesis.

Chapter Three provides an overview of the methodology employed for the study and the analytical methods used. Ethical considerations are also discussed. Epistemological considerations are discussed to place the type of knowledge produced from the research findings.

Chapter Four presents the interview data from the study relating to internal responses to policy change. Discussion argues that participants experience several different dimensions of response to policy change, including intellectual and emotional responses. The chapter continues to present that the personal responses participants make are assimilating various aspects of their personal and professional identity including their autonomy and the values and principles they hold.

Chapter Five presents the interview data from the study relating to participants' external responses to the policy change, the second identified category within this research. Analysis of the data identifies changes in work actions and behaviours, changes to structures used to enact the policy change and the formation of relationships with others operating within the field.

Chapter Six presents the interview data from the study relating to outcomes of the policy. Analysis identifies several dimensions of outcomes, including the degree of intention of outcomes and their temporal nature.

Chapter Seven revisits the research questions posed at the start of this study, and presents final conclusions and recommendations. I include my personal reflections on the research process and how my participation in it has influenced my professional practice.

# Chapter 2 Literature review

## 2.1 Introduction

This chapter will identify the wider context of the policy change being researched and briefly summarise the development of theoretical understanding of how policy change is achieved. Linked to this literature surrounding responses to policy change by public sector workers, particularly teachers and Careers Advisers (CAs), is presented. The ways policy change can impact the professional identity of teachers and CAs and the manner in which their behaviours and working environments can be altered is also explored. Concepts including the self, agency, professionalism, professional identity and how it develops are presented as they will be used to gain insight into how teachers and CAs as public sector workers respond to the implementation of policy within their contexts.

Next, this chapter suggests a debate exists as to how policy is implemented (O'Toole 2000) and that different theories exist to explain how policy change occurs (de Leon and de Leon 2002). First, the processes of mediation and diffusion are presented as methods by which different policy outcomes result from the same policy intentions. Then three mechanisms or behavioural responses to policy change are reviewed and examples given of when they have been used to account for policy enactment: resistance, workaround and public sector entrepreneurship. There is consistency within the literature presented that mediation of public sector policy intention by its enactors working in different contexts is crucial in explaining the variation in implementation of the same policy.

Next, the chapter presents the context of CAs. This group of participants have been subject to previous large-scale policy and structural reform, which has impacted their professional identity, reflected in their responses and interpretations towards the policy change that is the focus of this research.

This chapter closes with a review of literature that justifies selection of Bourdieu's thinking tools employed as an appropriate theoretical framework. Further presentation of literature in Chapter Three explains and justifies the use of grounded theory as an analytical approach in this research (section 3.5).

## 2.2 Policy change

### 2.2.1 Context of policy change

There have been several recent key events which have altered the teaching environment including claims of falling standards, an increase in economic competitiveness and a move to create a results-driven culture in education settings (Helsby 1999). Major change in both the global and UK economy resulting in rising youth unemployment, welfare reform (Abrahamson 2010), increased flexibility in working and career patterns have also contributed to this. In addition, new multi-agency working practices aim to create coherent services that remove the barriers between professional groups (Oliver 2008). Funding in the public sector has been modified to reflect this (OECD 2010). Government policy stipulated evidence-based practice (Oliver and Percy-Smith 2014) which contributed to a shift towards increased performativity in public services, focusing on economy, efficiency and effectiveness. This led to greater bureaucratisation, accountability and public scrutiny (Day et al 2007) and resulted in a 'new professionalism,' (Hargreaves 1994).

Such neoliberal reforms emphasise enterprise and market forces and seek to create competition (Donath and Milos 2009). For example, opening schools to market pressures through increased parental choice, increased financial independence and an expectation for year on year improvement all of which result in new managerial relationships between colleagues within

schools (Smyth 2001). School performance in these terms of reference is published for public scrutiny, and rewards and sanctions employed accordingly by school leaders (SLs) and government. Day (2002) suggests that such policy reform shares the belief that the rate of improvement will increase and standards, including economic competitiveness, will rise. Such changes are introduced into schools to address societal concerns regarding a perceived loss of social values. Finally, reforms seek to challenge the existing practice, leading to episodes of destabilisation. The impact is a possible increase in workload, and changes in teachers' self-identity.

Wider government policy response to youth issues also affects the culture of educational settings. Youth policy is characterised by the 'problemisation' of young people, particularly those who were socially or educationally excluded (Oliver and Percy-Smith 2014). New Labour's robust and integrated policy responses between 1997 and 2010 emphasised cross-professional ways of working (Williamson 2006) to tackle social exclusion. This was based on the belief that no one profession or agency could be expected to address the complex issues facing young people (Artaraz 2008).

One of the results of the above educational reforms has been reports from teachers of increased intensity and diversity of task in their work. Research on the impact of such reforms suggests that previous collegial relationships between teachers and school leaders (SLs) are being replaced with a more artificial version of cooperation and more top-down, directive driven approaches to management and leadership. For the purposes of this research, SLs are headteachers, deputy headteachers and assistant headteachers who are employed within one district of schools in Staffordshire. This change in style emphasises control of teachers which strives to prevent subversion through efficiency and calculability, predictability and control (Webb and Vulliamy 1996). Wilkinson (2006) likened such a culture in schools to the way McDonalds and other companies manage staff and achieve adherence to expected systems.

Although SLs have responded to these changes and work towards targets metered in economic terms (Douglas 2011) such adjustments are incorporated and balanced with existing practices (Vulliamy and Webb 1993) incorporating both modernisation and a public ethos. Termed an 'adaptive public service' (APS) model of leadership by Woods and Woods (2004), the way policy and context relevant to SLs and teachers are integrated can lead to unexpected outcomes for policy intention. Teachers too have become more performance orientated and more directly accountable to a range of interested parties.

The context of this policy change prompts aspects of the research questions addressed in this study. For example, participants' policy enactment may be affected by market forces caused by neoliberal reforms, and changes to relationships between colleagues may impact leadership styles. Also, these contextual changes provide the possibility of conflict with, and may affect, participants' professional identity.

### 2.2.2 The process of policy change

The policy change under study in this research is about Careers Information, Advice and Guidance (CIAG) in schools introduced in September 2011. This was a top-down change, initiated by the Government reflecting other current public sector policy reform. Public policy is what a government, either directly or through an agency or official, does or does not do about a problem (Birkland 2011) and can be defined as an officially expressed intention backed by a sanction: either a reward or punishment (Goel 2014). To understand the way SLs and CAs implement the policy reform first requires exploration of theory of creating policy change. The key steps required in creating a policy change include definition of the problem, describing the demands of the policy, agenda setting and policy selection prior to its adoption, implementation and evaluation (Cochran et al 2011).

The process of policy implementation was previously regarded as a linear process of well-defined and clear steps. This understanding has been supplanted by a cyclic model of application (Lasswell 1956). The cyclic model has been described in several different ways (de Leon and Brewer 1984, Anderson 2005), but always assumes the implementation of a government's political position is by a neutral public service (Fischer et al 2007) who neither support or reject the imposed policy change. This has been challenged as not being effective, for example by Goel (2014) in case studies of policy implementation in public organisations in Delhi, India. Whilst these case studies are set in a different country from the policy change examined in this research, the relationship between government and public service remains true.

Policy change theories are grounded in the assumption that successful achievement of the policy objectives requires well-designed policy and good methods of implementation (Thomas and Grindle 1990). Implementation refers to the steps between the establishment of intent by policy makers and its translation into practice (O'Toole 2000). Such a perception ignores the actions of those responsible for implementation and enactment. Often these agents, who have had very little input into the policy agenda and policy making, establish a variety of responses to the change including demonstrating some unexpected behaviours (Fischer 2005). This process of mediation will be returned to in section 2.4.1 of this chapter.

In the public sector, professionals who are responsible for implementing a policy change demonstrate emotional, intellectual and behavioural reactions which Iverson (1996) suggests reflects their personal values. Changes observed are often described as the opposites of acceptance and resistance (Bovey and Hede 2001). Changes in behaviour are often the accumulation of responses of the different people involved in a policy change (Buchanan and Dawson 2007), the result being not always as simple as this dichotomy of accepting or resisting would suggest. Often policy objectives are simplified to match a task environment (Workman et al 2010). They can also demonstrate bias towards the values of those tasked with their

implementation (Das 1999). This simplification and bias can cause policy change to deviate from that which was planned by policy makers. Therefore, the resultant policy enactment is often a combination of planned and unplanned changes (Ferlie et al 2003) resulting from local resolution of uncertainties and conflicts (Hinings et al 2003) and using the policy change as a starting point for negotiation (Campbell 2012). Policy implementation is thus a complex process, dependent upon an abundance of factors (Keeley and Scoones 2003).

The success of policy reform is often judged to be the degree of acceptance of goals and adoption of means. In their study into the achievement of welfare reforms in North Carolina Cho et al (2005) suggest that measuring the success of policy implementation has for a long time been subject to either a success or failure dichotomy but this is gradually being replaced by a spectrum of categories. Rather than perceive a policy change as just one 'policy' being implemented, a focus on multiple goals though implementation and achievement should be considered. Successful policy implementation is subject to being adjusted and tempered by factors such as time availability, disposal of resources, information constraints, lack of control and monitoring, lack of knowledge, lack of managerial power, lack of political will, complexities of implementation and resistance to change (Lipsky 2010). Policy success could be considered in terms of the strength of imposition in relation to the professional strength of teachers to resist or modify it.

The literature provides a clear indication that public sector policy implementation is affected by the personal values of change agents. The impact of participants' personal values on public sector policy implementation are addressed through the research questions posed.

## 2.3 Internal responses to policy change – personal and professional identity

Now that the policy change under scrutiny in this research and an introduction to the process of policy change have been presented the impact that policy change has been found to have on individuals is explored. This section of literature review begins with a review of the concept of the self in this context. The impact of policy change on the self is not central to this research, but its understanding is useful to address the research questions posed regarding participant response to policy change and its impact on their personal and professional identities. The personal and professional identities affect the way policy reform is mediated, so addresses this aspect of the research.

### 2.3.1 Self and identity

There is general agreement amongst researchers that the 'self' is crucial to the way in which teachers and other professionals construct and understand their work (Kelchtermans and Vandenberghe 1994). The terms 'self' and 'identity' are used interchangeably but are both complex concepts. Day et al (2006) defined the self as a single, unified and stable identity which is not affected by current context or previous life experiences. This definition has been subsequently revised to include the 'self' developing over time through the build-up of values, attitudes, behaviour and identities. Further development of the concept of 'self' integrated the attitudes demonstrated towards the individual which were reflected in the individual's attitudes towards themselves. The idea that the self, although stable, could take on different approaches in different social situations is based on the part played by the individual. Although useful, viewpoints such as these did not include the multifaceted nature of people's lives: that each person has several 'selves' which focus on a role in each situation (Goffman 1959). The separation of situational identity, differing according to context from the core, more stable substantive identity which is how a person perceives themselves was arrived at later (Ball 1972).

Kelchtermans (1993) suggested identity consists of five related parts: self-image: how individuals perceive themselves; self-esteem: how good they are at their job; job-motivation: factors leading to choosing and remaining within job; task-perception: how they define their jobs; and future perspective: expectations for future development of their jobs.

Common to research into self and identity is recognition of the importance of understanding the self to beliefs, attitudes and actions and the effects of these actions. Understanding the self is crucial to the way teachers construct the nature of their work (Kelchtermans and Vandenberghe 1994) and events and experiences a teacher accumulates through their private lives are closely linked to their professional roles. Teacher identities arise not only from technical and emotional aspects of teaching and their personal lives, but also from the interaction between their personal experiences and the social, cultural environment in which they work. The impact of changing roles is that teachers perceive themselves being drawn away from aspects of their work they consider essential, such as putting the needs of pupils first, to focus on a new range of accountabilities.

The influence of the work environment on teachers' self-identity has been researched in both primary and secondary schools. Literature about teachers' self-identity forms part of the research presented here because as Nias (1989, 1991) states, this is important to teachers. Her research is based on teachers working in primary schools. She proposes that aspects of self-identity, including philosophical traditions that regard relationships between teachers and pupils central to education, result in the combination of the personal and professional identities of teachers. Thus, teachers place a high professional priority on protecting their core, self-defining values. Further research by MacClure (1993) examined the impact of a period of far-reaching reform of the English education system on a cohort of 69 secondary school teachers. She noted that identity was often more unstable than implied in some research, differing at different phases of a teacher's career and even moment by moment depending on specific

concerns. This suggests that the personal values and aspirations of the self are also subject to change, resulting from interaction with others and experiences including external policy change.

MacClure found that context was a strong influence on identity, a view shared by Beijard (1995), Cooper and Olson (1996) and Reynolds (1996), locating identity of teachers within a social situation. Wenger (1998) suggests that individuals' identity is both shaped by the experiences gained from, but also contributes to developing the field. When teachers reported negative responses to their context, it suggested differences between their self-identity and their job. In contrast to Nias' (1989, 1991) work MacLure (1993) ascertains teachers have a more varied sense of themselves and a less secure identity as a teacher, resulting from the range of teachers at different stages in their careers as the participants of the study. This does not reduce the sense of agency of teachers, as this is still applied if teachers continue to manoeuvre and interpret within the limits of a context such as an institution or range of policy reforms.

Published literature recognises that self-identity affects attitudes. For example, policy change that moves teachers' roles away from aspects of work they value highly can be interpreted as controversial. Research shows self-identity is subject to change resulting from the experience of policy enactment and interaction with others. Possible changes in perception caused by policy change are reflected in the research questions.

### 2.3.2 Agency and identity

Datnow et al (2002) described teacher agency is part of a complex dynamic, shaped by and shaping the culture of society and schools. Teachers are active agents in the reform process, their actions mediated by the structure of their setting, including factors such as resources available, school norms and externally directed policies. The decisions and actions made by teachers to adapt, adopt or ignore policy mandates are the consequence of past actions and

present context as well as being able to shape the context for future action (Hall and McGinty 1997).

In her 2005 study, Lasky used semi-structured interviews with four teachers in an urban secondary school in Ontario, Canada to gain an in-depth discussion of teacher identity, vulnerability and agency. The interviews were conducted during a period of implementation of complex and multiple changes including financial reduction, restructuring of school districts, curriculum reform and the implementation of new accountability systems for teachers. Lasky (2005) found that influences on the early professional career including professional training and the social and political context of the participants affected their professional identity. Participants identified a dual primary and moral motivation as to why they teach: to impart academic skills and the curriculum and to develop the whole child (Lasky 2000). Job satisfaction came largely from interactions with students and a perception of having a positive influence on their academic, social and moral development. Their beliefs of being a good teacher were intrinsically linked to their notion of professional identity. The participants reported an unwillingness to change their individual identity. This suggests that whilst political, social and economic mediation systems influence the policies of school reform which in turn mediate teacher identity and agency, such external systems have more effect on the formation of teacher identity than on reshaping established identity.

McNess, Broadfoot and Osborn (2003) concluded that the emotional response experienced by teachers can reduce their capacity to respond subjectively when subject to multiple policy reforms. For example, the consequence of not effectively using intellectual decision making results in uncritical compliance with the reform. McNess, Broadfoot and Osborn (2003) studied the impact of policy on secondary school teachers, highlighted the degree to which the emotional and social aspects of work cause a vulnerability to change in policy in teachers in England. They found that teachers perceived increased demands for performance and

accountability were at the expense of a commitment to teaching and learning. This threatens the teachers' sense of agency, which challenges their identity and reduces motivation and job satisfaction (Salzberger-Wittenberg 1996).

Agency is a useful concept when analysing how teachers' sense of identity affects their understanding and interaction with new policy directives and so the concept can be affected by such reforms. Agency assumes that humans have an ability to influence their environment whilst at the same time being shaped by social and individual factors (Bourdieu 1977). It requires looking at the action of individuals using the social context and cultural tools that shaped their beliefs, values and ways of acting (Wertsch 1991). Such tools continue to develop and evolve as they are used in the day-to-day working lives of those who meet them (Tharp and Gallimore 1998). Bourdieu's thinking tool of practice, a description of everyday behaviour, will be used to reveal how participants' beliefs, values and ways of acting affect their active involvement to adapt, adopt or alter policy intention.

### 2.3.3 Professionalism

Although recent reforms in education have resulted in control moving from the teacher to the leadership, management and systems of education (Bernstein 1996), there is still an expectation placed on individual teachers to demonstrate 'professional,' characteristics. A profession is:

> *'a generic category of a particular type of occupation, usually one that involved knowledge, a service and an extended period of education, training and work experience with an experienced practitioner that has been practising for a number of years'* (Hughes 2013a).

The concept of teacher professionalism is under constant change and subject to different interpretation and analysis from sociological, educational and ideal perspectives (Hilferty 2008).

Initially used to describe strategies and rhetoric used by members of an occupation to improve working conditions such as status and salary (Evans 2007), the concept of professionalism developed to incorporate improvement in quality rather than status enhancement (Hoyle 2001). Incorporating Boyt, Lusch and Naylor's (2001) explanation of professionalism, it can be regarded as a multi-dimensional structure consisting of attitudes and behaviours a person holds towards their job, to perform at the highest standard and improve the quality of service (Demirkaımoğlu 2010).

The relationship between a professional and the client in receipt of their service continues to change (Douglas 2011). Pollitt (2006) suggests professionalism is becoming target-driven and contract-based placing an emphasis on outcomes over process. Broad changes in the responsibility placed on professionals include increased accountability, reduced autonomy, bureaucracy and public scrutiny as well as a strong focus on efficiency (Bradbury, Frost, Kilminster and Zucas 2009). These have led to changes in the ways professionals, including teachers and CAs, work, their moral purpose, autonomy and decision-making. Factors previously deemed essential for professional practice including trust, discretion and competence are being challenged and changed by the context the professional is working in, often resulting in conflicting or competing interests (Hughes 2013a).

Although the change in teacher professionalism is not unique, there are examples of research which specifically investigate how teacher professionalism has changed. Changes in how professionalism is understood have resulted in a struggle to understand modern teacher professionalism, reflecting increased complexity and contradiction of the nature of the role.

Research by Day et al (2007) investigated the ways in which teachers in England and Portugal experienced policy change and how this affected their sense of professionalism. The research utilised semi-structured questionnaires and focus groups to collect data, both of which were

positively evaluated by the authors as ways to meet the research objectives. Results suggested strongly unified views were held regarding vocationalism, continuing learning and collaboration. Day et al (2007) also identified some negative outcomes for participants: uncertainty regarding conflict, increased administration and the lack of understanding and ownership of the change. Job satisfaction and commitment were recorded as decreasing in both countries. Both sets of teachers maintained their motivation to teach, despite being subject to negative impact from decreased job satisfaction and commitment. All teachers still regarded themselves as professionals, identifying continuing learning, commitment, moral and social purpose and care being the most important aspects of professionalism to the English teachers. Portuguese teachers favoured care, commitment, continuing learning and collaborative cultures. The different outcomes reflected the contrasting policy reform between the two countries. In Portugal, increasing autonomy and greater flexibility contrasted with the English reform of imposition and enhanced monitoring.

Some of the negative responses teachers demonstrated in Day et al (2007) to policy change related to earlier, radical reforms which had a significant impact on professional cultures and thus some of the more recent policy changes were perceived as being more positive to the educational landscape. Teachers also expressed concern that one set of policy reforms were given insufficient time to be assimilated and consolidated before other new initiatives were introduced. These findings suggest that when researching the impact of policy change on identity and professionalism, the context of the reforms and the historical implementation of other policy changes are also important as these can alter the way teachers perceive and mediate a change. Also, important to teacher response is the mediation of reform within their individual school. Teachers view policy change with two lenses – a response to the national picture and a response to how national initiatives are played out in the local context by SLs and teachers within their own institution. Bourdieu's concept of habitus, explored in section 2.6, will

be used to understand the ways teachers adapt the factors that make up their perceptions of professionalism alter in response to changing policy.

This literature review must also consider the professionalism of CAs. CIAG has become increasingly delivered through specific target-driven contracts, which impacts on the professionalism of CAs. Such change increases the pressure for individuals and organisations to demonstrate added value, impact and returns on invested funds. Additionally, CAs are often managed as per the needs of the organisation they work for to fulfil wider contractual and economic arrangements (Plant and Thomsen 2011). This change in emphasis is transforming careers services and creating challenges for professionals (Hughes 2013b); for example, the delivery of a service focused on those at risk of becoming Not in Education, Employment or Training (NEET) (Sultana 2009). Such changes in working practice can be contrary to the preferred position of CAs (Douglas 2011) and decreasing control has led to a trend to de-professionalise (Tuchman 2009). Previous policy change that created the Connexions service required inter-professional working between CAs and other professionals. This change created the role of the Personal Adviser which did not fit within existing, traditional views of professional roles (Oliver 2008). As a result, careers guidance was regarded as a lower-status profession than teaching (Reid and West 2011a). Like teaching, the policy change addressed by this research has resulted in the need for CA professionals to address both the way services are delivered and their ethics and identity (Evetts 2012).

Research by Reid and West (2011a) focuses on the perceptions of careers practitioners located within recent developments in career guidance policy in England. They used a biographical narrative method to shed light on the conflicts at work in a group of careers guidance practitioners working in schools. Whilst providing highly valid findings, the researchers question the accuracy and generalizability of their work, identifying that it was based on a small, opportunistic sample of professionals working in specific contexts. The research identified

sensitivity regarding the professional status of participants through their dilemma between being client-focused and impartial in their guidance and the expectations of their organisation – outcomes, targets and managerialism. The degree of professional sensitivity this research identifies may result in different responses by CAs and teachers to the policy change being investigated.

Other work by Douglas (2011) used qualitative discourse analysis with 35 careers guidance practitioners. They described modern professionalism as requiring close management, the setting of measurable targets to judge productivity and the expectation to meet or exceed a list of competencies. Participants who identified strongly with a more traditional view of professionalism identified their practice as being underpinned by theoretical knowledge gained through formal academic careers guidance qualifications, technical skills and ethical behaviour. They believed that their work had social value and importance and were motivated by altruistic tendencies and work in the best interests of their clients. Such characteristics are consistent with those of the traditional view of professionalism described by Leicht and Fennell (2001). The more contemporary perception of professionalism suggests that academic knowledge is no longer required and that competencies are now the standard measurement of performance and productivity. Redefining knowledge from an academic to a practical level perceives identification with academic knowledge as resistance to Leicht and Fennell's (2001) model. The development of 'can-do' behaviour, minimises the opportunity for the interrogation academic knowledge requires, so making it easier to assess, measure and manage. Long-serving practitioners who had experienced many changes were found attempting to distance themselves from this by maintaining a client-centred focus.

One response by CAs to their concern regarding lack of a clear professional identity has been to use links to professional associations. This has created a focus on the establishment of professional standards and regulation. Hughes (2013a) identifies that there are at least six career

professional associations within the UK, reflecting the fragmented nature of this sector. Each professional association has a different approach towards developing and maintaining professional status. This creates a conflicting picture for stakeholders such as clients and employers. One unifying response has been the development of a register of careers professionals and a framework of practice. Also, ensuring that careers qualifications cover the essential aspects of careers guidance has moved to unify CA professional status, although this remains low (Reid and West 2011a).

Artaraz (2006) used Bourdieu's concepts of field, habitus and capital to explore the responses seen to an earlier policy change by careers guidance professionals. This policy change resulted in the transfer of the school careers service to form the Connexions Service. A significant point in change of professional practice, Connexions Service had a wider social agenda to prepare young people for adult life across a range of areas including education, employment and training (Artaraz 2008). There was also a focus on young people with the most complex needs, including those at risk of becoming NEET. The concept of a professional habitus was especially useful as the professional identity this group had was quite fluid due to the lack of a strong, unified professional body. Habitus enabled an understanding of the ways that these professionals adapted to the new context the policy changes crated. Artaraz identified three groups of professionals: opponents, backers and accommodators.

Opponents did not share the basic ethos of Connexions as a person-centred practice and the integration of other professional roles to create a new profession with a uniform and generic skill set, the Personal Advisor, to provide need-led intervention. The remit of the new service had large implications for the professional identity and role of CAs (Artaraz 2008). Most opponents were identified as ex-CAs with high levels of professional experience. They felt that they had been absorbed by Connexions against their will and their professional knowledge and status were being undermined. They presented clear attempts to identify what they perceived

as their role and what they considered was being forced on them. The backers were mainly those whose professional habitus developed within the Connexions Service. These professionals shared the principle that Connexions was a person-centred service and a continuum exists between the support services needed by young people with serious needs and barriers. They were typically from a variety of backgrounds and perceived no barrier or contradiction between careers guidance and other types of support. Those identified as accommodators had either trained as careers education practitioners before the creation of Connexions or had trained outside the service. These individuals were part of multidisciplinary teams that valued experience and their professionalism included the objective of delivering a universal service. They were willing to be challenged by the aims of Connexions and could recognise the limitations of their own previous training.

### 2.3.4 Professional identity

Professional identity influences the enactment of professional behaviours and is constructed by teachers themselves, their colleagues and students, and policy makers. Teacher identities are constructed from the technical aspects of teaching and the interaction between the teacher's setting and their personal experiences (Nias 1996, van den Berg 2002). Talbert and McLaughlin (1996) identified having a strong knowledge base, a commitment to meeting the needs of students and autonomy regarding classroom practice as important aspects of teacher professional identity. Influenced by school, reform, political context (Datnow et al 2002, Sachs 2000), teacher professional identity develops in response to new experiences and so does not contain a fixed set of characteristics or values (Huberman 1993). As policy change has been regarded both as a positive force, enhancing and providing opportunities, and an imposition, deskilling and disempowering teachers (MacBeath 2008) it can contribute positively or negatively to teacher identity.

Sachs (2000) identifies two forms of professional identity. She classifies the first as 'entrepreneurial': characterised by efficiency and accountability. This form demonstrates compliance with the externally imposed policy directives and strives to successfully meet externally set performance indicators. Sachs (2000) suggests that this form of professionalism is desired by the performativity agenda encouraged by neoliberal policy reform. Her second form of professionalism is the 'activist,' driven by a belief and in the importance of working in ways that are justified as being in the best interests of students.

Beijard (1995) researched the identity of secondary school teachers in the Netherlands. He stated professional identity for secondary school teachers initially arises from subject specialism. Its further development requires the growth of relationships with pupils: their attitudes and behaviour being found to have a profound effect on the teacher's self. The more personal and professional selves became integrated the more self-identity was found to be affected by positive and negative pupil behaviour. Beijard's research resonates with Nias' research (1989, 1991) into the identity of primary school teachers, discussed above, that an important element of teacher identity relates to their experience of school: its culture, dynamics and organisation result in the degree of satisfaction and commitment experienced which influences the creation of teacher identity and the degree of acceptance of that identity as an aspect of the self.

Professional identity is one aspect of individual capacity, the capability and aptitude brought to the workplace and used to address policy reform. This capacity also includes personal beliefs, identity, past experiences of reform (Stoll 1999), emotional well-being (Hargreaves 1998), professional vulnerability (Lasky 2005) and commitment, (Spillane and Thompson 1997). Commitment is perceived by some researchers as a professional characteristic (Helsby et al 1997) but by others as a product of the personal, organisational and policy context (Louis 1998). Associated with a sense of pride in the profession, commitment has been described as Tyree (1996) as having four dimensions: as caring, as occupational competence, as identity and as

career-continuance. Day, Elliot and Kington (2005) carried out a small scale exploratory study of Australian and English teachers' realities of commitment within the profession. They suggest commitment is a nested phenomenon supported by relatively constant core values based on personal philosophy, self-image and identity which are subject to social and political challenge. Whether a characteristic or product, commitment forms a significant part of a teacher's sense of identity (Woods 1981) and is critical in implementing, adapting or resisting reform. These behavioural responses to policy change will be explored in section 2.4.

The fast changing internal and external conditions of schools appears to result in uncertainty for teachers and crises of identity. Nias (1989) found that long-term commitment amongst primary school teachers was associated with individuals who were caring and dedicated rather than those who put themselves first. Others have found commitment is affected by external factors such as national education policies (Day et al 2006, Tsui and Cheng 1999). Policy changes and reforms have created confusion for many teachers in their professional identity regarding use of discretionary judgement and their capacity to carry out responsibilities associated with reforms and perceived threats to identity and loss of autonomy (Miller 2004). Helsby et al (1997) identified that secondary school teacher professionalism included displaying commitment and accepting the open-ended nature of tasks. Many teachers have been able to manoeuvre around externally imposed policy reforms and increased accountability, mainly through the strong values that they hold (Helsby et al 1997). Where structural changes result in inter-professional working, such as those experienced previously by CAs, professional boundaries become blurred leading to challenges to professional identity as roles and responsibilities change (Frost, Robinson and Anning 2005).

The increased focus on outcomes changes aspects of participants' perception of professionalism which, in turn, affects their professional identity. Published research demonstrates there can be negative response to policy reform. This is particularly true for CAs, particularly considering the

experience of previous policy. In this study, research questions consider of how professional identity is affected by the policy change. Use of Bourdieu's concept of field will provide understanding and description of the setting participants interact with, resulting in personal experiences that influence their professional identity. Through describing their practice, participants will reveal unconscious principles that determine their professional identity.

### 2.3.5 Identity development

So far, this chapter has presented how identity of teachers and CAs is not a fixed phenomenon, affected by policy change and in turn its implementation. Similarly, professionalism and professional identity are subject to change, dependent upon the experiences within the field and the situation occupied. The self and the professional identities of professionals are linked: one affects the other. Cooper and Olson (1996), Reynolds (1996) and Hargreaves and Goodson (1996) researched the connection between professional and personal elements of teacher identities. They suggest teachers are aware that their identity forms because of personal experiences of a wide range of influences and is subject to continual reconstruction. Influences include cultural, historical, organisational and social. These contribute to the meaning of being a teacher. Thus, teachers are both constructed in their identities and constructive of them (Davies 1993). Teachers were often found to hold multiple identities: the actual – their current working practices; the ideal – what it means to be a teacher; and the transitional – links between the actual and ideal. Gaps and conflicts occur between the multiple selves, creating discord and tension for teachers.

The longer-term effect of the modifications in personal and professional values over time (Day et al 2005) leads to the evolution of the self and professional identity. Should an individual teacher be opposed to some of the values underlying a policy change it becomes difficult to adjust to these values (Woods et al 1997). For example, Helsby's (1999) study of secondary

schools in the UK identified that the values embedded in the professional identity of many teachers were undermined by reforms. Although carried out some time ago, the research findings are still relevant as it researched how top-down policy reform challenged teacher identities. The extent to which reforms impact and challenge teacher identities at both an intellectual and emotional level, resulting in rational and non-rational reactions, will affect the way they are implemented, modified and sustained (Helsby 1999). Research following educational policy reforms reveals that when the values of teachers are challenged in such a manner, teachers creatively interpret requirements according to their own professional values and perceived needs of students (Vulliamy et al 1997). Through such interpretation, policy change is used to meet other objectives, taking advantage of gaps and contradictions between competing priorities (Ozga 2005).

Vulliamy et al (1997) conducted in-depth comparative case study research on six primary schools into processes of curriculum change in England and Finland between 1994 and 1997. This was a period of large policy change: removal of a subject-based National Curriculum in Finland whilst in England the prescriptive National Curriculum was being revised. Although both policy changes were triggered by national policy directives they were mediated within individual schools (Bowe et al 1992). Although only a small sample of schools was included in the study, the researchers claim that their work had high ecological validity. The research identified the impact of these external policy changes on the attitudes of teachers and their responses to the requirement for change. Within the English schools, core values relating to student-centred education were sometimes in conflict with the imposed change and in both the English and Finish schools, teacher values and educational philosophy were powerful in determining the way policy changes were interpreted and implemented. The way teachers sought to preserve core values took on different forms dependent upon the different policy contexts of the two countries (Webb and Vuliamy 1996). The study also found that whilst government actions can

force policy change to take place, there is often a negative impact on morale and motivation of teachers, resulting in a lack of commitment. Similar earlier comparative work in primary schools in England and France (Broadfoot et al 1988) identified that teacher identity was a powerful mediator in interpretation and response to imposed change.

**2.4 External responses to policy change – mediating responses**

Within the context of top-down policy change there are many examples of responses by individuals and organisations to manage and challenge its enactment (Hughes 2013a). The processing of policy by single individuals or collections of individuals within an organisation or profession is referred to as translation or mediation. The personal and professional identity of change agents affects the way in which a policy is mediated. An alternative proposal to mediation suggests policy implementation arises through diffusion of practice from colleague to colleague or organisation to organisation. For some agents, opportunities arise to resist total compliance with the proposed reform. Such concern arises from their discourses relating to occupationally-related academic knowledge, training, and their social beliefs and values (Douglas 2011). Other theories used to account for the ways change agents respond include the workaround and public sector entrepreneurship.

2.4.1 Policy implementation through mediation

Mediation is the processes by which an external policy intention is deflected, modified and actively negotiated in a context, resulting in it being effectively implemented, even if in an unexpected way (Schofield 2001) within a context. Context refers to the opportunities or constraints a change agent experiences which affect their behaviour and its outcomes. Studies have attempted to identify important contextual factors that impact the change and effective

implementation of policy (Hoffer-Gittell 2009, McDermott and Keating 2012). These have been grouped together as task, social and physical factors. Task factors include accountability and resources within the organisational environment, described as capital within the theoretical framework used in this research. Social factors include social structures such as relationships and social influence such as positions of power within the organisation. These factors are described by Bourdieu as the field. The physical factors relate to the built environment (Johns 2006).

Much of the literature regarding policy and its practice emphasises the systems of implementation rather than actual practice (Vulliamy et al 1997) whereas this research will adopt Bourdieu's idea of practice. The role of teachers implied through a top-down educational policy implementation mirrors the centralisation and standardisation of aspects of their professional role, reducing professional autonomy to being more of a technocratic implementer, requiring a level of competence to implement policy change but not to devise the policy. However, in schools, policies are mediated and translated into practice by groups of teachers who can affect the way they are adopted. Individuals and groups in different contexts adopt responses that serve to meet the goals of the context they are located in (Brain et al 2006).

Within an organisation such as a school, goals can be identified which are the purposes that apply to different members such as pupils or teachers. The means are the way the goals should be achieved. Even when individuals demonstrate a willingness to accept the goals within a context, the same individuals will adopt a variety of different means to achieve them, based on their past experiences. Currently, most policy change in education has increasingly attempted to dictate the goals – the policy – and the means – the practice. The policy change under scrutiny in this research, the change in the content and way in which CIAG was to be provided in school was unusual in that the policy change provided clear goals but also emphasised a greater freedom as to the means in which these goals should be achieved within schools. Emphasis was

placed on the freeing up of schools to make decisions regarding the way in which they delivered careers education, information, advice and guidance as part of a wider political aim to provide freedom for SLs to make decisions regarding resource allocation and delivery patterns.

Merton (1957) categorised policy response as being one of five types. One response to policy change is conformity where both policy and practice are accepted and the mediation of teachers is kept to a minimum. Such a response is typically technocratic. An innovative response accepts policy but rejects practice, with mediation resulting in a different means to achieving the policy goals. Ritualism as a response occurs where policy is rejected but practice accepted, resulting from minimal mediation. Retreatism involves rejection of policy and practice, an unusual response in teaching due to the characteristics of personal and professional identity which relate to a focus on students. Finally, rebellion suggests the rejection of policy and practice, but their creative substitution for alternatives.

The typology suggested by Merton (1957) is useful in modelling the mediation that exists between educational policy and its practice by schools and teachers. Understanding the mediation process is complex, suggesting the process of policy implementation is far from simple. Successful policy implementation thus requires identification of a suitable strategy or model of policy construction that makes use of teacher knowledge, skills and values, suggesting a move away from the top-down imposition of policy by the government towards one using the professional skills of teachers within their specific contexts. This is not to say a bottom-up process, but a more balanced one in both directions (Brain et al 2006).

When attempting to understand the role of teacher mediation in policy implementation, Moore (2006) calls for consideration of psychological factors in addition to sociological ones. By recognising the significance of structure and agency in the practical and ideological situations of teachers, responses to policy change are directed by logic, social determinism and hidden desire.

The aim of Moore's study (2006) involving 70 school teachers and eight head teachers in six secondary and three primary schools in Greater London was to learn about the ways teachers experienced and organised their working lives in the context of policy reform and the cultural, practical and mental resources they used in making these responses. The paper suggests that there are distinctive and personal responses to the way in which policy is received and worked upon and that teachers are constantly positioning and repositioning themselves in relation to the demands of their day-to-day work and their inner selves. Analysis of participants' accounts of their practice will reveal their disposition towards the policy objective, revealing some of the subjective principles produced by the structures within the field.

### 2.4.2 Policy implementation through diffusion

As discussed above, mediation of policy intent by agents responsible for its implementation can result in policy being enacted differently. An alternative theory to mediation exists as to how these differences arise. Referred to as diffusion, this theory suggests different implementation of policy change occurs through the way in which behaviours, discourse and attitudes spread between colleagues and organisations which will be revealed using Bourdieu's concept of habitus. Diffusion results from a dynamic fit between practice and adopter, influenced by different aspects of the field including political, technical and cultural factors, and the degree of synchrony or dis-synchrony between the adopting organisations (Ansari et al 2010).

The classic model of diffusion refers to the flow or movement from source to adopter of something within a social system. In this instance, the flow of careers policy from source, the Government, to teachers and CAs in school, the adopters. Diffusion of novel innovation is achieved through communication and influence, making them essential for adoption. As culture understands innovation to be progressive, there is risk and uncertainty in its adoption. Therefore, adopters carefully balance the experiences of others before acting (Strang and Soule

1998). Adaptation processes are required when the characteristics of the practice being adopted do not synchronise either with the organisation or individuals who are adopting it. This comprises factors both on the demand-side and the supply-side of the policy change and the interaction of the diffusing practices with the adopters (Ansari et al 2010). The amount of adaptation is dependent upon the degree to which the features of the new practice are consistent with the context of perceived needs and agendas and structure of the organisation receiving it (Robertson et al 1996). Bourdieu's concept of practice, presented in section 2.6, will be used to describe how adopters' attitudes influence and are enacted in observable social situations.

Adaptations include changing how the practice is presented and the rate at which it is adopted or altered to its actual content (Lewis and Seibold 1993). There are two key dimensions to adaptation: fidelity and extensiveness. Fidelity relates to how similar or different the expected behaviours and meaning of the new practice are to its previous version. Extensiveness refers to how comprehensive the implementation of the change is compared to the previous version. These two dimensions allow a framework to account for diffusion to be constructed (Ansari et al 2010).

Research regarding how practices diffuse from one place to another usually develops an economic or sociological model, assuming that practices show temporal and spatial diffusion without being changed significantly (Terlaak and Gong 2008). Those with an economic basis suggest change adopters make rational and efficient decisions. These models either focus on an evolutionary process resulting in selection against performance offering less efficient practice or the rational selection of choices by decision makers: both rely on the momentum generated from the observation of early adopters (Terlaak and Gong 2008). Models based on the social relationships and positions of the adopters tend to assume organisational response copies that seen in other organisations to maintain legitimacy and that adopting practices is often driven by

the pressures of social conformity (Sturdy 2004). These focus on the pressure formed by social conformity and the view that other behaviours could be inefficient or even harmful (Sturdy 2004).

Both the economic and social theories of diffusion suggest different implications for when misfits between policy and context are likely to impact on change, depending upon the timing of the adoption of the change. Diffusion theories based on economic decisions suggest misfit between proposed change and context impacts most on those adopting the change early due to less being known about the change. Late-adopters of the practice can use the decisions of earlier experiences and avoid aspects which have a lower fit to their context (Terlaak and Gong 2008). Theories based on social relationships suggest a lack of conformity pressure exists for early adoption, whilst later adoption has increased social conformity pressure irrespective of the misfit of the practice to their needs (Abrahamson 1991). A model integrating both rational and social dimensions suggests these pressures work in parallel, misfits impacting on all adopters of the change for different reasons. There is thus the potential for misfit across the whole process of diffusion (Kennedy and Fliss 2009).

### 2.4.3 Enacting policy: resistance

Resistance is one response to policy change (McDermott et al 2012), resulting from the change recipients translating the externally enforced national structural changes into the local context of their organisation. This type of response to policy change was identified in CAs when their roles were integrated with other professionals when the Connexions service was formed (Artaraz 2008). Some changes aim to create a new culture or identity but fail to take into account individuals' professional identity when attempting to fit them into a new organisational structure. This may result in individuals resisting change in order to maintain their identities (Halford and Leonard 1999). Often perceived as a negative response to change, resistance has

also been identified as an important way in which policy becomes translated into practice (Thomas and Hardy 2011). In this context, resistance involves adding value through expanding the concept of the policy change, innovation and generating new knowledge (Ford *et* al 2008). A product of thought and consideration, resistance is often described as irrational and incoherent (McDermott et al 2012) but is more accurately the dynamic of three elements: the behaviour of, or communication of change between recipients, the sense-making of those involved in the change and the relationship and context between those developing and enacting a change (Ford et al 2008). Identification of participant resistance in this study will be used to identify potential conflicts between their existing habitus and the changes in social influences arising from the policy change.

A situation of change resulting from policy amendment interrupts the routine working of individuals and organisations, requiring the development of new patterns of behaviour and ways of working, which can appear ambiguous (Mintzberg and Waters 1985). To achieve change, those involved start to make sense of agency – how the change will be accomplished and response – what the changes mean to them as individuals. Problems with any change are constructed by those participating in it and arise from resultant discrepancies or problems or from any concerns or uncertainties they have. Making sense of the change in this manner is an active process, requiring the seeking of information, assigning meaning and responding by finding meaning from current behaviours and communications and acting on them. The events and meanings of the change become perceived as one single event, termed net presentation (Bohm 1996).

Change participants expect that there will be resistance to a change and modify their actions and communications in expectation of its occurrence. This has a significant impact on the process of sense-making in policy change (Madon et al 1997) as it results in participants looking for and finding resistance (Ford et al 2008). Sense-making occurs when change participants are

involved in self-justifying explanations or accounts of events and dealings. Accounts are used to evaluate actions, especially when this falls short of expectations (Scott and Lyman 1968) and are used to explain behaviours or outcomes in a way that maintains positive relationships between speakers and listeners (Schutz and Baumeister 1999). The acceptance of the account of an action depends upon shared expectations and understanding. Accounts of unexpected problems can be attributed to resistance to divert attention away from other causes of problems, including their own failures and shortfalls.

Resistance also forms through communication breakdown. Discussion of how appropriate and rational a change is creates a readiness for it and increases its acceptance, participation in it and the speed of its recognition (Green 2004). Change recipients question and evaluate more when identifying good and bad aspects of a change. If such dialogue is identified as resistance by those orchestrating the change, the opportunity to support participants in changing their thought processes is lost. This increases the chance of failure as participants become immune to the change process through developing stronger counterarguments than those presented by change agents, described as Inoculation Theory by McGuire (1964).

Change participants also contribute to forming resistance through breaking agreements made with others and not restoring the resultant loss of trust (Reichers et al 1997). The experience of perceiving such an injustice results in resentment and a desire to payback, which leads to negative behaviours such as reduced work rate or quality and reduced cooperation (Shapiro and Kirkman 1999); such responses are identified as resistance. If damaged relationships are repaired, there is less likelihood of future resistance. If such issues are not addressed, future change results in further cynicism, critical attitudes and behaviours and decreased motivation (Dean et al 1998).

Resistance also arises through intentional efforts to deceive and misrepresent during negotiations between change agents and participants. This is more likely to occur in competitive situations where there are incentives to do so. Where a change is planned in a competitive situation change agents may misrepresent the positive or negative aspects of the change, or its likely success (Tenbrunsel 1998). Positive and enthusiastic communication of a change in this manner may result in its unintentional misrepresentation, resulting in reduced truth, realism and accuracy. As a form of conflict, resistance can be used to strengthen commitment to change. However, as both behavioural and emotional conflict can occur at once, there is a potential to overshadow task conflict by spreading emotional conflict. Significant levels of conflict can negatively impact on the experience of change participants, reducing their acceptance and support (Schweiger et al 1989).

Reactions to change by change recipients are not always obstacles to change success: they can be used as a resource to successfully achieve the implementation of the change. Competition between new conversations and discourses with existing ones which are well established and habituated causes change to suffer due to their newness and unfamiliarity (Barrett et al 1995). Resistance is of value in such a situation as it keeps conversations in existence: talking in negative terms has traditionally been identified as resistance but functions to keep the change as part of discussions. Resistance may be critical to change success resulting in its further translation and diffusion (Ford et al 2008). Resistance is a form of engagement and thoughtful attitudes are based on the processing of large amounts of information and are more likely to be subject to scrutiny and so have well-considered counterarguments and be less likely to be persuaded against resulting in higher levels of commitment and motivation (Kim and Mauborgne 2003).

### 2.4.4 Enacting policy: workaround

Another response demonstrated to policy change is referred to as a 'workaround,' (Campbell 2012). They are informal ad hoc behaviours that arise where local responses and systems are at odds with policy procedures but in line with policy intent (McDermott et al 2012). Workaround responses often relate to central features of a policy rather than its marginal details and were initially used to describe low-cost responses to avoid delays in implementation (Bardach 1977). The resulting local response is true to the underlying policy intention but counters the aspects of the implementation causing difficulty. Workarounds do not change the overall purpose or identity of a system or policy (Alter 2014). Often observed and studied in ICT context (Vassilakopoulou et al 2012) and in operational systems (Alter 2014), workaround responses are opportunities that are taken within a local context, rather than following request from superiors or resource holders to enact aspects of policy change. They normally attract little attention from policy makers or managers (Ferneley and Sobreperez 2006).

Workarounds have similarities with resistance in that they are behaviours that respond to nationally enforced policy in a local context. Resistance contrasts with workaround by creating an extension of the policy intent rather than remaining true to it. Also, resistance results in changes in attitude or ways of working, resulting in either a positive or negative outcome, which contrasts with workarounds where changes are often on a small scale and used to meet policy requirements without being obvious to managers.

Workarounds arise when there are demands for compliance despite continually changing rules and constraints within the work system. Contributory factors from which workarounds originate include perception of bureaucratic demands being unnecessary and counterproductive or the failures of technologies. Personal goals conflicting with organisational goals or the motivation to avoid or undermine processes within regulations also can result in workarounds (Alter 2014).

Elements of policy leading to employment of workarounds include placing different organisations together for responding to a policy change, restrictions to funding, governance and performance accountability (Campbell 2012). Application of Bourdieu's thinking tools will reveal evidence of any workarounds in response to policy change. Differences in participants' practice may reveal the implementation of workarounds. The various capital participants identify may reveal changes in their value following changes in policy.

Policy directive can be a starting point for negotiation of a workaround, establishing local collaborative goals as an alternative focus for accountability and distinguishing between front-line service provision and behind-the-scenes accounting. One strategy used to implement a workaround is that of presenting the appearance of complying with the described goals or expectations. For example, Broadhurst et al's (2009) study of social workers under pressure to meet targets whilst meeting client needs resulted in a workaround of logging some cases as complete whilst they were still under review. Another type of workaround responds to enhancing existing routines when new resources are either unavailable or insufficient to properly implement a change. For example, the use of informal communication channels when official ones are more difficult to use (Petrides et al 2004).

### 2.4.5 Enacting policy: public sector entrepreneurship

An alternative response to either resistance or workaround of a policy change is that of public sector entrepreneurship. In research into the implementation of policy change in four hospital case studies in Ireland and the UK, McDermott et al (2012), defined this as non-routine process resulting in renewed and new behaviours, new strategies and risk-taking resulting from changes in behaviour of policy change recipients. Recipients of policy change neither accept or resist, but identify and act on opportunities for their organisations to translate a national policy initiative into local context needs by supplementing them. This contrasts with corporate

entrepreneurship which includes a profit orientated aspect in its definition, which is not a public sector primary goal (Boyett 1997).

According to Short et al (2009) there has been limited research within the field of public sector entrepreneurship but this is increasing due to increasing expectation and demands on public sector workers from reduced finance, and increased regulation and public accountability (Kearney et al 2010). Public sector entrepreneurs can further the local agenda along with the nationally directed one, relying more on a group desire to change and adapt rather than the features of individuals. Study of the entrepreneurship responses of hospital workers in the UK and Ireland led McDermott et al (2012), to classify different behaviours. 'Adaptors' adjust the policy change within their context whilst 'extrapreneurs' add extra dimensions to the change. The outcomes of public sector entrepreneurship in these cases included enhancing the intentions of the change through expanding the ideas which it encompassed, innovation and generating new knowledge. The adaptation and extension of policy content in these ways requires contextualised local knowledge and a desire to achieve outcomes in line with their interpretation of the policy directive. The degree to which participants in this study demonstrate public sector entrepreneurship, revealed through consideration of Bourdieu's concept of practice, may reveal how the wider neoliberal policy reform within the public sector has altered their perceptions of professional identity within the public sector.

In common with other behavioural responses to policy change, change agents translate policy through entrepreneurship by behavioural change. The uniqueness of this response lies within the way this is achieved through experimentation, innovation, creativity, and risk-taking. Public sector entrepreneurship regards responses to policy change as positive approaches to further enhance the public service concerned.

To undertake entrepreneurial change within a local context, agents require three core dimensions. First, a clear understanding of the requirements of that context is required. This is achieved through strategically reframing a policy initiative in a manner that identifies the most meaningful and beneficial components of it as well as additional opportunities beyond the policy instruction (Fitzgerald et al 2012). Secondly, agents need to be able to gain support and resourcing for their implementation and so command a degree of authority in their actions. This is achieved by actively shaping context to enable adoption of and addition to the policy contents. Differing tactics are employed to achieve this, depending upon the power dynamics and professional hierarchy linked to resources within the organisation (Dutton et al 2001). Finally, agents require the capability to implement the change (McDermott *et al* 2012).

According to Cho et al (2005), in their researching perceived achievement of policy objectives in state Government in North Carolina, there are two factors required for success of public sector entrepreneurs. First experience, expertise and skill of the change agents are required. A high degree of professionalism has been attributed to facilitating effective implementation as this results in effective leadership to bring about change in organisations' goals, cultures and procedures. Second, perceptions of empowerment within the local networks of change agents are needed. This more developed perception of authority expands the sense of authority and effectiveness leading to an increased positive attitude towards goal achievement.

**2.5 Structural and organisational change within the careers service**

The section of this literature review is devoted to the changes the careers service in England has undergone since 2004. These reforms are important to gaining an understanding of the situation CAs found themselves in at the point of the policy change that is the focus of this research.

Previous changes contribute to the responses recorded and are used to account for the differing reactions between CAs and members of school leadership teams.

### 2.5.1 What is careers guidance?

In 2004 the OECD defined career guidance as:

> *'… services and activities intended to assist individuals of any age and at any point throughout their lives, to make education, training and occupational choices and to manage their careers.'*

The economic and policy changes described at the start of this chapter have resulted in increased demand for career services leading to the development of new organisations within the careers sector as well as changes in the partnership arrangements between public, private and community organisations (Hughes 2013a).

### 2.5.2 History of changes to career service

The OECD's (2004) review of careers guidance policy identified that there was a focus on the unskilled employment destinations and unemployment of young people. This resulted in the launch of the Connexions Service in England whose aim was to increase employability skills. Connexions incorporated previously existing careers companies and CAs working in school with different professional groups including teachers and social workers to work around a set of common professional practices (Oliver 2004). A further change occurred when youth support became integrated into the service (DfES 2005, Oliver and Percy-Smith 2014). There was an expectation that these individual professional groups would begin to gel as a single profession (Artaraz 2006) and create a coherent approach to working with young people and reduce social and educational disadvantage (Oliver 2004, Artaraz 2008). Practitioners were re-named either guidance Personal Advisers who worked with young people ensuring informed decisions were

made, or intensive Personal Advisers who worked with young people overcoming the barriers they faced to engaging in education, training and work. Personal Advisers participated in a national training programme developed by the Connexions Service National Unit which aimed to develop their knowledge and capabilities about the Connexions strategy and their role (Oliver 2004, Oliver 2008). Personal Advisers also worked with other similarly focused agencies supporting young people. This led to 'joined-up' services for young people but a weakening of professional identity for careers guidance practitioners (Reid and West 2011a).

Personal Advisers developed increased clarity of their roles and approaches to inter-agency working through participation in the diploma for Connexions Personal Advisers (Artaraz, 2008). The diploma aimed to develop a theoretical understanding of the role and framework in which the Connexions service should be applied. However, Personal Advisers described how the aims of the national Connexions strategy were subject to local interpretation and difficulty in transferring their knowledge and understanding into practice because suitable local structures to enable them to do so were not present (Oliver 2004). There were also concerns from some resistant to the formation of Connexions that recent recruits to the service did not have the relevant professional qualifications (Artaraz 2008).

Lewin and Colley's research (2011) aimed to gather baseline information and understand continuity and change in roles, identities and practices regarding the career guidance profession now. The Chief Executives of all careers services in England were invited to participate in a survey. Three Connexions Services from the north of England were also used as a case study during which interviews were conducted. Lewin and Colley acknowledge that caution should be taken when interpreting the results of their work due to the limited response of 37% in the initial survey.

The results suggested that many careers services were in a state of turmoil with staff unsure about the future changes to their work. Additionally, the devolvement of the Connexions Service was found to have caused significant disruption to careers service provision, resulting in staff loss through redundancy and disillusion. Such feelings had pertained since the outset of the Connexions service, with participants in the diploma for Connexions Personal Advisers expressing feelings of vulnerability and lack of support in response to the large scale changes they had experienced professionally and organisationally (Oliver 2004). For example, former CAs perceived that careers work had become linked with the 13-19 age range, rather than a service that responded to need at any age. Also, operational arrangements varied between the specific partnership agreements with schools which affected how integrated the Connexions service was within a school and how easily relevant information could be accessed (Artaraz 2008). The Connexions Service was severely understaffed and Personal Advisers had a much higher caseload than had been proposed when the service was formed. Whilst there was an expectation in the research that the significant reform and disruption to the careers service would have led to many experienced CAs leaving the service, this was found not to be the case. The most common reason for staff leaving was to move to another Connexions Service: moves were often made to a service where a stronger emphasis was being placed on the careers aspect of the role (Oliver 2004).

Despite the introduction of the diploma for Personal Advisers, evidence suggested that a single profession was not created from the variety of professions within the Connexions service (Artaraz 2008). The national Connexions Service was disbanded and from 2008 funding for the Connexions Service was devolved to local authorities. This resulted in the reorganisation of the service to fit local authority boundaries and different models of careers began to be applied, including local authority services, and contracts to previous Connexions partnerships or other providers (Lewin and Colley 2011).

A further change in the discourse of English politics firmly placed school autonomy of the heart of the education system through the Education Act 2011. Section 29 of the act (DfE 2011) and Statutory Guidance for schools (DfE 2013) created the autonomy and freedom for schools to:

> *'… secure independent and impartial career guidance for their pupils from September 2012,'*

and removed the requirement for careers education to be a part of the school curriculum. In other words, it was insufficient to employ a career professional in schools and use websites for other advice: some form of external provider would be required. The decisions regarding what careers education and work-related learning should be included within the curriculum are the responsibility of head teachers and governors (Andrews 2011). Making budget decisions, whilst there being no ring-fenced funding, further increased the challenge.

A more diffuse arrangement to deliver careers education began to develop in schools and colleges (Andrews 2011). In England careers guidance became accessible through a variety of sources including a national online and telephone service, and through community based organisations. Hughes (2013b) identifies national variation regarding statutory requirements for careers education, guidance and information within the UK. In England, careers policy relates to career choice, contrasting with other parts of the UK where planning, decision making and career management characterise policy. Another difference is accountability: in England, there is currently a quasi-market system, contrasting with accountabilities to devolved political administrations. The quasi-market is being stimulated to provide increased services to reduce the tax burden. For the careers service, this has resulted in increased competition, school autonomy, deregulation and an opening up of the careers market leading to reformulation of the range of careers providers targeting schools. Critical to this is the extent to which a largely unregulated market can deliver in the public interest (Hughes 2013b).

## 2.6 Theoretical Framework: Bourdieu's thinking tools

### 2.6.1 Introduction

This research uses Bourdieu's thinking tools of practice, habitus, field and capital. They are useful to answer the research questions because they can be used to develop a theory of the social situation that underlies participants' description of their experiences. The thinking tools were applied to interview transcripts that were analysed using a Straussian grounded theory approach discussed in Chapter Three. Selection of this approach acknowledged familiarity with quantitative research from a positivist perspective, identified by the personal biography, but also developed and broadened researcher approaches and experience. The final section of this chapter presents a description and evaluation, in the context of this research, of Bourdieu's thinking tools.

### 2.6.2 Bourdieu's thinking tools

Practice is used to describe the visible social world, social interaction and behaviour in everyday life (Bourdieu 1977). Practice is influenced by the internal mental states of agents: it is not always rational due to factors such as limits of time or other activities being carried out. To explain patterns of practice, Bourdieu developed the concepts of habitus and field (Rawolle and Lingard 2008). Field is the social arena with an imprecise and changing boundary within which agents' habitus is expressed in practice as participants manoeuvre to accumulate and distribute specific resources or stakes (Jenkins 1992). The field is internally structured in terms of power relations and a system of social positions which can be mapped, and the principles which generated their relations be determined (Bourdieu 1988). Those agents who start out with more have an advantage to be more successful in terms of the capital within the field. Different types of capital exist, including symbolic capital which compromises of qualifications or knowledge in an educational context. Habitus is used to describe an acquired system of generative schemes that are objectively adjusted to the context in which they are created. Habitus is expressed or

embodied in the mental attitudes and perceptions of the agents and exists in, through and because of their practice and interaction with each other and the environment (Jenkins 1992). Thus, habitus has a concrete expression through

*'standing, speaking, walking and thereby of feeling and thinking'* (Bourdieu 1990, p70)

The habitus of those working in CIAG in schools could be observed, for example, through the way certain subjects or qualifications are discussed. Habitus suggests that observable behaviour arises because of habit so does not involve any conscious thought. Choices could be made consciously but based on unconscious principles. In other words, the concept of habitus is a representation of the dynamic of structure in social reality expressed through knowledge and action (Grenfell and James 1988, Grenfell and James 2004). Habitus disposes agents to do certain things – to generate individual agency or practice. The style of this agency depends on the hexis, that is the deportment or manner through which people carry themselves and through which the habitus is embodied (Jenkins 1992).

The selection of Bourdieu's 'thinking tools,' as a theoretical perspective informed the selection of grounded theory for data analysis. This perspective is founded on the idea that reality of the social situation lies beyond what is observed on the surface. Grounded theory was an appropriate choice for this research. Firstly, this research was exploratory – to generate theory about how professionals respond to a policy change. Grounded theory closely mirrors the reality of a situation (Eisenhardt1989) and develops concepts and then theory, rather than just recording observation of situations encountered regularly (Locke 2001). Secondly, there was a need for more empirical studies because the field had been subject to a change, (Agranoff and McGuire 2001) leading to new theoretical explanations (Grbich 2007). Finally, it was also considered an appropriate choice as the research around this area is limited (Skeat and Perry 2008). A detailed approach to how grounded theory will be used for analysis is given in section 3.5.3.

### 2.6.3 Evaluation of Bourdieu's thinking tools

Bourdieu's thinking tools are based on subtantialism, a form of realism, as they are founded on the idea that reality of the social situation lies beyond what is observed on the surface. Practice is confirmed by an empirical approach, through direct observation so is a highly symbolic interpretation. Substantialism and empiricism are mutually exclusive forms of materialism This leads to a contradiction between the way evidence is obtained and the approach used to interpret it. Additionally, any explanation of the structure of relationships observed comes from the point of view of the observer which may be insufficient or unreliable. Whilst the reality to be explained is made up of the individuals and their interactions, the 'real reality' is different from empirical observations (Jenkins 1992).

A concern of using Bourdieu's habitus lies in the confusion regarding the tension between structuralism (understanding culture in terms of its relationship to a larger structure of interrelated systems) and determinism (human behaviours are the result of a particular cause and not free will) (Fowler 1997). The heart of this problem is that the habitus is the source of objective practices, but itself is a set of subjective principles which are produced by objective structures within a field (Gunter 2000). The scheme Bourdieu applies is essentially deterministic and circular. He states that the objective structures produce the culture which in turn determines practice, but that the practice produces the culture on which the structures are formed. This poses the difficulty of creating an explanation without utilising a deterministic understanding of society which allows no room for social action (Jenkins 1992). Bourdieu qualifies this by stating that there does not need to be a split between objective and subjective thinking. Through the link between agency (practice), capital and field (structure) the habitus becomes active in relation to a field, so can lead to different practice depending upon the state of the field and the type of capital and so it is not a deterministic concept (Reay 2004).

Due to this lack of clarity, there is not a precise definition of habitus or how it generates practice (Nash 2010). On one hand, this fits well with the complexities of the real world, but it does allow habitus to be changed to suit the data: it has become a cloudy idea which is hard to define consistently. Bourdieu says that habitus is

> *'not to be conceptualised so much as ideas, on that level, but as a method. The core of my work lies in the method and a way of thinking. To be more precise, my method is a manner of asking questions rather than just ideas'* (Bourdieu 1985 in Mahar 1990)

A great deal of educational research that uses habitus cites it as an entity, rather than putting it into practice as Bourdieu suggests (Reay 2004).

There is also a lack of clarity as to whether a field is a real, physically occurring category that agents are aware of, or a purely analytical concept. This must be clarified when considering the components of fields which are objectively defined positions occupied by agents. Using observation of the social world as the reality for study and analysis, creates a problem as social space is inhabited by only a limited range of phenomena – individuals, observable events and material things whilst other things remain ambiguous and uncertain (Grenfell and James 2004).

### 2.6.4 Conclusion

Using Bourdieu's thinking tools will enable analysis of the data in this research to investigate the internalised, mental perspective of those involved in the policy change. This will be achieved through studying the objective, empirical social reality by using practice and habitus and the institutions, organisations and their interaction which are linked to the arena of IAG in secondary schools using Bourdieu's field and capital. Whilst these ideas are highly charged epistemological constructs and there exists concerns regarding the tension this creates, these concepts enable the research to study individuals involved in the policy change.

## 2.7 Summary

This chapter has given an overview of the ways in which externally created and imposed policy change can lead to changes in the personal and professional identity of those responsible for its implementation. Current wider policy reform in the public sector have caused changes in the cultural, organisational and social experiences an individual has, resulting in a change in understanding of professionalism for some. Most of the literature presented here states that changing environment of experience causes personal and professional values to change over time resulting in the alteration of professional identity.

This literature review has shown that external policy is subject to interpretation by policy enactors within a context. The manner of implementation is dependent upon the context the policy is located in, and the personal and professional identity of those responsible for its achievement. Literature published regarding the process by which policy is implemented reveals contrasting theories such as mediation and diffusion. Studies of policy enactment identify a range of responses which are unified by the notion that personal and professional identity are crucial to its understanding. Such research utilises qualitative research methods to reveal these perceptions. This has contributed to my choice of a qualitative research methodology, drawing on a social constructivist perspective, underpinned by symbolic interactionism. These theoretical assumptions are discussed further in the Chapter Three.

# Chapter 3 Research design and methods

## 3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the research methods used and identifies the analytical approach selected for this research. These will be explained and their choice defended and evaluated. The chapter also outlines the epistemological position in which this research is situated. Factors considered when selecting the most suitable methodology included the purpose of the research, the availability of resources such as time and access to participants, the availability of supporting literature and researcher preferences and skills (Sogunro 2002).

## 3.2 Research methods

### 3.2.1 Pilot study

Prior to conducting the research, a pilot study was carried out. This small-scale version of the proposed larger study (Arain et al 2010) demonstrated the selected methods and procedures would work (Thabane et al 2010). Additionally, the pilot provided a grounding with the context of the research, developing an understanding more closely related to the experience of those in the study (Kezar 2000). The pilot was a crucial step in the research process and led to reconsideration of some aspects of the research (Beebe 2007).

### 3.2.2 Aims and intentions of the pilot study

Recommendations have been made regarding what constitutes a pilot study although there is no formal methodological guidance (Lancaster et al 2004). A pilot study must have well-defined aims and clearly defined success criteria. These provide the basis for determining the feasibility of the main study (Thabane et al 2010). The aims of this pilot study were grounded in the research questions of the main study. The specific aims of the pilot were:

1. *Evaluate the effectiveness of interviews as a means to collect data and its contribution to analysis from types of participants* (Lancaster et al 2004).
2. *Develop expertise in application of grounded theory to interview transcripts* (van Teijlingen et al 2001).
3. *Test the application of the theoretical framework to narratives of Careers Information, Advice and Guidance (CIAG) policy implementation* (Beebe 2007).

### 3.2.3 Pilot study sample

An internal pilot study was executed using a Careers Advisor (CA) and a school leader (SL) research as participants. These participants were also identified for the main in the pilot study. Arain et al (2010) and Lanphear (2001) both recommend internal pilots where data are combined with that from the main research, providing the same methods of analysis are used throughout.

### 3.2.4 Pilot study ethical approval

The pilot study received ethical approval (see Appendix 1 for pilot study proposal submitted as part of application for ethical approval). Informed consent was obtained easily through providing the participants with a research information sheet and requiring the signing of a consent form and the inclusion of a two day 'cooling off' period before conducting the interviews. Written consent was obtained more easily from the CA's line manager who sought further clarification of the nature of the sample and the aims of the research. The headteacher initially gave verbal consent directly to the SL participant. Throughout the pilot project no issues were identified that could have caused complications for the participants (Drake and Heath 2008).

### 3.2.5 Pilot study method

Question prompts were developed in response to the research questions to ensure the interviews would yield data which would address the research aims. Interviews lasted approximately 30 minutes and were carried out a time convenient to participants in their workplace. Interviews were recorded using a digital Dictaphone which were digitally uploaded using Sony Sound Organiser (v1.2).

Transcripts were analysed using a grounded theory approach (Bryant and Charmaz 2007). Focused coding identified and categorised actions, events, contexts, viewpoints and relationships. Axial coding then identified properties and relationships between categories, describing meaning, action and interaction (Giske and Artinian 2007), memos were prepared at each coding stage which recorded the implication of and clarification of conceptual ideas. Memos included a title, definition and concept development using Bourdieu's thinking tools. There exists tension between the need to understand grounded theory as an analytical approach and to find out about it practically through experience of interacting with data (Heath and Cowley 2004). Through the experience of the pilot, and along with many contemporary grounded theorists a Straussian approach was adopted (Walker and Myrick 2006).

### 3.2.6 Findings and reflection of the pilot study

Experience of conducting the initial interviews improved confidence in execution of interviews (Van Teijlingen and Hundley 2001) and familiarity with recording and transcription technology. This process also created a familiarity with the transcript content which facilitated subsequent analysis. Observation suggested participants appeared comfortable with the process and transcripts showed detailed response.

Subsequent interviews benefitted from developing interview techniques. For example, more focused participant answers resulted from shorter and less complex questions. Research supervision provided external validation and rigour to the development of interview techniques.

One aim of the pilot study was to evaluate the contribution of different types of participants. Although different degrees of response were recorded, both participants' contribution provided rich research data and indicated different perspectives on issues. As a result, both types of participant continued to be sampled.

In addition to collecting interview data, the original proposal included textual analysis of school policy documents relating to CIAG. Such documents had not been updated to reflect the policy change at the time of sampling so were excluded as a data source.

Initial memos readily lead to identification of practice, field and capital. Habitus took longer to emerge as it was often implied or constructed from the way things were said or what was not said. Bourdieu's conceptualisations clearly demonstrated the potential to develop understanding of the response to the policy change. Analysis did identify occasional conflicting responses by participants. The complexity of differences of human experiences reveals multiple truths, and should be expected from the perspective of symbolic interactionism (Licqurish and Seibold 2011). This led to an expectation that alternative interpretations of systems and organisations were likely to emerge as the number of participants increased during the main research.

Critical reflection on the pilot study suggested that progressing to larger scale research was realistic, acting upon the modifications discussed (Thabane et al 2010). Although there is a possibility that other problems may emerge once research is scaled-up (Van Teijlingen and Hundley 2001), the pilot increased confidence in the purpose and process of the research.

## 3.3 Target population and sampling for main study

### 3.3.1 Target population

The dataset reflected that the research was based within a district of secondary schools in the West Midlands. This district was selected based on professional contacts that would facilitate

successful participant recruitment. The professional experience of having previously worked in the district led to an understanding of its context which aided analysis. However, such analysis will not be completely neutral, influenced by both a personal and political perspective.

The population for this study were those involved in the development or delivery of CIAG within the five secondary schools within this district. Their professional involvement in this field meant they were likely to be affected in some way by the policy change. Up to fifteen professionals were estimated to be directly involved in CIAG, although more were likely to be involved in more minor roles.

### 3.3.2 Sample

The initial sample identified five school SLs with the responsibility for CIAG and the CAs who worked within the secondary schools in the district. Participants were recruited by making direct contact with headteachers and the district's senior careers leader. Five CAs were successfully recruited. Consent from three schools was obtained, two expressing high workload as a reason for not participating. Four SL interviews were conducted because there was shared responsibility for CIAG between two SLs at one school. Figure One provides a brief profile of the participants in this research.

### 3.3.3 Data sufficiency

Grounded theory analysis is flexible and iterative, relying on simultaneous data collection and analysis (Kylmä et al 1999, Bitsch 2005). Emerging theories informs the selection of further participants. Consequently, a second, sample was to be informed by on-going analysis and emerging theories, for example, follow-up interviews with initial participants or recruitment of others involved in CIAG. During the research process, a decision was made (Elliott and Lazenbatt 2004) that the selection and recruitment of further participants was not required. Termed the saturation or sufficiency point, this is conceptually vague and hard to operationalise in research (Charmaz 2000, Sudaby 2006) but is described as occurring when:

**Figure One: Profile of Participants in Research**

| Participant Identifier | Associated School | Permission to Quote | Participant Profile |
|---|---|---|---|
| SLT1 | School1 | Yes | Responsibility for post-16 provision. Responsible for CIAG for three and a half years and member of senior team for a year and a half. |
| SLT2a | School2 | Yes | Overview of CIAG through responsibility as curriculum leader in school shared with another senior colleague (SLT2b). Recruited to this school for current post. |
| SLT2b | School2 | Yes | Direct operational responsibility for CIAG on collaboration with SLT2a regarding impact of CIAG on curriculum design. Main responsibilities also include pupil achievement, and reporting. Internal promotion to SL in school and in current post for four years. |
| SLT5 | School5 | Yes | Overview of CIAG as part of curriculum lead in school. In post 11 years, although some minor changes to overall role. |
| CA1 | School1 | Yes | Worked in CIAG for approximately 28 years in local area. Has moved between organisations, depending on the structure of careers provision at different career stages. One employer enabled full-time secondment to complete postgraduate qualification in careers. Long-term and well-established relationship with School1 but completes some work in other district schools through being a specialist in post-19 CIAG. |
| CA2 | School2 | No | Formerly working in further education CIAG. Schools CIAG for 14 years, most at School2. Move triggered by reorganisation of further education sector and instability in post. Completed required training at point of moving into secondary sector. Very recently completed additional qualification at a higher level, now required for role. |
| CA3 | School3 | No | Has been a CA for 13 years following a career as a training provider and additional postgraduate study. Worked within a neighbouring district until recently, and has provided CIAG at School3 for one year. |
| CA4 | School4 | No | Qualified through graduate route and worked within the Local Authority for 14 years following a private sector career. Having worked in different districts, spent two years at School4 before working in School3 and School5 and in post-16 CIAG across the district. Following restructuring of careers, retuned to School4 for the last four years. |
| CA5 | School5 | Yes | Employed directly by School5, for one year in a newly created post. Previously employed by same organisation as CA1, 2, 3 and 4 and worked in a range of different schools, including and most recently in School5. Previous careers within public sector. |

*'no new properties of the pattern emerge. This yields the conceptual density that when integrated into hypotheses make up the body of the generated grounded theory with theoretical completeness.'* (Glaser 2001, p91).

Theoretical saturation is often stated rather than proved (Morse 1995) and is often wrongly identified (Carlsen and Glenton 2011). Dey's (1999) suggestion of theoretical saturation is an idea used by some grounded theorists (McCreaddie and Wiggins 2009). It reflects that as theoretical categories are suggested by researchers rather than saturated by data a point of theoretical sufficiency is achieved. The decision to cease collecting further data required theoretical sensitivity, the ability to pick up on relevant issues and happenings in the data and identify that sufficient data has been collected to respond to the stated research questions. This was enhanced by professional experience and understanding of the context of the schools in this district (Corbin and Strauss 2008).

**3.4 Data collection: interviews**

The selection of interviewing as the main method of data collection was informed by the research questions, theoretical framework and method of analysis (Skoldaridis 2009). Interviews provided the opportunity to explore topics relevant to the research (Holstein and Gubrium 2003). Interviewing is well reconciled to a grounded theory approach, as both are open-ended but directional. They allow exploration of the insight of participants and their subjective view of the world.

Interviews were semi-structured, starting with a guide of questions (see Appendix 2) developed in response to the research questions but were ultimately shaped by participants' responses (Corbin and Morse 2003). Guide questions ensured key areas were covered and that the interviews would yield data which addressed research aims (Whyte 1982) and allowed additional questioning to explore participants' responses. Interviews established the

interviewee's background, important when determining habitus as dispositions are formed by previous experiences (Reay 2004). The focus then moved to current CIAG policy implementation and perspectives regarding the policy change. A final focus asked participants to reflect on the meaning of their experiences (Skolaridis 2009). Examples of how participant responses shaped further questions are demonstrated in Appendix 3.

Interviews were carried out a time convenient to participants in their workplace. Interviews were digitally recorded using a digital Dictaphone and brief notes made for clarification. As per the pilot, recordings were uploaded to a computer using Sony Sound Organiser (v1.2) and then manually transcribed (see Appendix 3 for example). A field journal was kept, recording initial impressions, observations and ideas of themes emerging from the interviews and used to evaluate and refine the interview process (see Appendix 4 for example).

## 3.5 Data analysis: employing a grounded theory approach

### 3.5.1 Grounded theory as an analytical approach

A grounded theory approach was adopted for this research. Grounded theory explains:

> *'how social circumstances could account for the interactions, behaviours and experiences of the people being studied'* (Benoliel 1996, p 413)

Grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967) provides systematic strategies for qualitative research which surpasses the usual quantitative-qualitative binary (Scott and Usher 1999). It generates substantive mid-range theories that address enclosed problems in specific areas (Suddaby 2006). However, the approach can generate and specify relationships between different concepts, so can develop more formal theory (Bryman 2008).

This research uses a postmodernist and post constructivist grounded theory approach. This places an emphasis on meaning over searching for a positivistic objective reality (Charmaz 2000).

It has developed from Straussian grounded theory, which emphasises technical rather than comparative methods (Corbin and Strauss 1990, Holloway and Wheeler 2002). Whilst having clearer guidelines for data analysis (Heath and Cowley 2004), it is criticised for causing the development of background assumptions and certain perspectives, that forces data into predetermined categories. Although perceived as being 'messy' due to occupation of a middle ground between different epistemological traditions (Parkhe 1993), this is countered by the importance of research design to ensure the relationship between epistemology and methodology is maintained.

This approach allowed explanation of how practitioners in a field responded to a policy change in practice. It developed theory established in data collected from participants based on their experiences, grounded in their practice, sensitive to their context and representing the complexities of their experiences (Barnett 2012).

Other approaches to data analysis were rejected. Action research was considered as an approach appropriate for researchers who are also practitioners. However, action research was discounted given this approach is more appropriate to obtain knowledge that can be applied directly to a particular situation and is considered to be non-generalisable and limited to the conditions under which it was conducted (Jones 2009, Merriam and Simpson, 2000). An action research approach would thus not meet the epistemological and ontological aims of this research to produce theories that provide a basis for a shared understanding of the world (Corbin and Strauss 2008). Case studies were dismissed as impractical for the analysis of interview transcripts from a relatively large number of participants identified within the research, although their use would have provided rich detail about practitioners (Stake 2005) in order to answer the research questions posed. An ethnographic approach was considered as an option due to aspects of the posed research questions that sought information on practitioners in their usual work context. Although the level of detail and focus on setting made this approach attractive, it would not have fully answered other aspects of the research questions.

### 3.5.2 Evaluation of grounded theory

Evaluation of the methodological rigour of grounded theory (Murphy et al 1998, Glaser and Holton, 2004, Elliott and Lazenbatt 2004), focuses on how research quality can be assured (Becker 1993, Benoliel 1996). In justifying its use, it is important to identify and understand how essential components of grounded theory, such as theoretical sampling and memoing, impact on research quality. The methodological and interpretive aspects of grounded theory should be considered to fully evaluate its suitability for this research.

One criticism of grounded theory studies is that they are not 'real' research, labelling them unsystematic, impressionistic or exploratory. The suggestion assumes that the approach relies on the researcher's subjective views about what is important. This is countered to some extent in this research through systematic processes including sampling and coding (Bryman 2008). Secondly, a positivistic concern is that research would be difficult to replicate due to its unstructured nature. Provision of rich contextual description enables similar future work. Thirdly, the assessment that grounded theory is restrictive due to small sample size is qualified by its use to develop rather than the test theory: data collected in this research are generalised to theory rather than to populations. Finally, any lack of methodical transparency regarding such as selection of participants is addressed through the systematic coding and memoing steps of grounded theory that is presented in this thesis.

A focus on interpretive rigour also ensures the robustness of grounded theory research. Other forms of qualitative analysis use respondent validation to check accuracy (Seale 1999). Grounded theory does not require this due to constant comparative analysis. As sampling progresses, findings are checked against the experiences of other participants to see if they hold as new data are collected. An emphasis on providing category density by providing detail of properties and dimensions will also improve interpretive rigour (Corbin and Strauss 2008).

### 3.5.3 Using grounded theory

#### *3.5.3.1 Formulating codes*

Following transcription of interviews, a range of analytic techniques were used to code the data. This used a creative approach to analyse the data and build an explanation, and a systematic approach to aid concept development and validation against other data (Patton 1990). Coding summarised and accounted for data and illustrated actions, events, contexts and viewpoints, and implied relationships. A three-stage framework of initial, focused and theoretical coding was adopted, following Charmaz's (2006) recommendations.

Initial coding identified the meaning of line-by-line data, including what they suggested and whose perspective they were from. At this stage, the theoretical perspective was not utilised, to minimise the influence of any preconceptions and maintain an openness to the meaning of the data, although a professional familiarity with the context was of benefit (Backman and Kyngäs 1999). Initial codes were provisional, comparative and grounded in data. They remained open to alternative analytical possibilities following subsequent interviews. Initial coding maintained an objective perspective and resulted in interpretation that differs from that of the participants. For example, during the interview, CA stated:

> *'Well, I think there's been a change because I was a Careers Adviser, then I became a Personal Adviser, and when I was a Personal Adviser I was meant to be more of a Youth Worker cum Social Worker, so I think at that point a lot of Careers Advisers said that their skills and careers knowledge disappeared quite alarmingly …' (CA1, 252-260)*

Three initial codes were identified: comparison of CA to Personal Adviser, identification of wider aspects of the Personal Adviser role and suggesting a demise in professional skills (Appendix 5 provides full example).

Focused codes conceptually summarised and classified larger sections of data. Focused codes were summarised conceptually by name. Frequently occurring focused codes were identified as

important to the research questions. This step was non-linear, as at times emerging concepts required data to be revisited and initial codes reclassified as understanding developed (Barnett 2012). The result was more direct, selected and conceptualised codes. From the above example, the focused code identified was 'describing professional status of CAs.'

Concepts were specified by theoretical or axial coding which involved integrating identified concepts and building more detail of the concept around the axis of the categories identified. Strauss and Corbin's (1998b) systematic approach of considering the situation or circumstances that led to the concept arising, participant actions or response and subsequent consequences was adopted. This provided a framework to explore the 'where, when, why, who, how,' of categories. A coherence of emerging concepts resulted, reassembling data fractured by open coding. The axial code derived from the example given above is illustrated below.

**Figure Two: Example of an axial code**

| **Describing professional status of CAs** | |
|---|---|
| **Condition** | • Removal of need for an academic qualification for CA |
| **Action** | • CA role became broader and less well determined<br>• Change in emphasis identifying those at risk from not following one of set pathways |
| **Consequence** | • Loss of professional identity for CA<br>• Perception that careers guidance role does not require academic qualification or specially trained personnel |

During interviews, participants used symbolic markers or *in vivo* codes, terms with special meaning. *In vivo* codes condense meanings of widely used terms, and reflect participant perspectives (Charmaz 2006). Additional questioning was used to clarify meaning. Identification of *in vivo* codes allowed their deeper exploration and integration into developing categories.

*3.5.3.2 Preparing memos*

Memos were used to discover and elaborate the concepts and themes identified by theoretical codes for each participant prior to conducting the subsequent interview. (see Appendix 6a for example). This enabled developing ideas to be clarified or investigated in questions posed to

other participants. Also additional questions could be developed in response to areas of proposed analysis that were not forthcoming. Critical analysis of emergent categories resulted in their dissolution and reconstitution on several occasions. Memos recorded and supported clarification of any conceptual ideas that arose and raised codes to a conceptual level to support subsequent theory development.

Memos started each with a title derived from the axial codes used and included comparisons between data, codes and concepts. Quotes were included to bring raw data into them and illustrate participants' points. Memos prepared were informal and personal, creating records of provisional thoughts and ideas for personal use rather than to communicate to others. These initial memos enabled category definition development and moved beyond a description of codes into their analysis.

Next, memos were compared between participants to identify and define emergent patterns. Thematic memos (see Appendix 6b for examples) were created that acknowledged similarities and links and recognised differences between concepts, assisting the development and description of distinct categories. To facilitate thematic memoing, summaries were created for each participant and common ones grouped together. This stage increased depth and sharpened the focus of emerging categories. Appendix 6c provides an example of some of the thematic memos and identified contributing axial memos. When thematic memos no longer revealed new categories data collection ceased.

*3.5.3.3 Visual representation of concepts*

During coding and memoing, many concepts were identified, sometimes using different terms for similar ones. A visual and non-linear understanding of the emerging analysis was helpful to the development of thematic memos. Charmaz's (2006) description of clustering, an exercise in memo prewriting, was adapted to support the thematic memoing (see Appendix 7 for example). This involved defining and linking the properties of a theoretical category with circles and lines

to demonstrate relative importance and associations. Sub-clusters of related material were created for each property and the process repeated until all codes and relationships exhausted. Like concept mapping (Clarke 2003), clusters generated a visual representation of how different aspects of the emerging ideas for categories fitted together. The process also illustrated ambiguity when categories didn't fit together, prompting revision by moving properties and clusters around. Cluster diagrams, supported thematic memoing through visualisation of a categories' structure and content.

*3.5.3.4 Sorting, diagraming and integrating theoretical memos*

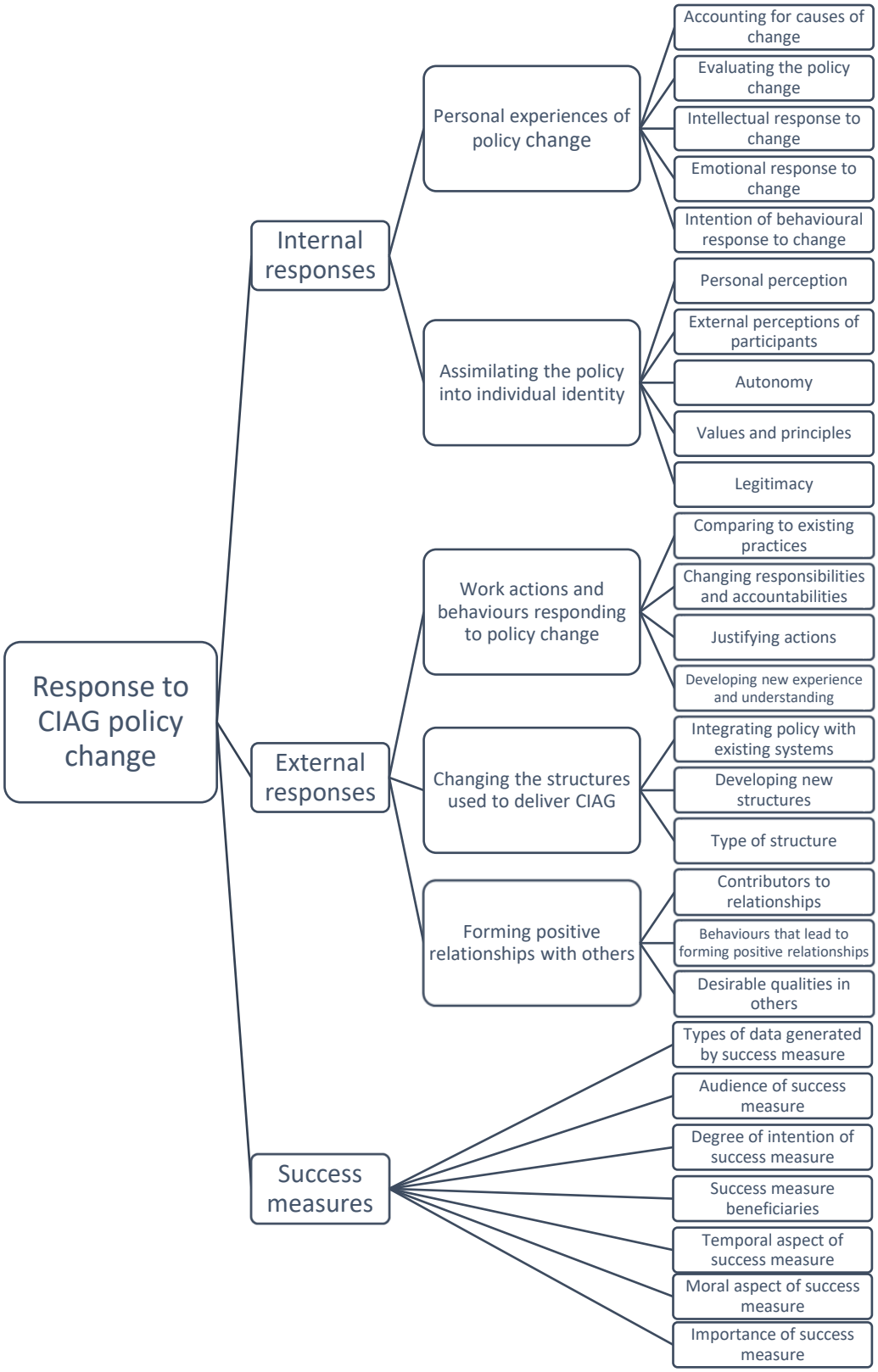
Fourteen tentative categories were then sorted and compared logically at an abstract level by theoretical sorting. Diagrams created concrete images of relationships between the fourteen categories, revealing their relative influence, coverage and direction (Clarke 2003).

As categories became integrated, six themes emerged (see Appendix 8) which were further distilled into three distinct conceptual categories (see Appendix 9) which are presented in subsequent chapters. These categories subsumed the descriptions of the fourteen previous categories and remained consistent with the initial data and axial codes from which they were derived, identified as dimensions of the conceptual categories. The final classification of dimensions is presented in Figure Three.

*3.5.3.5 Presentation of analysis*

The following three chapters present the categories and their dimensions identified and defined from the research. Relevant theory underpinning the initial research questions, and Bourdieu's thinking tools were drawn upon. Categories are presented with examples from texts, where participants gave permission for their interviews to be used in quotes. Where this was not the case, examples to illustrate the dimension are described. Each category is presented as a diagram at the start of the chapter to provide a visual representation of the relationships between dimensions.

**Figure Three: Final classification of dimensions**



## 3.6 Ethical considerations

Ethics strive to ensure that human rights are protected during research. Ethics are a set of moral principles and rules of conduct (Morrow and Richards 1996) concerned with the norms and standards of individual and social behaviour (Butler 2002). Ethics frameworks provide the scope for personal ethical choices to be made by the researcher (Plummer 1983). The ethics of the entire research process were considered as concerns may have arisen at any stage, including gaining consent, during contact with participants, and how the research findings are applied.

The key ethical consideration was being able to gain informed consent from participants and their gatekeepers. Informed consent is explicit agreement to participate in research based on full disclosure of relevant information, grounded in the principles of autonomy and trust between participant and researcher (Kylmä et al 1999). Care was taken to not make assumptions regarding completeness of information provided, which was itself socially constructed and could have produced bias regarding agreement to and the context in which participants contribute (David et al 2001).

Consent was sought from the headteacher or line manager by email contact (Appendix 10) using a Keele University email account, and a mobile telephone number identified specifically for the purposes of this research. Headteachers were also informed that the CAs in school were also being invited to participate in the research. Relevant information regarding the study was provided on an information sheet (Appendix 11). Any refusal by these gatekeepers to the initial request resulted in provision of further information and reassurances regarding their concerns to reverse the decision. Once permission had been obtained, prospective participants were contacted in a similar manner (Appendix 12). They were informed that permission had already been sought and granted from their headteacher or line manager. Participants read and signed a consent form to provide informed consent, and were reassured that there was no compulsion to participate based on gatekeepers' permission to contact them (Appendix 13). Participants

were also reminded of their right to withdraw at any stage of the process (Soklaridis 2009) and given the opportunity to receive a summary of the main findings of the research upon its completion.

The inductive nature of grounded theory and collaboration with participants required continuous ethical consideration. Interviews required sensitivity and good communication skills. The research aims and questions provided a guide for interviews, but participants were left to define the problem and explain their perceptions without too much direction (Kylmä et al 1999).

A further ethical consideration was the obligation to accurately describe participant experiences. Using participant quotes allowed open and accurate publication of research findings. Participants agreeing to the use of quotes from the transcripts of the interviews signed a second consent form (Appendix 14). Although anonymised for publication, a relatively small number of participants and their location within the same district of schools introduced the possibility of their identification. This small risk was highlighted to participants in the information sheet and consent form.

Correspondence with gatekeepers and participants was stored securely in electronic files separate from interview transcripts. All reference to participants and their organisations was anonymised to maintain the confidentiality of participants.

Ethical approval was sought from the Ethical Review Panel (ERP) at Keele University, who assessed the ethical acceptability of the research. The approval from this panel can be found in Appendix 15.

### 3.7 Epistemological Assumptions

Given the multi-paradigm nature of sociology (Neuman 2003), epistemological considerations influence the way evidence is collected and provide justification for the legitimacy of the type of knowledge produced. Such considerations both effect and are informed by the research

questions posed and influence the way the validity of the research is judged (Scott and Usher 1999). Thus, it is important to identify and justify the assumptions used in this research.

Epistemologically, this research is interpretivist as data was generated and meaning developed from the social interactions and the communication and understanding of sociocultural symbols that arose from the social situation under scrutiny and explored through participant perceptions (Licqurish and Seibold 2011). This knowledge was then used as the basis for more abstract interpretation and theory development by applying a grounded theory approach (Corbin and Strauss 2008). There is an inductive relationship between the research and theory: the research gives rise to the theory (Bryman 2008). The research is underpinned by a subjectivist ontological approach as the knowledge developed is descriptive, conveying ideas about things using day to day vocabulary including purpose, meanings and actions.

It is important to clearly identify the epistemological and ontological stance of the version of grounded theory adopted otherwise uncertainty could result in the adoption of an uncertain form of grounded theory (Cutcliffe 2004). This research adopts a constructivist grounded theory approach (Charmaz 2003, Charmaz 2006). It is underpinned by symbolic interactionism and suggests that meaning is created as individuals interact and interpret with objects rather than existing passively within them, waiting to be discovered. The identification and employment of a constructivist grounded theory approach in this research does not suggest its superiority to other versions, only its suitability to this research.

Constructivist grounded theory has been described as epistemologically subjective and ontologically relativist (Mills et al 2006). Adopting a relativist position assumes an interpretation rather than an objective view of reality through the interpretative role played in the co-construction of knowledge by researcher and participant (Lomborg and Kirkevold 2003) through interactive processes such as interviewing and communicating (Nagy Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2008).

The social constructivist perspective applied in this research was influenced by symbolic interactionism, an approach that focuses on the meaning of human interactions (Sbaraini et al 2011). Symbolic interactionism assumes that human beings constantly construct and reconstruct an understanding of reality based on their interactions with it. It relies on three principles: human action occurs based on meanings that things have for them; social interaction gives rise to the meaning of things; meanings are adapted as people deal with the things they encounter (Blumer 1986). The theories developed using this epistemological and ontological perspective may not mirror the reality of the world, as they present a relative view. They do provide the basis for discourse and shared, interpretive understanding (Corbin and Strauss 2008).

The epistemological assumptions outlined here are reflected in the research aim and questions. The research questions posed enable analysis of participants' identification and description of factors that determine policy enactment and its impact on perceptions of professional identity. Subsequent analysis and conclusions are thus founded on participants' subjective view and interpretation of these factors. Adoption of a constructivist grounded theory approach allows researcher and participant to jointly construct knowledge, as described by Lomborg and Kirkevold (2003). For example, the research questions allow researcher identification and interpretation of success measures and changes in language around CIAG that are described by participants.

### 3.8 Ensuring rigour in qualitative research

It is important to establish that a rigorous methodology is used. A positivist perspective can be used to criticise a lack of rigour in qualitative research (Morse 2006). As such criteria favour the epistemological positivist tradition that created them, alternative criteria are required to assess

the rigour of qualitative research (Hasson and Keeney 2011). Rigorous qualitative research can be assured through ensuring its trustworthiness through credibility, consistency and neutrality.

Credibility requires research to establish how participants experience or perceive things (Ryan-Nicholls and Will 2009). Semi-structured interviews, enable participants' self-reporting, reflecting the importance of their voices in the debate regarding impact of government imposed educational policy reforms (Day 2002). Although a constant approach was adopted in interviews, participants' responses were different, altering each interview. It was difficult to determine to what extent interactions during interviews affected credibility, but adoption of a reflexive approach after each interview increased the research's credibility (Darawsheh 2014).

Consistency relates to the data's stability which is reliant upon procedural replication within data collection. In a sense, this refers to data collection methods not influencing participants so that which is observed results from participant experience rather than the method of data collection (Ryan-Nicholls and Will 2009). This is difficult to achieve – even the location of interviews in the work-places of the participants influences discussion (Crang 2002). Transcription of interviews in the pilot identified use of 'receipt tokens' (Sarangi 2003, p75), which could have affected participants' responses and were reduced in subsequent interviews. Participant awareness of the research process causes behavioural change, potentially obscuring the effect of the research through the Hawthorne effect (Al-Yateem 2012).

Rigour in research is also established through neutrality which requires objectivity in quantitative studies. Occupying a position within the population identified for the research and as an insider-outsider researcher creates a challenge to exclude identity and professional practice from analysis and remain objective. Practitioner-research is influenced by embedded assumptions, but these usually have a theoretical basis (Gustafsson et al 2007). To prevent neutrality being affected by *a priori* assumptions regarding the research questions, literature review was completed following commencement of data analysis, although presented before

analysis in this thesis. This is justified by it being impossible to know prior to the investigation what concepts will result from the data analysis (Corbin and Strauss 2008).

Acknowledgement that personal context could have caused too much influence on data analysis was countered by maintaining an openness to any challenges made to assumptions. In addition, an attempt was made to 'bracket' pre-existing knowledge and approach the data acknowledging preconceptions (Backman and Kyngäs 1999). Clarity of how practitioner-researcher context affected data collection and interpretation was established (Court and Abbas 2013) through reflecting the link between professional position and the research (Gallais 2008) presented in Chapter One.

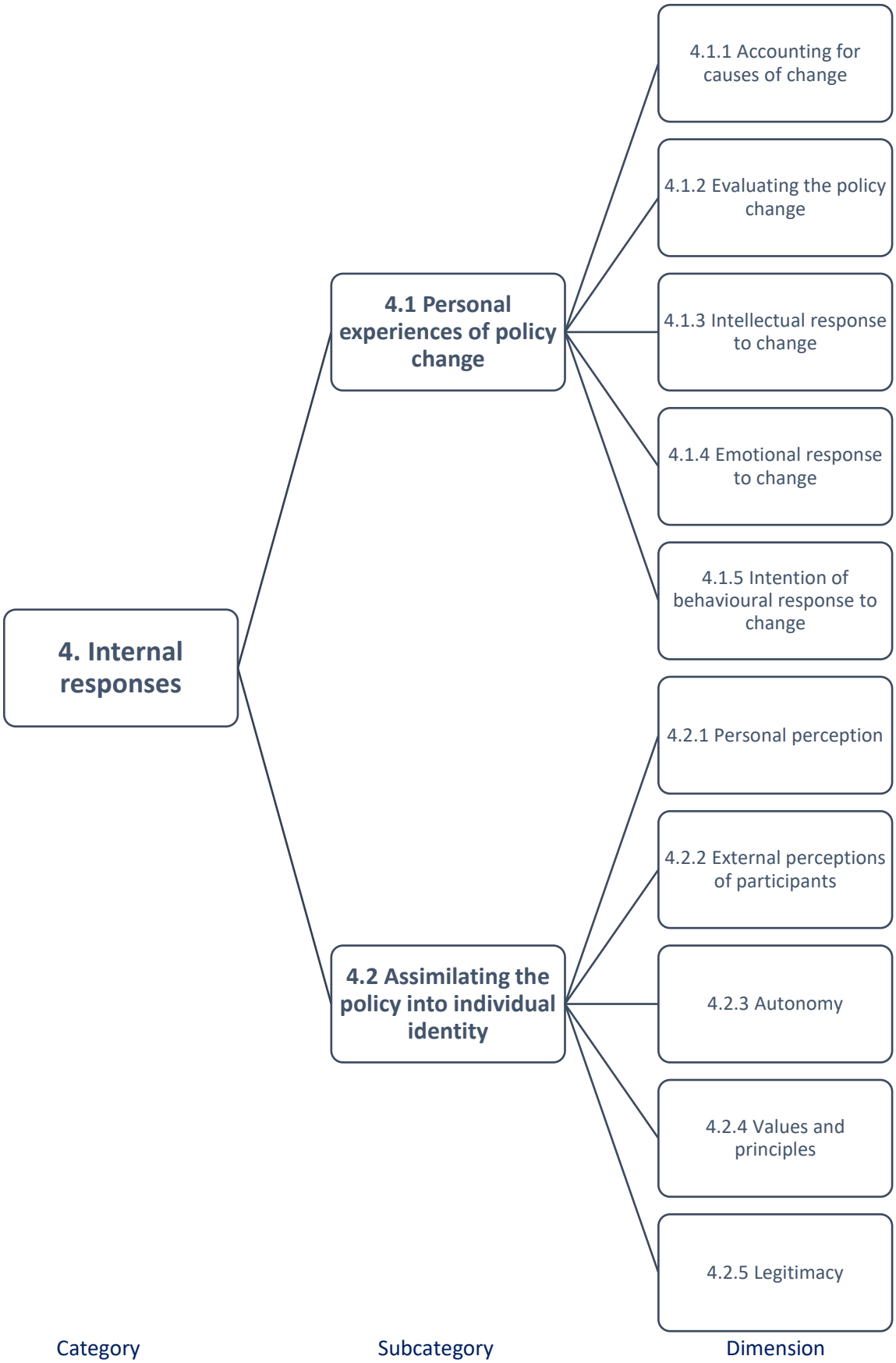
A final measure of rigour considers the degree of transferability of research findings in other contexts (Ryan-Nicholls and Will 2009). Adoption of a postmodernist and poststructuralist grounded theory approach supports the idea that knowledge is based on perspective (Lomborg and Kirkevold 2003). The research outcomes reflects researcher perception and context so preserves the experiences of the research process rather their application to different situations (Charmaz 2000).

## Chapter 4 Findings: Internal responses category

Chapters Four, Five and Six each present and discuss one of the three categories identified by this research. This chapter presents participants' personal or internal responses to policy implementation. It includes participants' descriptions of responses, explanations, justifications and reasons. There is a temporal aspect to this category. Data were collected at a time soon after the policy was introduced, so responses were to recent and current experiences. Data are presented in two subcategories: firstly, participants' personal experiences and secondly, how these are assimilated into participants' identity. Each subcategory consists of several dimensions, identified and presented separately. The category is illustrated in Figure Four.

Chapter Two explored existing literature regarding how educational professionals are subject to public service reorganisation (Hargreaves 1994) following wide-ranging neo-liberal reforms (Donath and Milos 2009). The findings presented in this chapter show that participants' professional identity was affected positively and negatively (Buchanan and Dawson 2007) by an awareness of the political context of the policy reform (Sachs 2000, Datnow et al 2002). Interaction between senior leader (SL) participants' educational philosophy and values (Kelchtermans and Vandenberghe 1994) played an important part in their understanding and enactment of the reform (Webb and Vuliamy 1996). The research supports Helsby's research (1999) that teachers often return to principles focused around pupils when subject to numerous policy reforms. Previous modification of Careers Advisers' (CAs') roles and purpose and historical changes to the purpose of school CIAG featured strongly in their internal responses (Artaraz 2006, Day et al 2007). This included changes in their professional identity when part of the wider remit of the Connexions Service (Reid and West 2011a).

**Figure Four: Internal responses category**



### 4.1 Subcategory: Personal experiences of policy change

4.1.1 Dimension: Accounting for causes of change

The first dimension consists of participants' analysis, reflection and explanation of their change experience. All participants attributed the policy change to two main change agents they identified within the field. Firstly, they identified a political mandate from central Government, included in the Education Act 2011, (DfE 2011c). Although participants clearly identified this origin of the policy, there was some difference in its interpretation. For example, CA1 stated:

> *'… it has always been difficult to actually know what the Government truly want for IAG and careers guidance to be in schools, to be perfectly honest.' (CA1, 97-100)*

Participants' second identified driver of change was placing this policy in the wider context of other current or recent changes in careers information, advice and guidance (CIAG). This was identified more by CAs than school leaders (SLs), as these wider changes had more direct impact on CA's habitus which had responded to structural changes in working practices. For example, CA1 reflects positively on the narrowing in emphasis from providing a range of services to a more focused careers provision following previous structures where CAs worked with different professional groups including social workers and youth workers (Oliver 2004, 2008):

> *'I have always resisted becoming a Personal Adviser, but after Connexions disappeared, and we were taken, I think it was 2012, we were renamed CAs again, that we have gone back into the flavour of just focusing in careers guidance.' (CA1, 282-288)*

These perceptions correspond to published research that describes how many similar policy modifications (Donath and Milos 2009) impact on public service working patterns and objectives (Hargreaves 1994). Datnow et al (2002) and Sachs (2000) report a shift in both the perception and understanding of professional status and the experiences of those impacted by the change.

An additional source of the policy change within the field identified by some participants was local authority transfer of careers services into not-for-profit organisations (Oliver and Percy-Smith 2014):

> *'… but we have bought into careers advice, really from the same provider, although the name has changed three or four different times – now to Entrust.' (SLT2a, 50-53)*

Participants' accounts, particularly CAs, often responded to the wider context of reform of public services that the CIAG mandate formed a part. CAs recalled working for the school careers service prior to being integrated into a wider professional group as part of the Connexions Service. They experienced restructuring and their roles moving towards supporting individuals to overcome barriers to accessing education or training rather than provision of a universal service (Artaraz 2006, Oliver 2004, 2008). CA1 provided a detailed account of the changing configurations of the careers service and illustrated this in the quotation below:

> *'That was my first job and then we went through a period when we left [County Council] and became [Company Name] which was a government funded private company, from [Company Name] we became Connexions…' (CA1, 12-17)*

CAs experienced further change when Connexions was disbanded and they become local authority employees (Lewin and Colley 2011). They then moved to be employed by a joint venture company, Entrust. This is a private company which was created between the local authority and Serco (Staffordshire 2013). This resulted in changes to conditions of employment, concerns over job safety and further changed to the purpose and aims of their role. In this quote, CA5 notes and highlights the link between the structural changes and wider reforms:

*'… when we changed from Connexions … I noticed because we had become privatised, there was even a change in expectations … I didn't always feel I had got the time to put into that young person as much as I had when I worked for Connexions' (CA5, 362-366)*

The county council's response was to structurally alter public service provision, further reinforcing the development of a quasi-market place and focus on economic targets.

Participants identified some aspects of the CIAG policy change field through identification of the causes of the policy change. Participants associate differing degrees of capital with change agents. They identified that the government was the most powerful as orchestrators of this and other public policy reform. CAs also identified their new employer, Entrust, as a cause of change. Their concerns regarding redundancy or potential significant change in their professional roles attributed power to their employer. SLs placed less importance on Entrust, within the field than CAs as these employment issues did not affect them. This illustrates the uniqueness of an individual's response to a social situation due to the influence of previous experiences. CAs identified that the demise of Connexions meant that other professionals including youth and social workers no longer contributed to careers provision. Consequently, the reformed careers service was more reconciled with CA's expectations and identity, although the historical changes and disruption CAs experienced leads to a lack of clarity regarding their roles (Lewin and Colley 2011). Identification of the components of the field were important in understanding participants' context which impacts their emotional and intellectual responses. These are explored in the second subcategory in this chapter.

Like CAs, SLs also formed links between their experience of this and other policy changes that impacted on wider aspects of their roles. For example, SLT5 linked CIAG to the curriculum provision and ensuring cross-curricular themes are covered:

*'… if you are going to teach something, and you are going to teach it well, you are going to have it on the timetable …' (SLT5, 108-109).*

CA5 was uniquely placed as she was employed directly by a school, rather than providing a commissioned service from a company. She identified how careers work had been combined with other school responsibilities to create her role:

*'… he was head of Humanities, PSHE and Citizenship and the careers coordinator, obviously, he hadn't got so much … careers responsibility as I have …' (CA5, 170-171)*

SLs concerns were focused on time constraints to respond and embed the large number of changes they were experiencing. This contrasted with CAs who expressed concerns regarding role and employment status. Day et al (2007) suggests that experience of policy change is affected by the context of reforms and the historical implementation of other policy changes. This was mirrored by participants in this study.

4.1.2 Dimension: Evaluating the policy change

This dimension arises from participants' comparisons and evaluation of their previous and current context regarding the policy directive. The types of comparison and evaluation made were common between participants.

Evaluation of intended changes and how they are responded to and implemented is crucial to the process of making sense of a policy change (Madon et al 1997). For example, CA4 identified reduced job satisfaction caused by decreased control of her working day. Participants' identification of positive and negative aspects is an important stage in engaging and processing policy change (Thomas and Hardy 2011). Better engagement results in more successful policy translation into practice. Ford et al (2008) suggests that resistance responses arise from a

combination of participants' evaluation of change along with their context and current behaviour.

Participants evaluated how the policy change impacted directly on their working context. CA5 considers the changing role of CAs:

> *'… he hadn't go so much … careers responsibility as I have, so it would probably but my staff who have been affected the most as their roles and responsibilities have changed…' (CA5, 171-173)*

CAs also considered changes to their daily routine. CA2 identified less time being available to support young people's actions to secure transition, such as attending interviews. CA3 recognised new arrangements had a lower profile and branding than Connexions, resulting in little use of a drop-in service which previously had been oversubscribed.

Participants also considered how school financial arrangements could adversely impact CIAG. SLT2a comments on this, and the changed relationship between schools and CIAG:

> *'I think the Government needs to be mindful that they have put schools into a very competitive position and with funding cuts and so on, it is not particularly helpful, with shrinking budgets the idea that schools will provide internal, well external careers advice but funded internally is difficult.' (SLT2a, 322-330)*

Other evaluation identified where previous structures were missing or remained unresolved. SLT2a illustrated this when considering who would be responsible for tracking pupils at transition:

*'What still puzzles me a bit is what is going to happen in the coming year in that we are going to have to notify pupils who leave, who are in the Sixth Form for example, who leave us, well what is going to happen to those pupils?' (SLT2a 406-412)*

Participants also evaluated how they anticipated the policy change would impact on pupil outcomes. For example, SLT2a identified possible effect on pupils' subject combinations, balancing Government school performance indicators and pupils' best interests:

*'… how are we going to encourage pupils to go on, or may choose not to go on, to a career in arts, in music, because they feel that they should be doing EBac subjects – we don't make them do the EBac and I think, frankly, for some pupils, it's just writing a contract for boredom. I think it's really depressing and that some subjects won't be included …' (SLT2a, 443-452)*

SLT2a's evaluation leads to justification of her intentions and responses, which are described in Chapter Five.

Finally, this dimension includes participants' evaluation of the responses made by other individuals and organisations. Research identifies such evaluation occurs most frequently when the response of others does not live up to expectations (Scott and Lyman 1968). For example, CAs compared their current job title and remit to their previous title of Personal Adviser and the expectation that this role entailed. They judged favourably a return to a more focused role which matched more closely their perceptions and expectations. This change illustrated changes in language arising from this policy change. This agrees with Artaraz (2006) who describes a positive response by careers professionals in returning to a more professional-based role. CA's status had been previously undermined by sharing a job title and role with other professions. CAs valued the increased symbolic capital of the requirement of a professional qualification. For SLs, requirement for CAs to have a professional qualification had emerged as a recent addition

to the field. CAs demonstrated their awareness of the increased value of this capital by referring to their own level of qualifications, providing legitimacy of their professional status. CA1 states:

> *'… [employers] should be asking for a minimum of people with the Diploma of Careers Guidance, or some professional qualification, presumably that allows them to give advice, to Level 4, but I think probably a lot of advisers in school could be Level 3 qualified …' (CA1, 683-689)*

4.1.3 Dimension: Intellectual response to change

This dimension describes how participants processed intellectually the policy's underlying intentions and integrated them into established structures and practices. They also responded to the current wider changes in public sector working. Intellectual responses are unique to the participant, similar to emotional responses which form the next dimension. Participants' account of intellectual responses provided insight into their personal values revealing aspects of their habitus. The way the policy was adapted to a specific context revealed participants' underlying values. For example, when describing the history of careers provision in school and his opinion of it, CA1 said:

> *'… pre-2012 would be working as Connexions Personal Advisers and would probably spend most of their time addressing the needs of people who were dropping out of courses or who had barriers to carrying on and weren't progressing or what have you. I have never deemed that to by my job, as I have always believed that careers guidance and CIAG should be a universal service.' (CA1, 108-118)*

The intellectual responses such as illustrated in this example reflect participants' working environment, tasks, pressures and aims (Workman et al 2010). CA1, reveals aspects of his professional identity through describing its discordancy with his role within the Connexions

Service. SLT2a, quotation below, provides an insight into her context. She described her concerns regarding availability of human resources and the instability and security of jobs for CAs:

> *'… my concern would be that if it goes too far that they won't be able to recruit quality staff, and if at that point the staff changes and we don't feel like we are getting the quality, we would have to look at a different way of providing them.' (SLT2a, 361-36)*

This example supports Johns' (2006) identification of the importance of contextual factors on intellectual response including task factors such as accountability and resource availability, social factors, including relationships and positions of power, and physical factors such as the built environment. SLT2a provided an example of her concerns regarding possible accountability and quality issues:

> *'…if there was a big change we would have to take a risk to start off with, monitor it really carefully and again that is a work load in school to really monitor that and shadow them effectively in the early stages until you are happy that's effective.' (SLT2a, 388-395)*

Participants' intellectual responses to the policy were the starting point for policy negotiation, resulting in a range of different enactments (Campbell 2012).

Intellectual response regarding policy reform is identified in various theories used to describe policy enactment. For example, policy diffusion (Terlaak and Gong 2008) includes intellectual response as a first stage. Participants considered the economic impact of pupil retention into the sixth form through CIAG and promotion of available courses and facilities compared to other local high-status providers. For example, SLT2a comments:

> *'… it is also a personal response in that some of our pupils post-16, you know, we feel we need to promote how well our sixth form pupils do – we do have some of our pupils who*

*look at selective schools post-16 and there is a perception that they are going to get better results …' (SLT2a, 173-189)*

Diffusion theory (Terlaak and Gong 2008) suggests an evolutionary process results in adopted decisions becoming prevalent within practice. Diffusion of practice acknowledges efficiency as a form of economic capital which was previously less important or less considered by change agents.

Other policy implementation theories in published literature refer to cognitive responses. Campbell (2012) describes how policy intention can be 'worked around' once it is understood clearly and has been reframed in terms of its most beneficial and meaningful elements. For example, CA5 described how the school's headteacher used the policy change to encourage increased uptake and completion of post-16 destinations, and how CA5 was able to support this:

*'… [he has an] interest in where the pupils are going, what the barriers have been, or where the school has been able to support …he wants to know what has gone wrong, what the school can do about that … he has wanted to know if there have been any pupils who have started college, or with a training provider if they have dropped out again what has been the reason for that …' (CA5, 204-210)*

Moore (2006) suggested that teachers are constantly re-orientating their positions in response to policy change and that responses are personal and distinctive to individuals because of mediation. For example, at School5 CIAG provision was altered from using an external provider to appointing a member of staff. SLT5 legitimised this new position by describing its status and responsibility within the school hierarchy, and its impact on whole school strategic planning:

*'… we would expect her [CA5] to do her own report on success and also we would expect her to be, and will expect her to have her own improvement plan, just like any other*

*department which falls in line with the improvement plan for the whole school and there will be aspects of that career education which will be part of the whole school improvement plan which she would be supporting.' (SLT5, 260-263)*

The dimension describes participants' intellectual responses to the policy change which resonates with the well-documented theories of policy implementation described above. Participants did reveal aspects of their habitus because pre-existing schema were used to formulate their described responses. Although objective practice originates from habitus, it is a subjective set of principles which are produced by objective structures, so is essentially deterministic in nature (Jenkins 1992). Thus, the notion that habitus is deterministic (Fowler 1997) conflicts with identifying the free will of participants' when formulating intellectual responses to the policy change. However, Bourdieu justified this situation by removing the need for splitting objective and subjective thinking. He suggested that habitus so can lead to different practice as it becomes active in relation to the state of the field and types of capital therein (Reay, 2004).

4.1.4 Dimension: Emotional response to change

The fourth dimension identified describes participants' emotional responses. The degree of participants' emotional response reflects the extent to which a change affects their working practice or identity. Emotional responses were unique to participants due to their context, and their personal and professional identity. CAs demonstrated greater emotional response than SLs because this policy change had a greater impact on their practice and identity. The impact of the policy on personal and professional identity is presented within the second sub-category in this chapter. More negative emotional responses were identified within this research than positive ones. For example, when describing her impact in schools, CA4 demonstrated concerns regarding value and impact of her role and considered if the absence of CIAG would have any

impact at all. Emotional conflict can negatively impact on the change experience so leading to a reduction in an individual accepting the policy change and reducing support (Schweiger et al 1989). In contrast, CA5 demonstrated positive emotional response when explaining the value placed on her work by her employer:

> *'You know, I want careers to be something that people are really, really … talking about … So, it is great that my passion is matched with the passion from the school.'* (CA5, lines 297-300).

CAs identify the change to a commissioned service in school as a transfer of control to SLs and a reduction in their autonomy. The context of new managerialism and performativity emphasises increased control of practitioners and a focus towards economic targets (Wilkinson 2006) in response to increased austerity in the public sector (Oliver and Percy-Smith 2014). Although autonomy is identified as a dimension later in this chapter, participants demonstrated an emotional response to this. One CA, who did not give permission for quotations of the interview transcript to be used, described total independence from all other organisations as her ideal structure for CIAG. Another participant, also for whom quotations cannot be used, expressed concern regarding an increased emphasis on targets and quantifiable outcomes and suggested doubt at their validity. CA5 also expressed concerns regarding working independently:

> *'… and again, my own morals and values sometimes I was questioning because I didn't always feel that I have got enough time to put into that young person as much as I had when I worked for Connexions – when I worked for Connexions sometimes it may take 6 or 8 appointments of being with that person before they were ready to move forwards …' (CA5, 364-367)*

Some CAs linked increasing levels of control by SLs to declining professional status. CA1 suggested that the creation of the Connexions Service led to a decline in professional standing for CAs:

> *'… before Connexions was set up there was a real attempt to improve the professionalism of careers advice, and people produced quality standards and they produced very detailed documents as to what would be involved in a careers guidance programme …' (CA1, 389-395)*

and also that:

> *'… professionalism relies upon the individual and their professional integrity of what to do.' (CA1, 456-458)*

The context of declining professional status created more concern and negative emotional reaction in CAs than SLs. Emotional reactions, as well as intellectual and behavioural responses, reflects participants' personal values so is helpful in revealing aspects of their habitus (Iverson 1996). Status and working autonomously were key aspects of participants' habitus. This was especially the case for CAs as they recognised increased value being placed on economic drivers such as efficiency to the detriment of service provision for pupils. CA5 described her concerns regarding the perceived low value of CIAG in schools:

> *'… it wasn't valued because of bad experiences from other staff or advisers that they have had, so they have not particularly seen the impact on what it was or it wasn't effective or that it wasn't something that was very sought after and spoken about …' (CA5, 294-296)*

Emotional reactions to a policy change occurred because participants had trouble adjusting to the values that underlie the change. Helsby (1999) identified that both rational and non-rational reactions occur when participants are emotionally challenged by change. The actions

demonstrated by the participants are identified and discussed in the second category presented in Chapter Five. The presence of an emotional response, does suggest that policy intentions are creatively interpreted, based on personal values and perceived pupil needs (Vulliamy et al 1997).

As discussed above in section 4.1.3, Bourdieu's framework has more limited use to reveal the mediation between participants' emotional response to a subjective social change than for other dimensions identified. However, Bourdieu states that habitus becomes active as a result of the link between the subjective structures of capital and field and practice and the agentic nature of an individual's practice (Reay, 2004).

4.1.5 Dimension: Intention of behavioural response to change

Participants formulated their intended behavioural responses to the policy change, based on their intellectual and emotional responses, and their evaluation of the policy. The category detailing participants' enactment of this policy is included within the category presented in Chapter Five. In common with other dimensions of this sub-category, participants' intended responses were constantly being reshaped because of contextual changes.

Participants had expectations that the behaviour of others within the field would change in response to the policy. SLT5 identified that response development required consideration of how others were reacting:

> *'… myself and other curriculum managers within the district were also talking at our meetings about what they were going to do as far as careers education, careers advice, were concerned …' (SLT5, 46-48)*

In accounts of intended responses, participants indicated the degree to which they were compliant or amiable to the planned changes in their working patterns. For example, SLs

acknowledged that the changes in careers provision to a commissioned service had resulted in an increase in their day-to-day management of CAs in school. SLT2b says:

> *'I think I am probably more hands on involved than I may have been in the past. In the past things may have been just able to run by themselves but you can't do that now … they want to have the regular meetings, they want to see improvements etc. so I suppose I devote more time to Careers than I did before in the lead of it …' (SLT2b, 159-163)*

Some SL participants described how they had assimilated this new role into their working patterns. However, others justified their decision not to increase their involvement, for example describing trust in and the previous success of their CA as a reason not to change to their leadership structure of CIAG.

The planning of intended responses forms a key step in policy implementation theory. For example, Ford et al (2008) suggests resistance is a product of consideration and thought along with the behaviour of those involved in its enactment. Also, in describing entrepreneurial change Fitzgerald et al (2012) suggests change agents strategically reframe policy intention to identify its most beneficial components and those that go beyond it.

### 4**.2 Subcategory: Assimilating the policy change into individual identity**

#### 4.2.1 Dimension: Personal perception

Participants' personal perceptions and their influence on individual identity are described by this dimension. Personal perceptions were not fixed and were affected by experiences and circumstances encountered by participants. Kelchtermans (1993) found teacher perception of

self-image and self-esteem are components of identity, supporting the identification and inclusion of this dimension within the individual identities sub-category.

Participants' self-esteem was reinforced by positive self-evaluation of decisions made and actions taken. SLs often did this by appraising the school's CIAG systems:

> *'… at the moment, we are able to accommodate pupils where we need to, and I'd like to think we would be able to maintain that …' (SLT2a, 96-98)*

CAs were more likely to describe their positive contribution through actions taken beyond their specified remit that enhanced school CIAG provision. CAs were motivated to do this by concerns regarding professional status and motivation for their services to continue to be commissioned. For example, CA1 stated that his analysis of why some sixth form-eligible pupils were not taking up places resulted in changes to the courses on offer and in approach to marketing:

> *'… they have improved the range of qualifications, they have introduced BTECs and they have got better looking prospectuses …' (CA1, 772-774)*

As individuals can hold multiple identities, personal perception can change in different social situations. Davies (1993) describes current working practices as actual identity, and understanding of what it means to be a teacher as ideal identity, linked by a transitional identity. This suggests that an aspect of participants' habitus enabled them to assess and integrate into a given context it by adopting a suitable identity.

All participants were aware of how political context affected on their professional identity (Datnow et al 2002, Sachs 2000). There was a collective opinion, as illustrated by SLT5 below, that policy objectives were positive. However, participants suggested a lack of joined-up thinking by policy makers due to a lack of clarity regarding policy implementation or integrated with existing structures:

*'… the current Government are saying 'this is a policy we have introduced' but it seems to be for the want of a better term 'on the back of a fag packet' routine, so I think that the way people have been given responsibility for things, in other words, 'here is the money go ahead and go and do it, hasn't really looked at what are the outcomes for these youngsters …' (SLT5, 355-358)*

Participants perceived the need to make good an ill-conceived policy because it undermined their confidence and conflicted with their professional identity. Talbert and McLaughlin (1996) define professional identity as having a strong knowledge base, a commitment to meeting the needs of pupils, and autonomy which were identified within other dimensions. Professionals have an expectation that they will demonstrate professional characteristics such as these to one another, revealing an aspect of their habitus. One example that illustrated this was participants' perception of the need for continuous improvement. Having described the school's structure for careers education within the tutorial programme, SLT1 explained further planned enhancement of the programme:

*'One of the things we have been looking at as a school in general this year is our assessment of how effective our provision is, particularly in Key Stage Three in the Tutorial Programme, and that is actually something we are looking at in terms of gained time.' (SLT1, 229-232)*

The policy change caused both positive and negative modifications to personal perception, which influenced behaviours (Buchanan and Dawson 2007). This, in turn, impacted on policy enactment. One positive change identified by SLs was a new focus on providing efficiency and value for the financial resources assigned to CIAG:

*'In previous years, there was probably a lot of wasted … not so much wasted but I think maybe not as time efficient. So now, for example, rather than just having lots and lots of individual careers advice sessions there are lots more targeted work …' (SLT2b, 60-62)*

Changes in funding impacted on CAs identity more negatively. Under the new mandate, CAs were less able to control their work, which compromised their sense of professional status. However, they were logically keen to maintain positive working relationships with school to increase the likelihood of contract renewal. As a result, they took opportunities to enhance the service provided to schools. Their awareness resulted in positive changes to their practice although a sense of being dictated to by schools did not contribute positively to their identity.

SLs identified that one change to their roles was the need to allocate more of their time for CAs:

*'… we have got a lot of staff involved, they want to feel part of something, they want to have the regular meetings, they want to see the improvements etc. so I suppose I devote more time to careers than I did before.' (SLT2b, 161-163)*

which increased CA's sense of importance through better communication, replacing previous frustration at limited access to SLs. Improved communication created a feeling of inclusion and increased standing for CAs within school. This contributed positively to their sense of professional status.

SLs noted a change in relationships with colleagues from other schools resulting from decreased networking and collegiate relationships within the district.

*'There was a lot of advice, you knew what was going on, you know what was going on with the other schools, the sharing of good practice and we don't do any of that now at all.' (SLT2b174-175)*

SLs attributed this change to other reforms including a demise of funding for networking opportunities. SLs also had a notion that CIAG could be used to enhance their school creating a competitive advantage. Sharing practice was no longer perceived as a professional behaviour, and any innovation or effective idea could create an advantage. The reduced value placed on this form of capital within the field significantly influenced SL's identity which had previously been more collaborative. All SLs continued to make comparisons too, between their own school and others within the district, based on anecdotal information:

> *'I know that a lot of schools have cut back, for example on work experience. I know that because before in places where our pupils couldn't get placements they can now because other schools are not doing it now.' (SLT2b, 222-224)*

Lewin and Colley's (2011) research suggests that many careers staff were unsure about the future changes following policy change. This was reflected in these findings: whilst SLs focused on positive changes to their roles and responsibilities, CAs were more likely to express anxiety, confusion or a negative response regarding changes in their roles, particularly that school decisions may result in redundancies within their organisation. Some CAs justified actual or possible compromises between their identity and practice to maintain positive relationships, affecting CA behaviour in schools. CAs also used language that reflected the business and corporate aspects of the field, for example, referring to their organisation as a company, and considering competition to secure commissioning from schools.

CAs expressed delight universally with the reintroduction of Careers Adviser as a job title and the evolution of their organisation from Connexions into the Careers and Participation Service. CAs identified this job title created a focus on careers work, rather than the wider remit of Connexions (Oliver 2004, 2008) that had previously weakened identity (Reid and West 2011a):

*'To a greater extent, the outside world has its political agenda, and it keeps coming into school and saying 'This is what we want this time,' really. I've lived under pure vocational guidance, I did a social inclusion agenda and now we have probably gone back to careers guidance really…' (CA1, 458-466)*

One reason that CAs resisted the Personal Adviser title of Connexions was that it encompassed other professionals too, including youth workers (Oliver and Percy-Smith 2014). CAs perceived the Careers Adviser title regained a clearer identity of their role that synchronised with their self-perception. The issue of CA's professional status dominated their thoughts and actions.

4.2.2 Dimension: External perceptions of participants

This dimension includes participants' awareness of how they anticipate how other individuals and organisations perceived and evaluated them, and their own perceptions of others. Participants' self-identity was influenced by both demonstrable work outcomes, and how they were viewed as individuals.

SLs referred universally to maintaining strong positive relationships with CAs with whom they worked and cited this factor contributed to their strategic decisions regarding CIAG. Contextual social factors including relationships and positions of power within an organisation impact on effective policy implementation (Hoffer-Gittell 2009, McDermott and Keating 2012). SLs also deemed their previous success in meeting externally judged school performance measures, perceived professional qualities, including a strong knowledge base, and personal qualities, including integrity and impartiality, as important. For example, SLT1 identified some of these qualities in CA1:

*'… absolute trust in his – first of all his knowledge of what is going on – he is very hard working and incredibly knowledgeable and we trust what he does. I also trust his independence, he is independent.' (SLT1, 71-73)*

School5 was the only school included in the research that had made the decision to employ a CA directly rather than contract from an external source. Positive attributes featured strongly in SLT5's justifications for adopting that model of CIAG:

*'We also jumped at the opportunity to have a very able member of staff who we could employ and it just happened to fall together at that time. I don't think for one minute that we would have actually employed CA5 as a direct manager in the school if we didn't know already how good she was and she wasn't already in the school …' (SLT5, 113-116)*

The importance of externally judged quantifiable outcomes to SL participants was reflected in their attribution of decisions to maximise these measures. For example, illustrated below, SLT1 was ensuring externally judged quantitative measures are maximised, and value for money is provided:

*'What the schools have said 'We are a competing business,' and they have decided themselves that they need to improve the attraction to young people, so the number of people who have applied to the sixth form …' (SLT1, 761-766)*

An increased dominance of performativity, centralisation and control of policy created a competitive culture. This resulted in target-driven, contract-based working conditions, which placed an emphasis on outcomes over process (Smyth 2001, Pollitt 2006). CAs were also aware of externally judged expectations and described their strategies to maximise them. Additionally, CAs held notions of the importance of such measures to SLs and recognised the competitive element that existed within the field.

All SLs identified Ofsted held a powerful position within the field. SLs place high value on the publicly available judgements Ofsted make and its contribution to school reputation. Although the policy reform did not detail specific success criteria, Ofsted's school inspection framework (Ofsted, 2016) detailed outcomes that participants knew were included in making judgements about schools. One measure frequently mentioned was the number of pupils who were NEET (not in education, employment or training) after finishing school:

> *'I think, whether we like it or not, we get judged by external results of placements of where pupils have gone. So, in other words how many NEETs we have got. We have been quite proud about the percentage of NEETs we have in our year.' (SLT5, 229-231)*

The importance of Ofsted judgements to SLs was demonstrated by their accounts of how CIAG had been. However, some SLs were left after inspections with a perception that the wider impact of CIAG on pupils was of lower priority than expected:

> *'… when Ofsted are in, which was pretty recently in March. And it went – well we had no NEETs in Year 11, Year 12 and Year 13, and they went 'Well that's nice,' and that was pretty much as far as the monitoring went.' (SLT1, 142-144)*

SL participants acknowledged that achieving the best possible NEET outcome was a key motivation to the decisions they had made regarding careers provision in schools:

> *'… the way that league tables are looked at and what is important and what are the lead figures, also focuses in your manager's mind (SLT5, 104-105)*

The dominance of NEET data as the most important outcome measure for CIAG persisted from before the policy change. However, SLs also cited other, newer, external measures, including rates of retention, completion and success of sixth form pupils.

CAs were also aware of the importance placed on NEETs as a measure of success:

> *'… there is an awful lot of emphasis placed upon data, statistical collection of information of destinations of the pupils, we're overtly worried about people becoming NEET.' (CA1, 229-234)*

However, CAs were more likely to consider a range of qualitative impacts of CIAG in schools than SLs. CA2, CA3 and CA4, who did not give permission for quotes to be used in presentation of research findings, identified pupil recognition of their role in the future, raising pupil aspirations, informing parents and building the professional status of careers work in the perception of schools, pupils and parents. CAs expressed frustration that qualitative measures appeared less important, particularly as some of these formed parts of their core professional identity. The higher priority CAs gave these qualitative impacts related to their sense of decreased professionalism and sought to use them to re-establish their professional status. This finding agrees with Douglas' (2011) research which identified that a new understanding of professionalism had emerged among CAs which included close management and measurable targets to judge productivity and shows that this impact on CAs was consistent with the previous policy.

### 4.2.3 Dimension: Autonomy

The next dimension, autonomy, is the degree to which participants were either self-determined or directed by others regarding aspects of their work. Teachers are active agents in policy reform, but are mediated by the structure of their setting. Agency is required to be autonomous and adapt, adopt or ignore the policy mandates (Hall and McGinty 1997). This agency is recognised by SLs:

*'… as far as policy, government policy will change and sometimes I think, as a leader within the school, you have to be strong enough to say 'That's not right for our pupils' or 'We are going to carry on doing something that we see is right,'…' (SLT5, 135-137)*

Responsibility for leading and managing aspects of careers work moved to schools because of this policy change which impacted on participants' sense of autonomy, a significant change within the field. CAs identified aspects of their work in school which remained under their own direction and those which were now controlled by schools. Most CAs identified a degree of autonomy remained regarding their day to day routines. For example, CA2 and CA3 described their autonomy in scheduling pupil interviews. Several, including CA2 and CA4, discussed the way their autonomy has been reduced, because of schools becoming responsible for funding CIAG and their decision to commission services from CAs. CAs identified potential conflict in their ability to provide fully impartial and independent advice as mandated by the policy. CA2 and CA3 suggested that although strategic responsibility for CIAG had passed to schools, not all SLs were sufficiently conversant or experienced to make fully informed decisions. This lack of strategic direction diminished CA's symbolic capital, as they were subject to SLs' strategic decisions. SLs used their awareness of this to re-instate some autonomy on CAs. For example, SL1 suggested that the school's increased economic capital was used to specifically request CA1 as part of their contract negotiations. School5 also demonstrated behaviours to resist shifting power positions within the field by creating systems so that the newly created post CA5 held was similar in status to other middle leader roles through the associated strategic responsibilities and accountability.

Three of the five CAs who participated in this research were not willing for quotes from their interview transcripts to be used. This suggested a reluctance to voice any dissatisfaction they held regarding the new arrangements, and concern over the consequences of doing so. This

reinforced the reduced position of power within the field that these participants felt at that time.

Although CAs described experiences of reduced autonomy, SLs recognised value, and strove to deliver, a degree of independence for CAs. For example, SLT1 identified the value in impartial advice for sixth form pupils considering leaving before completing their course:

> *'…I have a number of Year 12s who have been to me and who are not sure whether to stay or go onto an apprenticeship, and I have sent them all towards CA1 to get the independent advice I don't dissuade them …' (SLT1, 111-113)*

Although independent CIAG was an established and valued feature of careers provision, policy change introduced 'impartial' to the careers lexicon, which embodied a degree of CA autonomy. SLT1 emphasised the independence and autonomy of CA1 to advise pupils in their best interests. However, this autonomy was not unconditional: SLs suggested that they monitored behaviours and actions of CAs and planned interventions if advice was counter to the wider school agenda and needs. When discussing any conflicts of interest that have arisen because of the new policy implementation SLT2a suggested that:

> *'…you do have to go back and quality assure that and think about are the advisers giving advice on a basis that is consistent with what you are giving in school.' (SLT2a, 259-263)*

Although there were no examples shared by participants that this had occurred, or had been explicitly discussed, the financial control of careers work by schools firmly impacts on the autonomy of careers advice work, summed up by SLT2b:

> *'To get full impartiality – everyone knows that to be fully impartial is nigh on impossible.' (SLT2b, 247-248)*

### 4.2.4 Dimension: Values and principles

The values or principles participants held form the next dimension. Participants used these to justify their decisions and actions, particularly when they identified having to compromise their values. Teachers reconstruct their work context to reconcile it with their personal concerns, values and aspirations and the way in which these interact with the social, cultural environment (Kelchtermans and Vandenberghe 1994). Challenges to teacher intellectual and emotional identity results in rational and non-rational reactions which affect the way policy changes are implemented, modified and sustained. Such external actions are discussed in the next chapter.

A commonly held principle amongst participants, which they were unwilling to change, related to upholding pupil-centred outcomes. Participants demonstrated a belief in the social value and importance of their work. They were motivated by altruistic tendencies to work in the pupils' best interests which linked to the notion of their professional identity. For example, SLT1 demonstrates this through agreement with this aspect of the policy:

> *'I actually think that the policy itself is good – I know people don't normally say that do they, about Government policies? You can't argue with the aspiration that they want pupils to go to right good things.' (SLT1, 266-268)*

The high priority placed on this value reinforced Helsby's findings (1999) that when UK secondary teachers are subject to multiple reforms they revert to pupil focused principles. Teacher values and educational philosophy are powerful in determining the way policy changes are interpreted and implemented (Webb and Vuliamy 1996). Being able to have a positive influence on pupil academic, social and moral development was a value shared by all SLs, illustrated by SLT2a:

*'… we see it as our responsibility to the pupils to help them in making their decision about the next phase of their life. (SLT2a, 34-37)*

CAs identified a similar core value was central to their work. CA1 states his intentions for CIAG:

*'…how they [pupils] view themselves, the confidence to enter education, to become better qualified, to go and make relationships, choose careers and choose other careers when those careers don't serve them anymore.' (CA1, 378-383)*

Identified conflict between policy reform and CA values and principles is not a new phenomenon. When Connexions was created, a conflict that emerged was that the new service would undermine professional knowledge and status:

*'Then we employed Personal Advisers who didn't have a CA background, they had a Social Work or a Youth Service background.' (CA1, 71-717)*

One potential conflict caused by the policy that was identified by CAs related to ensuring the integrity of their advice should it come into conflict with other school objectives. The policy directive includes a call for careers advice to be impartial, a word that became common within the discourse since the policy publication:

*'… although we may not be the line managers for those advisers in school, at least from the pupils' point of view it can be seen as being totally impartial for them …' (SLT5, 308-310)*

CAs expressed their commitment to this by citing examples of practice which were not impartial and how through the many revisions of their role this had remained a central tenent.

A further principle for SLs related to providing value for money. Responsibility for funding CIAG was often at the forefront of SL justifications. Funding CIAG was a new facet of their

responsibility. A focus on efficiency demonstrated that SLs had incorporated the market forces of the competitive environment into their values and principles. For example, when describing the strategy used to decide what CIAG provision to make in the school, SLT1 recognised the financial constraints:

> *'… I have had a meeting recently with the Entrust manager of the district (recently), and I said 'I don't care what package you give me as long as it is basically what we get now at a similar cost, that's fine …' (SLT1, 62-64)*

CAs were aware that SLs held this principle and were keen to demonstrate value and impact of their work. Although contrary to the preferred position of some CAs (Douglas 2011), CAs addressed the way services are delivered, which had become part of their ethics, and identity (Evetts 2012).

The principle of striving to continually improve the quality of CIAG was identified by SLs. This value forms part of the culture of continual improvement and performativity within schools:

> *'We have just done a self-assessment in our meeting this week, and you have got examples of good practice, and we are trying to evaluate ourselves … that self-assessment has also helped us recognise we need to do more general training for staff …' (SLT2b, 210-214)*

The values and principles dimension also includes aspects of participants' morals and ethics. These were formed by participants' experiences over time, as well as influenced by the current change. SLs took a moral stance regarding ensuring that their values and principles were upheld and cited examples of where this was not the case such as when advice given was not in the best interests of a pupil:

*'… we had a lad this year who has gone off for an initial interview and has been persuaded to go and start his apprenticeship before he was doing his exams and, you know, that's not good advice.' (SLT1, 130-132)*

Moral values were also described from the perspective of CAs. They identified themselves as advocates for young people, ensuring that their needs and interests were met by course and training opportunities at schools, colleges and training providers.

4.2.5 Dimension: Legitimacy

The final dimension of the identities sub-category refers to participants' perception of legitimacy to carry out their roles. Maintaining and proving legitimacy was more of a concern for CAs because of concerns over professional status. SLs made a point of strengthening the status and legitimacy of CAs which reinforced SL decisions regarding CIAG arrangements in school:

*'…. depends on the quality of the adviser who is working with you in the local district. We have been very lucky in having a succession of very competent and very affable, and very hard working advisers who have worked in our school …' (CA5, 299-301)*

The concern shown for status and legitimacy was a form of cultural capital. CAs' response to the decline of professional identity was in response to factors including inconsistent requirements for appropriate formal qualifications and the lack of a framework of professional standards. CAs may have made comparison to their previous participation in a national training programme in response to the launch of the national Connexions service (Oliver 2004, 2008). Through promotion of these as a form of symbolic capital, CAs sought to strengthen their professional status within the field. This threat to their legitimacy was within the context of previous changes as illustrated here:

*'… the biggest thing facing CAs was the destruction of the professional status of their own profession, really, to be perfectly honest, and I think that when we went into Connexions it became watered down as well …' (CA1, 703-709)*

All career advisers sought to reinforce their legitimacy through explaining their qualifications. For example, CA2 and CA3 described the requirement for CAs employed by the newly formed careers organisation to be qualified to Level 6 to be able to work in schools. They also supported the exclusion of those colleagues without the appropriate qualifications:

*'They don't have somebody who has got a Level 2 qualification through the Open University, or by a correspondence course, and calls themselves a CA so they have been, you know, their integrity is to be applauded really.' (CA1, 742-748)*

Another way participants enhanced their legitimacy was through demonstrating their experience, a form of cultural capital. CA1 described both his own experience and that of colleagues:

*'… I have 33 years of experience, [name] has 34 years of experience, [name] has 35 years of experience; I mean between us, three members of staff have 120 years of experience, yes?' (CA1, 889-894)*

CAs were also aware of their place in an organisational hierarchy, their level of responsibility and how this affected their legitimacy. CA2 gave an example of access to school information systems to demonstrate her position within the school she worked in. Other CAs suggested that they held a weaker position within school hierarchies. CA4 identified priorities important to the school which took precedence over CIAG. CA5 uniquely placed amongst the participants as a school employee, placed a strong emphasis on how she had created and maintained her position as a member of the school's staff:

*'… I have actually been part of the presentations that have been done in school, so I have been there at the front with the Senior Leadership and they have included me on their powerpoint, introduced me to the parents and pupils …' (CA5, 217-219)*

**4.3 Summary**

It can be seen from the data and analysis presented in this chapter that participants individually experienced the policy change and integrated these into their identities. In the first sub-category, Bourdieu's notion of the structure of the field and its link to habitus were particularly helpful to explore participants' recognition and evaluation of the policy change. The sub-category also identified participants' emotional and intellectual responses towards the policy change. They were also able to plan intended behavioural responses. The emotional and intellectual reactions and the value judgements applied to the policy change were subject to agency which was dependent upon the participants' context and previous experiences. These dimensions are not as fully captured by Bourdieu's framework due to involvement participants' agency in their intellectual and emotional responses. The second sub-category details the impact the policy change had on the identity of the individual participants in the study and distinguishes between dimensions including personal perception, autonomy and legitimacy.

The dimensions identified and described in this chapter contribute collectively to the identity of participants. Published research proposes the identity of change agents is a crucial first step in the process of formulating behavioural responses to the policy. This research identifies and presents these responses as External Actions, the second category identified within the codes formed from the interview transcripts and presented in the next chapter.

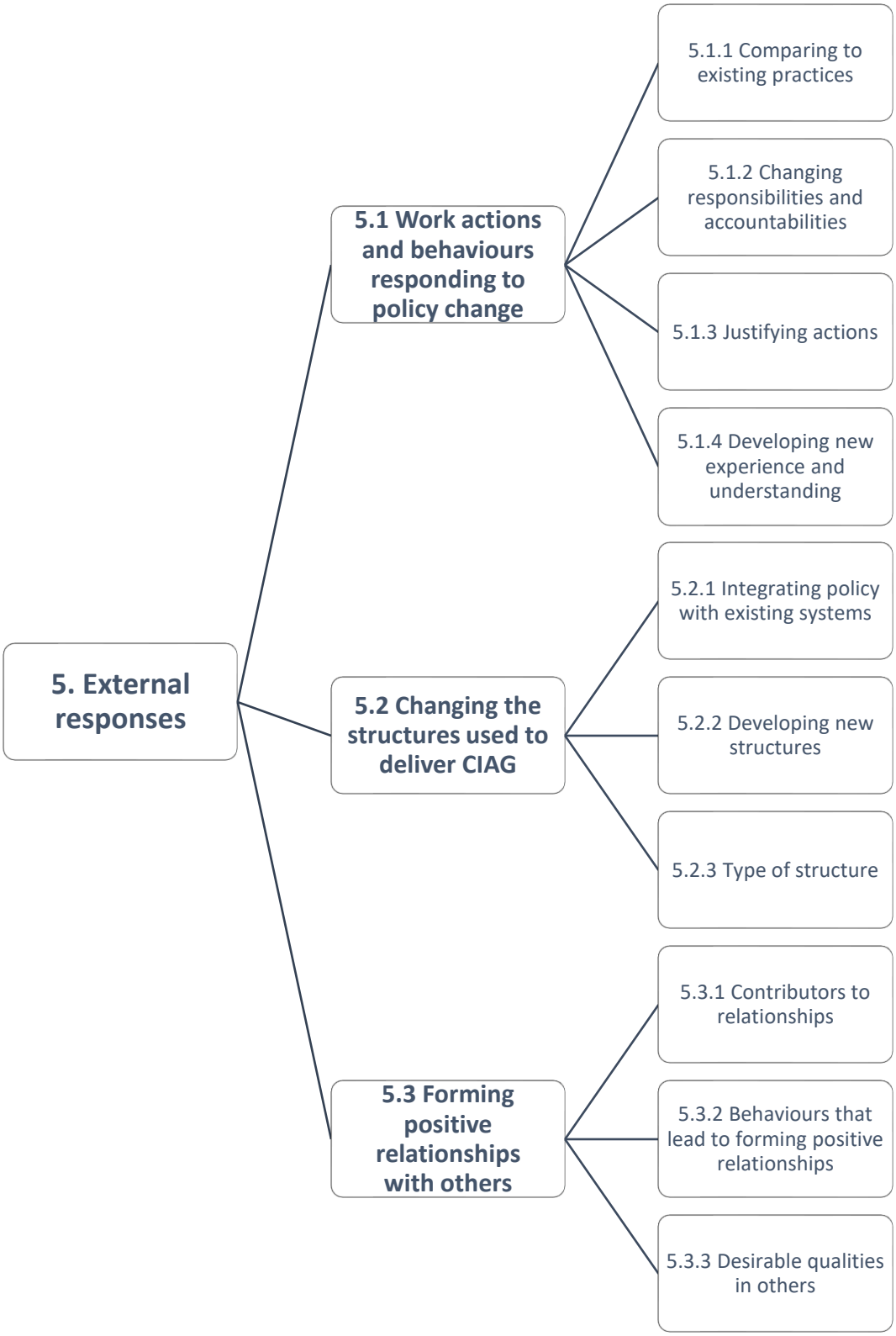
## Chapter 5 Findings: External responses category

Chapter Five will present and discuss the findings for the second category that emerged from analysis of the interview transcripts. This second category consists of participants' externally observable actions and behaviours that responded to the policy change. External responses include: changes in working practices and responsibilities, participants' justification of decisions and actions and how their experiences and understanding developed new working structures. The dimensions within the external responses category are arranged into three subcategories, represented in Figure Five.

This chapter draws on existing literature relating to policy implementation and presents evidence that supports recognised methods of policy implementation including the spread of behaviours, discourses and attitudes by diffusion (Ansari et al 2010). Examples are given of how participants identified local workaround responses (McDermott et al 2012) to meet policy intention but also match policy objectives to other agendas and outcomes within a context (Workman et al 2010). For example, fulfilling wider contractual and economic arrangements of an organisation (Plant and Thomsen 2011). Other research demonstrates that in schools participants adapt policy response to meet other goals (Brain et al 2006).

Actions taken in response to policy change are the result of past actions, present context and the opportunity to shape structures for future action (Hall and McGinty 1997). For example, the changing manner of how professionals work (Bradbury, Frost, Kilminster and Zucas 2009) as wider policy reform changes the traditional idea of being a professional in education (Douglas 2011) to focus on targets and outcomes (Pollitt 2006). Some participants identified changes that may be at odds with their personal position (Douglas 2011). In such circumstances, research suggests that participants creatively interpret policy intention according to their own professional values (Vulliamy et al 1997). Participants' transformation of policy into practice

**Figure Five: External responses category**



through making sense of the policy, expanding its concept through innovation and developing new knowledge is described as resistance (Thomas and Hardy 2011).

### 5.1 Subcategory: Work actions and behaviours responding to policy change

The policy change created an opportunity for individual and organisations within the field to alter their approach to school CIAG delivery. Some changes were imposed through policy directives, such as the change in funding arrangements, but other modifications were developed by participants. This subcategory includes participant's descriptions and accounts as to how these changes arose.

Behavioural responses to policy change are not usually as simple as the opposites of resistance or acceptance suggest, although are often described as such (McDermott *et al* 2012). Policy objectives are matched to other agendas and outcomes within a context (Workman et al 2010) and often reflect the context of policy enactors such as previous reforms or insufficient time to integrate them before considering new policy.

#### 5.1.1 Dimension: Comparing to existing practices

This dimension describes how participants compared new strategies or decisions to previously established ones. Participants made comparisons either to their own previous practice or that of other people, schools or organisations within the field. Such comparisons occurred because the policy change disturbed participants' regular ways of working and required them to develop new behavioural patterns to enact the change. To achieve change, individuals required a sense of agency, both in terms of how they interpreted the change as individuals and how they realized their response. Such interaction with change was an active process and required finding out new

information and assigning meaning to it. One way in which information was gathered was through comparison to the practice of others.

Several different factors were compared by participants. Careers advisers (CA) made comparison of the status of their role. For example, CA2 compared of the level of qualifications that were acceptable for employment before and after the policy was introduced, and noted favourably that a higher level of qualification was required.

Often, comparisons resulted in a negative evaluation of change, such as CAs concluding that the recent policy change had adversely impacted aspects of their professional identity. For example, when discussing the way in which the quality of CIAG work is judged CA1 suggests:

> *'… [he doesn't] think we have ever got back to the days where we were producing quality documents that actually measured what we do anymore. I think we are just doing the best we can under very difficult circumstances at the moment.' (CA1, 417-423)*

CAs made comparisons between CIAG structures they experienced in schools and those of colleagues. They could do this because they spent time discussing their work with colleagues. CA2 suggested that her working arrangements in school were atypical of other schools in general. In a further example, illustrated in the quotation below CA5 described the networks she had established with local employers:

> *'… I am in contact with a lot more employers now, and particularly with local employers I have organised to go out on employer visits over the summer. So, in some ways it has given me opportunity to actually build on the careers role even more ….' (CA5, 660-69)*

School leaders (SLs) also compared revised practice resulting from the policy change with their own previous ways of working and where different models had been adopted in different schools. The comparisons made by SLs focused more on strategic factors and structures than

CA's responses. For example, in the quotation below SLT2b compared changes in opportunities for networking and sharing practice:

> *'… we used to do lots of district work, a district panel group or whatever and we had a really good careers one, a really good careers information one and we used to get lots of good ideas, and we don't get that now.' (SLT2b, 165-167)*

Another strategic factor that SLs used to make comparisons between current and previous practice related to the changes in how CIAG was being funded, and the increased focus to ensure that value for money was achieved through limited resources being used to best effect:

> *'In previous years there was probably a lot of wasted … not so much wasted but I think maybe not as time efficient. So now, for example, rather than just having lots and lots of individual careers advice sessions there are lots more targeted work.' (CA2b, 60-62)*

Comparison by participants of their present position to other current practice is an important part of diffusion of new practice. This is the spread of behaviour, discourse and attitudes between practitioners (Ansari et al 2010). Adopting innovation into current practice provides participants with uncertainty and involves risk taking. As a result, careful assessment of the experiences of others before acting takes place (Strang and Soule 1998). Practice diffusion can adopt an economic model in which efficient and rational decisions made by early adopters are subject to selection and then the practice evolves (Terlaak and Gong 2008). Participants' consideration of changes in funding streams for CIAG was an example of an economic consideration.

Diffusion theory also describes sociological responses where practice observed in other organisations is adopted by participants to maintain legitimacy through the pressure of social conformity (Sturdy 2004). Participants made comparisons between the responses of one school

or organisation and that of another to the current policy change. CAs had more opportunity to do this, as most were employed by the same organisation so could network. CA2 contrasted the leadership hierarchy responsibility for CIAG in different schools within and outside the district. CA3 and CA4 were less aware of how schools in other districts had responded to the policy. By contrast, CA5 who was a direct employee of School5 was less aware of how other local schools were responding:

> *'… I believe that some of the schools in [district] have commissioned a little since then, so I think we have managed to get back into some of the schools, and I know the one school, they did chose to employ two of their own CAs at [school] …' (CA5, 326-328)*

The reduced opportunity for CA5 to make comparison between her practice and that of others limited the opportunity for School5 to develop its CIAG practice through diffusion.

Like CA5, SLs noted increased difficulty in making comparisons with other schools because of reduced opportunity to meet with colleagues from other schools, following other policy and funding arrangements changes. SLs had resorted to more informal ways to obtain information, for example SLT1 identified social networks as opportunity to make comparisons to other schools:

> *'Well with careers at School2 I have a rough idea because my wife is Assistant Head there and runs it. They are certainly in negotiations with Entrust. They are certainly using Entrust … erm … but as for beyond that I am not really sure.' (SLT1, 251-253)*

Opportunities to meet with senior leaders from other schools to explore responses to the policy change were valued by senior leader participants and formed an important part of planning the response of schools to the change in policy:

*'… myself and other curriculum managers within the district were also talking at our meetings about what they were going to do as far as careers education, careers advice, were concerned and because the money was coming directly into schools …' (SLT5, 25-28)*

5.1.2 Dimension: Changing responsibilities and accountabilities

Changed responsibility and accountability arising from the implementation of the CIAG were noted by all participants, and this forms the next dimension of this subcategory. The wider context of policy reform in education led to changes in the idea of what it means to be a professional (Douglas 2011) to include an increased focus on targets and on outcomes (Pollitt 2006). Characteristics previously considered as professional are being disregarded (Hughes 2013a). This has changed the way professionals, including teachers and CAs, work (Bradbury, Frost, Kilminster and Zucas 2009, Reid and West 2011a).

CAs described many changes in their roles and often began with describing changes to their job title:

*'My job title is currently CA, two years ago it was Personal Adviser. Three years before that it was CA and so it has changed from one to another …' (CA1, 4-7)*

CAs associated a change in title with a narrowing of their remit to more focus on the provision of careers advice rather than overcoming learning barriers to enable pupils to access learning. CAs identified that targets were expected to focus on reducing the number of pupils who do not successfully move into education, employment or training (NEET) when they leave school. CAs also noted day-to-day changes in their work. For example, CA2 and CA3 described how their activities had moved away from one-to-one interviews to working with small groups of pupils, providing more generic information in this context.

Some participants noted the new statutory expectation for CIAG to be provided to younger pupils. Often evaluated as a neutral change, CAs responded to this operationally, explaining how they were meeting this requirement. Although CIAG was not an expectation for primary school children, CA5 explains how she was:

> *'… approached by local primary schools to actually go out and do some work on raising aspirations and do some work on careers and the world of work …' (CA5, 233-234)*

SLs also identified operational changes, including meeting more regularly with CAs to monitor their work and discuss how commissioned CIAG work contributed to school strategy:

> *'… we have regular meetings every half term where you have got your CAs, your careers coordinator. We all get together, you know, and look at, some forward planning etc. and some evaluation. (SLT2b, 34-36)*

All participants noted the change in CIAG funding as responsibility had passed from the local authority to schools. Participants acknowledged that this change did not include any additional funding for schools although there was more autonomy for schools in how policy goals were achieved. The increased latitude of structures and delivery patterns was of secondary concern to SLs who described the financial impact:

> *'The one thing that has changed a lot is the finance. That is the big change. Obviously, you know, prior to a few years ago it was provided by the Local Authority, a lot of impartial careers advice, was provided by the Local Authority and now obviously that is something that we now purchase and to my knowledge, there has not been an extra set of money provided to the school …' (SLT2b, 48-53)*

Changing the structures of CIAG delivery in schools included changes to how pupils were prioritised for careers interviews. This change was catalysed by SLs having increased strategic

responsibility for CIAG and more pressure on the availability of CAs in schools due to financial constraints. Participants described how previously pupils were prioritised in response to other policy objectives, for example those who have disabilities and/or special educational needs, or those with wider barriers to accessing learning. SLT1 described how CA1 used to work in response to these objectives:

> *'… he [CA1] would see those pupils who would be, you know, SEN register, looked after pupils. The ones where there was a statutory requirement to see them, give them advice – they would be prioritised. In some cases they would be see in in Year 10 but often it would start in Year 11, and he would then go on to see as many as he could …' (SLT1, 39-42)*

All participants agreed that the pupils prioritised for CIAG since the policy change were those most likely to become NEET. Pupils' risk was calculated using a range of factors including prior attainment, exclusion rates, attendance, postcode and special educational needs. These factors were referred to as the risk of NEET indicators (RONI). This change responded to the high priority placed on maintaining low NEET numbers, so was welcomed by participants:

> *' … CAs [are] getting more involved in pupils who are more vulnerable and now obviously with Entrust we are looking at the RONI pupils who are usually pupil premium pupils so that has brought a lot of focus.' (SLT2b, 41-43)*

CAs also worked to fulfil wider contractual and economic arrangements to meet the needs of the organisation they worked for (Plant and Thomsen 2011). CA3 referred to the priority to sustain commissioned work for the company to continue to operate and maintain the staff employment. She contrasted the relatively successful situation within the district with a neighbouring district where there has been much less commissioned work. CA3 identified that her role now included a responsibility to ensure schools were aware of different services

available. CA3 stated that CAs had developed skills to engage and promote services to schools. Such changes in working practice can be contrary to the preferred position of some CAs (Douglas 2011) and decreasing control has led to a trend to reduce CA's professional identity (Tuchman 2009).

This dimension also describes to whom participants attributed responsibility for the changes they describe. CAs identified that decisions regarding which pupils were prioritised for CIAG and aspects of their daily routines had moved to SLs. For example, CA3 described which member of the school's senior leadership team had responsibility for operational and strategic decisions, and how the headteacher maintained an overview. CA3 identified that the SL ensured her accountability at line management meetings.

Some CAs stated that although the strategic responsibility now rested with the school, they did not always agree with the decisions they made. CAs attributed this to SLs not having sufficient awareness or experience of all key issues to make the most appropriate decisions. CAs also identified that SLs were often responding to multiple objectives and policies at the same time to meet other aspects of their roles. This was more clearly expressed by some participants who did not wish for direct quotes from their interview transcripts to be used in this thesis, probably due to concerns regarding their negative evaluations being attributed to them. CAs also identified how the leaders and managers within their organisation had responsibility for strategic decisions relating to how the company responded to the policy change and took steps to ensure continued survival of the careers company.

### 5.1.3 Dimension: Justifying actions

Participants justified the decisions made and the courses of action they had taken in response to the policy change. The culture of justifying actions within the educational field arose in response to the new managerial culture of setting measurable targets to judge output and

expectation of achieving or surpassing a list of recognised competencies (Douglas 2011). Teachers' pay awards and performance are judged against published teacher standards. Whilst there are several interpretations of standards for CAs, there is a desire for these to be common amongst practitioners to raise professional status amongst careers practitioners (Hughes 2013a). A culture of demonstrating compliance against externally set performance indicators encourages what Sachs (2000) describes as an entrepreneurial form of professional identity.

Participants justified some of their actions as steps to meet the legislative requirements of the policy change. Such reasoning transferred responsibility for their actions to the Government who created the requirements of the policy, thereby absolving responsibility, particularly if unpopular or difficult to enact. For example, CA2, who did not give permission for quotations to be used, refers to the statutory requirement for pupils in Year Eight upwards to receive CIAG. Participants linked other decisions to external judgements, such as meeting aspects of the Ofsted framework or placing the school favourably within school performance tables:

> *'… because at the same time, as you may know, the change in bias of what is essential on the curriculum for the pupils, and the change in the way that league tables are looked at and what is important and what are the lead figures…' (SLT5, 104-106)*

In some circumstances, participants very readily took ownership of an action or decision. In these instances, participants linked the change to other organisational priorities and needs. SLs provided more examples of justifying how aspects of the policy change were linked with a wide range of other school priorities. For example, decisions made about allocation of curriculum time for work experience placements, or how pupils and parental aspiration and expectations could be raised to further outcomes:

> *'… it's not just about getting pupils into courses, it is more on the aspiration side of things, and that is something that is a new big focus.' (SLT1, 234-235)*

Participants demonstrated what McDermott et al (2012) term resistance through making sense of the relationship between their enactment of change and how this interacts with their context. Making sense of policy change happens when policy enactors justify and explain actions and events. Others within the field use these to judge actions and explain behaviours or outcomes in a way that maintains positive relationships (Schutz and Baumeister 1999). Not all examples of justification of actions and decisions being linked to other priorities were made by SLs. CA5, the only CA in the sample employed as a member of school staff, had identified the school's priority on literacy which she combined with advice provided to pupils regarding the importance of achieving positive outcomes in English qualifications as an entry requirement for many post-16 opportunities:

> *'… they really wanted to have a drive and improve the results for that in literacy this year. Now that very much complemented some of the advice and guidance that I have been giving the pupils, in particular around literacy and numeracy because of the expectation and the entry criteria I have noticed has started to go up …' (CA5, 128-132)*

Participants also rationalised their decisions and behaviours through reference to ideals and principles they held as part of their professional identity. Participants who explained aspects of their actions and decisions in relation to some moral or ethical consideration, are described as activists by Sachs (2000). Activists are professionals who identify closely with a more traditional understanding of professionalism. They creatively interpret policy requirements according to their own professional values and what they perceive as the best interests of their pupils (Vulliamy et al 1997) and so justify their actions and decisions in this manner. Ozga (2005) observed that this results in creative policy interpretation, meeting other objectives and taking the advantages afforded by gaps and competing priorities. For example, CA4 demonstrated activism through justifying moving from further education to schools in terms of conflicts between pressure to recruit pupils onto some courses, even if not necessarily in their best

interests. Participants often referred to the need for CIAG to be independent of the organisations and so focus on pupil need. SLT5 explained the school's rationale to continue to commission CIAG, before taking the decision to employ a member of staff:

> *'… firstly the expertise and secondly the access to impartial advice for pupils was really, really important. So we had already agreed at that point in time that we were going to buy in … We were going to pay for that for both post-16 and pre-16 and we wanted to keep the advice coming into school.' (SLT5, 61-64)*

In many of these instances, participants use the word impartial. The concept of impartiality was included in the policy reform as an ideal of CIAG, but has been subject to different interpretation by different participants. As a result, impartiality has been used to justify a range of different actions. For example, some SLs suggested that CIAG was impartial because CAs were commissioning from an organisation external to the school. In other circumstances, impartial meant any person from outside the school, even if they were representing a specific company, employment sector or education provider. Sometimes, impartial was linked to CIAG provided from a separate funding source.

All participants explained some aspects of their work in terms of prioritising pupils' best interests. This was a common value both CAs and SLs held within their professional identify. CA1 reflected that this was a core purpose he strived to maintain, despite a perception of political interference:

> *'… I am a CA and I give advice and guidance for helping people fulfil their own lives. Whoever pays me, and whatever the political agenda is, I sort of have to live with that. I realise that in a few years' time that agenda will change …' (CA1, 483-489)*

Reflecting their new responsibility for commissioning CIAG, SLs substantiated their decisions in terms of ensuring efficiency and value for money. They routinely acknowledged that often their provision models were expensive, but they defended them by emphasising high quality provision:

> *'It has been a large pressure on us I would say, financially but we made the decision early on that we were going to respond to it and we were going to keep a level of service that we felt was a person to person service, we know we could have gone down more of the route of online advice and guidance which we still provide, but I just don't feel that that gives the pupils what they need.' (SLT2a, 37-37)*

All SLs initially responded by commissioning CIAG from Entrust, although one school subsequently altered this. SLs were keen to justify their decision to contract the organisation that developed out of the previous local authority's careers service. SLs reinforced previous positive working relationships and successful outcomes:

> *'… that's what we wanted to maintain. He is very effective and working with the pupils – they know and trust him … ' (SLT1, 51-52)*

Additionally, SLs voiced concerns regarding using unknown providers and possible variations in the quality of service from other sources. CAs supported these justifications by echoing concerns over the quality of other providers who had entered what was a relatively unregulated marketplace:

> *'There's the old established Careers Service, and there is probably a lot of independent advisers who profess to be able to do it, but we don't know these people, so I think that probably a lot of teachers say 'If we are happy with the current service we are getting, then we will stick with that.'' (CA1, 654-661)*

5.1.4 Dimension: Developing new experience and understanding

The final dimension of this subcategory consists of participants' recognition of how their expertise and experience were developing because of enactment of the policy directive. Development of occupational competence is often an important part of policy change implementation theories. For example, in their consideration of entrepreneurial change McDermott et al (2012) identify the capability of participants to implement the change as one of the three core dimensions, along with a clear understanding of the context and gaining support and resourcing for its delivery. Development of the competence to perform a role forms one of the dimensions of commitment (Tyree 1996) which contributes towards the capacity, capability and aptitude to bring about policy reform (Stoll 1999). There were several different ways that participants identified changes in their experience and understanding.

SLs were aware that initially their schools lacked understanding or experience to respond to the new arrangements. For example, SLT2a had identified a gap in knowledge relating to systems about how information is transferred when pupils leave the school mid-year.

> *'What still puzzles me a bit is what is going to happen in the coming year in that we are going to have to notify students who leave, who are in the Sixth Form for example, who leave us, well what is going to happen to those students?' (SLT2a, 406-412)*

SLT5 also evaluated both strengths and gaps in CIAG expertise on the school's staff:

> *'From our point of view, we felt that we hadn't got the impartial expertise in school. We had a number of people that had certain expertise in certain areas, but mostly post-16 – to do with our current Head of Sixth Form or myself to be honest. But not necessarily within the world of employment and the way that was going to be shaped.' (SLT5, 65-68)*

Where SLs identified gaps in experience and understanding, they described how they sought to gain the appropriate knowledge and expertise. For example, through networking with colleagues from other schools to share experiences and ideas. Another way that some SLs assessed their competency for CIAG was through working towards a CIAG quality mark that judged the school's provision against externally set criteria:

> *'We are currently doing the CEIAG Plus Quality Award work with Entrust, so we are going through that with them. We have just done a self-assessment in our meeting this week, and you have got examples of good practice, and we are trying to evaluate ourselves next to that.' (SLT2b 209-212)*

Through this process School2 was seeking to enhance their experience and understanding of how CIAG should be structured.

CAs also identified their development of new skills and expertise. CAs identified the need for skills to enhance the impact of their work in schools to increase the likelihood of further commissioning work in the future. This change was noted by SLs:

> *'… [CAs} are taking more responsibility for organising events, and this has been an active willingness on their parts to do so …' (SLT2a, 139-142)*

**5.2 Subcategory: Changing the structures used to deliver CIAG**

Participants referred to changes in the structures which either they or their work were placed in as part of their external responses to the policy change. Participants detailed previous structures and how these had been adapted or replaced, resulting in this subcategory. Teacher and CA actions are affected by the structures that are established within their context. Hall and

McGinty (1997) state participant response to policy change is the consequence of past actions, present context and the opportunity to shape structures for future action. Vulliamy et al (1997) identifies a large focus on policy and its practice focuses on systems of implementation rather than practice within the literature.

5.2.1 Dimension: Integrating policy with existing systems

The policy change created opportunities for CAs and SLs to integrate policy response to meet objectives and concerns of their organisations. These opportunities form this dimension. To achieve this integration, participants considered organisational objectives and needs and developed opportunities to integrate them with those of the policy change. As a result, decisions were made and actions taken that met multiple agendas and priorities. This agrees with research by Brain et al (2006) that in schools, policies are translated into practice by groups and individuals who adopt their response to meet other organisational goals. As a result, policy implementation focused on multiple goals, leading to adjustment of the core objectives of the policy.

One opportunity CAs identified through policy implementation was the opportunity to increase their strategic contribution to the school. This was possible as more regular communication between SLs and CAs had been established. CAs also capitalised on the relative inexperience of SLs to make decisions regarding strategic development of CIAG, as discussed in the 'developing new experience and understanding' dimension above. Establishment of communication between change agents and CA influence are important in the diffusion of innovative response to policy change: SLs assessed experiences and ideas before deciding on courses of action due to the uncertainty and risks associated with change (Straong and Soule 1998). CA1 suggested that the perceived impartiality he associated with his role provided more insight into pupil

course and destination choices than SLs had. CA1 suggested that leaders used this insight to inform the sixth form course offer, leading to an increase in sixth form recruitment:

> *'… if people are not staying at SchoolA then why are they not staying at SchoolA – what are they choosing to do at college that maybe ASchool could provide them with? … since those discussions have taken place, ASchool have introduced BTECs in the Sixth Form …' (CA1, 552-560)*

CA's priority to ensure continued commissioned work to maintain their employment led to identification of opportunities to increase the value of their service. CA2 described spending longer in schools than contractually obliged, which increased the school's reliance on CA2 and commissioning of further hours. Other CAs describe developing and leading whole school careers activities, alleviating SL workload, so and increasing their value. Although the motivation for this was not explicit, these behavioural changes were noted by SLs:

> *'I would say that they are taking more responsibility for organising events, and that has been an active willingness on their parts to do so, for example the Year Nine day that we have just run for options and careers, those sessions were organised by the Careers Coordinator …' (STL2a, 139-145)*

CAs also sought out opportunities to support their organisation to meet objectives. CAs have often managed according to their organisation's need to fulfil wider contractual and economic arrangements (Plant and Thomsen 2011). For example, the statutory duty to identify and track pupils who leave a school's sixth form before the completion of their programmes of study. The careers organisation could use their links with schools through CAs to ensure key information was forthcoming:

*'… it has definitely changed their role with regard to the potential early leavers now in Year 12 and 13, so with regard to identifying those a lot earlier. Obviously, there is sort of information we have to send on to Entrust which is then sent on to the local authority because we have to identify them quite early on.' (CA5, 175-178)*

SLs' confusion regarding tracking and reporting on those who do not complete courses, discussed previously, further strengthened CA's roles in schools. CAs supported policy enactment through the resolution of such uncertainties (Hinnings et al 2003), resulting in a combination of both planned and unplanned changes (Ferlie et al 2003).

Participants also took opportunities that arose through policy implementation to meet other school priorities. For example, CA5 identified the school's focus on raising pupil outcomes was supported by enhancing pupil motivation to achieve entry requirements for post-16 courses:

*'… they have looked at those who, for example, have been under-achieving or those very much on the C/D borderline or the C/B or the A/B or the A*/A borderlines and they have identified those pupils and referred those pupils onto me …' (CA5, 189-191)*

SLs regularly identified opportunity for CIAG to enhance performance and destination outcomes:

*'… pupils who have really high ambitions. We are doing more work, for example, on Russell Group universities lower down the school, and encouraging pupils …' (SLT2a, 167-172)*

and:

*'I think we do well in the area of proper advice, I think that the raising aspirations thing is something we have started looking at more but we still need to do more. We have introduced a thing called the 'Top Universities Club' …' (SLT1, 238-240)*

Many participants identified opportunities to further school objectives around work experience and work-related learning by a variety of structural responses. Such response reveals the values, and hence aspects of the habitus of those implementing them (Das 1999). School1 used the policy change as an opportunity to remove work experience from the curriculum, citing problems in successfully placing pupils and the raised participation age in education as the reasons for this:

> *'… come in and do the careers fairs and so forth but we have found that getting pupils into work experience placements every year just gets harder and harder and harder. We have stopped doing it with Year 10, partly because raising the participation age, it felt a bit superfluous, but we carried on with it in Year 12, but this year we have struggled so much with it.' (SLT1, 272-275)*

This revealed that work experience was less important within SLT1's habitus than other SLs. In contrast, the response in School2 identified links between the CA and the school's Work Experience Coordinator had been strengthened:

> *'… also links into our Work Experience Coordinator, and we have chosen to keep our Work Experience at the moment, but again at considerable cost in terms of staff time in school to help coordinate it …' (SLT2a, 83-88)*

5.2.2 Dimension: Developing new structures

The next dimension consists of new structures that were developed to enact the policy change. Examples of new structures were provided by SLs and CAs. These included establishment of new communication structures being integrated into working practices. These new structures resulted in new working patterns for participants. For example, CA2 noted a consequence of increased demands on time was a decline in supporting pupils with practical tasks such as taking

them to interviews for college places. CA2 also identified CAs had spent increased proportion of their time in schools, generating revenue, and less time on other tasks, such as staffing drop-in careers centres. SLs also identified new working structures. Ford et al (2008) suggests these behaviours add value by expanding the policy's concept through innovation and generating new knowledge and form. Termed resistance, Thomas and Hardy (2011) describe this as important to the way policy becomes translated into practice. For example, SLs described their expectation that CAs would prioritise and respond to other school priorities through their work as they were now commissioned by schools:

> *'… although you are buying in a provider with an external perspective, you actually want them to go with the ethos of what you are suggesting, so our ethos for options certainly is really that is has got to be overall in their best interest.' (SLT2a, 264-269)*

CAs identified local workaround responses to meet the true policy intentions and meet school policy needs (McDermott et al 2012). They could comply with school goals and expectations, meet the policy objectives and objectives of their own organisation. Such a response by CAs was like social workers' responses to pressures to meet targets as well as client needs (Broadhurst et al 2009).

One new structure developed by SLs to make increased sense of their responsibility for funding CIAG was the introduction of more frequent, formal meetings between themselves and CAs. These are described in the quotation below by SLT2b:

> *'… I am probably more hands on involved than I may have been in the past. In the past things may have just been able to run by themselves but you can't do that now. … they want to feel a part of something, they want to have the regular meetings (SLT2b, 159-162)*

CAs also identified that new structures had resulted in better communication. Through these meetings, CAs felt that they could develop SLs' understanding of the priorities and actions for CIAG at different times of the year. However, some CAs perceived the regular review and monitoring as a reduction in some aspects of their autonomy.

One structural change implemented only by School5 was changing the school's staffing structure to create a role for a member of staff to provide CIAG. The school employed CA5 who had previously been commissioned to work at the school through the careers organisation that other CA participants in this study worked for:

> *'… completely newly created role which was the result of different people retiring. So they put together this role, the title of which is Head of IAG. So the predominant part is, of course, careers advice and guidance. The second part of the role is I now coordinate all of the PSHE and Citizenship curriculum.' (CA5, 3-6)*

CA5 had a well-considered justification as to how her different employment status compared to other CAs in the sample improved flow of information of pupils to target for CIAG. Through this consideration, CA5 demonstrates, as do other CAs, behaviours to promote the value of the work she does, and enhance senior leaders' perception of the value of careers:

> *'… because I am part of the school I am able to pick up on particular pastoral issues a lot earlier because I can see names regularly that are popping up …' (CA5, 78-79)*

CA2 and CA3 described how their role now required them to adopt behaviours to promote and sell careers services to schools. School leaders noted more promotional techniques being used by CAs:

*'… so, I suppose in some ways having to buy in a service, they are making sure you feel that you are getting value for money as well. So that is probably a change in the way that the service is delivered …' (SLT2a, 149-154)*

A further new structure was the processes through which pupils were identified and prioritised for CIAG. All participants identified focus was maintained on pupils at the key transition points such as selecting examination subjects or post-16 courses. This continued a previous focus on the number of pupils not in employment, education or training (NEET) after completion of their studies. NEETs were one success measure which are described in Chapter Six, that is externally reported and used to judge schools:

*'… individual advice to pupils, some from Year 10 but mainly to Year 11, 12 and 13 as and when we made appointments and of course seeing the statutory pupils …' (SLT1, 29-30)*

The new working practice was that SLs and CAs identified pupils though use of local authority data that identified pupils at risk of becoming NEET. The risk of NEET indicators (RONI) data were available about pupils in school. This information provided schools with a measure of likelihood of a pupils' potential to become NEET based on a range of factors identified including their special educational needs, exclusions from school, involvement with social care. An increased focus on pupils' prioritisation was catalysed by financial constraints and a focus on using CA's time in schools efficiently. For example, in the quotation below, CA5 describes how pupils were now being prioritised:

*'… school identified those who, and again with consultation with us, those likely to be NEET or those who were likely to struggle with the transition of moving on from the school.' (CA5, 49-51)*

In addition to commissioned work, CAs were provided with additional resource by the local authority to support pupils identified by RONI data. SLs had also responded to the requirement for CIAG provision for pupils from Year 8 onwards in addition to targeted support for individual pupils. This was most often provided though generic information sessions, usually organised by CAs, as illustrated in the quotation below by CA5.

> *'… worked through Years 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 doing group work for all of those years.' (CA5, 106-107)*

Not all participants had fully embedded the new ways of identifying pupils for CIAG into their explanations of how working practices had changed. For example, CA3 contrasted previous structures used by CAs to prioritise pupils that utilised information regarding special educational need status with senior leaders prioritisation of pupils who were under-achieving academically, rather than the use of the RONI information.

5.2.3 Dimension: Type of structure

Types of structure that participants described are the final dimension of this subcategory. It includes both newly created and existing structures. For example, a change in job title or alterations to how CIAG was delivered in a curriculum plan.

CAs identified changes to their job title they held as a significant part of the policy change. The importance of this was a response to historical policy changes in their role and a perception of decreased professional status.

> *'My job title is currently Careers Adviser. Two years ago it was Personal Adviser. Three years before that it was Careers Adviser and so it has changed from one to another but is now Careers Adviser. (CA1, 4-9).*

Reversion to a previous job title was universally welcomed by CAs. This is because the personal values they held aligned more closely with this job title. CA2, who did not give permission for quotations to be used, suggested that CAs' response to the previous change in title caused negative connotations associated with the redefinition of their role at that time. Her response supported the findings of Artaraz (2006, 2008) and Reid and West (2011a) who described the Connexions Service and the role of Personal Adviser as the creation of a single profession that integrated a range of pre-existing professionals (Oliver, 2004) which led to a weakening of careers guidance practitioners' professional identity.

Lines of accountability and responsibility were another structure identified by participants as important to policy enactment. Transfer of employment conditions from the local authority to the new careers organisation were key to CAs. CAs identified that during transition to the new organisational structure, managers and CAs were employed under different terms and conditions. This dimension was more of a priority to CAs than SLs because it related to their employment stability. SLs did not describe these transitional arrangements, so appeared to be less aware of the changes to employment arrangements for CAs.

The policy change removed the requirement for CIAG to be part of the school curriculum. In addition, decisions about how CIAG and work-related learning should be included in the school curriculum was devolved to head teachers and governors (Andrews 2011). Despite this increased autonomy for SLs, most were initially keen to maintain a structure of delivery similar to before the policy change. At the time of data collection, only one school had decided to replace a commissioned service by creating an employed post in school. SL5's account of this demonstrates how structures relating to lines of accountability and responsibility were considered by participants:

*'… when Head of Careers decided, as a teacher, to retire, we decided not to replace him with a teaching post. We looked to employ somebody who was a full-time. member of staff who would be responsible for Citizenship and Careers throughout the school.' (SLT5, 80-83)*

Another type of structure which was important to SLs related to how the school curriculum was planned to include of CIAG and work-related learning. The main decision related to whether the provision was evenly and regularly distributed, such as a timetabled lesson, or covered through less frequent events such school activity days. Also having responsibility for designing the school's timetable, CA5 made this point, illustrated in the following quote:

*'… CA5 who has responsibility has done a fantastic job in her first year getting loads of visitors into school and has coordinated the careers and citizenship and PSHE curriculum through those drop-down days. We have learnt a lot, and she would probably say we haven't got it right yet, but that's what we are doing at the moment.' (SLT5, 91-95)*

**5.3 Subcategory: Forming positive relationships with others**

The third subcategory that comprises the external responses category includes participants' descriptions of positive working relationships with other colleagues within the CIAG field. Participants described these relationships using three dimensions. These refer to whom participants identified as having relationships with, qualities that participants described as important in maintaining relationships and the behaviours that participants identified that contributed to creating and maintaining working relationships. Participants used the positive relationships they held with colleagues to account for job satisfaction and enjoyment, describe aspects of their professional identity and justify decisions and actions.

5.3.1 Dimension: Contributors to relationships

This dimension refers to individuals and organisations that participants identified as playing a part in the implementation of the policy change with whom they formed positive relationships. Organisational relationships were the net result of personal relationships that occur between organisation members that accumulated over time. Whilst some individuals and organisations were commonly identified by participants, some were acknowledged less frequently. Recognition of other change agents contributed to a description of the CIAG field. Through their responses, participants indicated aspects of power relationships that exist between themselves and other participants and the types and values of capital that they have (Bourdieu 1998).

Participants often referred to individuals or small groups of people within schools, demonstrating a specific understanding of the different roles they played within the school setting. This precise knowledge of people and roles at a local level contrasted with a more diffuse understanding of more remote organisations. These were often referred to collectively by participants. Participants regularly identified headteachers, SLs with responsibility for CIAG and other members of school senior leadership teams. For example, CAs regularly demonstrated their awareness of members of school leadership structures, as illustrated in the two quotes below:

*'So, I think to a greater extent, a lot of headteachers must have …' (CA1, 650-651)*

and:

*'… it does depend on the experience of the Senior Leadership Team …' (CA5, 286-287)*

Schools' existing hierarchy were often used by participants to relate to and describe positions of power within the field. The economic capital transferred to headteachers held a powerful position within the field. Other SLs were afforded a similar status due to their contribution to

enacting the policy reform. Previous strong social capital that existed between SLs that arose from sharing and comparing practice was identified by SLs as continuing to reinforce their shared status:

> *'… myself and other curriculum managers within the district were also talking at our meetings about what they were going to do as far as careers education, careers advice, were concerned …' (SLT5, 46-48)*

The field also contained other members of school staff who had specific responsibility for CIAG and its implementation. Although they held less economic capital than SLs, these staff had a high degree of other symbolic, social and cultural forms of capital which were maintained through their job descriptions and roles. Job titles were not fixed, reflecting school contexts. For example in School2, a post holder responsible for aspects of CIAG not covered by a CA was in post:

> *'… a Careers Coordinator – a member of staff who liaises with the Careers Advisers and also they are responsible for setting up an educational programme for careers which is part of the school's PSHE programme which is delivered by tutors…' (SLT2b, 19-22)*

Participants referred to school staff who were involved more in operational rather than strategic aspects of the policy change. As a result, these individuals occupied less powerful field positions. These change agents included class teachers, heads of department and pastoral leaders. Non-teaching staff were also identified, particularly for administrative and pastoral roles that were not completed by teachers:

> *'… we have got within the Sixth Form team, we have got a sixth form mentor which is a new role this year and the mentor has been heavily involved in working with pupils in terms of careers and aspirations.' (SLT1, 173-175)*

Some participants identified this wider group of school staff through describing barriers to successful policy implementation. For example, CA3, who did not give permission for quotations to be used, suggested that her role in school was made more challenging by teachers who did not allow pupils to leave lessons to attend careers interviews. CA3 rationalised this by stating that teachers had a higher priority regarding pupils completing their class work than preparation for transition to sixth form or college, despite the structures she was working within being created and sanctioned by SLs. As already identified, CA5 provided some aspects of CIAG in primary schools so also included these staff within her field.

Participants also provided evidence of involvement of members of the careers organisation in the field. CAs referred to other CAs who worked within the same and other districts. Participants also identified leaders and managers within the careers company as part of the field:

> *'… there has been good management and advice from CM1 etcetera from Entrust, so we have been very fortunate there.' (SLT2b, 67-69)*

As with individuals within schools, participants afforded symbolic capital to individuals within the careers organisation which could be used to determine their position within the field. The relationship between the hierarchies within the careers company and schools had shifted in response the redistribution of economic capital from the local authority to schools.

Participants also identified other organisations with whom they come into contact regarding CIAG provision. Some SLs combined CIAG with school work related learning and work experience. They provided either reasons for continuing to offer work experience or justifications for no longer doing so. For example, SLT2b justifies school resources being used to support work experience placements:

*'Work experience hasn't changed. We invest a great deal of money in Staffordshire Partnership …' (SLT2b, 187)*

Some of the more remote members of the field that participants identified included the government and ministers. Participants identified these individuals and organisations as the originators of the policy reform. In addition, participants perceived the local authority's contribution, by creating Entrust in response to wider policy reform, as originators of current working structures.

Participants also identified contributors to CIAG activities. These included local business and employers, training and apprenticeship providers and higher and further education institutions. Participants regarded these field members as sources of information and resources for events such as careers fairs in schools. Further education providers were regarded by some participants as competitors, vying to recruit pupils.

Participants also identified other commercial careers organisations who had entered the market place to provide CIAG in schools. Companies participants had not previously worked with were viewed cautiously, and often questions raised regarding the unknown quality of their service.

*'From time to time we do have some concerns, you know, even amongst external providers you can get areas of bias, and it got to be about knowing the individual student as well …' (SLT2a, 250-254).*

Participants also identified the National Careers Service, but this was regarded in more neutral terms than commercial CIAG providers. CA participants often perceived the National Careers Service as supplementing their own service. CAs regarded themselves as dominating their competitors within their field as they possessed different forms of capital. For example, the social capital that led to well-established positive relationships with SLs and the economic

advantage holding contracts for CIAG with schools. This is illustrated in the quotation below from CA1 who explained his understanding of why current CA provision was in a dominant position:

> *'… then there is probably a lot of independent advisers who profess to be able to do it, but we don't know these people, so I think that probably a lot of teachers say 'If we are happy with the current service we are getting, then we will stick with that.'' (CA1, 655-661)*

5.3.2 Dimension: Behaviours that lead to forming positive relationships

The next dimension within the positive relationships subcategory includes participants' behaviours used when working with colleagues. Participants described an expectation of similar qualities in their colleagues which forms the dimension described below. Although participants described behaviours with varying degrees of detail, they revealed consistent approaches in their dealings with colleagues. These behaviours were described using Bourdieu's concept of practice. This suggests practice is socially modelled within a field and has logic and strategy (Bourdieu 1977). When describing aspects of their practice that led to positive relationships, participants are describing aspects of their personal and professional identity which are described in Chapter Four. An understanding of 'self' or 'identity' contributes to how professionals construct and understand their work (Kelchtermans and Vandenberghe 1994). Participants create a self-perception through description of behaviours including self-esteem, motivation and how they define their jobs (Kelchtermans 1993).

A new behaviour SLs identified in CAs was concern with ensuring the delivery of efficient CIAG. School leaders described CAs as working to meet externally imposed policy directives and externally set performance indicators. This suggests CAs are exhibiting entrepreneurial professional characteristics (Sachs 2000), a form of professional identity characterised by

efficiency and accountability that has been encouraged by neoliberal policy reform. This is exemplified in the quotation below by SLT2a:

*'… I suppose in some ways having to buy in a service, they [CAs} are making sure you feel that you are getting value for money as well.' (SLT2a, 149-152)*

CAs identified their experience of CIAG as their most dominant form of cultural capital and in so doing were demonstrating logic in their practice as they were making use of their strengths within the field. This is illustrated by CA1 below when referring to the relationship and influence he had achieved with school leaders:

*'… I had all this destination knowledge that some if it could be used' (CA1 578-580)*

The same high levels of expertise and skill are also noted in CAs by senior leaders and used to justify the decisions they have made in engaging the CAs to provide guidance in school:

*'… we have been fortunate to have very, very enthusiastic and skilled practitioners and that's always very much driven the improvement in careers…' (SLT2b, 91-93)*

Senior leaders also identify and place value on the cultural capital of CAs as they have skills and expertise that are not present within the skill set of members of staff within the school. Lipsky (2010) identifies that lack of knowledge is one factor that can temper successful implementation of a policy:

*'… we haven't got the impartial expertise in school. We had a number of people that had certain expertise in certain areas … but not necessarily within the world of employment and the way that was going to be shaped.' (SLT5, 65-68)*

CAs characterised their independence or autonomy as an important aspect of their cultural capital. This formed a dimension of their internal response to the policy change, explored in Chapter Four. CA1 referred to a degree of autonomy regarding working arrangements in school:

> *'… am free to decide who is most important, and when I see people, so I still have got my professional independence.' (CA1, 788-791)*

By referring to the value they place on autonomy, CAs were ensuring their practice reflected an aspect of the field's social context, namely the requirement for CIAG to be impartial, although this concept was subject to a range of interpretations by participants. CA's behaviour was reinforced by SL comments. For example, in justifying school strategic decisions regarding funding allocation, SLT1 states:

> *'… it comes down to number one, absolute trust in his … I also trust his independence, and he is independent.' (SLT1, 71-73)*

Participant descriptions of behaviours including trust, independence and integrity were, in a sense, at odds with the target-driven and outcomes focused aspects of professionalism that they demonstrated in response to the policy change (Pollitt 2006). Such descriptions reverted to a more traditionally held habitus of professionalism that include moral purpose and autonomy. Hughes (2013a) suggests a conflict exists between these competing views of professionalism in teachers and Reid and West (2011a) suggest a similar conflict has been identified in CAs. Participants identify that more traditional professional qualities described here still pervades their habitus, and justify their decisions and actions in terms of it rather than an increased focus on accountability and efficiency.

Participants described behaviours that ensured impartial CIAG but responded to the financial arrangements that the policy change created. There was more of an onus on CAs to respond in

this way due to the expectation of impartiality being placed on them. CA5's context as a direct employee of School5 was identified by SLT5 as creating a possible conflict with the policy's expectation of impartial CIAG. SLT5 reinforced the upholding of professional characteristics as a solution to this, demonstrated in the quotation below:

> *'… as professional as she is and as impartial as she is, she is now an employee of [School5].' (SLT5, 310-311)*

However, a further aspect of ensuring impartial CIAG was available within schools related to ensuring that other school priorities do not influence advice that pupils receive. For example, CA1 describes achieving impartiality without conflicting other school policies:

> *'I have the freedom to go around and give advice, and I am not a threat to schools, and pupils want it, and schools see it as a good resource …' (CA1, 858-862)*

Many participants identified increased levels of communication between change agents had resulted from the policy change. CA3, who did not give permission for quotations to be used, suggested more frequent meetings and exchange of emails with SLs had enhanced communication since schools became financially responsible for CIAG.

Pre-existing positive relationships provided participants, particularly CAs, with a degree of social capital. Participants reinforced aspects of on-going relationships with and loyalty towards colleagues as a contributory factor to their decisions and structures. For example, SLT1 justified the decision to sustain CIAG provision from before the policy change through pre-existing positive relationships:

> *'We have always had a very good relationship with our Connexions Adviser, with CA1 and in all honesty, that's what we wanted to maintain.' (SLT1, 50-51)*

Participants' demonstration of emotional and behavioural reactions that reflects their personal values when responsible for policy implementation was analogous with Iverson's (1996) work on public sector professionals.

CAs also note the capital they have established through assured relationships with SLs as an important reason that schools had decided to sustain contractual relationships after the policy change had been introduced:

> *'I think it does depend upon the experience of the Senior Leadership Team, from the advisers that they have had, of course in school, because sadly if they have had a bad experience of one adviser in the school who they feel hasn't particularly contributed or they haven't seen an impact or they don't feel have been effective … they think that reflects the service in general' (CA5, 286-290)*

Participants also identified and placed high value on behaviours that maintained a continuity of provision for pupils, and for parents, illustrated in the two quotations below:

> *'… the pupils know him as a person, he is not just this person who comes in for careers advice. If you say to pupils 'It's [CA1],' they know exactly who that is, where his office is … and he builds up that relationship with those pupils over time.' (SLT1, 90-93)*

> *'… there is access there for parents as well – so we have someone there who attends parents' evenings.' (SLT2a, 66-68)*

The importance participants placed on behaviours resulting in positive relationships between those within the CIAG field contrasted with some published research that suggests there is an increase in the top-down, directive driven approach to leadership of school staff resulting from policy reform. This research suggests that more compliance-driven strategies are replacing

collegial relationships, although identifies that SLs incorporate and balance their approach to relationships (Vulliamy and Webb 1993).

5.3.3 Dimension: Desirable qualities in others

This dimension describes the desirable qualities that participants wished to find in other change agents they worked with. Often similar to behaviours participants identified described in themselves and others, outlined in an earlier dimension, these desirable qualities were those that participants sought in colleagues. In contrast, some participants identified undesirable traits which hindered collaboration and policy development.

SLs made a clear response that they sought established relationships with CAs as part of their decision to maintain links with the careers organisation:

> *'… to a certain extent it has been a personality led decision … I have sat there with the manager of the district and said 'You need to be able to guarantee that we will have him'' (SLT1, 65-69)*

One desirable quality that CAs sought in SLs was that of high importance being placed on the role of CIAG within schools. CA4 referred to the quality within an SL she worked closely with as a 'champion' for school CIAG. CA4 referred to the SL prioritising CIAG and maintaining it high on the school's agenda with other leaders. The impact of the high priority afforded CIAG was that strategic decisions made had a positive impact on or how CIAG was delivered, and the CA's contribution towards this.

SLs sought a level of commitment from CAs that was beyond their contractual obligations. This characteristic is described by Stoll (1999) as the capability and skills to enact policy reform, an aspect of individual capacity. For example, SLT1 suggested that this additional commitment was realised within CA1:

*'… I think he [CA1] will go the extra mile … he works very, very hard. He works long hours, more than, certainly more hours in the school than he is paid to do and he is quite regularly here gone six o'clock and that's great.' (SLT1, 87-90)*

Participants identified personal qualities that they sought in their colleagues. One personal quality required by SLs was that trustworthiness when carrying out duties in school:

*'… the first thing … is that a CA needs to be trusted, and accepted …' (CA1, 295-296)*

Other participants sought aspects of colleague's moral values, mostly around maintaining a focus on the pupils' outcomes. A justification of decisions based on a belief that others are working in the best interests of pupils reinforces Sachs' (2000) description of the activist form of professionalism. For example, SLT2a suggested that CAs should be:

*'… pupil centred in terms of what is in the best interest of the pupil' (SLT2a, 428-430)*

Some participants identified a willingness to network and share practice as a desirable professional trait in their colleagues. For example, SLT2b valued these opportunities that had previously existed within the district between SL colleagues, exemplified in the quotation below:

*'… within the district, the five schools, it was local authority led… There was a lot of advice, you knew what was going on, you know what was going on with the other schools, the sharing of good practice …' (SLT2b, 173-175)*

Although participants identified networking and sharing of practice as a desirable trait in others, SLs noted that there had been reduction in such opportunities (Smyth 2001). A culture of increased competition between schools has resulted from the introduction of market forces within the educational field, created, for example, through increased parental choice. This has resulted in new relationships between colleagues in different schools (Donath and Milos 2009).

However, SLs identified other opportunities to forge links with external organisations, and so had replaced previously established networks to mitigate against increased isolation resulting from the breakdown of previous networks within the field:

> *'She has all the access to outside agencies, and there is work with … she has got all those connections and has been doing a great job for us this year.' (SLT5, 96-98)*

**5.4 Summary**

This chapter has presented and discussed the external responses category, participants' actions, structures and relationships that were responses to the policy change. The category identifies that participants demonstrated actions which have previously been described in policy implementation literature. There was also evidence that participants took opportunities to mediate policy objectives to meet other organisational goals, rather than either adopting or rejecting them. The way participants mediated their responses was affected by aspects of their internal responses to the policy change. These were presented in Chapter Four. Participants often justified their external responses in terms of how they experienced and perceived the policy. Participants also explained their actions in the context of how they contributed to the success measures they were working towards achieving. Success measures form the third and final category and are presented in Chapter Six.

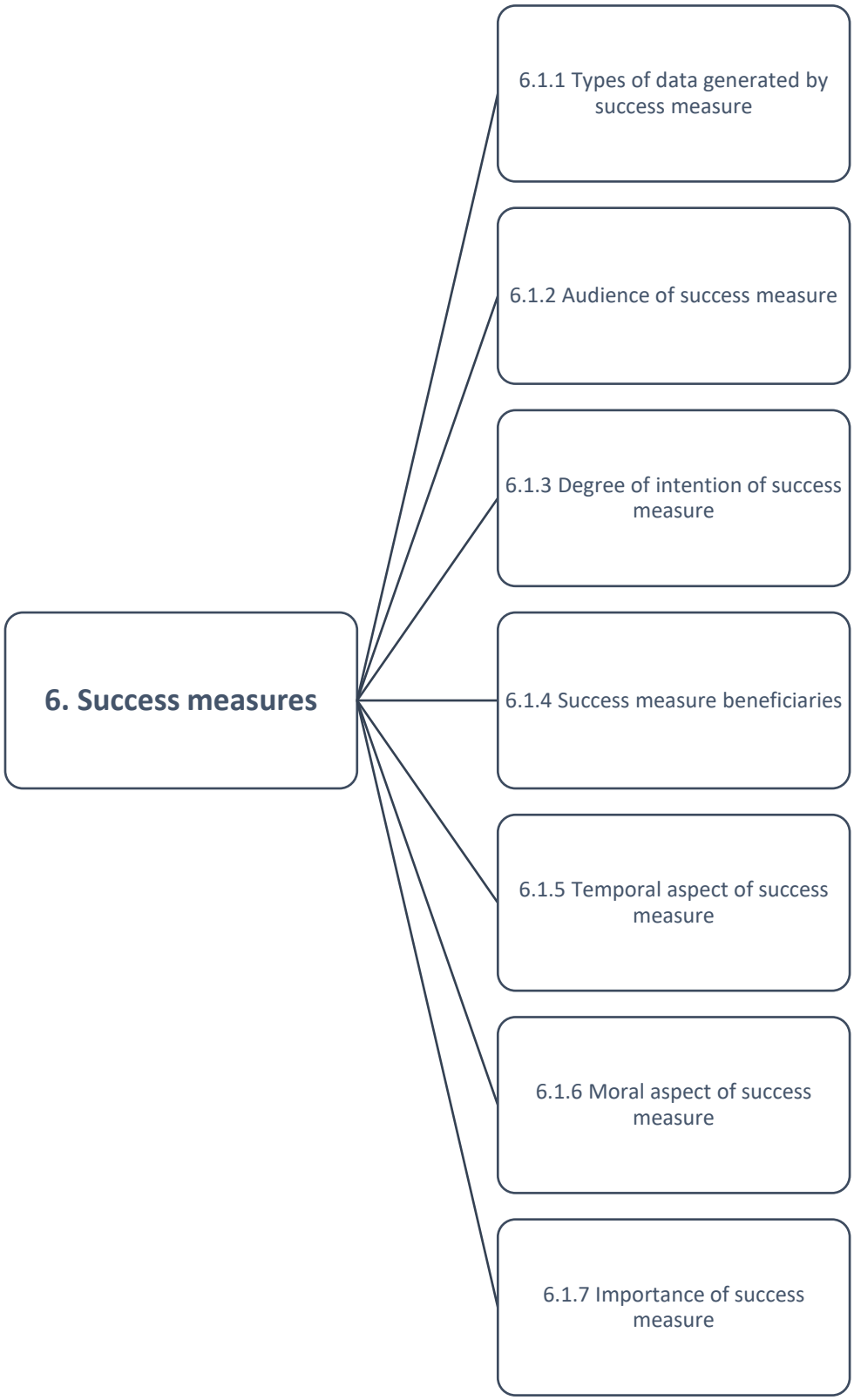
## Chapter 6 Findings: Success measures category

The third and final findings chapter presents and discuss the success measures category. In this category, participants described the positive impacts of careers information, advice and guidance (CIAG) in schools. The dimensions identified, illustrated in Figure Six, are not classified into different subcategories unlike the previous two categories. Further classification was not necessary to define the category. Participants used the success measures they described to evaluate the impact and value of their own contribution, the contribution of others involved in CIAG and the value of CIAG as an aspect of educational provision.

Existing literature identifies that changes in public sector funding (OECD 2010) have contributed to the development of a culture that focuses on efficiency and effectiveness (Day et al 2007). This has created competition (Donath and Milos 2009) and expectations of continued improvement (Smyth 2001). Aspects of school performance, including CIAG are subject to scrutiny by interested parties beyond the organisation (Workman et al 2010). Participants confirmed their awareness of the need to demonstrate their performance, and used the policy change as the starting point to negotiate (Campbell 2012) success outcomes.

Bourdieu's ideas of economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital (Thompson 2005) are often applied to policy research (Maton 2005) and contribute to describing the success measures dimension presented in this chapter. Participants within the CIAG field knew how to work within the field, and apply its rules through their habitus (Thompson 2005), and the principles on which participants base their decisions to act in a certain manner (Grenfell and James 1988). Presenting dimensions of participants' success measures contributes to understanding their habitus.

**Figure Six: Success measures category**



### 6.1 Category: Success measures

#### 6.1.1 Dimension: Types of data generated by success measure

The first dimension of this category describes the type of data generated by success measures. Identification and use of qualitative or quantitative outcomes to justify actions or support organisations contributes to identifying types of capital that exist within the field (Bourdieu 1992). Participants were aware that there were multiple outcomes of their work. For example, Careers Adviser1 (CA1) stated:

> *'Well it [success] could be judged in lots of ways. It could be judged in what impact it is actually having in young people in their education whilst they are in school …' (CA1, 426-429).*

Participants described both quantitative and qualitative success measures. Many examples of quantitative success measures were given and these related to outcomes used within the educational field but also by third parties external to both schools and careers organisations and used to measure the impact of CIAG. For example, all participants mention the number of pupils who were not in education, employment or training (NEET) within a year group as an outcome measure. CA5 suggests that this is an important success measure for the school leaders (SLs) in the school that she works in:

> *'… they [senior leaders] have always had an interest in destinations, in sort of the November NEET figures that have come back …' (CA5, 202-203)*

SLT1 reinforces this perception of SLs held by CA5 and cites his school's previous success of low numbers of pupils identified as NEET to justify the school's current response to planning CIAG provision:

*'… I mean last year we had no NEETS in Year 12 or Year 13 or in Year 11 – our view was, well you know, it isn't broke don't fix it.' (SLT1, 60-61)*

SL participants opportunistically applied quantitative success measures from this policy change to other policies. By doing so, they reveal aspects of their habitus through unconsciously linking policies together such as linking pupil-focused outcomes and ensuring best value for money. For example, in the quotation below, SLT2a links the impact of CIAG on pupil retention in the sixth form with the government's policy of raising the participation age to 18 years old:

*'.. both of them [NEETs] at post-16 and post-18, so at the moment, and for the last few years we have been in a no-NEET position, but I know as things change we have got to keep an eye on that. And obviously, the raising of the participation age has had an impact on that.' (SLT2a, 119-125)*

Careers advisers (CAs) also linked quantitative success measures to other agendas and priorities, often related to aspects they perceived to judge individual or organisational success. For example, CA2 described how improvements in communication in the school and good value for money through the commissioned service was judged through declining numbers of pupils who do not attend careers interview appointments in school, referred to 'as did not attends' (DNAs). By describing how DNAs as a form of success measure, CAs identify it as a type of capital. CA5 also mentioned this outcome as part of her positive evaluation of the success of CIAG in the School5:

*'… this school has been particularly very good with regard to those who attend their careers appointments, it has always been very good, however it is more or less 100% of those who turn up for their interviews now …' (CA5, 73-75)*

CA4 referred to the number of young people making use of drop-in sessions provided by the careers organisation outside school as a quantitative success measure. She expressed concerns regarding a decline in use of this type of cultural capital and associated it with reduced awareness of how pupils can access CIAG outside of the school environment. She expressed her concern in terms of cuts to service and ultimately insecurity of jobs within her organisation, revealing an aspect of her habitus that related to ensuring continuity of employment and concerns regarding conflict of the policy change with this.

SLs demonstrated high levels of awareness of how CIAG contributes to externally judged measures. These included reporting the number of pupils in sixth forms who successfully complete their programmes of study. As a high level of importance was placed on externally judged success measures, they were an important form of capital within the field. SLT5 states:

> *'… also judging how many pupils actually stuck at it after a year, so in other words if we were looking at our Sixth Form what is our retention? What is our completion as well as success? … we have just had the new success criteria for post-16 which has just come out on the [government's] results website …' (SLT5, 236-240)*

Participants also described examples of qualitative success measures. CAs regularly expressed frustration that these success measures were perceived of less importance, as they could not be reported as clearly, and did not form part of how organisations external to the school judge the success of CIAG. This revealed an aspect of CAs' habitus which considered their professional status and diminishing the importance of the long-term outcomes of the work that they do. CA1 expressed this view by emphasising the increasing importance of quantitative outcomes:

> *'… and as we move more into privately run and funded things, I think statistics are going to become more important.' (CA1, 247-250)*

A qualitative measure described solely by CAs related to their concerns regarding the success and continuity of the careers organisation that many of them were employed by. They noted that success could be attributed to their work when pupils and parents demonstrated awareness of their work. Their suggestion of this as a success measure identified it as a form of social capital within the field. SLs also had an awareness of qualitative success measures for CIAG, and in a similar way to CAs used these to support the success of their work. CA5 provided evidence for this success measure by contrasting the work within this district with a neighbouring one:

> *'… there are people out there who are so frustrated and do not know where to turn for careers advice and guidance, we've got parents who are sort of complaining …' (CA5, 348-349)*

Some success measures participants identified contained elements of qualitative and quantitative outcomes. SLs reflected on the positive value for money provided, a type of economic capital since schools had taken financial responsibility for CIAG. Whilst quantitative factors such as numbers of pupils interviewed and NEET rates formed part of their perception of value for money, qualitative aspects were also included in this. For example, value for money was described as including symbolic forms of capital such as the positive experiences of CIAG by pupils and parents by SLT5:

> *'We also look at what their experiences are and then … we will be asking the parents what they think' (SLT5, 253-255)*

6.1.2 Dimension: Audience of success measure

This dimension describes those within the CIAG field that participants perceived to be the audience of the success measure. Pollitt (2006) describes increased emphasis on targets, accountability and public scrutiny within individuals' professional identity. Participants in this

research demonstrated that being held publicly accountable has become part of their habitus. For example, in his account of the recent inspection of School1 by Ofsted, SLT1 interprets how inspectors used success measures about CIAG to evaluate the school's effectiveness:

> *'… well we had no NEETS in Year 11, Year 12 and Year 13, and they went 'Well that's nice,' and that was pretty much as far as the monitoring went.' (SLT1, 142-144)*

Other audiences within the field that participants identified for success measures included parents and pupils. Participants, particularly CA2, CA3 and CA4, who did not give permission for quotations of the interview transcript to be used, explained how they collected evidence of the impact of their work on parents and pupils, by questionnaire feedback following participation events such as careers fairs. In these examples, participants described benefits for pupils as central to their actions, revealing aspects of moral purpose, part of their internal response to the policy change.

In addition to identifying audiences for success measures regarded as personally important, participants also described success outcomes which they perceive as being important to others. Identification of these success measures supports the research of Sachs (2000) who identifies an entrepreneurial form of professional identity, characterised by accountability to others. For example, CA1 identified a type of cultural capital, strong relationships with school staff, as being important for SLs:

> *'… a careers adviser needs to be trusted, and accepted to do their job in the school …' (CA1, 296-298)*

Some participants also included school governors in this group. For example, CA2 described the role of governors in monitoring SLs' work and their involvement in allocation of funding.

A further audience group identified by participants were organisations not directly involved in the CIAG process. For example, as illustrated in the quote from SLT1 above, participants identified that Ofsted used the proportion of pupils described as NEET to judge the impact of CIAG in a school. In so doing, participants were responding to policy reform that encourages a performativity agenda (Sachs 2000) and demonstrating that aspects of habitus relating to professional identity are responsive to contextual changes. SLT1 continued to reflect on the school's recent inspection and noted the importance of quantifiable success measures, rather than more detailed qualitative evidence to the inspectors:

> *'… when Ofsted are in, which was pretty recently … we were asked for destination data for Year 11, Year 12 and Year 13. Once they saw that and that it was pretty much positive data they took it as read. They didn't ask at all about the wider aspects of careers education in school.' (SLT1, 142-147)*

This perceived importance of quantitative outcomes by an external audience affected how participants prioritised success measures. Participants were influenced to place more significance on those measures which are important to the external audience. As a result, different types of capital are more significant to participants than others. The importance of different types of capital originates from internal responses such as professional identity but also external influences including how important the capital is to others within the field. Participants also identified the government as an important external organisation, particularly when associating CIAG success measures with other agendas and priorities. For example, SLT2a demonstrates awareness of the policy to improve aspirations to improve outcomes:

> *'We are doing more work, for example, on Russell Group universities lower down the school, and encouraging pupils to do that. I know that the Government has got an eye on that agenda …' (SLT2a, 167-171)*

Although participants were aware of the interest of external groups in outcomes, the transition to the new policy resulted in some confusion of exactly how success would be judged. For example, CA1 suggested some confusion of government expectations:

> *'Well it has always been difficult to know what the Government truly want for IAG and careers guidance in schools …' (CA1, 97-10)*

Participants demonstrated that the success measures which are attributed to the different audiences described above are not mutually exclusive. Many success measures described by participants are identified as being important to more than one group.

### 6.1.3 Dimension: Degree of intention of success measure

The next dimension describes whether the success measures identified by participants were planned for, or arose as an unexpected outcome of actions taken. Bourdieu (1977) describes practice as having sense or logic, but not being consciously organised, and existing for a purpose to develop the goals or interests of agents. Using this understanding, participants described their ambitions and goals they expected to occur in response to their actions. Accountability aspects of participants' habitus were revealed when they subsequently identified additional success measures and used them to justify their decisions and actions.

Participants were consciously working towards achieving intentional success measures that were subject to deliberate planning. For example, attempts to reduce the number of pupils who did not attend appointments with CAs. Participants' behaviours were affected by this awareness and used as justifications for the decisions they made. For example, to increase the positive impact of his work on other agendas in school, CA1 identifies that CIAG can be used to raise pupils' aspiration, contributing to better outcomes and destinations:

*'… in fact, I could be an asset to the school, couldn't I? I would motivate young people to go to better universities, I would know the difference between a good university and a bad university …' (CA1, 820-825)*

Participants identified some success measures that arose spontaneously during policy implementation though reflection and analysis during the interviews and resulted in outcomes that participants were not initially aware of (Bourdieu 1977). For example, when CA2 described attending fewer multi-agency meetings for pupils with special educational needs and/or disabilities because of decreased time allocated to schools, she identified that her time was being used more effectively for direct CIAG work with young people. However, she did also identify that networking opportunities arising from meeting with colleagues have decreased.

6.1.4 Dimension: Success measure beneficiaries

The next dimension describes those who benefited from the success measures participants identified. Participants cited pupils who receive CIAG as the most commonly intended beneficiaries. This pupil-focus resonates with other findings within this research. For example, participants identify a pupil-focused aspect to their professional identify within the values and principles dimension of the internal responses category. Participants identified different ways that pupils benefit, for example successful transition to further employment or training after finishing school. SLT1 describes the importance of CIAG being in the best interest of pupils beyond other success measures:

*' … this year I have a number of Year 12s who have been to me and who are not sure whether to stay or go onto an apprenticeship, and I have sent them all towards [CA1] to get the independent … if a pupil leaves at the end of Year 12 and goes onto a really good apprenticeship then we have done a really good job with them. If they leave Year 12 and go and do nothing then we have got a problem' (SLT1 110-118)*

Success measures were also identified as having an impact on the school such as meeting statutory duties to provide impartial CIAG, and the freedom for schools to decide how they CIAG should be structured. CA1 identified this as a benefit for schools:

> *'… I think a statutory duty is a minimum that young people can expect ... The way that the government have addressed this is to free up schools to actually, you know, provide their own services really, they can decide how they wish to do it (CA1, 589-598)*

Participants also identified some success outcomes were of benefit to the careers organisations. For example, CAs strived to ensure schools were satisfied with the service they provided and so would continue to commission their services. Maintained demand for their services safeguarded CA's employment. SLT2a noticed that CAs were mindful of the benefit to their organisation:

> *'… so I suppose in some ways having to buy in a service, they are making sure you feel that you are getting value for money as well. So that is probably a change in the way that the service is delivered …' (SLT2a , 149-154)*

Outcome measures were identified to benefit parents, for example, gaining knowledge and understanding of the possible destinations available for their children when they leave school. CA5 identified parents as a specifically targeted group for successful outcomes. CA5 contrasted her success in meeting parents' needs through strong school-based CIAG with a neighbouring district where schools have adopted a different approach to CIAG:

> *'… there were quite a few parents and pupils who came over from [district] to the school and some of the parents and pupils said to me that they were so frustrated and they wanted to know where to go for careers advice …' (CA5, 316-318)*

6.1.5 Dimension: Temporal aspect of success measure

A further dimension of the success outcomes category is the time taken between actions relating to CIAG taking place and the achievement of the successful outcomes. Some outcomes identified were relatively short-term success measures, such as recruitment and retention of pupils to a school's sixth form. SLs were universal in placing high value on retention of pupils in their sixth forms, particularly high performing pupils. For example, SLT2a stated:

> *'… we feel we need to promote how well our sixth form pupils do – we do have some of our pupils who look at selective schools post-16, and there is a perception that they are going to get better results, so we are working more, I suppose, on marketing our own sixth form …' (SLT2a, 175-182)*

Participants also identified longer-term success outcomes where their actions contributed to less tangible and often qualitative and more individualised success measures. For example, when reflecting on the complexity of measuring the success of his work, CA1 identified a long-term outcome which was not captured or reported on as a success measure:

> *'… I think, you know, a young person should be able to look back on their life and say 'Who helped me achieve success in my life?' and hopefully one person that they come up with is the CA.' (CA1, 435-440)*

CA5 identified raising awareness of CIAG amongst pupils in primary schools so that they can access and use CIAG more effectively once in secondary school in the future as a longer-term success measure:

> *'… engaged, really interacted and again really raised their awareness of careers at a really young age, and again positive feedback from the school …' (CA5, 237-239)*

CAs voiced more frustrations than SLs regarding the absence of long-term success criteria from evaluation of the impact of their work. This suggested that longer-term outcomes of CIAG were more important to CAs than to SLs. For example, CA1 reflects on the long-term impact of CIAG on pupils:

> *''… I mean, you don't want to become cynical of them, but at the end of the day all those things are less important than the young person's future development, really, because otherwise they will be gone and they will be getting on with their life …' (CA1,476-482).*

SLs were much more focused on the short-term outcomes which could be used to justify the immediate CIAG provision rather than the status or purpose of their role.

6.1.6 Dimension: Moral aspect of success measure

The moral dimension of success measures links closely to the values and principles dimension of the internal responses category, presented in Chapter Four. That dimension describes how participants justified their decisions and actions based on their personal morals and philosophies. Participants frequently identified when a success criterion reinforces or conflicts with their personal values. Kelchtermans and Vandenberghe (1994) state that participants' self-identity requires recognition of beliefs and attitudes, and the effects of actions taken and these are crucial to how participants construct the nature of their work. Identification of the moral aspect of outcomes can be interpreted as an embodiment of some aspects of participants' habitus.

CA1 described some of his moral purpose of the CIAG work he provided, suggesting the contribution made to wider pastoral development of pupils was not a readily identified aspect of his work, although of high personal importance:

*'… I don't think it has ever been valued at the level, ever, that it should have been in society. I mean, we are talking one of the most important areas of young people – we are not just talking about their career, but how they view themselves, the confidence to enter education, to become better qualified … I don't think this country has ever fully invested in a proper careers service …' (CA1, 373-385)*

SLs also cited their moral purpose in ensuring aspects of CIAG, and wider careers education. For example, SLT5 discussed the decision to continue to include a period of work experience within the curriculum, although the statutory requirement to do so had been removed:

*'… but we kept it as an entitlement. As the moment to be fair, it is there as an entitlement, the vast majority of pupils we push to do it at the end of Year 10 …' (SLT5, 129-131)*

He referred to work experience as an entitlement for pupils, a choice of strong words to support his justification for including work experience on the school's curriculum. SLT5 revealed strong attitudes within his habitus towards ensuring work related learning for all pupils through this choice of language. CA2, who did not give permission for quotations of the interview transcript to be used, described how her principles conflicted with wider institutional agendas when working in further education. She accounted for her move to school careers work because of pressure to recruit learners to ensure courses ran, in preference of pupils' best interests. Although CA2 was clear of the expectation of impartiality within the policy, she described how this conflicted with expected success criteria both within school and her organisation and with her own moral values, for example regarding competition between subjects or institutions for pupil numbers.

SLs were also aware of conflicts that could arise between success criteria and expectations of impartiality in CIAG. For example, when considering the quality of CIAG from external providers, SLT2a states:

*'From time to time we do have some concerns, you know, even amongst external providers you can get areas of bias …' (SLT2a, 250-253)*

Within the schools sampled for this research, just one had directly employed a CA. SLT5 identified that the decision to adopt this structure could have led to possible conflict. SLT5 justifies the decision to adopt this structure by a positive evaluation of CA5's personal and professional qualities:

*'… well actually she [CA5] has … again … a conflict of interest because she is an employee of the school. However, she knows it is part of her job that she has got to give impartial advice. (SLT5, 312-313)*

CA5 also identified the possibility of a conflict of interest arising through her employment arrangements. In the quote below, CA5 explained how she put measures in place to demonstrate her impartiality, should it have been questioned:

*'… absolutely vital and to be fair it was something when I was appointed that [Headteacher] was* very *keen on proving that we still had impartiality … through my own practice I still produce action plans for every single pupil and again it outlines what it is that we have discussed, what advice has been given, and the different range of post-16, post-18 options so we have actually got evidence showing impartiality' (CA5, 111-117)*

6.1.7 Dimension: Importance of success measure

The final dimension of this category conveys participants' perception of the importance of the success measures they had identified. Participants considered which success measures were of higher importance. Differences in importance were used to formulate internal and external responses to the policy change. Consequently, a personal hierarchy of outcomes was implied. Participants justified resolution to actual or perceived conflicts by prioritising the more

important success outcomes. This dimension revealed that participants' habitus included elements of external scrutiny and accountability in their professional identities. Participants' consideration of the relative importance of outcomes contributed to their understanding of the internal structure of the field (Bourdieu 1977), although its structure was constantly changing (Jenkins 1992) in which their habitus is expressed as practice.

Participants identified the benefits that the CIAG made for pupils as one of the top success measure priorities. This is exemplified in CA1's quote below:

> *'I think that placing, getting people getting fixed up, reducing the levels of unemployment, making sure that Sixth Form centres and colleges are well voiced and well placed is more important …' (CA1, 242-247)*

CA1 also considered that the more qualitative benefits for pupils were often given a lower priority:

> *'… we are talking of one of the most important areas of young people – we are not just talking about their career, but how they view themselves, the confidence to enter education, to become better qualified, to go and make relationships, choose careers and choose other careers when those careers don't serve them anymore.' (CA1, 375-383)*

SLT2b suggested that to maintain pre-policy change levels of CIAG in school, funds had been diverted away from supporting sixth form subject groups which were not economically viable:

> *'it tends to come down to staffing, timetabling, so the way we have improved or allowed money to be available for careers is by looking at our class sizes, not continuing with A Level courses with small numbers so we have had to stop some A Level subjects taking place. And that is where we have made most savings' (SLT2b, 103-106)*

In this example, SLT2b demonstrated a prioritisation of CIAG over maintaining some minority sixth form subjects. In so doing, SLT2b assigned importance to the capital of a comprehensive CIAG programme in the school.

### 6.2 Summary

This chapter highlights the importance of success measures to participants and how these are used to explain the internal and external responses that have been presented in Chapters Four and Five. Other dimensions of the success measures category identified other members of the field of CIAG, such as beneficiaries of success measures or who uses a measure to evaluate the degree of success. Participants also have some understanding of whether the success measure was consciously planned or an unexpected outcome which could be linked to the policy change with hindsight. The reinforcement of moral and professional purpose was frequently linked to success measures. It emerged that participants identify both qualitative and quantitative success measures. Some success measures were apparent in the short term, but others were much more problematic to measure and so use to justify actions or support professional status, were revealed in the longer-term. Participants revealed the relative importance of different types of success measures within the field, with outcomes that benefit pupils and those which are valuable to audiences external to schools and careers organisations having a high priority.

# Chapter 7 Conclusions and Recommendations

## 7.1 Introduction

This study has sought to explore how school leaders (SLs) and careers advisers (CAs) responded to a change in careers information, advice and guidance (CIAG) policy in schools. The research identified factors that determined how schools enact the policy, and how well policy objectives integrated with other institutional priorities and agendas. It sought to identify the success measures and professional language used around CIAG and identify how the policy changed participants' perceptions of professional identity, job satisfaction and leadership styles.

The findings of this study used a constructivist grounded theory approach to analyse interview transcripts of SL and CA participants. The research identified different dimensions of participants' internal and external responses to changes in CIAG policy. The research also identified how participants' internal and external responses influenced their identification of success measures. The use of Bourdieu's thinking tools as a theoretical framework revealed many of the dimensions of the theory described in this research which were not directly observable. These changes included differences in the structures in which participants operated, described by Bourdieu as the field. For example, the removal of additional funding to resource CIAG provision. This altered the value and power of types of capital within the field. Change agents were influenced by field changes such as this which, in turn, affected aspects of their habitus. As change agents' internal attitudes and perceptions altered, their practice was modified. Although changes in practice were in response to the initial policy directive, they were subject to mediation by change agents. The findings of this study have consistently shown links to well-established theories of policy implementation and the relationship between personal and professional identity and policy change. New ways of practice further influenced the field which in turn further altered field members' habitus.

This study suggested that participants' identities were affected by, and in turn affected enactment of, policy change. Participants formulated internal and external responses to specific policy and to wider contextual changes. Previous experience of the field influenced individuals' habitus in different ways. For example, historic changes to careers policy affected the manner CAs mediated the policy intention. Participants' habitus, in addition to their practice, also influenced their professional identity. It was argued that participant interaction with policy was influenced by personal and professional identity and competing priorities from participants' organisations. Where policy intention was in synchrony with, or supported the pursuit of, other organisational or professional priorities, participants were able to enact the changes in line with policy directive. However, where participants identified conflicts or competing priorities, aspects of their habitus were identified.

The study identified how this policy change forms part of wider public sector policy reform. Participants demonstrated how their habitus included more recent ideas around professional status, particularly in relation to more external accountability and notions of a competitive market-place within the field.

The original research questions are revisited in this chapter, to present the main conclusions of this study. Limitations of the study are highlighted, and areas for potential future research proposed.

### 7.2.1 What factors do participants think determine how the policy is enacted by the schools in this district?

Some of the codes identified within the internal responses category (Chapter Four) described how participants personally experienced the policy change (section 4.1). Within this first

subcategory, participants recognised the origins of the policy change (section 4.1.1) and evaluated it (section 4.1.2). They formed intellectual (section 4.1.3) and emotional (section 4.1.4) responses to the implementation of the policy. Participants identified that the policy change was part of political reform of wider public services. Their understanding of the powerful position that government has led to an understanding of the positions occupied within the field.

Participants attributed most power within the field to policy initiators and regulators: the government and Ofsted. Participants suggested this power arose through structures of regulation and publication of crucial reports on schools which were used to evaluate schools' success. The power of SLs was greater than under the previous policy situation, arising from their responsibility to fund careers provision, including from whom the school commissioned services. This created a market-place within the field, formed from the legacy organisation of the Connexions Service and a range of other providers

Participants' intellectual and emotional responses towards the policy change were important factors in determining its enactment. They demonstrated various stages of a number of policy implementation theories including diffusion, work around and public sector entrepreneurship. Participants' responses also revealed aspects of their habitus, including the importance of professional identity, ensuring job security and placing a high priority upon meting pupils' needs. The emotional and intellectual reactions and the value judgements applied to the policy change were dependent upon the participants' context and previous experiences. Where conflicts existed, there was evidence of negative impact on individuals' experiences of the policy change. Participants planned intended behavioural responses (section 4.1.5), also a stage of several policy implementation theories, which allowed participants to interact and frame their responses within their own context.

Many of the dimensions defined within the external responses category (Chapter Five) describe factors that account for how participants enacted the policy directive (section 5.1). One dimension of participant's external response was comparison to existing practices (section 5.1.1). Comparison was often used to positively reinforce participants' actions and decisions, reduce uncertainty or refine practice. Through comparison, senior leader participants identified that they were making more decisions in isolation, a change from previous networks and collaboration. This resulted from perceived changes in the relationship between schools in the district: high quality CIAG had developed as a form of capital that the school could offer prospective pupils – sharing too much of strategy or provision could reduce the perceived edge senior leaders were able to develop over other schools. Less formal networks had begun to replace the structured meetings that had previously been in place, such as utilising social contacts to gain insight into the practice of other schools. Increased perceptions of competition related to wider education policy reforms which were creating the quasi-marketplace conditions and resultant competition between institutions.

A second dimension identifies how participants described changes in responsibilities and accountabilities for aspects of CIAG to describe response to the policy change (section 5.1.2). Whilst such external responses were described, this dimension had an impact on participants' personal experiences of the policy change and so was assimilated into their individual identity. The impact of changed responsibilities and accountabilities is described below in section 7.4.

A third factor participants used to determine policy enactment was the justification of actions dimension (section 5.1.3). This illustrates how the managerial culture of judging output against measurable targets has become integrated into the field and an entrepreneurial form of professional identity existed within participants' habitus. Through their justification, participants identified the success measures that were being used to evaluate the success of their actions. Success measures are described below in section 7.3.

One key factor that determined how the policy was enacted by schools was the repositioning of economic capital. For example, participants prioritised increased efficiency of CIAG. SLs increased the importance of this because of their new responsibility for procuring of CIAG. CAs identified this priority for SLs and responded in a variety of ways, including diversifying the way they worked in schools. The shifting importance of economic capital within the field led to changes in practice for participants. Increased power held by SLs resulted in more consideration of funding deployment and monitoring the impact of CIAG in school. These changes resulted in changes in identify for CAs resulting due to their strategic direction being determined by the SLs rather than self-determined.

### 7.2.2 How well do the participants think this policy integrates with other policies and agendas: what conflicts arise and how are they resolved?

Participants used their identities to integrate the policy directive into practice. They demonstrated changes in their identities in different contexts. Impact of the policy change on identity is summarised below (section 7.4) but is mentioned here to identify where conflicts arose. Aspects of the policy that agreed with participants' professional values caused no conflict during their enactment. However, participants made-good those policy features they considered to be ill-conceived in respect of their mission or professional identity or conflicted with other, more prominent organisational priorities. Participants integrated the policy change into existing practice by maximising the value of the different types of capital they held. Decisions and actions revealed this aspect of participants' habitus. For example, school leaders sought to integrate the policy change into the existing structures and systems in their school to guard against open criticism of the policy mandate. SLs presented professional agreement with

government policy change but also integrated it into school structures with minimal conflicts to existing policies and processes, demonstrating that they held different identities.

Participant experiences of changes were described within the structural changes subcategory (section 5.2), of the external responses category. One dimension defined how the policy was integrated into pre-existing structures (section 5.2.1). This dimension arose as participants incorporated other organisational needs and priorities into their response to the policy change. Through their actions, participants revealed that their habitus was influenced by their current context, and other priorities of their organisations or other policy objectives that took precedence in formulation of response. In some circumstances, participants created new structures to enact the policy change (section 5.2.2). New structures arose as participants actively engaged with making sense of policy meaning and its enactment, for example creating local workaround responses to meet policy intention and local needs. Participants were aware of their use of different types of structures to enact the policy (section 5.2.3). Participants' awareness of structures used to implement the policy often highlighted conflicts with their identity or values. For example, when CAs described changes to their job title, they revealed how concerns regarding professional status and previous changes to their role were disharmonious with their personal expectations.

Conflicts arose when the value judgements of participants conflicted with either the policy mandate or how it was implemented. These conflicts revealed aspects of participants' habitus. One conflict participants identified were the differences between the priorities CAs placed on working in pupils' best interests, and that of SLs to ensure sufficient numbers of pupils to run viable sixth form courses. This conflict identified the increasing priority afforded economic capital, resulting from a more competitive field. This contributed to changes in participants' understanding of professional identity, which had an increased focus on targets and outcomes. CAs voiced their frustration that the success of CIAG was often judged with relatively few

quantitative outcomes such as the annual NEET information. They regarded many of the qualitative aspects of their work, which were less readily measured and not reported and monitored, were crucial to its success. This conflict revealed that participants were aware and involved in the policy implementation and had engaged with the reform. Forming such a response is a crucial stage in the different theories of policy implementation which have been researched and presented, suggesting that participants are concerned that they must formulate a response, even if they disagree with the values it embodies. Through justification of their actions (section 5.1.3), participants often linked the success measures they identified to other priorities and policies within their organisations. Through doing this, participants were striving to ensure their actions were perceived as justifiable by other members of the field, particularly within their organisations as they attempted to reflect organisational ethos and priorities.

Whilst the above provides an example of how SLs worked to integrate the policy change to meet other organisational objectives, a further example can be used to illustrate a similar experience for CAs. The policy introduced the need for CAs to ensure that schools continued to seek contracts with their organisation. They identified opportunities to make their provision indispensable to schools, provide good value and use their pre-existing positive relationships and successful track record with schools to market and promote their work.

### 7.3 How have the success measures and professional knowledge and language around CIAG in the schools changed as a result of the new policy?

Participants' external actions, including comparison to existing practice, new responsibilities and accountabilities and justification of actions taken, resulted in new experiences and development of new understanding (section 5.1.4). Participant competence contributed towards their capacity and ability to enact policy reform, an important step in many policy implementation

theories. The increased capital that better knowledge and experience brought participants strengthened their position within the field and increased their chances of successfully implementing the policy directive.

Participants identified many ways to describe how successful policy implementation had been. The policy change contributed to a wider context of an increased focus on effectiveness and participants reconciled their work with cultural expectations of continued improvement. Generating data that was scrutinised outside of their organisation and meeting externally judged targets created capital for participants and revealed how efficiency and objectivity had become part of their habitus. Participants identified the importance of qualitative success measures, particularly to external audiences (section 6.1.1), such as school NEET data and how policy implementation could be used to support other organisational success measures. Quantitative success measures were important, particularly for CAs, in development of personal and professional identity, particularly how they contributed to participants' values and principles (section 4.2.4). Participants were aware of the audience for the different success measures they described (section 6.1.2) and whom the success measure benefitted (section 6.1.4), both of which contributed to the degree of capital attributed to each success measure and hence its importance within the field (section 6.1.7). Although actions were planned with success measures in mind, some unintentional success measures arose which were identified by participants (section 6.1.3). Whilst some success measures were realised within a set timescale, such as retention of pupils on courses, others were more longer-term, such as contribution to future long-term success of pupils (section 6.1.5). The longer-term and often more qualitative success measures were valued highly by participants but were perceived by participants to be of less importance for external scrutiny of their success.

A change in practice experienced by SLs, resulting from the more competitive nature of the field, was the reduction in collaboration and sharing practice with colleagues from other schools.

Reduced communication and shared discussion of experience enabled SLs to gain advantage over other SLs with their innovation and understanding. Increased capital strengthened the SL's position, and that of their school within an increasingly competitive environment. CAs placed more onus on the capital of providing a service which met more qualitative targets including skill development and building their professional status than SLs.

Participants often rationalised their actions through the language of the policy. For example, by referring to impartial or independent CIAG. However, there was variation in how participants used these terms. Some participants identified any CIAG provision external to the school as impartial and independent, even if it originated from a specific organisation or employer and represented an organisation's perspective or objective. Other participants identified impartial CIAG based on serving the best interests of pupils.

CAs and SLs had started using new language to explain approaches to identify and prioritise pupils for CIAG. Terms introduced into the field included pupils at risk of not successfully continuing in education, employment or training (RONI). Generated within the careers organisation, SLs used RONI information to prioritise pupils in response to the constrained resources available.

### 7.4 How does the policy change contribute to changing perceptions of their own and others' professional identity, job satisfaction and leadership styles of teachers, school leaders and careers advisers?

The second sub-category described within the internal responses category (Chapter Four) detailed the impact the policy change on the participants' identity (section 4.2). These dimensions contributed collectively to participants' conscious and sub-conscious external

actions (Chapter Five). Additionally, the national landscape of wider public reforms, current and previous working conditions and systems, exposure and response to other policy changes contributed to participants' ongoing personal and professional identity development and so were also considered part of the CIAG field.

Participants' personal perceptions (section 4.2.1) altered because of the policy change. Self-esteem was positively reinforced by favourable self-evaluation of decisions and actions. Participants were also able to utilise an identity appropriate to the different contexts they found themselves in. For example, participants responded to a professional characteristic they revealed, the need to demonstrate continued improvement in their work. Participants' leadership styles changed in response to increased focus on value for money. Changes in funding undermined CAs' professional identity to some extent through undermining their sense of autonomy (4.2.3). All participants demonstrated agency in response to the policy reform, but this was mediated by the setting and working structures. Reduced autonomy for some CAs impacted negatively on some aspect of their job satisfaction and professional identity. SLs took some action to address this to reverse some aspects of the changed field position participants had experienced, but only did this in a manner that did not conflict with other organisational priorities.

Maintaining legitimacy (4.2.5) was of a higher priority for CAs than SL participants, resulting from concerns regarding their professional status. Previous experience had a significant impact on participants. CAs revealed through their emotional response concern over further curtailment of their professional autonomy. This had followed them through several significant structural reorganisations of the agencies and companies they work for, with associated change in emphasis of their roles which continued with the current policy change. CAs demonstrated concern regarding the downgrading of their profession, arising from changes such as opportunity for those will less qualifications and experience to provide CIAG in schools.

Participants were also aware of how they were judged by others (4.2.2), which influenced their self-identity. Awareness of perceptions of others influenced participants' external responses, most often to act to maintain strong positive relationships with other members of the field (section 5.3). Implementation of the careers policy was not brought about by participants in isolation of other members of the field. To successfully achieve policy change, participants strived to create positive working relationships with other individuals and organisations. Participants identified individuals and organisations within the field (section 5.3.1), and the types of behaviours required (section 5.3.2) to develop and maintain positive relationships. Participants also identified desirable qualities that they sought in other members of the field (section 5.3.3). SL participants valued a collegial and collaborative approach to careers advice between district schools. However, competition between schools to innovate and create organisational advantage through their careers provision changed the relationship between schools within the field. Reduced communication and sharing of experience enabled advantage to be made of innovation and understanding which strengthened the position of a school within the competitive environment.

**7.5 Limitations of the study**

This study used one district of schools within the West Midlands region as the population from which the sample was obtained. It was not the aim of this research to generalise findings to other districts or populations although it is acknowledged that some of the findings could be transferrable to other districts of schools. Districts of schools differ in their context and their response to the policy change that was the subject of this study, and it would be useful to gain perspectives from other districts and compare findings with those from this research.

One limitation of this study was that not all identified participants contributed, citing restrictions on time as the principal reason. However, as analysis progressed, a point of theoretical sufficiency was realised although this may have been identified incorrectly. A further limitation of this study is also the fact that it interviewed careers advisers and school senior leaders only. Useful perspectives on this topic could also have been gained from interviews with other possible participants including headteachers, other school staff involved in CIAG and leaders from careers organisations. The use of the identified sample in this study allowed for a targeting of those best placed to answer the research questions.

Participants contributed to the study through face-to-face interviews which have a potential for bias (Cohen *et al.,* 2007). Interviews allow the collection of rich, qualitative data and are a method of data collection that are well reconciled with a grounded theory approach, but through development of a rapport with participants the researcher neutrality may have been affected. The issues around the advantages and deficiencies of the methods of data collection and analysis adopted have been presented within Chapter Three of this thesis and so are not rehearsed again.

Participants were aware of my insider-outsider research status as a school leader and researcher and may have been guarded in their responses as a result. Several participants were not willing for this thesis to quote them directly. Their reluctance for this may further have reduced how freely they shared their views during interviews. This could have compromised the validity of the data collected although simultaneous data collection and analysis informing subsequent interviews countered this to some extent. There was advantage in the insider-outsider researcher status when applying a grounded theory approach to analysis due to familiarity with the context but maintaining a structured approach to data analysis. However, the insider-outsider research approach is not without criticism. There is suggestion that there is difficulty in identification of issues within a wider context (Hammersley, 1993) and that attempts to

understand policy implementation can be in danger of being restricted to participant discourse, with less focus on larger or political and economic factors that shape policy (Ozga, 1990).

It is acknowledged that as analysis and data collection continued, the theory emerging from the data did not distinguish adequately between school leaders and careers advisers.

### 7.6 Recommendations for future research

Further research would be beneficial in exploring some aspects highlighted within this study, as follows:

- Further exploration of how the CIAG policy change was implemented within different districts of schools. This would allow exploration of how response from different local authorities and careers organisations had differing effect on careers advisers and senior leaders.
- A longitudinal investigation within the same district which formed the basis of this study. Such research would be able to investigate how participants' response changed over time as the enactment of the policy became more embedded into their working context.
- Application of an alternative theoretical framework to the data collected as part of this research. For example, application of Foucauldian notions of power, knowledge and discourse to explore professional identity, language and practice (Burr, 2003).

### 7.7 Reflections

Through undertaking this research, I have developed as a researcher and as a practitioner. This opportunity has enabled me to apply the skills and gain experience in qualitative research, using

the previous two years of modular study that the doctorate provided. I have reflected on how this approach to research contrasts with the positivist approach which formed the earlier part of my education and with which I was more familiar and experienced. As a result, I have become more aware of different approaches to research and the different types of theories and knowledge that they produce.

I acknowledge that I am a novice researcher, particularly to the skills of conducting interviews, applying grounded theory approach to analysis and using Bourdieu's thinking tools as a theoretical framework. I felt relatively well prepared to interview former colleagues, but was aware that my enthusiasm and positive responses to participants during this part of the research had a potential to influence them. Also, some participants were not willing for use of their responses as quotations within this research, so some barriers may have existed for these participants to fully contribute to the evidence on which this research is based. This may have been because, despite my reassurances of confidentiality, I am not certain if my role as an independent researcher was perceived as such by all participants.

My use of Straussian grounded theory as an analytical approach developed through my experience and skills gained from previous undergraduate and postgraduate research experiences within a positivist paradigm. However, using grounded theory challenged me to experience and develop qualitative research skills and provided useful to identification of concepts, and relationships between them. I used these relationships well to address the research questions and explain how practitioners responded to the policy change. This thesis presents a detailed example of how Straussian grounded theory can be used as an analytical tool to develop theory. However, it does not resolve the ongoing debate regarding within which epistemological tradition grounded theory is situated, although this was not central to the aim of this research.

Application of Bourdieu's thinking tools as a theoretical framework provided me with a distinct way to elaborate the theory emerging from my analysis, particularly when preparing participant and thematic memos. The thinking tools provided me with a way to further develop and conceptualise my description of the social situation that was the foundation of participants' experiences. I am confident that my application of the concepts of habitus, practice, field and capital supported my thinking to achieve this.

I recognised that previous research identifies a tendency for researchers to reformulate the meaning of habitus during its use, arising from the constant links that exist between theory and empirical evidence. I was mindful of this and regularly revisited my understanding and use of habitus to confirm my notion of it. My consideration of habitus revealed how participants' attitudes and perceptions about professionalism had been subject to change in response to policy reform. Participants' notions of professionalism had developed to include a stronger focus on accountability, efficiency and public scrutiny which were competing with ideas of autonomy and moral purpose.

Application of the other thinking tools also aided theory development. Employing the concept of field assisted my identification of policy enactors beyond the research participants. For example, I established participants' perception of the role of central government in policy formation. Also, I was able to recognise and explore the influence of competitors for school CIAG contracts on participants' external behaviours and internal responses. Consideration of the field also let to recognition of sources of external accountability. Clarification of the impact of changes in financial responsibility for CIAG was possible through reflecting on the different types of capital during analysis. My analysis of changes in economic capital allowed me to account for changes in participants' perceptions of autonomy and legitimacy. Getting insight into participants' practice was particularly useful in my development of the external responses category. For example, I was able to consider how participants' descriptions of their behavioural

responses were either assimilated into existing structures or the extent to which they resulted in the establishment of new ones.

As a practitioner and a researcher, I did not experience any tension between professional expectations and the requirements of higher education. Previous professional posts provided access to participants, and colleagues have been supportive of my endeavours. The skills I have developed during this research were evident to me in securing my current post, and my employer generously provided some work time to complete this thesis. Throughout my professional career since starting this research, colleagues continue to be interested in my work, and its application to our work. Whilst there is no requirement to hold a doctoral level qualification to undertake my current role, colleagues embarking on such an endeavour are encouraged to do so to bring new skills and perspectives to their work.

The analysis of the data produced by the questionnaires was time consuming, although it proved a most enjoyable part of this research. The responses and their analysis confirmed findings from the literature reviewed, particularly relating to theories of policy implementation. As previously acknowledged, it was my subjective interpretation of the data that led to theory development, but this has been supported by my supervisor throughout the research process: debating the issues, challenging my ideas and suggesting direction for how this thesis developed.

After the initial phase of data collection and interpretation, a change in my professional role became a priority and development of this thesis was slower than I anticipated. This was, in fact, an opportunity, because on returning to the analysis I could identify inconsistencies within the theory I was constructing and address aspects which were vague.

The research process has taken longer than I expected. Although immensely satisfying and rewarding, at times was challenging to sustain, particularly when the demands of a new professional role slowed down the preparation of this thesis. I acknowledge that there are

limitations to this study: its sample is small, with a sample chosen that was convenient to me. However, this research was not planned to be generalisable to other samples, but could be replicated to other districts of schools, and results compared if required.

Completion of this thesis has been one of my biggest personal and professional achievements. I intend to build on the knowledge and experiences gained through this process and hope to identify opportunities through which I can take my research forward in the future.

I completed this doctorate on a part-time basis. Throughout, I have strived to engage with the wider academic community, for example through a research conference presentation at the start of this process and through professional discussion within the education sector. However, I was not able to continue to share the development of my findings within the university throughout the process due to the restrictions of my professional roles. I have intention and motivation to submit articles for publication based on this research whilst being mindful of the restrictions imposed by my current professional role. I will disseminate the results of this study to participants and within my previous and current professional roles. I perceive the completion of this thesis as the start of my research career, and look forward with interest and readiness to learn more through research in the future.

## Chapter 8 References

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# Appendices

## Appendix 1: Pilot study research proposal submitted for ethical approval

**Summary of Project Proposal: An Investigation into how policy change for careers information, advice and guidance has affected practice in schools: A Pilot Study**

In September 2012 the Government changed the policy regarding the provision of careers Information, Advice and Guidance (IAG). I am proposing to undertake a pilot study into the manner in which teachers and others working in education interpret and rework this policy intention in the context of their settings. I will apply Bourdieu's thinking tools as a theoretical framework to identify a logic of practice within this particular policy change. In order to apply Bourdieu, my intention is to use a grounded theory methodological framework, using data collected from interviews and analyse school policy documents. In this pilot study it is my intention to describe the narratives of two participants in this manner, one Careers Advisor and one senior school leader with responsibility for IAG in addition to the IAG policy documents from the senior leader's school.

The aim of this pilot study is:

- To test the application of my chosen theoretical framework to narratives of IAG policy implementation
- Evaluate the effectiveness of interviews as a means to collect data and the contribution of data to my analysis from types off participants in different roles
- Develop expertise in application of grounded theory to interview transcripts and policy documents

| Research Schedule for Pilot Study | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Date** | **Activity** | **Assessment Deadlines** |
| w/b 4 Feb 2013 | Ethics Approval obtained –via Module leader, Sally Findlow at Keele University | |
| w/b 11 Feb 2013 | Initial contact to invite participation in interview one through contacting gatekeeper and potential participant | |
| w/b 11 Feb 2013 | Conduct interview one | |
| w/b 18 Feb 2013 | Transcription from interviews (Sony Sound Organiser, Dragon Naturally Speaking) | |
| w/b 25 Feb 2013 | Analysis of interview transcripts: Coding and Memo-writing, leading to theoretical sampling | Thursday 28 Feb 2013 – Ethical Approval |
| w/b 18 Mar 2013 | Contact to invite participation in interview two through contacting gatekeeper and potential participant | |
| w/b 25 Mar 2013 | Conduct interview two | |
| w/b 1 Apr 2013 | Transcription from interviews (Sony Sound Organiser, Dragon Naturally Speaking) | Formal Progress meeting |
| w/b 8 Apr 2013 | Analysis of interview transcripts: Coding and Memo-writing<br>Conclusions | Approx. w/b 22 April 2013 – submit draft assignment |
| | Preparation and submission of draft assignment | Wednesday 18 May 2013 – submission of assignment |

## Appendix 2: Interview topic guide

Semi-structured Interview: Questions to lead discussion but other questions will be asked in response to points made for clarification, explanation and to follow-up.

*To start with, I would like to establish your context through your biography - could you tell me:*

- What your current job title and role is and how long you have held this post?
- What has your career path been leading to you being in this position?
- For how long have you been responsible for careers CAG at this school?

*Thinking about the policy change in careers CAG that was introduced in schools from September 2012:*

- Can you describe how CAG was provided and delivered in *(name of school)* up until last year, and any changes that have taken place in your school since then?
- Has this change resulted in any changes in your role in that school? What has changed?
- What about changes in the roles of other people in school who are involved in CAG?
- Has there been a change in attitude towards the importance and value of CAG by the school as a result of this policy change?
- What measures did you used to use to evaluate CAG provision until the changes were implemented, and what are these measures now?

*I would now like to ask you to reflect on some of these changes:*

- Have the changes in CAG provision been for the better?
- Would you say that this is a result of the Government's policy change or the way it has been implemented in the school?
- What do you think the Government/school policy should be regarding CAG provision?
- Have these changes caused you to compromise your beliefs or standards in any way when carrying out your duties relating to CAG?
- Do you follow the Government/school policy in carrying out your duties? If not, is this because you are not able to fulfil the policy, or chose to interpret it differently?
- Do you know how CAG provision has changed in other schools in the area?
- Can you explain why your school's response has been different to theirs?

NB:

Follow-up questions to ensure meaning/challenge assumptions …

- Can you explain what you mean by …
- That is very interesting. How do you explain …
- What do you understand by the term …
- Can you provide me with more information about …

## Appendix 3: Example of interview transcript

**SLT2b Interview (Quotes) 25/6/14**

To start with then, what is your current job tit le and role and how long have you been in post here?

I have been in post here for roughly 8 years and I started off as the Behaviour Lead and that side of school – basically the pastoral system. Then the opportunity came up to move to the curriculum side about 3 or 4 years ago my position at the moment is Lead for Student Achievement and that incorporates data, reports to parents, and also careers is included in that. There is an historical element included in that – it is not something that is necessarily … although it does tie into student achievement as it is all about how they achieve inside school and after school in careers etc. it does tie in, it is something that I historically inherited as well but I have always enjoyed doing the careers.

So how long have you had responsibility for careers?

It would have been 4 years.

Four years.

So you have been, had that responsibility before the 2012 change, and since then, so you can compare from both sides then.

Yes

So how was careers provided and delivered up until 2012, and what is different about it now?

Well there has always been … the school has always been, even when I started 8 years ago the school has always been quite a large investment in careers – it has always been quite comprehensive careers system and structure, so it probably, in general terms, it hasn't changed a huge deal. For example, the school has a Senior Leadership person responsible for careers, they have a Careers Coordinator – a member of staff who liaises with the Careers Advisers and also they are responsible for setting up an educational programme for careers which is part of the school's PSHE programme which is delivered by tutors, sort of every fortnight and we also have some curriculum days. They are also responsible for looking after that. We have always had that. We probably have tightened it up a little more recently but we have always had it in place. We have a Work Experience Coordinator and we do two weeks of work experience for Year 10. It used to be just one week but we increased it to two and we combined it with some national visits to try and, you know, cope with looking at cover etc. and we have, we have always had very close links with Careers Advisers, you know, Connexions and general careers advice from the local authority. So from Connexions and then Entrust and we have always been fortunate to have really, really good Careers Advisers. We have a Careers Library which is upstairs in the library at school. It is a really nice big location, a big office. We have recently put 5 computers in there. So instead of having lots of books and pamphlets we have gone to being more electronic and it is a good facility so we have always involved the advisers very closely. So the general workings haven't changed a huge amount. We have got a little sharper, we have got, you know, we have a regular meeting every half term where you have got your careers advisers, your careers coordinator. We all get together, you know, and look at, some forward planning etc. and some valuation. So it hasn't changed a huge amount. I think what has changed the most recently is we have had quite a clear vision for how careers progresses throughout the school for example in Year 7 they have very general careers information learning about the world of work and as the years

go on, then it hones down to the individual and their needs and their expectations and aspirations for the future. As you know, there have been a lot of changes recently. It started with Connexions and Careers Advisers getting more involved in students who are more vulnerable and now obviously with Entrust we are looking at the RONI students who are usually Pupil Premium students so that has brought a lot of focus. But yes, it is … I also think that one thing that has changed over the recent years is the logging, is the tracking of students. There is a lot more common sharing of resources, of information – we also now share information, passing on plans to other providers. But there is quite a lot there, I mean.

So in a nutshell then, the school's education programme has developed?

It was always strong but it has just got stronger and has become more … like a lot of these things it is a lot clearer it is more mapped out. The one thing that has changed a lot is the finance. That is the big change. Obviously, you know, prior to a few years ago it was provided by the Local Authority, a lot of impartial careers advice, was provided by the Local Authority and now obviously that is something that we now purchase and to my knowledge, there has not been an extra set of money provided to the school – we have not been given an extra several thousand to put to this, to cater for this, that's not been the case so what we have had to try and do is think about how important careers is to us and then set a budget accordingly, within a very tight budget. We have had a dip in numbers in year 7 so our budget is the tightest budget we have ever had, but we have still managed to allocate several thousand for careers as well – we haven't cut back on that yet.

Do you think there has been a link between that responsibility for all the financial side of it, and you used the phrase 'sharper' in terms of planning and evaluation? Do you think there is a link?

Yes, yes I think there is a link in … yes I think so. In previous years there was probably a lot of wasted … not so much wasted but I think maybe not as time efficient. So now, for example, rather than just having lots and lots of individual careers advice sessions there are lots more targeted work etc. Yes that has definitely sharpened up, it has done.

Ok, and would you attribute those changes to the Government's policy change?

Partly, partly I think it was more in the way we were working, the way we were developing as an organisation anyway. I think that we have been very fortunate to have very, very good careers advisers, very experienced careers advisers. It has been an important aspect of it. Also there has been good management and advice from CM1 etc. form Entrust, so we have been very fortunate there. I think … but I don't think the money has been the overriding factor.

So what else then has contributed? You said that the organisation has been developing. What have been the other agendas then that have brought careers along then and helped it develop?

I think partly it is the … I think partly it is the focus on information data and data has driven a lot of it these days. I think schools are very data rich, sometimes there is too much data. I think schools are becoming more savvy with data and schools are now beginning to see how data can help improve your practice and improve the performance of students. So it seems a very useful tool. I think that pupils expect … teachers now expect things to be clearer, they expect more information about what to do and that has really improved standards. So I think that in the past where things might have just

been done teachers want it better planned. They want to have a better plan and that has driven it as well.

Right so it is that performance agenda perhaps that?

Yes it is the performance agenda/the more … just … it's the notion of mapping. We do a lot of mapping now don't we? So for example, schemes of work or whatever – we map that. I suppose people want to know how it all ties together. People want to know where does careers fit into the general education in the school. So we mapped out our whole careers and personal development programme and we said there's enterprise stuff there, there's careers, and let's try and get everyone to understand where we are going with this. And also we have a lot of staff changes so we needed things in place for people who come into school and take over things so they can see how we function in that area. So there's that as well.

Would you say then that the changes in careers provision have been for the best?

Yes. Yes I mean I think that … I think that the overall service that the students receive is better, certainly from this school's perspective but I think that we have been fortunate to have very, very enthusiastic and skilled practitioners and that's always very much driven the improvement in careers, but generally I would say that the overall service is better, but it is at a cost – we have had to take that decision that that is the quality we want to have and we could quite easily have cut back, reduce that. We haven't done that we have still always made that monetary investment into it as well as that has been a key factor. I think that with the new policy changes as far of the financial side of it is concerned we could have easily, you know, set the whole process back a long way. Schools could really afford to do it? We have had to cut in other areas to provide a decent careers service.

So what compromises then or what has been a lower priority then when you made those financial decisions or curriculum decisions about time and who gets what. Have there been any compromises or anything that has been affected?

Yes I mean I think it tends to come down to staffing, timetabling, so the way we have improved or allowed money to be available for careers is by looking at our class sizes, not continuing with A Level courses with small numbers so we have had to stop some A Level subjects taking place. And that is where we have made most savings. Generally, I mean, at the moment we are in a situation where we are cutting back on lots of things, including having biscuits at meetings, so there are those small savings. We have cut our CPD budget sown by almost a half. There have been some big, big cuts in certain areas, but we haven't done so in careers. The money we have spent in careers has increased dramatically over the last couple of years, but we haven't had to cut it yet.

Right, so the amount of provision now is pretty much the same, if not better than it was before the policy change, and you put the financial support in to keep it at the same level.

Yes very much so, but yes if we had to cut … if we do have to cut at any point we would have to reign back on that provision – it would be affect definitely.

Do you find there are any conflicts between the advice and the enabling students to make decisions about their futures with any other part of the school? You mentioned before, for example, Year 7

you haven't got quite as many intake. Do you sometimes have any concerns about advice being given to students and perhaps them leaving and going elsewhere?

Yes I mean I think that tends to affect us higher up in the Sixth Form. I think the Sixth Form funding has been cut a lot due to the changes in the funding formula for sixth forms so that has affected us. We have a large Sixth Form and always you have a lot of local schools you have [a school] so there is always a lot of competition in this particular area. So we have had to do a bit of marketing and a bit of promotion and what we are still trying to do is maintain the principle of the advice being the right advice for that particular student. But clearly schools are having to get through with tight budgets etc. so we do want them to stay here but what we would never do is convince them to stay if it wasn't in their interests. We have taken that as quite an open decision and we've had to get that across to staff etc. so you know, sort of touting for students that are not appropriate to courses – it is discouraged, strongly discouraged.

Do you find staff do accept that, it is one thing to discuss that strategically amongst the senior team, but of you are the Head of Department of a particular subject that is under threat of being cut, for example, you know for not running a sixth form course next year, do you find that staff can accept that?

I think they can accept it and see the general principle behind it but it is hard because, you know, teacher are very passionate about their subject and they want their subject to thrive, but it is not easy for them so there is always going to be that conflict of interest. But we generally, apart from the odd comment in a report, we had to cut back on that in reports: 'such and such would do really well in such and such a subject next year,' 'they would be really great in doing this.' We have just had to edit that out, cut that out and say that's not what we do so we have had to tighten up on that. It is tough there is always going to be that conflict of interest but we try and be as … what we try and do is offer as many alternatives which would cater for all sorts of students. We are in a privileged position as we have got a strong Sixth Form and most students want to stay but some schools must particularly struggle with that one.

Has there been any strategic value for the school from your careers advisers to give ideas about running alternative courses or programmes to keep students at school. Have you benefitted in that way?

Yes they have. We tend to know our cohort very well – we tend to know the groups of students we have very well. This school has a high percentage of quite academic students. We still have a group for whom more vocational courses are right for them but with what's going on with the budgets and the skills centres etc. it is difficult to get enough places for those students. At A level … the other issue we have here is there are incredibly high aspirations from parents. What we struggle with is we know what will benefit the students and the student knows, but the parent says they must do A levels, they must do this or that. That is more of a difficulty, certainly from the careers point of view, is we know the students very, very well. They are very good at the moment – we look at apprenticeships, colleges, other training providers, so they are very good at directing the students so they get on the right path.

A while back you mentioned that there is perhaps a bit more focus on planning and you meet more regularly with the manager from your careers provider. Have there been any other changes in your role as a result of the changes?

I think I am more I am probably more hands on involved than I may have been in the past. In the past things may have just been able to run by themselves but you can't do that now. I think, once again, we have got a lot of staff involved, they want to feel a part of something, they want to have the regular meetings, they want to see the improvements etc. so I suppose I devote more time to careers than I did before in the lead of it than I did before.

Other than, you know, just meeting more regularly with CM1 and people like that ... ?

Yes, I think also, what has changed but probably not for the better, we used to do lots of district work, a district panel group or whatever and we had a really good careers one, a really good careers information one and we used to get lots of really good ideas, and we don't get that now. If we want that, we have to pay for it and go out of school to get it, and it is difficult to free up people time-wise so I would say that there has been a big drop in sharing with other schools, or getting other information through, we are much more reliant on websites, and finding out information for ourselves, so that has changed and I don't think it is for the better.

Was that just a networking thing within this district, or was it a wider group of people?

It was within the district, the five schools, it was Local Authority led. They were great sessions, quite regular sessions but they were great. There was a lot of advice, you knew what was going on, you know what was going on with the other schools, the sharing of good practice and we don't do any of that now at all.

What about other people who work in school then. You have explained your role has changed through the loss of the networking and a bit more hands on what about, for example, your careers coordinator, have their roles changed?

Yes I mean the careers coordinator role hasn't changed a lot, but once again what we would like to see a bit more of is for them to be able to network with local schools, just to see how it is done and to get ideas from them, and also for them just to maybe do a little more training themselves. Obviously with having to cut back on CPD it is more difficult for them to do that. Certainly at the moment if we could get them to, get them a bit more trained up etc. We have got the situation where our careers coordinator has gone on maternity leave so ... we have got another person and it would be great to get her some training so she feels that she is making a big difference in that role. Work Experience hasn't changed. We invest a great deal of money in Staffordshire Partnership so it is part of what we do – with the diaries, etc. we invest in them and they put in training and information sessions so we are quite well trained when it comes to work experience.

You suggested that careers has always had quite a high priority within the school. Do you think that priority has changed at all – is it more a priority than it was before or just the same as it was before the changes?

For us it is more or less the same. We have always had regular ... when it comes to the options processes from Year 9 and at post-16 we have always had tutor interviews with students, we have

had students having the opportunity to do work with careers advisers. We have also done the open evenings etc. We have put a lot of emphasis on interviews with the students to check they are moving in the right direction. We have always done that – it hasn't changed. It is one thing we could have cut back on again but we haven't that is still there. So no it hasn't changed a lot.

What about evaluating careers provision then? How do you measure the success and the impact?

Well you have got your destination figures etc. and once again you have got to trust really good data. so obviously we know NEETs and what level NEETs we have, and we have had several years where we have had no NEETs and last year we had one NEET with one student we found really difficult to place. Generally you are looking at one NEET to no NEETs each year, and we rarely get more than one. That is an indication that that has been working really well. We then look at Sixth Form destinations – the universities they have gone to, and once again the figures are really impressive there. If students don't go onto universities they may go on to do a gap year etc. but overall the destination figures. Also we evaluate each year we evaluate how the programme has gone with tutors, teachers and students etc. we could do work on more evaluating with parents, that's something we could do more work on. We are currently doing the CEIAG Plus Quality Award work with Entrust, so we are going through that with them. We have just done a self-assessment in our meeting this week, and you have got examples of good practice, and we are trying to evaluate ourselves next to that, so getting parents more involved would be one area we could improve on. We also need to … that self-assessment has also helped us recognise we need to do more general training for staff, so they are aware of, you know what is happening in the work place, trends etc. and we also need to do more work on our policy – it needs to be more updated. It has been a good exercise. We probably need to evaluate more from a students' point of view we have done some general big surveys, some Kirkland Rowland surveys and careers always comes out positively. We need ot maybe pick that and look at more detailed surveys. We always do Sixth Form interviews and ask students how they found the process, and they are usually very positive about it.

Right. You mentioned before about other schools and that you used to network. Do you know how they are responding to this change. I know you say you have lost those links?

No, no I don't. No. I know that a lot of schools have cut back, for example on work experience. I know that because before in places where our students couldn't get placements they can now because other schools are not doing it now. So some local schools do work experience for certain students but not necessarily en masse. We are probably one of the few schools still doing that now.

So you have lost those links. If you could write the Government's policy on careers advice and guidance, what would you have in that?

It is always a difficult one this one as it is a bit like sex education isn't it? There is this belief out there that schools can suddenly get all students doing better careers or making better decisions etc. like they would do in … the thing is unless you are going to really invest and do a GCSE qualification in … I know there is a BTEC qualification available in Work Skills etc. but unless they are going to really devote this time to it and show how seriously we take it. It is always difficult, in schools the timetable is so packed with demands form subjects, core subjects etc. where do you put careers then? So you find schools try and squeeze careers where they can. We certainly squeeze it in but we also do it in different layers, the different levels of what we deliver. How you could improve on that,

I mean there is the obvious one of more monetary investment, and that would definitely help, but as I said, without … unless you raise the status of the whole notion of careers it might be a bit of a struggle. The other thing with careers is that is so individual in a sense, the individual needs of each student is so different as well. It is an interesting question – I am trying to think of what you would particularly want to change and add. I think just generally … I am not sure how we could add more career work. I think generally the information, the guidance is strong. The education is another matter – how do you educate young people in all the careers, all the options that are available – it is not an easy one to do that. That is the area that you would want to do – you would have to give it more curriculum time, more emphasis on it.

What about this notion of independence and impartiality within careers? Do you think that the system we have got in place at the minute ensures impartiality?

It goes along way. To get full impartiality – everyone knows that to be fully impartial is nigh on impossible. But I think one of the key areas is having information readily available to students and parents. So I think some of the stuff that is on the websites that has been developed are great. So for example, we have got the UCAS one and that is trying to get that … this is something that was thought about within the district, was to try and get some sort of district prospectus. Those ideas are good ideas, I think that is along the right lines as students can go and find information themselves then brilliant. We use KUDOS in school; we encourage students to use all the different websites that are available. You probably get even more impartiality through those. Dealing with people one to one interactions and interviews etc. it is always a lot more tricky. It is right for the Government to stress that impartiality aspect of it, and for our careers adviser that is one of the guiding principles in the sense that they don't want to stray from being impartial, but it is difficult to really achieve that impartiality.

Do you think those careers advisers can be fully impartial given the funding streams?

I think they can only be impartial as long as they … they can be impartial as long as they have got ways of directing students. I think that is one of their key roles to direct students to find the information, to seek the information. I think the difficulty is careers advisers can't know everything and it is when they are in a position to having to make judgements based on only a little knowledge and then you can get problems because it is really hard not to let your own views and values come out.

## Appendix 4: Example of field journal

Tuesday 18/2/14 – Interview with CA2

**Initial Impressions:**

- Surprised at concerns over using quotes – long time discussing this at the start: seems to be a concern over being identified and job security issues.
- Felt the interview went well, but quite a different experience/set of answers from CA1 in the pilot study – missed the point a bit of some questions? Need to provide greater clarification with some participants? Also need to be more assertive to get back on the topic.
- Was a sense that CM1 had pushed into participation and there was little choice?
- Interview was functional/concrete with lots of examples which I can use to support building a theory, but less evidence on the personal perspective/opinion and also little awareness of school monitoring, review and evaluation/performance measures.

**Learning points:**

- Must stop giving positives in my responses to what is said.
- Mention details of the policy change at the start of the interview.
- Make sure CA3 and CA4 are willing participants.
- Research perception of professionalism in other interviews.

**Clearly identifies changes:**

- RONI to replace SEND students
- Distinction between statutory and commissioned work
- Development of contribution into careers days etc.
- Key target on specific year groups/way to identify and deliver to them
- Idea of policy change in context of many other policies
- No distinction between KS4/KS5 advice as threat/good
- Aware of lack of impartiality – gives good example
- New forms of capital including completion/retention rates

Appendix 5: Example of coding

**Interview: CA1 on 18/02/13: Coding**

| | Transcript | | Initial Coding 20/02/13 | Focused Coding 23/02/13 | Axial Coding 05/04/13 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 2 3 | **RH:** | I'd like to do is divide the interview into three sections. First all just a little bit of background about you. Secondly to think about policy change and how that's being implemented both in school and in your organisation and then thirdly to give your perspective and what your opinion is on that. First of all then I know that there has been a lot of change but what is your job title and how long been doing what you have been? | | | |
| 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 23 | **CA1:** | My job title currently is careers adviser years ago. Two years ago it was Personal Adviser. Three years before that it was Careers Adviser and so it has changed from one to another but is now Careers Adviser. I'm a full-time careers adviser and I have been since 1986, so '86 is when I started being a Careers Adviser. That was my first job and then we went through a period when we left AShire County Council and became TSS which was a government funded private company, from TSS we became Connexions which is probably the more well-known organisation. Also then the government funding stopped and then we went back into AShire County Council when we became Careers Advisers again and that's where we are at the moment. As of 1st April I'll be part of this new joint venture company. | Focusing on change of job title Careers advisor – *in vivo* code<br><br>Demonstrating length of service<br><br>Providing information on titles of organisations and funding<br><br>Giving information about funding | Contextualising role through historical narrative of career trajectory<br><br>Describing funding of careers service | **Professional Status of Careers Advisors**<br>Condition: requirement for suitable training and **qualifications**<br>Condition: emotional response of those with better status<br>Condition: those without qualifications have lower status and no **autonomy**<br><br>Action: CA **study** for further qualification, funded by employer at start of career<br><br>Consequence: able to progress through a **career** in CG<br><br>Consequence: **commitment** to the role and career, taking on different roles over long period of time |
| 25 | **RH:** | Did you have another job or career before you came into this or was this sort of straight after your own education? | | | |
| 26 27 28 29 30 31 | **CA1:** | This has been my only career be perfectly honest. I left University in 1979. It took two years for me to turn a relatively useless degree in Politics and Political Science into something that will enable me to get a job really. My first full | Lowering the value of own subject studied in HE | | Consequence: able to **diversify role** through opportunities to specialise<br><br>Consequence: to become regarded as an **expert** in CG |

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| 32<br>33<br>34<br>35<br>36<br>37<br>38<br>39<br>40<br>41<br>42<br>43<br>44<br>45<br>46<br>47<br>48<br>49<br>50<br>51<br>52<br>53<br>54<br>55<br>56 | | time job came in 1981 when I joined BShire Group Services as a part time Employment Officer on a starting salary of £25 a week – I remember that in 1981, and then I thought that this is quite a nice job to actually do and I was always quite envious of Careers Advisers and I thought well I will become a Careers Adviser – that didn't happen overnight. I went from being a part time Employment Officer in BShire in 1981 and joined AShire in 1982 as what they called a Senior Employment Adviser and then they were good enough in 1985 to second me, a thing that was quite rare to be perfectly honest – they paid for me to go to AUniversity in 1985 to do the one year Diploma in Careers Guidance and then they were good enough to employ me back again back again after the secondment – that when I started work on the 1st January 1986, so all of my working life, to be perfectly honest, has been involved in education, employment, training and careers guidance and careers advice. | Focusing on job title and salary<br><br>Expressing ambition to become Careers Adviser<br><br>Promoting to senior position<br><br>Identifying career progression/training opportunity<br><br>Explaining qualifications for becoming Careers Adviser<br><br>Giving information regarding length of service in Careers education | Contextualising role through historical narrative of career trajectory<br><br>Describing professional status of Careers Adviser<br><br>Contextualising role through historical narrative of career trajectory | and specifically in one aspect of it by colleagues and teachers |
| 57 | **RH:** | Was an Employment Adviser different then? | | | |
| 58<br>59<br>60<br>61<br>62<br>53<br>64<br>65<br>66<br>67 | **CA1:** | Very much: I wasn't aware when I joined what an Employment Adviser did. I think it was in those days, in 1981, before things like training used to be offered so to a greater extent I did whatever I thought was right of an Employment adviser really, but there were grey areas between careers advice and an Employment Adviser, but basically I worked under the advice and guidance | Explaining role of Employment Adviser<br><br>Identifying similarities and differences between Employment Adviser and Careers Adviser<br><br>Establishing a hierarchy of roles | Describing professional status of Careers Adviser | |

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| 68<br>69<br>70<br>71<br><br>72<br>73<br>74 | | of a Careers Adviser, and then they referred cases to me from people which who they had given their vocational advice and guidance to who were deemed to seek work, so I didn't really get involved in College or continuing education post-18, it was really those people who were trying to find employment in 1981. | Limiting experience to those entering employment in this role | | |
| 75 | **RH:** | Now, you said before we started the interview that you were responsible for careers information, advice and guidance in more than one school? | | | |
| 76 | **CA1:** | Yes | | | |
| 77 | **RH:** | So you are working in three schools? | | | |
| 78<br>79<br>80<br>81<br>82<br>83<br>84<br>85 | **CA1:** | I'm called the Lead in the ASchool so I am responsible for Year 9 all the way though to Year 13, for the transition points and all the key advice there. But I also support the Lead Adviser in another school, and I am the Sixth Form Adviser in BSchool and ESchool and DSchool, so I have four schools I work in. | Explaining job title and status<br>Identifying areas of responsibility<br><br>Expanding job role to a wider area than one school | Contextualising role through historical narrative of career trajectory | |
| 86 | **RH:** | And those schools have other Careers Advisers? | | | |
| 87<br>88<br>89<br>90<br>91<br>92 | **CA1:** | Yes they have Lead advisers – I don't work as the Lead in the other schools, just ASchool. They can use me as they think fit, and because of my background and interest they tend to give me the Sixth Form to look after. | Valuing the contribution of others<br><br>Identifying where can contribute as part of a team | Describing professional status of Careers Adviser<br><br>Networking/teamworking opportunities | |
| 93<br>94<br>95<br>96 | **RH:** | Right, ok. So for the purposes of this interview, I'd be quite interested to know your perspective and evaluation on ASchool way as the Lead Adviser, but also what is happening in the other schools as well, if there is any difference between them in the way that they are offering careers advice as well. So for the purposes of this interview, what do you understand by the policy change in clAG that the Government introduced in 2012 – what did they say clAG had to be? | | | |

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| 97<br>98<br>99<br>100<br>101<br>102<br>103<br>104<br>105<br>106<br>107<br>108<br>109<br>110<br>111<br>112<br>113<br>114<br>115<br>116<br>117<br>118<br>119<br>120 | **CA1:** | Well it has always been difficult to actually know what the Government truly want for IAG and careers guidance to be in schools, to be perfectly honest. What I understand that we moved from what used to be a Connexions service, which focused and concentrated on probably those people who had specific barriers to learning, although we were supposed to offer a universal service at the same time. Probably, most people who worked pre-2012 would be working as Careers Connexions Personal Advisers and would probably spend most of their time addressing the needs of people who were dropping out of courses or who had barriers to carrying on and weren't progressing or what have you. I have never deemed that to be my job, as I have always believed that careers guidance and vIAG should be a universal service. It has got to do with barriers but it has got to do with everyone to be perfectly honest, not just the most | Identifying lack of understanding of Government strategy<br><br>Comparing role in Connexions with Careers Adviser role<br>Identifying core purpose of Connexions service<br>Universal service – *in vivo* code<br><br>Personal Advisor – *in vivo* code<br><br>Identify measurable outcomes for Connexions service<br><br>Subverting own role in Connexions<br>Using key identifying term for role<br>Identifying core purpose of Connexions<br><br>Vocational IAG etc. – *in vivo* code | Identifying political intervention<br><br>Describing professional status of Careers Adviser<br><br>Identifying outcome measures<br><br>Describing professional status of Careers Adviser | **Impact of Changing Political Landscape**<br>Conditions: **change of Government** leads to change of policy and direction<br>Conditions: **unstable policy**, reflected in unstable CA organisational structure<br><br>Actions: continually **changing focus** for CA<br>Actions: **confusion** and lack of clarity/focus of role of CG for CA and school staff<br>Actions: **changes in** targets/ **outcome measures** to support a bigger Government agenda<br><br>Consequence: a move from fulfilment in role to filling one which **compromises** as mismatch in ideals leading to reduced **job satisfaction** |
| 121 | **RH:** | So that's what a universal service means? | | | |
| 122 | **CA1:** | It means that you see everybody | Identifying key term for how perceives role | | |
| 123<br>124 | **RH:** | Right, ok so that was the change. So thinking about the ASchool then, how was careers Information, Advice and Guidance provided in the school up until that policy change? | | | |
| 125<br>126<br>127<br>128 | **CA1:** | Well I think to be perfectly honest, that ASchool was one of those schools where by … When I arrived at ASchool it had got an outdated vIAG careers | Evaluating school provision<br>Identifying lack of commitment in | Evaluating school provision | **Complex Working Relationships**<br>Conditions: **clash of culture** of own organisation whilst working |

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| 129<br>130<br>131<br>132<br>133<br>134<br>135<br>136<br>137<br>138<br>139<br>140<br>141<br>142<br>143<br>144<br>145<br>146<br>147<br>148<br>149<br>150<br>151<br>152<br>153<br>154<br>155<br>156<br>157<br>158<br>159<br>160<br>161<br>162<br>163<br>164<br>165<br>166 | | guidance policy which was probably been Tipp-Exed over and written over several times really, and it had never been truly updated to be honest. The kids were never aware that they had careers guidance given to them as such, they weren't aware of careers lessons as such. They weren't aware of careers guidance. I mean I do see myself as different – I don't see myself as necessarily running the programmes and policies within schools. I see myself as being the support towards careers guidance – the realisation that after you have the yIAG you are supposed to act upon it, it is supposed to be sort of like, to make you aware of your own strengths, and if you say that vocational guidance is made of self-awareness, decision making and vocational awareness then in ASchool I was perfectly aware that students didn't have some of those skills and so what I have found is that in quite a lot of careers interviews I was, instead of looking forward, I was having to go backwards and getting kids to address things that perhaps should have been done before. Then really, we set about – you and I – to build something and then it's quite hard to build vocational guidance as it's one of those things which can, you know, like trying to 'eat jelly with a fork' – it falls through the bits really, and you have got to have the support of the staff to want to actually do it. It's not qualifications: there are no grades, and no marking of statutory careers. | school policy<br><br>Identifying outcome aspect – awareness of students<br><br>Separating own role from that of others in school<br>Defining purpose<br><br>Identifying limits of role<br><br>Identifying skill development as part of role<br><br>Redressing problems of poor provision of others<br><br>Challenging aspects of developing role<br><br>Identifying other colleagues involved<br>Describing low status of careers to other staff and their focus on outcomes | Identifying outcome measures<br><br>Describing professional status of Careers Adviser<br><br>Identifying outcome measures<br><br>Evaluating school provision<br><br>Describing professional status of Careers Adviser<br><br>Evaluating school provision | inside another organisation<br>Conditions: **lack of commitment** and/or interest in same outcome measures by other institution members<br>Conditions: **positive interest and commitment** by service users<br><br>Actions: **assessment** of current level of provision<br>Actions: **filling the gaps** when provision is below expectation<br>Actions: working with and **influencing delivery** of other organisation to improve provision<br><br>Consequences: **compensating** for lack of provision by others to ensure targets met<br>Consequences: organisation does **not need to change** its provision or its engagement of organisation to **improve provision** |

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| 167 | **RH:** | Do you think grades and marking are the things that teachers are focusing on then? | | | |
| 168<br>169<br>170<br>171<br>172<br>173<br>174<br>175<br>176<br>177 | **CA1:** | Yes – you know that the kids are perfectly fine to me because they come and they would want to have a future, they would want to have a purpose really. They may not really, they may not know how they were going to achieve this, but they wanted to have a purpose and an end result – they wanted all this education to pay for them in some strange way. | Comparing perceived importance for colleagues and students<br><br>Motivational aspect for students | Identifying outcome measures | |
| 178 | **RH:** | So do you think maybe Careers Information was more valued by the students than some of the teachers? | | | |
| 179<br>180<br>181<br>182<br>183<br>184<br>185<br>186<br>187<br>188<br>189<br>190<br>191<br>192<br>193<br>194<br>195<br>196<br>197<br>198<br>199<br>200<br>201<br>202<br>203 | **CA1:** | I think the teachers would have been perfectly happy – when I started at ASchool I couldn't find any evidence of careers information, that was the problem, and I know when I did find it, it was under lock and key in somebody's room, so it was, you know, there: it wasn't accessible to the students really. One if the things I continue to find with ASchool is that students were very very keen to discuss qualifications and how to get to university, and their next options really. What has always been the case of a school like ASchool, they have never really known what to do with all these qualifications – what is the purpose of them really. One of the things that has always disappointed me about vocational guidance is that is seems to have been hammered into us that successful vocational guidance was enabling the young person to know exactly what they wanted to do – name one job that you want to do successfully with their life. I was always a bit | Evaluating provision in school as poor<br><br>Identifying lack of accessibility as problem for students<br>Describing student motivation – transitions to qualifications and university<br><br>Expressing disappointment at outcome measures for guidance being a focus on end result rather than skill development<br><br>Emphasising the volatile nature | Evaluating school provision<br><br>Identifying outcome measures | **Measuring Success of CG**<br>Conditions: **different expectations** regarding provision for CA, school, service users<br>Conditions: Government have **outcome measures** which school have most **focus** on<br><br>Actions: collecting the **measurement data** becomes part of **CA role**<br>Actions: **CA** given role to **influence success** conditions for school<br>Actions: expectations of CA that students will follow a **narrow range of routes** perceived as successful by other Government policy<br><br>Consequences: school rely on **professional autonomy of CA** to provide accurate data<br>Consequences: **school value** |

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| 204<br>205<br>206<br>207<br>208<br>209<br>210<br>211<br>212<br>213<br>214<br>215<br>216 | | suspicious that people would come to me and they would tell me what they wanted to be – a Graphic Designer, but nobody knew whether or not that this was going to be the case, and what would happen to those people who couldn't become a Graphic Designer, or those who changed their mind or what have you, and I always felt disappointed that one of the aims of vocational guidance is trying to teach people themselves how to achieve certain things – do research, look at careers, think about your own strengths. | of choices made by students<br><br>Suggesting skill development was lacking in the value placed on careers | | **role of CA** to meet Government driven targets<br>Consequences: **focus** shifts to **measurable outcomes** |
| 217 | **RH:** | The skills? | | | |
| 218<br>219<br>220<br>221<br>222<br>223 | **CA1:** | Yes the skills, rather than just trying to tick a box and say 'that person has been done, they have had their vocational guidance, and they are going to become a Forensic Scientist' they have chosen this and off to university they go. | Comparing the actual outcomes with what he perceives as being better outcomes for careers guidance | Identifying outcome measures | |
| 224 | **RH:** | Have you noticed any change at ASchool since 2012, since the policy change? | | | |
| 225<br>226<br>227<br>228<br>229<br>230<br>231<br>232<br>233<br>234<br>235<br>236<br>237<br>238 | **CA1:** | Well I would say that to be perfectly honest, I still think, and a lot of people would deny this, but I don't think vocational guidance is being done that much to be perfectly honest. I think there is an awful lot of emphasis placed upon data, statistical collection of information of destinations of the students, were overtly worried about people becoming NEET. As soon as there is any hint of this they are sent to me to be corrected, so they don't become NEET any longer, really. I think that target driven in that respect, and I think that vocational | Evaluating the lack of guidance, before and after the most recent policy change<br>Identifying current ways to measure performance<br><br>Suggesting schools use Careers Advisers to troubleshoot with students to meet targets | Evaluating school provision<br><br>Identifying outcome measures | |

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| 239<br>240<br>241<br>242<br>243<br>244<br>245<br>246<br>247<br>248<br>249<br>250 | | guidance has been sort of replaced to a great extent. I am not sure of vocational guidance is going on very much in schools at the moment. I think that placing, getting people getting fixed up, reducing the levels of unemployment, making sure that Sixth Form centres and colleges are well voiced and well placed is more important and as we move more into privately run and funded things, I think that statistics are going to become more important. | Identifying the measured outcomes for careers guidance in schools<br><br>Funding issues involved in measured outcomes | Evaluating school provision<br>Identifying outcome measures<br><br>Describing funding of careers service<br><br>Identifying outcome measures | |
| 251 | **RH:** | So would you say that there has been a change in your role at the school? | | | |
| 252<br>253<br>254<br>255<br>256<br>257<br>258<br>259<br>260<br>261<br>262<br>263<br>264<br>265<br>266<br>267<br>268<br>269<br>270<br>271<br>272<br>273<br>274<br>275 | **CA1:** | Well, I think there's been a change because I was a Careers Adviser, then I became a Personal Adviser, and when I was a Personal Adviser I was meant to be more of a Youth Worker cum Social Worker, so I think at that point a lot of Careers Advisers said that their skills and careers knowledge disappeared quite alarmingly to be perfectly honest, and I am not sure that we have ever really recovered from that point really. We went off to an awful lot of meetings with Probation Workers, Youth Workers and Social Workers, so I think that our networking improved, and that our general knowledge of the other agencies improved, but I think if you actually ask people how much careers knowledge we had ourselves. We were called careers experts but I am not sure that we were ever that, and I am not sure that we are that now to be perfectly honest. The emphasis was placed upon placing people and also helping those people | Comparing role of Careers Adviser to Personal Adviser<br><br>Identifying wider aspects of Personal Adviser role from other professions<br>Suggesting the demise of the professional skills<br>Suggesting professional skills not returned<br>Identifying benefits of working with wider range of professionals<br><br>Reinforcing the lack of specialist careers knowledge of some Personal Advisers<br><br>Reiterating the focus on students with difficulties/overcoming barriers | Describing professional status of Careers Adviser<br><br>Identifying outcome measures<br><br>Describing professional status | **Professional Status of Careers Advisors**<br>Condition: **removal** of need for an **academic qualification** for CA<br>Action: CA **role became broader** and less well determined<br>Action: **change in emphasis** identifying those at risk from not following one of set pathways<br>Consequence: **loss of professional identify** for CA<br>Consequence: **perception** that CG role does not require academic qualification or specially trained personnel |

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| 276<br>277<br>278<br>278<br>280 | | who are difficult, having difficulties overcoming those barriers. I am not sure that we continued, and I know that we began to disappear from visits to employers, and visits to colleges. | Comparing networking with other sectors | of Careers Adviser | |
| 281 | **RH:** | When did you change back to being a Careers adviser then, from being a Personal Adviser then? Was that 2012? | | | |
| 282<br>283<br>284<br>285<br>286<br>287<br>288 | **CA1:** | I have always resisted becoming a Personal Adviser, but after Connexions disappeared, and we were taken, I think it was 2012, we were renamed Careers Advisers again, that we have gone back into the flavour of just focusing in careers guidance. | Subverting the role of Personal Adviser<br><br>Comparing current role to a more previous role | Describing professional status of Careers Adviser | Action: **resistance to change** in order to maintain professional identity<br>Consequence: **culture** of not being/needing specialist is **adopted within the field** |
| 289 | **RH:** | Do you think that the role of other people in the school has changed their involvement in careers guidance? | | | |
| 290<br>291<br>292<br>293<br>294<br>295<br>296<br>297<br>298<br>299<br>300<br>301<br>302<br>303<br>304<br>305<br>306<br>307<br>308<br>309 | **CA1:** | Yes I think that it is quite good at ASchool. One is because it is because it is quite successful at what is does in terms of careers guidance, but that can't be just on the strength of one person called a Careers Adviser. I mean the first thing it is is that a Careers Adviser needs to be trusted, and accepted to do their job in the school, and I think that I am allowed to do that at ASchool. I think that no one person can do it. I think it is the working relationships that grew under Connexions that were quite useful. I have now got very good contacts now in the school. I work with the Inclusion Team with the kids who need the support. I work with the Head of Achievement for those kids who would be working a bit harder. I work with the SENCO with the kids who are | Requiring a wider range of people to support role in school<br>Identifying personal/relationship skills that colleagues look for<br><br>Identifying relationships and networking to enhance role<br><br>Identifying key people who work with in school<br><br>Comparing to early stages of working in school | Evaluating school provision<br><br>Describing professional status of Careers Adviser<br><br>Identifying outcome measures<br><br>Describing professional status of Careers Adviser<br><br>Networking/teamworking opportunities<br><br>Evaluating school provision | **Complex Working Relationships**<br>Condition: able to **identify and explain the contact and role** with school staff having different responsibilities as worked for long time in the organisation<br>Action: comfortable and **established in role** – positive about ability to provide quality service<br>Consequence: more **holistic** and rounded **approach** for school provision<br>Consequence: **student-centred service** provides increased coherence for them |

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| 310<br>311<br>312<br>313<br>314<br>315<br>316<br>317<br>318<br>319<br>320<br>321<br>322<br>323<br>324<br>325<br>326<br>327<br>328<br>329<br>330<br>331<br>332 | | statemented, so I think the role has changed in school. When I first started to do this job, I was kind of like a person who would come in on a Thursday afternoon, and I would sit in a room about the size of a cupboard, and young people would be fed to me, and then I would tick them off as being seen, and then they would go away, and then I would go away back to the Careers Centre, and then the kid would wonder what it is that bad been done to this young person, because I played no part in their life up to that point and then suddenly I was telling this person what to do with their lives, and then I was disappearing again, never to see that young person again. Well, now because I virtually spend all my life in education and schools that think I am able to see people from Year 9 through Year 10 to Year 11, so they have a greater respect or a greater understanding to what I am trying to do for them. | Identifying main location of work<br><br>Feeling empathy and perspective for students<br><br>Describing which cohorts of students engage with careers guidance<br>Describing the enhanced relationship with students – personal qualities | Identifying outcome measures | **Measuring Success of CG**<br>Condition: **stable and coherent service** provided for students<br>Action: maintaining current provider and personnel will maintain these **relationships** |
| 333<br>334 | **RH:** | Do you think that the change to a commissioned service has affected your working relationship with any of those people – the SENCO, the Support Team, the Heads of Year and so forth? | | | |
| 335<br>336<br>337<br>338<br>339<br>340<br>341 | **CA1:** | I think it has certainly focused their mind, because schools are actually purchasing the service, so the schools are quite reasonably asking if it is value for money. Obviously some schools have said 'no,' because not all schools have commissioned the service. | Identifying impact of change to commissioned service<br>Identifying outcome - financial | Identifying outcome measures | Condition: recent policy change **shifts contractual obligation** to school<br>Action: consideration of service includes **financial angle** for school and organisational survival for CAs |
| 342 | **RH:** | How are they judging value for money? | | | |

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| 343<br>344<br>345<br>346<br>347<br>348<br>349<br>350<br>351<br>352<br>353<br>354<br>355<br>356<br>357<br>358<br>359<br>360<br>361<br>362<br>363<br>364<br>365<br>366<br>367<br>368<br>369<br>370<br>371 | **CA1:** | I think that to some extent some Heads would be asking pupils what sort of service they have achieved, and then if the child said that they don't remember their careers interview, then the school would be saying 'what's the point in paying for something that isn't having much effect?' so I think that is probably one way that they measure it. They might have been looking at the NEET figures, or where people are going off to work. They could have been wondering as to how many pupils were coming back to school and feeding their Sixth Forms, or whatever, or they could have been asking the staff 'Do you know the Careers Adviser – do they come into school and do they have any impact on the child?' It shouldn't come down to personality, but very much, in some cases the schools that purchased the services from the County Council. Those schools had a lasting, long serving relationship with the Careers Adviser who was probably more like a member of staff rather than anything else really. I am not sure that they were purchasing the service, but purchasing the trust of the individual. | Identifying outcome – student voice<br><br>Identifying outcome – impact on student<br><br>Identifying impact – financial<br><br>Identifying impact – NEET etc.<br>NEET – *in vivo* code<br>Identifying impact – retention rates<br><br>Identifying impact – profile with staff<br><br>Explaining how successful at role: profile in school<br><br>Suggesting length of service and integration into school team enhance success in role<br>Suggesting that individual advisers more important than brand of the service | Identifying outcome measures<br><br>Describing professional status of Careers Adviser | <u>Consequence</u>: time is spent **negotiating contract** or Service Level Agreement<br><u>Consequence</u>: there is an increased demand on the CA's organisation to **provide the service required by the school** in order to maintain a contract<br><u>Consequence</u>: there is more focus by school on an **explicit level of service** for students<br><u>Consequence</u>: schools perceive CA as a **strategic opportunity** to enhance other policies and targets such as recruitment to own Sixth Form as a service to support University Applications |
| 372 | **RH:** | Do you think the importance and value of careers advice has changed? | | | |
| 373<br>374<br>375<br>376<br>377<br>378<br>379 | **CA1:** | Yes, I don't think it has ever been valued to the level, ever, that it should have been in society. I mean, we are talking of one of the most important areas of young people – we are not just talking about their career, but how they view themselves, the confidence to enter | Ranking careers guidance low in society – success criteria?<br><br>Relating importance of careers guidance to holistic experience of student | Identifying political intervention<br><br>Identifying outcome measures | **Impact of Changing Political Landscape**<br><u>Condition</u>: acknowledgement that Government use cIAG as a mechanism to control and direct the flow of students through schools |

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| 380<br>381<br>382<br>383<br>384<br>385<br>386 | | education, to become better qualified, to go and make relationships, choose careers and choose other careers when those careers don't serve them anymore. I don't think this country has ever fully invested in a proper careers service to be perfectly honest. | Expressing desire for careers guidance to be lifelong<br>Evaluating level of importance in careers for the country | Identifying political intervention | Action: CA compromised by making job suit the needs of the market rather than for educational value |
| 387<br>388 | **RH:** | Do you think since September 2012 that the measures used to evaluate IAG have changed – you talked about number of NEETS, number of kids going to Sixth Form and so forth? Has that policy changed the way schools are judging and evaluating? | | | |
| 389<br>390<br>391<br>392<br>393<br>394<br>395<br>396<br>397<br>398<br>399<br>400<br>401<br>402<br>403<br>404<br>405<br>406<br>407<br>408<br>409<br>410<br>411<br>412 | **CA1:** | I think that in the days before Connexions set up, there was a real attempt to improve the professionalism of careers advice, and people produced quality standards and they produced very detailed documents as to what would be involved in careers guidance programme, and they used to award schools quality awards didn't they, for having achieved certain things, and I think those things were good as they really made people address what was the school actually offering and providing its pupils as well one: the vocational guidance service, and two: the careers adviser coming into make sure that they were doing whatever it is that they should be doing really. Then, to a greater extent, that sort of disappeared under Connexions because Connexions was trying to do too much, not just vocational guidance but to do all the social mobility, and all the social improvements and overcome all the | Reflecting on role of professionalism changing through time<br><br>Identifying how professionalism was judged<br><br>Identifying success criteria<br><br>Identifying success criteria – judgement by students<br><br>Suggesting a regulatory/supervisory role for Careers Advisor in school<br><br>Identifying the change in professional status under Connexions<br>Proposing philosophy of careers guidance links to social mobility<br><br>Stating the purpose of | Describing professional status of Careers Adviser<br><br>Identifying outcome measures<br><br>Describing professional status of Careers Adviser<br><br>Identifying outcome measures | **Professional Status of Careers Advisors**<br>Condition: detailed quality standards and policies were in place in the 'old' system which afforded clAG a certain status<br>Action: school standards were raised by working towards standards and gaining external quality awards for their clAG provision<br>Action: removal of quality standards and marks from the careers service when responding to policy change as focus shifted to identifying and working with students not following appropriate pathways<br>Consequence: organisation moves from working with schools for a universal provision to working 'outside' schools with young people at risk |

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| 413<br>414<br>415<br>416<br>417<br>418<br>419<br>420<br>421<br>422<br>423 | | social issues that people were facing, and making sure that people's barriers for education were reduced, and making sure that people who dropped out of education came back into education and all of those sort of things. I don't think we have ever got back to the days where we producing quality documents that actually measured what we do any more. I think we are just doing the best we can under very difficult circumstances at the moment. | Connexions<br><br>Identifying Connexions success criteria<br><br><br>Comparing paperwork to pre-Connexions days<br>Identifying challenging times currently | Identifying political intervention | |
| 424<br>425 | **RH:** | Absolutely. You talk about the professionalism of people who are Careers Advisers, and judging against quality standards is one way to assess professionalism. How else is the professionalism of Careers Advisers judged? | | | |
| 426<br>427<br>428<br>429<br>430<br>431<br>432<br>433<br>434<br>435<br>436<br>437<br>438<br>439<br>440<br>441<br>442<br>443<br>444<br>445<br>446<br>447<br>448 | **CA1:** | Well it could be judged in lots of ways. It could be judged in what impact they are actually having in young people in their education whilst they are in school really. How many times can I intervene in the young person's life to help them, so I can help them in year 9 Options, then I can help them with their Year 11 decisions and transitions, and their Sixth Form life and their application to University, so I think, you know, a young person should be able to look back on their life and say 'Who helped me achieve success in my life?' and hopefully one person that they come up with is the Careers Adviser. The other one is possibly the support that I can give teachers: everybody can give careers advice – everybody does give careers advice teachers give careers advice – do you see what I mean? So my influence as a Careers Adviser could be within the school as to how I sort of | Listing different ways to judge professionalism of role – impact on students<br>Outcome: number of interventions with same student<br>Outcome: successful transitions<br><br>Outcome: university applications<br><br><br>Outcome: retrospective identification of role played by students<br>Outcome: support for teachers giving guidance<br><br><br><br>Outcome: profile/relationship with teachers | Describing funding of careers service<br><br><br><br><br><br><br><br><br><br><br><br><br><br><br><br><br><br><br><br>Describing professional status of Careers Adviser | **Measuring Success of CG**<br>Condition: there are many complex ways in which CG can be judged<br>Action: impact on young people's education is measured by number of times individuals are interviewed, whether students find CG helpful/useful, how well CA support teachers through marketing CG as a service for staff |

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| 449<br>450<br>451<br>452<br>453 | | like market myself to other teachers. How can teachers introduce careers advice into Physics lessons, or Music lessons, and things like that and that can be supplied, really. So it is a question of impact really. | | | |
| 454<br>455 | **RH:** | Do think that the change in how professionalism is measured as a result of the changes in the organisations you have been employed by, or by something else? | | | |
| 456<br>457<br>458<br>459<br>460<br>461<br>462<br>463<br>464<br>465<br>466<br>467<br>468<br>469<br>470<br>471<br>472<br>473 | **CA1:** | No, the professionalism relies upon the individual and their professional integrity of what they want to do. To a greater extent the outside world has its political agenda, and it keeps coming into school and saying 'This is what we want this time' really. I've lived under pure vocational guidance, I did a social inclusion agenda and now we have probably gone back to Careers Guidance really and now we are moving into the private area. You know, I don't know these people who become employers but I don't think they have very detailed knowledge of vocational guidance or what-have-you really. I think they are probably looking for economic impact really. | Describing what professionalism is – intrinsic to the person<br>Explaining how professionalism continues in subversive manner if needed<br><br>Identifying structural change to private sector<br><br>Negative evaluation of importance of careers to strategists<br>Suggesting strategists are economically motivated | Describing professional status of Careers Adviser<br><br>Identifying political intervention<br>Describing funding of careers service<br>Identifying political intervention | **Professional Status of Careers Advisors**<br>Condition: a changing political landscape for CG<br>Action: there is a change in approach/agenda for CG organisations in response to policy change<br>Consequence: there is a perception from CA that there is a cyclical policy change, but with it a decrease in the professional status of CAs |
| 474 | **RH:** | And those things are driven by the Government? | | | |
| 475<br>476<br>477<br>478<br>479<br>480<br>481 | **CA1:** | Government agenda, yes, by structural matters. To a great extent, I mean, you don't want to become cynical of them, but at the end of the day all those things are less important than the young person's future development, really, because otherwise they will be gone and | Suggesting structural change causes change<br><br>Keeping professional identity, regardless of change | Identifying political intervention<br><br>Describing professional status of Careers Adviser | Consequence: CA are becoming less motivated by their job<br>Consequence: CA maintain their ideal aspects of their role and keep a student-centred approach which subverts the objectives of their company |

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| 482<br>483<br>484<br>485<br>486<br>487<br>488<br>489<br>490<br>491 | | they will be getting on with their life really. So, I have tended, you know, I am a Careers Adviser and I give advice and guidance for helping people fulfil their own lives. Whoever pays me, and whatever their political agenda is, I sort of have to live with that. I realise that in a few years' time that agenda will change and somebody else will come in with some other ideas really. | Defining own role<br><br>Providing a constant service<br><br>Looking towards the future | <br><br><br><br><br>Describing funding of careers service | which are set up in response to the policy change<br>Consequence: there is an expectation amongst CA of future policy changes |
| 492 | **RH:** | But there is still an essential need for young people to get … | | | |
| 493<br>494<br>495<br>496<br>497<br>498<br>499<br>500<br>501<br>502 | **CA1:** | Advice. Whatever the Government of the day, this country has to have economic value, it has to have industrial development, it has to have qualified young people and young people want to have future and be motivated, and they want to know the reason why they have spent 13 years in education is going to provide them with the means to go out and earn a living really. | Accounting for change to Government<br>Stating the importance of careers guidance to the country<br><br>Stating relevance of careers guidance for students | Identifying political intervention<br><br><br><br><br>Describing funding of careers service | Consequence: CA make sense of the policy change in the wider context but have developed a 'market forces' approach to their philosophy which fits the wider Government agenda |
| 503<br>504 | **RH:** | When the policy changed this last time, in 2012, did the school talk to you about how the relationship between yourself and your organisation was going to change with the school? | | | |
| 505<br>506<br>507<br>508<br>509<br>510<br>511<br>512<br>513<br>514<br>515<br>516 | **CA1:** | Yes, first of all the answer was that what was the school going to purchase, realistically speaking. Given a school the size of ASchool does need between 3 and 4 days of input from the Careers Service to be perfectly honest. The first thing I was concerned about was impartiality. It was the first time that the school – the school have not paid my wages, but the school was certainly paying my wages, so how was the school going to feel about if people | Focusing initial dialogue on buying commissioned service<br>Agreeing that the school was planning adequately<br><br>Identifying possible conflicts as part of a commissioned service<br><br>Suggesting unacceptable outcomes for school<br><br>Recognising the professionalism | Creating the commissioned service<br><br><br><br><br><br><br>Identifying outcome measures<br><br><br>Describing professional status | **Responding to the Policy Change**<br>Condition: there has been a change in the source of funding for careers services<br>Action: schools commission their CG from organisations for the first time<br>Action: use of previous relationship with providers by school to ensure provision<br>Action: clear statements from |

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| 517<br>518<br>519<br>520<br>521<br>522<br>523 | | started to leave the school and take up apprenticeships, and go to college instead Fortunately the integrity of the school is that they have trusted me, and they have a willingness to actually applaud that young people have a right to make their own decisions really. | of the school | of Careers Adviser | CA that they would not become biased in their work<br>Action: identification of ways school may monitor provision |
| 524 | **RH:** | So there was no real tension for you really? | | | |
| 525<br>526<br>527<br>528<br>529<br>530<br>531<br>532<br>533<br>534<br>535<br>536<br>537<br>538<br>539<br>540<br>541<br>542 | **CA1:** | Not at all – I mean, I would have ignored it if there would have been, but there was no intention like that at all really. Then the second one is Where the school going to want to take a greater interest in what I was saying to young people, as there might be issues of confidentiality there? It would be perfectly reasonable for the school to say 'Well you have spent a day with young people in school today, what have you said to them: What is little Charlie going to do with his life?' Technically that is confidential information, but if the school pay for my services, you know, perhaps they have a right to know that people are making reasonable progress with their career plans. | Identifying willingness to subvert, if required<br>Suggesting a raise in status/interest in content of careers guidance<br><br>Identifying possible conflicts of work<br><br>Suggesting what school expects as outcome<br><br>Reconciling intrusion/monitoring by school | Describing professional status of Careers Adviser<br>Creating the commissioned service | Consequence: immediate identification that there could be a compromise to the impartial advice as outcomes for the school will affect service uptake |
| 523 | **RH:** | And has there been more interest in what you do in terms of an interview, or spending? | | | |
| 544<br>545<br>546<br>547<br>548<br>549<br>550 | **CA1:** | I think there certainly has been. I think there has been an awful lot of interest in statistics for management reasons as to how many people plan to stay on at school, how many people plan to leave, to go to college, and also what has been quite useful at ASchool is that if the | Suggesting leadership outcome measures<br><br>Suggesting a more formative value to careers guidance | Identifying outcome measures | **Monitoring the Service**<br>Condition: schools are buying in a service - require more involvement in provision<br>Action: there is an increased interest in statistical data which are school success criteria |

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| 551<br>552<br>553<br>554<br>555<br>556<br>557<br>558<br>559<br>560<br>561<br>562 | | school is going to develop their Sixth Form programmes, if people are not staying at ASchool then why are they not staying at ASchool – what are they choosing to do at college that maybe ASchool could provide them with since. Now I don't put it down own to my work at all but since those discussions have taken place, ASchool have introduced BTECs in the Sixth Form in Health and Social Care, Business Studies, Travel and Tourism. | Giving examples of strategic outcomes<br><br>Positive outcomes – number of new courses for different learners | | Consequence: CA developing more strategic relationship with school and having an influence on their policy |
| 563 | **RH:** | It's good to know things are moving in that way. | | | |
| 564<br>565<br>566<br>567<br>568<br>569<br>570<br>571 | **CA1:** | They also do a BTEC in Business as well as an A Level in Business. I think that has come out of conversations with the Head and the Head of Sixth Form has spoken to me about if they were to offer more courses, what courses are the courses that would be taken up by young people. | Citing how feedback has been given to contribute to strategic plan | Networking/teamworking opportunities | |
| 572 | **RH:** | So in some ways, you've had more influence, you've been more involved in the strategy of the school? | | | |
| 573<br>574<br>575<br>576<br>577<br>578<br>579<br>580 | **CA1:** | Yes I would say so. I have been asked if that might have happened irrespective of who was, whether it was a free or a commissioned service. I think the school have got to a level with me, I was going to do all this work, and I had all this destination knowledge that some if it could be used. | Reflecting on increased value of careers guidance<br><br>Suggesting reasons for increased value to the school | Creating the commissioned service | Consequence: increase in status and influence of CA in individual schools as a result of change and the manner of the response at same time as a decrease in a macro-approach through the loss of quality standards and influence on wider cIAG |
| 581<br>582<br>583 | **RH:** | Ok that's brilliant, that's fantastic, that's very useful. You've told me quite a lot about what changes there are, now I'd like some reflections, some of your opinions about some of this as well. So in terms of what the Government have done in terms of changing IAG policy, what is your opinion of it: do you think it is just another change, or do you think it will have an influence or …? | | | |

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| 584<br>585<br>586<br>587<br>588<br>589<br>590<br>591<br>592<br>593<br>594<br>595<br>596<br>597<br>598<br>599<br>600<br>601<br>602<br>603<br>604<br>605<br>606<br>607<br>608<br>609<br>610<br>611<br>612<br>612<br>614<br>615<br>616<br>617<br>618<br>619<br>620<br>621 | **CA1:** | The first thing that they did, there used to be a statutory requirement but for Local Authorities to provide careers guidance to schools, and that law has since been repealed and I think that is horrendous because I think a statutory duty is a minimum that young people can expect, and they do deserve the right to have impartial careers guidance, and that doesn't actually exist any longer. The way that the Government have addressed this is to free up schools to actually, you know, provide their own services really, they can decide how they wish to do it, but the Careers Service was funded by, I think, a £6 million amount of money called the Area Grant, and that was taken away, but it wasn't re-distributed to schools in order for them to provide the services that they currently had free. So this placed an awful lot of anxiety on behalf of schools to say 'Where is the money, where is the funding?' but this was right at the time when schools were having to make cutbacks in any case, and so do you know what I mean, that teachers are quite important to schools and classrooms, and if there was a shortage of teachers then why should they suddenly start spending money on careers advice. I think it was absolutely horrendous that the Government was actually saying to schools 'You are free to employ the service you want.' Now at that point I actually feel that I would like to be funded purely by a school. I would like to have that. I would like one school | Restating the previous Government policy<br><br>Negatively evaluating the policy change<br><br>Suggesting rights to careers guidance<br><br>Interpreting the manner in which schools can provide careers guidance<br><br>Identifying previous funding streams<br><br>Comparing funding<br><br>Suggesting how schools debated policy change<br><br>Comparing value of careers guidance to teaching<br><br>Negative evaluation of policy change<br><br>Suggesting alternative way to fund careers guidance<br><br>Identifying who would define role for Careers Advisers | Identifying political intervention<br><br>Creating the commissioned service<br><br>Describing funding of careers service<br><br>Creating the commissioned service<br><br>Identifying political intervention<br><br>Creating the commissioned service | **Responding to the Policy Change**<br>Condition: policy changes funding from LA to school for careers service<br>Action: negative personal and professional response to change<br>Action: Government funding does not 'follow' the responsibility for CG into schools<br>Consequence: there is concern in schools over how to arrange and fund CG<br>Consequence: there is a concern in CG provider organisations that they may not be given contracts for provision<br>Consequence: preference for direct funding of CA from school, rather than through an organisation to remove element of concern regarding employment continuity<br>Consequence: willingness to widen role from CG to clAG and take more responsibility in school to ensure continued contract in schools |

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| 622<br>623<br>624<br>635<br>626<br>627<br>628<br>629<br>630<br>631<br>632<br>633<br>634<br>635 | | – I work in five or four schools. I would like one school to say 'We employ you, and this is what we want to you to do.' I have always found the arrangement in schools that they have a Careers Teacher and a Careers Adviser. What does a Careers Teacher do and what does a Careers Adviser do that's different? Why do you need both, really? Why can't a school employ a Careers Adviser to run the careers education programme and to actually do deliver the careers guidance at the same time to be perfectly honest? | Suggesting conflict/lack of clarity of roles relating to careers education and guidance<br>Suggesting how careers can be delivered | Describing professional status of Careers Adviser<br><br>Creating the commissioned service | |
| 636 | **RH:** | Why do you think schools then, haven't done that? You know, the policy has freed up schools now? | | | |
| 637<br>638<br>639<br>640<br>641<br>642<br>643<br>644<br>645<br>656<br>647<br>648<br>649<br>650<br>651<br>652<br>653<br>634<br>655<br>656<br>657<br>658 | **CA1:** | But the policy does say doesn't it that schools are not allowed to employ their own careers advisers, but many have, and I don't know how this is justified, but the schools say that they have to prove that they are actually employing independent, impartial ones, so I think that a lot of schools would have perhaps liked to have employed their own, but the law does say, doesn't it, the legislation, the policy, that they have to prove that the person coming in is an independent and impartial person from the school, really. So I think to a greater extent, a lot of Head teachers must have sat around and said 'Who can we get? Where are these experts that we can draw on?' There's the old established Careers Advice Service, and then there is probably a lot of independent advisers who profess to be able to do it, but we don't know these people, so I think that | Suggesting alternative applications of policy change<br><br>Identifying potential problems of other models<br><br>Suggesting how schools made strategic decisions<br><br>Expressing concerns of an unregulated careers provision<br><br>Suggesting how schools arrived at their decision to apply policy | Creating the commissioned service | Condition: identification that schools would prefer a directly funded CA rather than through a commissioning organisation<br>Condition: head and school able to obtain CG from a variety of providers in addition to the one formed from the previous LA provision<br>Action: identification that those happy with previous LA provision will wish to maintain it under new structure<br>Action: some schools move to CG provision from a different provider<br>Action: personal expectation of a minimum standard of provision<br>Consequence: not all schools have opted for CG from previous LA providers<br>Consequence: increase in range |

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| 659<br>660<br>661<br>662<br>663<br>664<br>665<br>666<br>667<br>668<br>669<br>670<br>671<br>672<br>673<br>674<br>675<br>676<br>677<br>678 | | probably a lot of teachers s ay 'If we are happy with the current service we are getting, then we will stick with that.' Then some people said 'What we will do is employ the person who used to be part of the Careers Service,' and have them as their own Careers Adviser, and then some schools would have said 'Well, we will advertise, and then draw in whoever we think is the best one really.' But I think it is has been a disaster, really, because a young person should go to school and expect pretty much the same standard of advice wherever they go to, and fortunately, in ATown, most schools have purchased the County Council, fully qualified Careers Adviser Service, but there are huge numbers of schools, 10, 15, 20 miles away where that is just not happening at all. | Suggesting the requirement for a universal provision and standard<br><br>Recognising need of qualifications for Careers Advisors<br>Giving example of different model/approach | Describing professional status of Careers Adviser<br><br>Creating the commissioned service | of organisations and individuals offering CA service |
| 679<br>680 | **RH:** | So before, you said it was horrendous that now Local Authorities don't any longer have this statutory duty. Is this mainly though a quality assurance, the level of qualification of the people offering that advice? | | | |
| 681<br>682<br>683<br>684<br>685<br>686<br>687<br>688<br>689<br>690<br>691<br>692<br>693<br>694<br>695 | **CA1:** | Yes, yes, the training, the people within the service, because now, I mean, they should be asking for a minimum of people with the Diploma of Careers Guidance, or some professional qualification, presumably that allows them to give advice, to Level 4, but I think probably a lot of advisers in school could be Level 3 qualified, but if you talk, at a time a few years ago, everybody was becoming a Personal Adviser – if you went to the Job Centre, they would have Personal Advisers, so there was nothing to stop them saying 'Well I'm a qualified Adviser,' and then they could | Identifying levels of qualifications for Careers Advisors<br><br>Expressing concern at degrading of professional status due to use of title<br><br>Describing the benefit of appropriate qualifications | Describing professional status of Careers Adviser | **Professional Status of Careers Advisors**<br>Condition: multiple levels of experience/qualifications are held by CA in an unregulated service<br>Action: heads should take into account experience and qualifications when appointing CA<br>Consequence: schools have the control to re-instate the academic status of CAs |

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| 696<br>697<br>698<br>699<br>700 | | apply for the jobs, so I think that the actual depth of knowledge of advisers really varies so much, and the actual service that schools are purchasing varies so much to be perfectly honest, from school to school. | | | |
| 701 | **RH:** | So have you got a concern then, about the status and professionalism then, of the Careers Advisers? | | | |
| 702<br>703<br>704<br>705<br>706<br>707<br>708<br>709<br>710<br>711<br>712<br>713<br>714<br>715<br>716<br>717 | **CA1:** | Somebody once said that a few years ago that the biggest thing facing Careers advisers was the destruction of the professional status of their own profession, really, to be perfectly honest, and I think that when we went into Connexions it became watered down as Careers Advisers, and we tried to make a new role of becoming a Social Working, Youth Working, Careers Adviser role Careers Adviser was one third of our job so we became even more watered down. Then we employed Personal Advisers who didn't have a Careers Adviser background, they had a Social Work or a Youth Service background. | Identifying threats to professional status of Careers Advisers<br><br>Suggesting Connexions devalued Careers<br>Identifying conflict of different professions in Connexions | Describing professional status of Careers Adviser | Action: restructuring if service in previous policy removed the need for appropriate qualifications for CA<br>Consequence: status has been eroded and not subsequently reinstated |
| 718 | **RH:** | But they were expected to do all elements? | | | |
| 719<br>720<br>721<br>722<br>723<br>724<br>725<br>726<br>727 | **CA1:** | They were expected to do all elements of it. What happened then huge redundancies took place in AShire, massive redundancies, and there are only 100 of us left who were suddenly be reformed into Careers Advisers, but our background may have been in Social Work, or it may have been in Youth Work or what have you, so the | Compromising of professional status when working for Connexions<br><br>Suggesting why professional | Describing professional status of Careers Adviser | **Impact of Changing Political Landscape**<br>Consequence: many working in previous organisation were made redundant when restructuring took place |

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| professional status has really been destroyed as to what is a Careers Adviser, as to what background they have, what knowledge do they have to give advice to young people. | | status is eroded | | | |
| **RH:** | In terms of what ASchool has done then, do you think they have addressed that policy change in an appropriate way? | | | | |
| **CA1:** | Well they have done everything asked of them haven't they? Because they had three and a half days under the old system and have purchased three and a half days, they have probably purchased half a day more than they had, and they have ensured that the person that they have is a fully qualified Careers Adviser, really. They don't have somebody who has got a Level 2 qualification through the Open University, or by a correspondence course, and calls themselves a Careers Adviser, so they have been, you know, the integrity is to be applauded really. | Evaluating the provision in school<br><br>Quantity of Careers Advisers contracted<br><br>Level of qualification of Careers Adviser | Creating the commissioned service<br><br>Describing professional status of Careers Adviser | **Responding to the Policy Change**<br>Condition: school compliance with the policy change<br>Action: ensuring an impartial CA is employed by the school<br>Consequence: school meets statutory duties for CG |
| **RH:** | Before you mentioned about the impartiality aspect of this. Do you feel that you are able to carry out those duties in the school? | | | | |
| **CA1:** | There has been no problem with working, there has been no pressure with me to change my way of working, or to, you know, to hide certain prospectuses at the back of the cupboard, or tear up certain application forms, no no. What the school have done, it has said 'We have employed BK to provide the guidance to all students,' so I see virtually 100% of young people at ASchool. I have my statutory duties on top of that really. What the school | Concluding that commissioned service not affected working relationship<br><br>Identifying what possible conflicts could be<br><br>Suggesting value of personal interviews and quality measure<br>Suggesting a market enterprise value for schools | Creating the commissioned service<br><br>Identifying outcome measures<br><br>Creating the commissioned service | Action: school enabled CA to maintain impartial role from the perception of the CA<br>Action: school has identified CG as an enhanced service which is a commodity to attract students to the school<br>Consequence: an increased uptake and retention of students especially at Sixth Form |

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| 762<br>763<br>764<br>765<br>766<br>767<br>768<br>769<br>770<br>771<br>772<br>773<br>774<br>775<br>776<br>777<br>778 | | have said 'We are a competing business,' and they have decided themselves that they need to improve the attraction to young people, so the number of people who have applied to Sixth Form I believe has gone up. But there are those who have sat with their heads in a bucket of water insisting that they take three A Levels at ASchool, but they have improved the facilities for the Sixth Form, they have improved the range of qualifications, they have introduced BTECs and they have got better looking prospectuses, really, that is what they have one – and that's good and they are competing on fair terms with other places but no one has pressurised me to change my advice. | Quality measure of increased numbers<br><br>Quality measure of most suitable courses<br><br>Identifying competition element for school with other providers | Identifying outcome measures | |
| 779 | **RH:** | So you have not had to compromise your professionalism? | | | |
| 780<br>781<br>782<br>783<br>784<br>785<br>786<br>787<br>788<br>789<br>790<br>791 | **CA1:** | Not in the slightest. I don't have to show staff my action plans that I do, I give them by email directly to the young people, so they are confidential and not see by teachers whatsoever, and I don't have to see a selective group of people. I don't just have to see Sixth Formers and ignore the college applicants – I am free to decide who is most important, and am free to decide who is most important and when I see people, so I still have got my professional independence. | Taking pride in working relationship with school<br><br>Identifying what could have compromised own professionalism in school<br><br>Identifying own autonomy within the service provided | Describing professional status of Careers Adviser<br><br>Creating the commissioned service | Action: school has allowed maintenance of an impartial role in the perception of the CA<br>Consequence: not closely monitored or work scrutinised or access to certain cohorts of students restricted |
| 792<br>793 | **RH:** | That is fantastic. What about the other schools you are working in then. So has there been a similar experience for the Lead Advisers in those schools in the district? | | | |

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| 794<br>795<br>796<br>797<br>798<br>799<br>800<br>801<br>802<br>803<br>804<br>805<br>806<br>807<br>808<br>809<br>810<br>811<br>821<br>813<br>814<br>815<br>816<br>817<br>818<br>819<br>820<br>821<br>822<br>823<br>824<br>825<br>826<br>827<br>828<br>829<br>830<br>831<br>832 | **CA1:** | I mean, to be perfectly honest, I think that when I joined the Careers Service, I had a look around at everybody's jobs and I though their jobs were better than mine, and those who gave post-18, who saw the Sixth Formers post-18 options advice, people going off to University, people entering the Sixth Form, really, and I thought that was good. Instead of being wishy-washy advice, it was much more detailed advice, you know, you could become kind of like a careers expert, know what courses the University of Aberdeen offered, and I liked that and I thought that was proper advice, rather than 'Go away and think about and make your own mind up and let me know what you have decided' sort of advice, so I thought that the area of the Careers Service I wanted to work in is post-18, not post-16 opportunities. And then low and behold, there was a growth in people applying to University, wasn't there? And also by giving that advice it doesn't jeopardise the school's position does it, really? I'm not a threat to the school by coming in and giving that advice, in fact I could be an asset to the school couldn't I? I would motivate young people to go to better universities, I would know the difference between a good university and a bad university – I wouldn't waste their money, and then it also happened at a time when fees came in, so young people were much more focused now. If they are going to spend their £27 000, they want to spend it wisely. They want to go to a university with a good chance of a job at the end of | Relates current role to own career ambitions<br><br>Identifying value of specialist careers advice<br><br>Identifying opportunity to develop own career interests<br>Suggesting value and non-controversial aspect of role<br><br>Identifying value to school from provision<br><br>Value of experienced careers adviser to school performance outcomes<br><br>Value of good careers advice to students<br><br>Identifying opportunity for own expertise in schools<br><br>Contrasting current potential and | Contextualising role through historical narrative of career trajectory<br><br>Describing professional status of Careers Adviser<br><br>Identifying outcome measures<br><br>Creating the commissioned | <u>Condition</u>: offering advice to Sixth Form students regarding HE is not a threat or area of compromise for the school<br><u>Action</u>: post-18 options advice is offered as an enhanced service to students<br><u>Consequence</u>: students have a greater awareness of the impacts of HE on futures<br><br>Consequence: perception that |

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| 833<br>834<br>835<br>836<br>837<br>838<br>839<br>840<br>841<br>842<br>843<br>844<br>845<br>846<br>847<br>848<br>849<br>850<br>851<br>852<br>853<br>854<br>855<br>856<br>857<br>858<br>859<br>860<br>861<br>862<br>863<br>864<br>865<br>866<br>867<br>868<br>869<br>870<br>871 | | it, rather than the University of No Chance, with nothing at the end of it. So I found that I had an area of knowledge that schools wanted, and that young people wanted. A lot of this is good, and I was horrified under Connexions that they didn't want that sort of stuff. They wanted you to work with people with issues and problems, and not the clever ones really but I stick to my guns and carried on doing it really. Now, of course, schools have purchased our service, and I think there is a massive area that all services stupidly ignored which was to provide one of the products, one of the services that schools want to purchase, and that is post-18 knowledge, knowledge of Higher Education, so I work in ESchool and I work in BSchool and I work in DSchool and I am busy and the schools willingly put aside money to employ me to take on, and there's no problem and its fantastic, because probably nobody has the knowledge of Higher Education, so it's difficult to challenge me, and say 'That's not true' so it's nice, I have the freedom to go around and give advice, and I am not a threat to schools, and pupils want it, and schools see it as a good resource because it looks good for the school if lots of people from the school go off to university. Those schools have happily employed me, and I know from my colleagues who work down with the younger years of the school that there have been no issues made for them either. They are perfectly happy, but they are staff who have | opportunity with the previous policy and system<br><br>Identifying the value of post-18 careers guidance and performance value to schools<br><br>Link post-18 value to bought service<br><br>Recognising uniqueness of position<br><br>Highlighting job satisfaction<br><br>Identifying perceived value to schools<br><br>Suggesting that the new model of provision also works well for other colleagues in slightly different contexts<br><br>Identifying reasons for schools buying service – relationships with long standing staff | service<br><br>Describing professional status of Careers Adviser<br><br>Creating the commissioned service<br><br>Describing professional status of Careers Adviser<br>Creating the commissioned service | CA for post-18 is a particular product for schools<br>Consequence: careers organisations able to market post-18 provision as separate service<br>Consequence: CG breaks down into different types of guidance, with different costs and benefits to school, dependent upon context<br>Consequence: degree of autonomy and independence and improved status/professionalism of CA |

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| 872<br>873<br>874<br>875 | | worked at those schools for many years, so I don't think the school feels that just because the money comes from a different direction that those people are going to change their allegiance. | | | |
| 876<br>877 | **RH:** | But you said before in other districts, this hasn't been the case. Was that because there wasn't a continuity of personnel, so people hadn't got those strong relationships? | | | |
| 878<br>879<br>880<br>881<br>882<br>883<br>884<br>885<br>886<br>887<br>888<br>889<br>890<br>891<br>892<br>893<br>894<br>895<br>896<br>89<br>898<br>899<br>900<br>901<br>902<br>903<br>904 | **CA1:** | I think there was a policy of moving staff around within schools, I have been in ASchool since 1992, 1994 so that's like 100 years isn't it, really. Some managers have had the feeling of wanting to move staff around so that you wouldn't get in a rut and stuck with one school, and I thought that is not going to be a good policy, as it's going to be damaging. Then secondly, ATown is an unusual place in the fact that here we have Careers Advisers who have, I have 33 years of experience, N has 34 years of experience, G has 35 years of experience, I mean between us, three members of staff have 120 years of experience, yes? When we became Connexions a lot of the staff of the old school left, and it was bright young, enthusiastic Youth Workers and Social Workers came in with little careers knowledge, and when Connexions became no longer the flavour of the month, those staff really didn't have the experience or the knowledge of careers to become Careers Advisers, and actually stay in schools. | Comparing district which has not used Careers Advisers<br>Using length of service as key to success<br><br>Using length of service as key to success<br><br>Identifying compromise of roles in Connexions<br><br>Suggesting lack of specialist knowledge | Networking/teamworking opportunities<br><br>Describing professional status of Careers Adviser | **Responding to the Policy Change**<br>Condition: CA in other districts had not built up a long term relationship with schools as a result of a different management response<br>Action: nearby district has implemented policy in a very different manner<br>Consequence: not all schools have responded in the same way to the policy change |
| 905 | **RH:** | Have those people gone back to social work and youth work? | | | |

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| 906<br>907<br>908<br>909<br>910<br>911 | **CA1:** | Yes back to social work and youth work. There has been a big increase in colleges employing what is called Learner Mentors, in huge numbers. If you checked out, huge numbers of Careers Advisers are now learning mentors. | Suggesting next steps for previous Connexions employees | | |
| 912<br>913 | **RH:** | Ok, do you think, we've talked a lot about this policy change, and what happened, what would you say the Government policy should be regarding Information, Advice and Guidance? | | | |
| 914<br>915<br>916<br>917<br>918<br>919<br>920<br>921<br>922<br>923<br>924<br>925<br>926<br>927<br>928<br>929 | **CA1:** | The policy needs to be one that every school has its own Careers Adviser, and that the Careers Adviser is based in that school and serves the needs of that community within that school, that every young person should have so much careers lessons given over to opportunities awareness, self-evaluation, self-awareness, options information and what have you, and should go for Work Experience. All of that should be organised by the Careers Adviser in the school really, and that Careers Advisers should really stay with those people for two years after they have left the school, for continued advice afterwards. | Stating one careers adviser per school<br><br>Identifying role of Careers Adviser<br><br>Developing skills in students<br><br>Providing information to students<br><br>Structuring as a Careers Service<br><br>Keeping in touch with students after leaving | Describing professional status of Careers Adviser<br><br>Identifying outcome measures | |
| 930 | **RH:** | and that should be from, either directly from the Government or from a Local Authority, but not from the school? | | | |
| 931<br>932<br>933<br>934<br>935<br>936<br>937 | **CA1:** | It could be from the school but I think it is better if it is directly from Local Government to be perfectly honest, because then you are assured of impartiality, and that still retain the professional division between you and the school. | Suggesting funding should be from Local Government to meet the requirements of current policy | Describing funding of careers service | |

## Appendix 6a: Example of Participant memos

**School Strategy for Careers**

The school's approach to delivering the careers is expressed in a functional, top-down way – who is responsible for what and how the provision is implemented: 'We delivered Careers Guidance through a combination … such as within our tutorial periods, within Sixth Form tutorial periods, within extra days …; (lines 24/5) so is being expressed in outcome and using current structures and procedures that are in place in the school. The way this is done gives a clear indication that the school has a distinct division between careers advice and guidance and careers education through how these things are implemented and who is responsible for them.

The identification of students for careers guidance is through assessing priority of student need: this enables the school to prioritise those students who they think will benefit most from provision first, the provision being individual careers interviews with CA1. SLT1 does state that all the students will be seen by CA1, but that they determine the order of priority. SLT1 suggests that this is the same before the policy was changed. One key manner in which students are identified is through the use of the RONI data – this identifies students who have a potential risk to become NEET, and these students are targeted first for careers advice and guidance. The review of such students at biannual meetings includes a variety of colleagues, including the Achievement Coordinator, CA1 and SLT1. Such action raises the profile of these students and focuses on the success outcome of the reduction/maintenance of 0 NEETs in subsequent years. A further consequence is that now other students who are not at risk of being NEET are a lower priority than they previously were.

*Next steps:*

- Is the division of careers advice and guidance and careers education the same in other schools?
- How are students identified for reduced provision in the district's schools?

**School Strategy for Careers Adviser**

In allocating students in order of priority for individual appointments, CA1 works with a number of colleagues with different roles in school. This includes the SENCO, Heads of Year (now Achievement Coordinators) in terms of identifying students. As a consequence, CA1 is contributing to other, wider school agendas and policies, such as student achievement/outcomes (and hence performance targets for school, individual staff and students) and equal opportunities and inclusion through SEND student involvement: '… he would see those students who would be … [on the] SEN register, looked after students.' (line 39)

*Next steps:*

- What other school policies/agendas does SLT1 feel CA1 contributes to?
- Are these the same agendas as in other schools in the district?

## Appendix 6b: Example of thematic memos

**Impact of Changing Political Landscape**

During the interview, CA1 gave account of the impact of many political and policy changes on the direction and emphasis of careers work which has had an impact on his work. He suggests that policy has been unstable in this area for a while, continually changing focus. This constant change leads to a lack of focus or clarity of what exactly the agenda and objectives are with changes in the targets and outcome measures. The result of this is a lack of job satisfaction and a sense of compromise in professional expectation and personal philosophy for careers guidance.

One consequence of the recent reforms of careers organisations is that many CAs and those working for the LA structure of careers provision were made redundant at the restructuring.

There is a sense from CA1 that the government is using careers advisers to control and direct the flow of students through schools and into pathways of education and employment that they have prescribed. This results in control of student destinations, aspirations and reflects the political expectations of the government. They are able to control this through making schools and CAs accountable for student destinations, and rewarding those who increase the number of students moving through to the prescribed pathways.

**Conflicts**

The structure of work for CAs is that although they belong to one organisation, they spend a significant proportion of their working time in the structures of another organisation, the school in which they work. There are opportunities for the agendas and needs of the two organisations to clash as they could be working towards different outcomes, and CAs are tasked with ensuring both are met through their work. It could result in perception of lack of commitment to some of the outcomes of one or both off the organisations involved. Behaviours demonstrated will serve to 'plug the gaps' when provision does not meet expectation, and compensating behaviours result.

**Measures of Success**

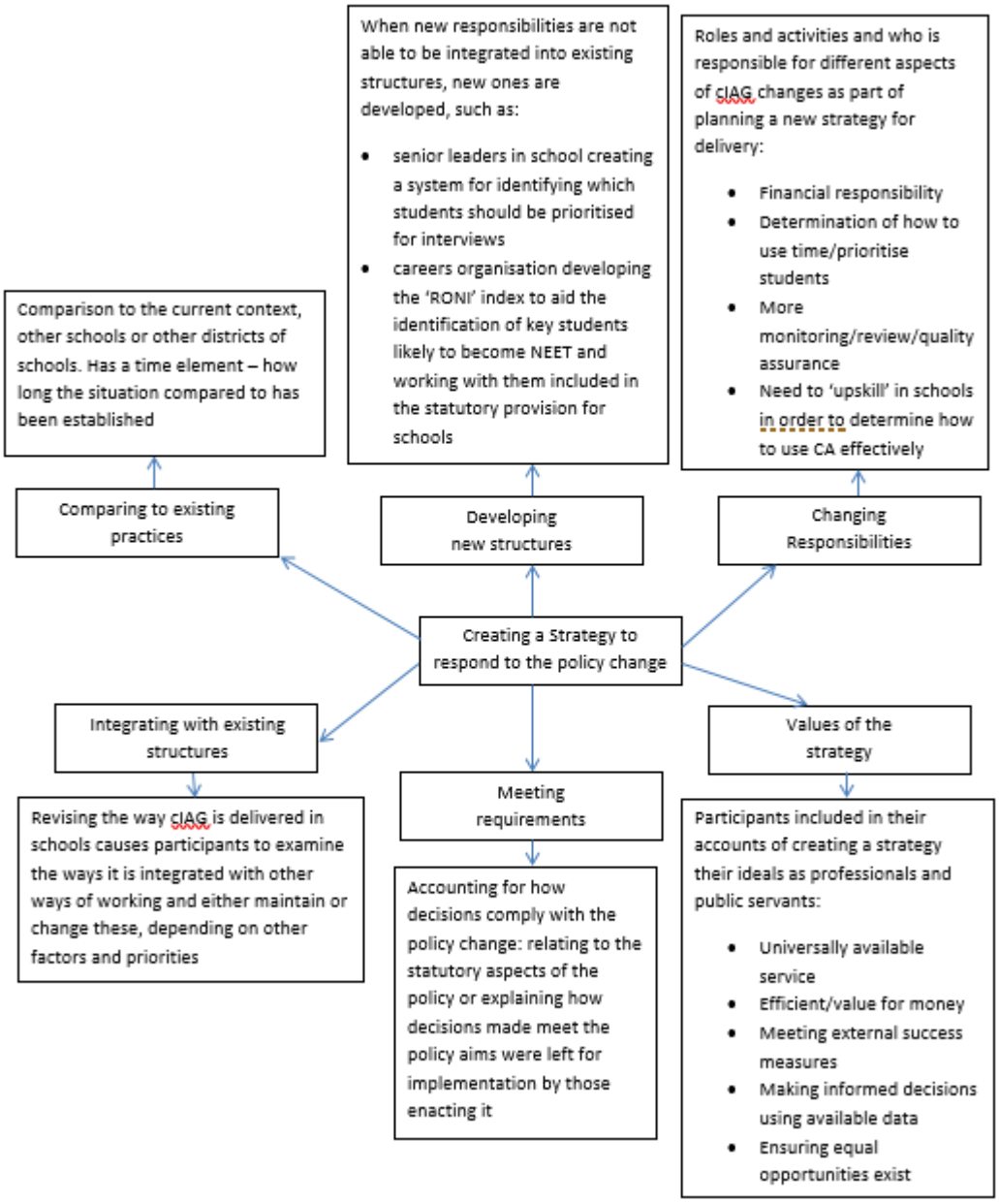
Throughout the interview, different success criteria were identified. Some of these were applied to the general system of careers guidance, whilst others were linked to the increased interest in outcomes and value for money from a commissioned service:

- Awareness of students that they had participated in careers education
- Students knowing who the Careers Adviser is currently and retrospectively
- Students want their education to pay for itself
- Students develop confidence in self-awareness and skills to be able to make informed career choices
- Statistical information: destinations of students in work/Sixth Form, NEETs,
- Trust and acceptance of Careers Adviser by school – positive relationships
- Value for money for schools purchasing a service
- School achieving a careers quality mark/award

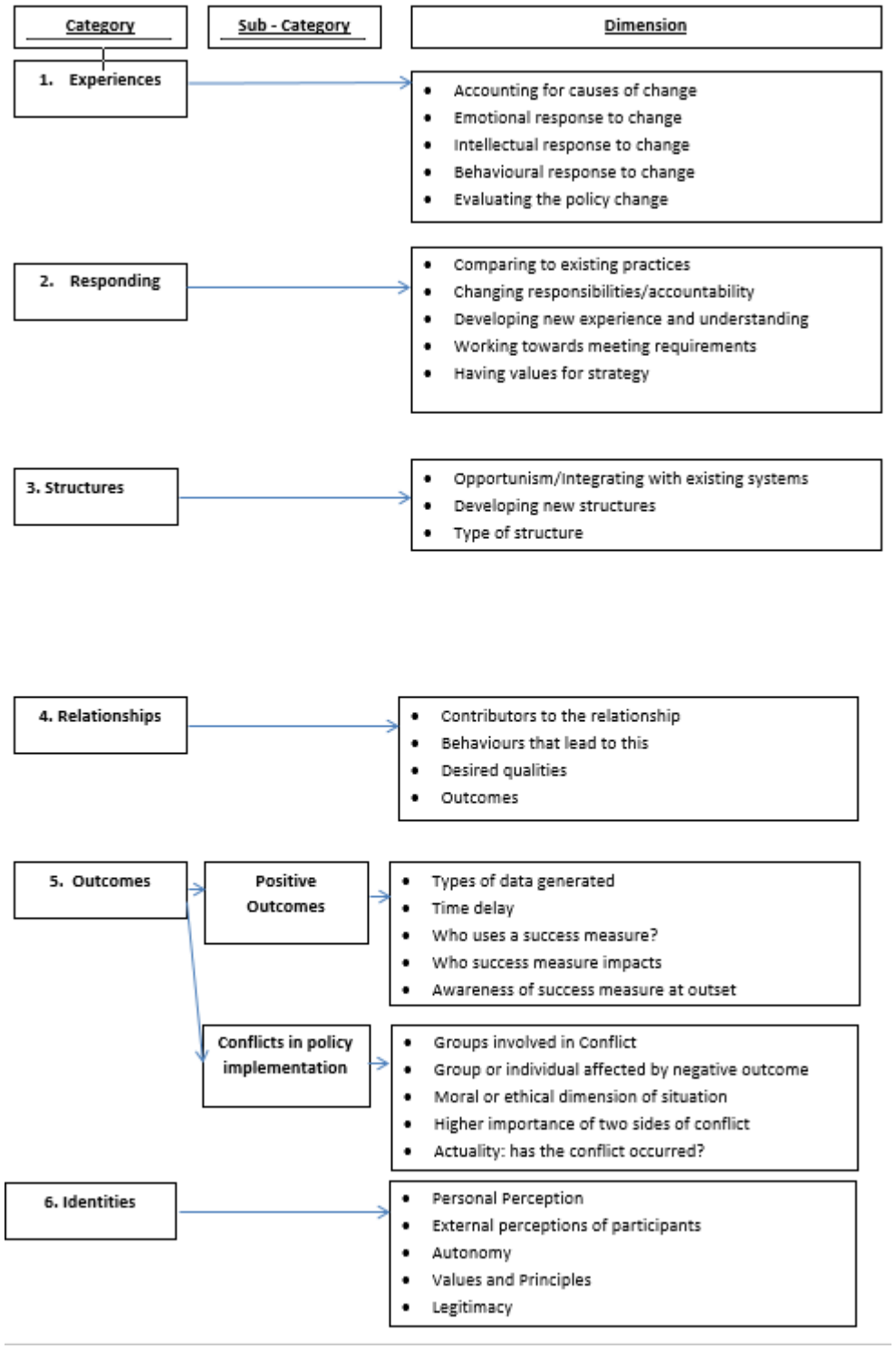
## Appendix 6c: Links between axial and thematic memos

| Thematic Memos | Axial Memos (Participant) |
|---|---|
| 1. Experience of Change | Impact of Changing Political Landscape (CA1)<br>Changing Organisations (CA2)<br>Experiencing Change (CA2)<br>Company Transition (CA3)<br>Continuous Change (CA4)<br>Previous Policy Change (CA4)<br>Previous School Structure (CA5) |
| 2. Changes in structures of delivery | Complex Working Relationships (CA1)<br>Structures (CA2)<br>Structure of Personnel (SLT2b) |
| | Responding to the Policy Change (CA1)<br>School Strategy in Careers (CA2)<br>School Strategy in Careers (CA3)<br>School Careers Guidance Strategy (CA4)<br>School Structure before Personnel Change (CA5)<br>School Response to Change – Phase 2 (CA5)<br>School Strategy for Careers (SLT1)<br>School Leadership Priorities (SLT1)<br>Structure of Delivery (SLT2b)<br>Priority of Careers to School (SLT2b)<br>Changes in Monitoring (SLT2b)<br>School Structure of Careers (SLT5)<br>Responding to the Change (SLT5) |
| | CA Strategy in Careers (CA2)<br>CA Strategy in Careers (CA3)<br>Role in School (CA4)<br>CA Status in New Role (CA5)<br>Attributes of a Good School for CA (CA5)<br>School Strategy for CA (SLT1)<br>Creating a New Role (SLT5) |
| | Targeting Provision (CA2)<br>Targeting Provision (CA3)<br>School Strategy for Careers (SLT1)<br>Prioritising Students (SLT5) |
| 3. Making things fit | Other Context (CA2)<br>Other Context (CA3)<br>School Context (CA4) |
| | Other Policy Changes (CA4)<br>Meeting Other Agendas (CA5)<br>Integration with Other Changes (SLT1)<br>Links to Other Agendas (SLT2b)<br>Other Policies/Agendas (SLT5) |
| | What is impartiality? (CA4)<br>Defining Impartiality (CA5)<br>What is impartiality? (SLT2b)<br>Impartiality (SLT5) |
| 4. Relationships and their impact | Responding to the Policy Change (CA1)<br>Positive Relationships (CA2) |

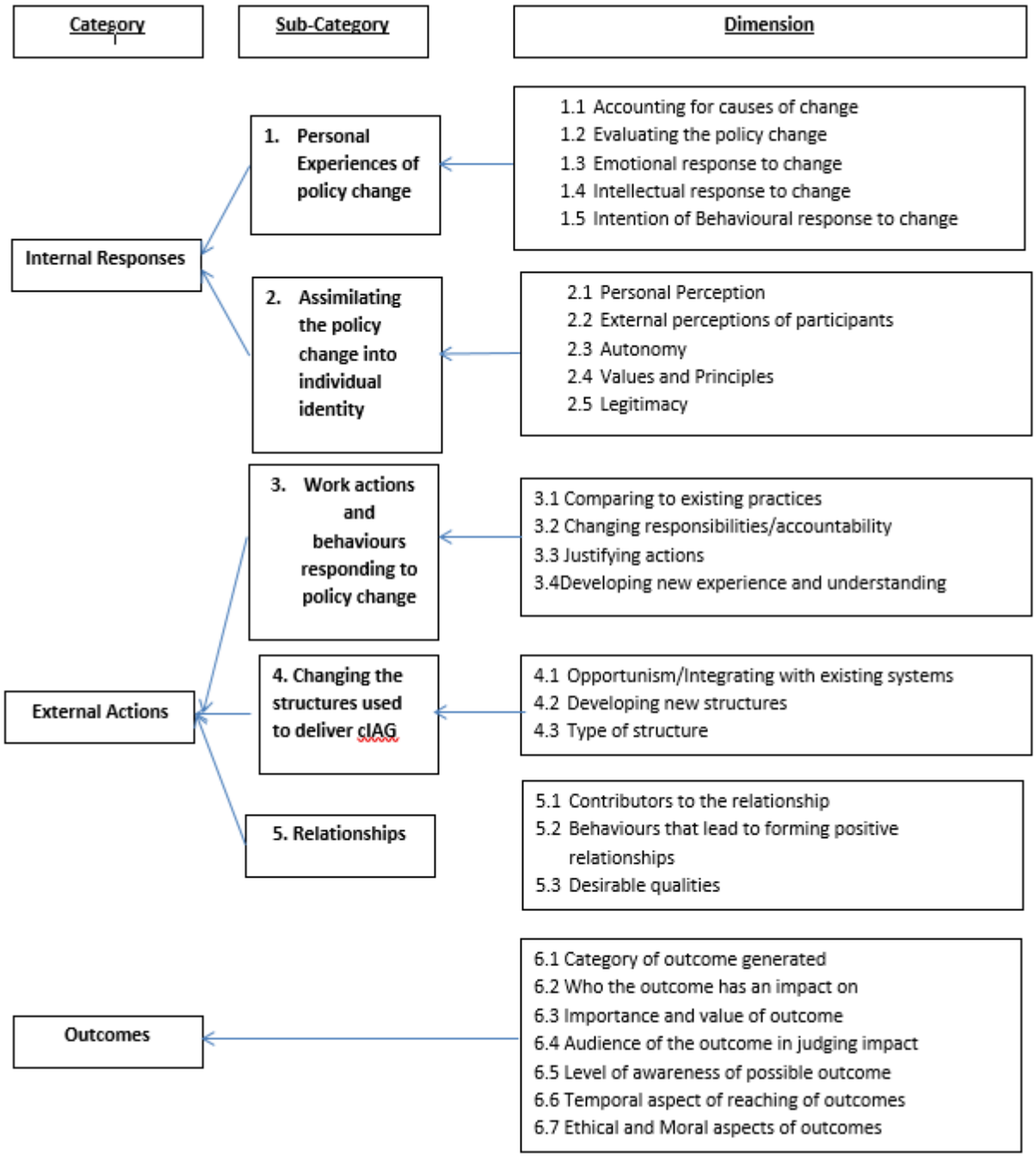
## Appendix 7: Visual representation of concepts



## Appendix 8: Initial emerging themes



## Appendix 9: Final classification of dimensions



## Appendix 10a: Gatekeeper consent email - schools

# Email of Invitation: Gatekeeper (schools)

### Policy into Practice: An investigation into how professionals adapt to changes in Careers Guidance Policy in English Schools

December 2013

Dear *(name of person)*

My name is Ian Robert Hackfath and as part of a Doctorate in Education at Keele University I am investigating how the Government policy change introduced in September 2012 relating to Careers Advice and Guidance has been interpreted and implemented in secondary schools. I am collecting some data as part of this research from within the district of schools which includes *(name of school)*.

For my research, I would like to carry out a series of face to face interviews, with members of school staff that have responsibility for Careers Advice and Guidance and any Careers Advisors who are contracted to work in your school. The questions that I will ask will result in discussion regarding how either the school or careers provider organisation may have changed in response to the policy change. I would also like to ask for copies of your school's policies relating to Careers Advice and Guidance to provide further data for my research from those participating.

With your permission, I would like (*name of person)* to contribute to this research. Later on, as this project continues, I may wish to speak to (*name of person)* again or other members of staff linked to Careers Advice and Guidance at *(name of school)*. If possible, I would like to arrange to meet with them in your school in order to conduct an interview and collect copies of relevant policy documents. I would be very grateful for your permission to do this. Further details about this research and the process of collecting, analysing and using the data can be found in the enclosed information sheet. I will also be contacting colleagues who work for careers organisations relevant to includes *(name of school)* to request their participation in this research.

I do hope you will give me permission to include data from your school in this research and look forward to hearing from you by email or telephone. Once I have obtained your permission I will contact the relevant members of staff to participate in this research.

Regards,

Ian Robert Hackfath
i.r.hackfath@keele.ac.uk

07546 134161



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**Appendix 10b: Gatekeeper consent email – careers organisations**

Keele University

# Email of Invitation: Gatekeeper (careers organisation)

## Policy into Practice: An investigation into how professionals adapt to changes in Careers Guidance Policy in English Schools

December 2013

Dear *(name of person)*

My name is Ian Robert Hackfath and as part of a Doctorate in Education at Keele University I am investigating how the Government policy change introduced in September 2012 relating to Careers Advice and Guidance has been interpreted and implemented in secondary schools. I am collecting some data as part of this research from within the district of schools which includes *(name of school)* where your organisation provides careers guidance.

For my research, I would like to carry out a series of face to face interviews, with Careers Advisors who are contracted to work in *(name of school)* and members of school staff that have responsibility for Careers Advice and Guidance. The questions that I will ask will result in discussion regarding how either the careers provider organisation or school may have changed in response to the policy change.

With your permission, I would like (*name of person)* to contribute to this research. Later on, as this project continues, I may wish to speak to (*name of person)* again or other members of staff linked to Careers Advice and Guidance at *(name of school).* If possible, I would like to arrange to meet with them at work in order to conduct an interview. I would be very grateful for your permission to do this. Further details about this research and the process of collecting, analysing and using the data can be found in the enclosed information sheet. I will also be contacting colleagues who work at *(name of school)* to request their participation in this research.

I do hope you will give me permission to include data from your school in this research and look forward to hearing from you by email or telephone. Once I have obtained your permission I will contact the relevant members of staff to participate in this research.

Regards,

Ian Robert Hackfath
i.r.hackfath@keele.ac.uk
07546 134161



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## Appendix 11: Gatekeeper consent – schools and careers organisations

Keele University

# Information Sheet for Participants and Gatekeepers

## Policy into Practice: An investigation into how professionals adapt to changes in Careers Guidance Policy in English Schools

December 2013

**Invitation**

You are being invited to consider taking part in the research study: 'Policy into Practice: How professionals adapt to changes in Careers Guidance Policy in English schools.' This project is being undertaken by Ian Robert Hackfath who is a Doctorate of Education (EdD) student at Keele University.

Before you decide whether or not you wish to take part, it is important for you to understand why this research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read this information carefully and discuss it with colleagues, friends or relatives if you wish. Please contact me if there is anything that is unclear or if you would like more information.

**Aims of the Research**

I am undertaking research into how the Government policy change in September 2012 relating to Careers Advice and Guidance has been interpreted and implemented in secondary schools. I aim to develop an understanding of the process by which teachers, school leaders and careers advisors involved in Careers Advice and Guidance respond to a policy change regarding its provision through analysis of their narratives and relevant policy documents in one district of secondary schools.

**Why have I been chosen?**

In order to conduct this research, I have decided to focus my data collection on those who either currently have some responsibility for Careers Advice and Guidance within the district of schools which includes the one where you work or provide a careers service to those schools. My reasons for choosing to carry out the research here include that I have previously worked at a school this district and so have some understanding of the context of the schools in the district. I have contacted you either by using the network of contacts that I developed through working in this district or by information provided by your school or organisation to identify and recruit participants.

**Do I have to take part?**

You are free to decide whether you wish to take part or not. If you do decide to take part you will be asked to sign two copies of two consent forms. One set is for you to keep and the other is for my records. You are free to withdraw from this study at any time and without giving reasons.

**What will happen if I take part?**

If you take part in this study, I will arrange to conduct a face to face interview with you to discuss your opinions, attitudes and experiences of your role in school relating to Careers Advice and Guidance, and how this may have altered since the Government's policy regarding this changed in September 2012. Your discussion will be based on your experiences through your role and your understanding of the policy change. I would also like to include in my research policy documents produced by your organisation which relate to Careers Advice and Guidance and have sought permission from your head teacher or line manager to access these.

**If I take part, what do I have to do?**

Should you decide to take part, please contact me initially and I will be in touch with you to arrange the interview. In the meantime, please read the consent forms; you will confirm your consent to participate at



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the start of the interview. I will ask you to sign two copies of the consent forms and retain one of these. The interview will be recorded using a digital Dictaphone, and I will also take some brief notes. The interview will take at your work place at a time, convenient to you and should about one hour to complete. The interview will be conducted by me, and I will ask questions to initiate and guide the discussion. At the interview I will also collect copies of relevant policy documents produced by your organisation.

**What are the benefits of taking part?**
The benefits of taking part are that you will be contributing to current educational research in this area. The findings from this research may be of use to your school or organisation and, therefore, you may well have a direct impact on future debates surrounding the subject of policy change in Careers Advice and Guidance in an educational environment.

**What are the risks (if any) of taking part?**
If you feel uncomfortable at any time when discussing your views then please indicate and the interview will end. As part of my research I will anonymise any references made to you, any other person or organisation in order to maintain anonymity. However, you must be aware that there is a small chance that you or they may be able to be identified, due to the relatively small number of participants and their location within the same district of schools.

**How will information about me be used?**
The data collected in your interview will be transcribed and used to form the basis of research into the manner in which educational organisations respond to policy change and form part of my thesis and any subsequent publications. A summary of the research will be made available to you, should you so wish. The data will be analysed and used for the research which will be conducted in 2014 and 2015.

**Who will have access to information about me?**
The digitally recorded audio data and subsequent transcripts will be kept securely by me on a password protected computer and retained in accordance with the Data Protection Act (2003). This is personal computer and does not form part of any computer network. You, other people and any organisations you mention in the interview will be anonymised in the interview transcript. My supervisor will have access to the anonymised transcripts. All correspondence between us, your personal details and those of your organisation will be kept confidential and destroyed at the point of submission of the thesis.
I do, however, have to work within the confines of current legislation over such matters as privacy and confidentiality, data protection and human rights and so offers of confidentiality may sometimes be overridden by law. For example in circumstances whereby I am made aware of abuse either to you or another (such as a child) I must pass this information to the relevant authorities.

**What if there is a problem?**
If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, you may wish to speak me as the researcher, and I will do my best to answer your questions. You should contact Ian Robert Hackfath on i.r.hackfath@keele.ac.uk Tel: 07546 134161. Alternatively, if you do not wish to contact me directly you may contact Dr Jackie Waterfield, at j.waterfield@keele.ac.uk or on 01782 733537 who is my supervisor for this research.
If you remain unhappy about the research and/or wish to raise a complaint about any aspect of the way that you have been approached or treated during the course of the study please write to Nicola Leighton who is the University's contact for complaints regarding research at the following address:-

Nicola Leighton
Research Governance Officer
Research & Enterprise Services
Dorothy Hodgkin Building
Keele University ST5 5BG
E-mail: n.leighton@uso.keele.ac.uk Tel: 01782 733306



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## Appendix 12a: Participant consent email – schools

Keele University

# Email of Invitation: Participant (schools)

## Policy into Practice: An investigation into how professionals adapt to changes in Careers Guidance Policy in English Schools

December 2013

Dear *(name of person)*

My name is Ian Robert Hackfath and as part of a Doctorate in Education at Keele University I am investigating how the Government policy change introduced in September 2012 relating to Careers Advice and Guidance has been interpreted and implemented in secondary schools. I am collecting some data as part of this research from within the district of schools where you work.

For my research, I intend to carry out a series of face to face interviews, with school staff that have responsibility for Careers Advice and Guidance in a school and any Careers Advisors who are contracted to work in school. The questions that I will ask will result in discussion regarding how either the school or careers provider organisation may have changed in response to the policy change. I will also request from you copies of your school's policies relating to Careers Advice and Guidance to provide further data for my research.

Before getting in touch with you, I sought permission from your head teacher who is given me the go-ahead to contact you. With your permission, I would like you to contribute to this research, by participating in an interview and providing me with copies of any policy documents relevant to Careers Advice and Guidance that your school has produced. I have e-mailed you as someone who is involved in Careers Advice and Guidance at *(name of school)*.

Further details about this research and the process of collecting, analysing and using the data can be found in the attached information sheet. Also attached are the consent forms that you would need to sign in order to participate.

I do hope you will consider contributing to this research – I look forward to hearing from you by email or telephone in order that I can arrange to meet with you to carry out the interview.

Regards,
Ian Robert Hackfath
i.r.hackfath@keele.ac.uk
07546 134161



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**Appendix 12b: Participant consent email – careers organisations**

Keele University

## Email of Invitation: Participant (careers organisation)

### Policy into Practice: An investigation into how professionals adapt to changes in Careers Guidance Policy in English Schools

December 2013

Dear *(name of person)*

My name is Ian Robert Hackfath and as part of a Doctorate in Education at Keele University I am investigating how the Government policy change introduced in September 2012 relating to Careers Advice and Guidance has been interpreted and implemented in secondary schools. I am collecting some data as part of this research from within the district of schools where you provide careers guidance.

For my research, I intend to carry out a series of face to face interviews, with school staff that have responsibility for Careers Advice and Guidance in a school and any Careers Advisors who are contracted to work in school. The questions that I will ask will result in discussion regarding how either the school or careers provider organisation may have changed in response to the policy change.

Before getting in touch with you, I sought permission from your line manager who is given me the go-ahead to contact you. I have also contacted the head teacher of *(name of school)* who knows I am conducting this research. With your permission, I would like you to contribute to this research, by participating in an interview. I have e-mailed you as someone who is involved in Careers Advice and Guidance for *(name of organisation)* at *(name of school)*.

Further details about this research and the process of collecting, analysing and using the data can be found in the attached information sheet. Also attached are the consent forms that you would need to sign in order to participate.

I do hope you will consider contributing to this research – I look forward to hearing from you by email or telephone in order that I can arrange to meet with you to carry out the interview.

Regards,

Ian Robert Hackfath
i.r.hackfath@keele.ac.uk
07546 134161



PLEASE COMPLETE:
Version No: One
Date: 12/12/2013
1 for participant, 1 for researcher

ERP312

## Appendix 13: Participant consent form

Keele University

# Consent Form

## Policy into Practice:
## An investigation into how professionals adapt to changes in Careers Guidance Policy in English Schools

**Name and contact details of Principal Investigator:** Ian Robert Hackfath
i.r.hackfath@keele.ac.uk Tel: 07546 134161

**Please tick box if you agree with the statement**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions. | ☐ |
| 2 | I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time. | ☐ |
| 3 | I agree to take part in this study. | ☐ |
| 4 | I understand that the researcher will endeavour to maintain my anonymity during this study but am aware that there is a small chance that I may be able to be identified, due to the number of participants and their location within the same district of schools. | ☐ |
| 5 | I agree to the interview being audio recorded. | ☐ |
| 6 | I would like to receive a summary of the findings once the research is completed. | ☐ |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| _____ Name of participant | _____ Signature | _____ Date |
| _____ Researcher | _____ Signature | _____ Date |



PLEASE COMPLETE:
Version No: Three
Date: 12/12/2013
1 for participant, 1 for researcher

ERP312

## Appendix 14: Participant consent form: use of quotes

# Consent Form
# (for use of quotes)

## Policy into Practice:
## An investigation into how professionals adapt to changes in Careers Guidance Policy in English Schools

**Name and contact details of Principal Investigator:** Ian Robert Hackfath
i.r.hackfath@keele.ac.uk Tel: 07546 134161

**Please tick box if you agree with the statement**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | I agree for any quotes to be used. | ☐ |
| | | |
| 2 | I do not agree for any quotes to be used. | ☐ |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| _____ Name of participant | _____ Signature | _____ Date |
| _____ Researcher | _____ Signature | _____ Date |



PLEASE COMPLETE:
Version No: Three
Date: 12/12/2013
1 for participant, 1 for researcher

ERP312

## Appendix 15: Ethical approval

Keele University

RESEARCH AND ENTERPRISE SERVICES

31st January 2014

Ian Hackfath
21 Williams Avenue
Fradley
Lichfield
WS13 8TE

Dear Ian,

**Re: Policy into practice: How professionals adapt to changes in careers guidance policy in English schools**

Thank you for submitting your revised application for review. I am pleased to inform you that your application has been approved by the Ethics Review Panel, on the basis of the following documents:

| Document | Version | Date |
|---|---|---|
| Summary of Proposal | 5 | 15/12/2013 |
| Email of Invitation – Participant (schools) | 3 | 12/12/2013 |
| Email of Invitation – Participant (careers orgs) | 1 | 12/12/2013 |
| Email of Invitation – Gatekeeper (schools) | 3 | 15/12/2013 |
| Email of Invitation – Gatekeeper (careers orgs) | 3 | 15/12/2013 |
| Information Sheet | 4 | 12/12/2013 |
| Consent Form | 3 | 12/12/2013 |
| Consent Form for the use of quotes | 3 | 12/12/2013 |
| Interview Topic Guide | 5 | 15/12/2013 |

The panel would like to commend you on an excellent proposal.

If the fieldwork goes beyond the date stated in your application, you must notify the Ethical Review Panel via the ERP administrator at uso.erps@keele.ac.uk stating ERP2 in the subject line of the e-mail. If there are any other amendments to your study you must submit an 'application to amend study' form to the ERP administrator stating ERP2 in the subject line of the e-mail. This form is available via http://www.keele.ac.uk/researchsupport/researchethics/

Research and Enterprise Services, Keele University, Staffordshire, ST5 5BG, UK
Telephone: + 44 (0)1782 734466 Fax: + 44 (0)1782 733740

If you have any queries, please do not hesitate to contact me via the ERP administrator on uso.erps@keele.ac.uk stating ERP2 in the subject line of the e-mail.

Yours sincerely

**Dr Bernadette Bartlam**
**Chair – Ethical Review Panel**

CC RI Manager
Supervisor

Research and Enterprise Services, Keele University, Staffordshire, ST5 5BG, UK
Telephone: + 44 (0)1782 734466 Fax: + 44 (0)1782 733740