Pastoral Care in Education

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New Directions for New Times

Edited by
Dave Trotman, Phil Jones,
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Cambridge Scholars Publishing

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CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book has only been made possible by the tireless commitment of teachers, researchers and other professionals in promoting the rights and voices of children and young people. It is to the educational futures of those children and young people that this book is dedicated. In addition, this book also reflects the proud history of the National Association for Pastoral Care in Education (NAPCE) in bringing together professionals to share knowledge, ideas and practice, and to support the importance of pastoral care as a fundamental part of the educational experience of children and young people. In doing so it highlights the continuing need for pastoral care in the education of children and young people as a preparation for life in a rapidly changing post-pandemic world.

More information about the work of NAPCE can be found at:
https://www.napce.org.uk/

INTRODUCTION

RE-SETTING PASTORAL CARE IN EDUCATION

DAVE TROTMAN, PHIL JONES,
NOEL PURDY AND STAN TUCKER

This is a book about pastoral care in education and its often neglected role in educational provision. It is also a book about educational change. Moreover, it is a book about the need to rethink and re-set policies and practices in pastoral education for contemporary times. Encapsulated in these three sentences are the concerns and priorities of this volume. Written in the aftermath of the global Covid-19 pandemic, the need to produce this text became increasingly apparent as the impact of the pandemic on the lives of children and young people began to receive an increasing amount of international media, governmental and academic attention. Indeed, it has been consistently argued that the outcomes of the pandemic have had, and will continue to have, a significant impact on the educational, social and economic lives of the young. Such experiences brought about by long periods of absence from school, college or university, have left many children and young people with feelings of alienation, abandonment and exclusion, heightened levels of anxiety, and behavioural and attentional difficulties (Ofsted 2020; Skripkauskaite et al. 2020). Significant insecurities are also evident in relation to the education, social and economic futures of the young. These are, in part at least, the product of what can be described as a perceived failure on the part of children and young people to achieve a range of educational milestones via, for example, existing public examination systems (IFS 2021). Furthermore, many reports suggest that the experiences of children and young people are mediated through their social backgrounds, ethnic identity and disability (Sutton Trust 2020; Walsh et al 2020).

To provide some contextual background to the development of pastoral care within schools in the United Kingdom it is important to remind ourselves of both its history and more recently some of its problems and dilemmas.

The foundations of pastoral care in education in the UK can be found in Michael Marland's seminal text *Pastoral Care* published in 1974. For it is there that we can locate what might be described as the fundamental functions of pastoral care—these include the need for vocational, educational and personal guidance. Underpinning this is the need for schools to create an "affective dimension of personal development through forms of counselling and guidance that foster independence, self-confidence and awareness, and decision-making opportunities" (Trotman & Tucker 2018, 553). This vision has to some extent remained influential into the 21st Century. Yet at the same time what might be described as largely child-centred approaches to care have, to some extent, become marginalised by discourses that problematise and label children, young people and their families as "dysfunctional" (Griffin 1993), and against a backdrop of what Ball (2008) and Gewirtz & Cribb (2020) see as an increasingly examination-driven and performance-related educational structure. Here the cracks of the dilemma are exposed. Should pastoral care be seen as a "universalistic" provision in terms of its approach, or instead focus on "targeted" interventions that are more concerned with the surveillance and control of problematic and difficult children, young people and their families? Caught on the horns of such a dilemma it is understandable that schools and colleges struggle to meet the needs of many of its students.

Any actions that might lead to a re-setting of pastoral care policies and practices need to not only respond to academic, political and professional pressures and considerations, but must also take into account the experiences and aspirations of the young. Global research conducted with children and young people who have had to live through major social and environmental disasters can provide us with a rich source of data as to the likely short and longer term impacts of the pandemic on the lives of children young people and their families (see for example Gibbs, 2013). Indeed, extensive literature now exists that considers the possible psychological impact of such childhood experiences in terms of the creation of increased levels of vulnerability and insecurity, and the potential impairment of social and personal development (see for example Hawe 2009). Yet at the same time it is important to reflect on the fact that other writers view the "positioning" of children and young people through this type of psychological lens as potentially contributing to the construction of a "children at risk discourse" that portrays children and young people "as passive victims". In turn, this can lead to a failure to explore the views, experiences and needs of the young and thereby exclude them when it comes to the development of "recovery efforts" (Gibbs et al 2013, 130). Such then are some of the immediate challenges of the pastoral terrain.

Notwithstanding the significant effects of the pandemic, the pastoral realm has become increasingly complex and dynamic, as the contributing authors to this volume powerfully demonstrate. Issues of identity, vulnerability and safeguarding and young people's interactions with social media are now salient features of the pastoral educational landscape. Many aspects of these issues have been progressively chronicled by the National Association for Pastoral Care in Education (NAPCE) in its journal *Pastoral Care in Education.* As the association reaches the 40th anniversary of its inauguration, this book marks the important histories of the work of NAPCE and the contemporary imperatives for action and future development.

Not surprisingly, *listening to children and young people* is a predominant theme throughout this book. Rooted in approaches to pastoral care that emphasise the ability of children and young people to act as "reliable witnesses" (France 2004), adopting such a position ensures a clearer understanding of the lifeworld of children and young people as "social actors in their own right" (O'Kane 2000, 136). Listening to children and young people, while at times challenging within the context of participatory research (Purdy & Spears 2020), makes possible the realisation of the *rights of the child* as provided for through the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). In his writings on the subject Roche (2018, 7) offers an important insight into what the promotion of children's rights might actually involve and mean:

> "The articles of the UNCRC do not mean that children have a right to have their wishes fulfilled, merely depending on their age and maturity there is a right to be consulted and be part of the decision-making process—they have a right to be listened to and to feel that they are being taken seriously." Roche (2018, 7)

According to Roche the pursuance of a children's rights agenda brings with it the need to balance matters of age, maturity, expertise etc. alongside the creation of social, educational and political spaces that foster and welcome participation. Active development of such ideas provides a framework through which, in part at least, we can recalibrate and rethink the priorities, policies and practices of pastoral care. For as Smith el al (2007, 328) advocate, a rights-based approach that fosters the involvement of children and young people can provide "better protection from harm", together with "services and benefits" that will encourage increased levels of involvement in decision-making by the young. To summarise, such a pastoral approach can serve to both protect the child as well as offering them a sense of agency and a recognition of their civil and political rights (Roche 2018).

From that premise, this book contextualises the narrative of pastoral care as it was initially conceived in the writings of Michael Marland and sets out to address head-on the predominant contemporary issues of our time in the lifeworlds of children and young people expressed both through and in collaboration with them. This then serves as an invitation for the renewal of pastoral education—a re-landscaping from the lessons of histories past to establish new directions for new times.

In the introductory chapters **Dave Trotman and Stan Tucker** begin the contextualisation of pastoral education in the UK through the lenses of policy analysis, charting the "tipping points" in pastoral welfare and the effects and impacts of education policy in the UK.

NAPCE President **Richard Pring** continues the analysis in an incisive philosophical reading of the policy "turns" in relation to educational values, personal development and pastoral care.

From these contextualising chapters, **Eleanor Formby and Jo Woodiwiss** begin the contemporary issues for pastoral care project in earnest with their chapter on the experiences and pastoral needs of LGBT+ young people in schools. Drawing on their research conducted in England and Sweden, participant accounts provide powerful insights into the lifeworld of young people and their navigation of identity and school.

Misogyny and masculinity provide the focus of the chapter by **Sophie King-Hill.** Based on a project with colleagues at Birmingham University, she sets out to explore how "toxic masculinities" are understood from the perspectives of boys and the ways in which the narratives of the "manosphere" can be constructively addressed.

Shifting direction and location, and in a compelling account of an under-researched area, **Carol Mutch** examines the role of schools in supporting children in times of disaster. Using five disaster types of earthquakes, tsunami, wildfires, cyclones and COVID-19 from across the Asia-Pacific region, her chapter offers a powerful examination of the impact of disasters on children; the commonalities between disaster types and personal experiences to better inform policies for support and practice.

Children's encounters with the natural world are the focus of **Laura Saunders** chapter. As a Deputy Headteacher of an English Primary School, she draws on the research of her recently completed EdD to reveal the relationship of primary age children to the natural world. Her chapter discusses a range of innovative research techniques to not only demonstrate this relationship but, moreover, to authentically honour children as researchers of their lived experience in their own right.

Picking up one of the significant issues of our time, in his chapter **Julian McDougall** explains why we need media literacy for digital safeguarding. In his chapter we are encouraged to move beyond quick solutionism to understand the "digital ecosystem" as a complex issue. In doing so he casts important light on the privileges afforded to those with access to technology and potential creative possibilities in contrast to the ecosystem pollutants of "commercial, persuasive, manipulative and predatory, abusive and exploitative digital interaction."

Julianne Brown writes on the importance of pastoral education in international schools. Based on her extensive experience of working in the international schools sector in a variety of pastoral roles, she draws on her recently completed doctoral research to explain the often overlooked vulnerabilities of young people in these settings. Using participant interviews, she highlights the difficulties and advantages of young people living and studying in culturally diverse communities, often far away from family and friends, revealing their vulnerabilities as they navigate the often complex intercultural space of the international school.

Post-Compulsory Education has not always been on the "radar" of pastoral care, but in their chapter **John Keenan and Rebecca Gater** set out the arguments and strategies for advancing pastoral care in Further Education (FE). In their chapter they observe the FE landscape through the lenses of educational theory and "on-the-ground" practice. Combining their joint experiences as a University tutor lecturing on FE and a College Principal, they trace the relevant histories of FE development, highlighting the pastoral "blindspots" and presenting a case study of approach in real-time.

In the third section of the book our attention turns to the re-landscaping of pastoral education for contemporary times. In the opening chapter of this section, **Dominic Riste** writes from the perspective of an Assistant Headteacher in an English Secondary School. Working against a backdrop of "incessant change" he provides a positive analysis of the development of "proactive pastoral care" involving the identification of personalised needs, personal values, goals, beliefs and an independent sense of self. This is not simply a best-fit wish-list but one which the chapter shows to be attainable in the "day-to-day" of schooling.

Tackling one of the central themes of the book, co-editor **Noel Purdy** and his colleague **Barbara Spears** set out the imperatives for co-participatory approaches in the research of pastoral care with children and young people. Utilising two research case studies from their recent work in Europe and Australia they set out a clear agenda for the many benefits of

such approaches, while giving an honest appraisal of the difficulties associated with approaches involving children and young people as "active and valued research participants."

Co-editor **Phil Jones** brings to bear his extensive experience of school headship and leadership of professional associations to build a case for a renewed focus on pastoral leadership. Tracing the predominant concerns of the book, he argues for the development of a "proactive learning culture" that extends beyond the "hear-and-now" in order to equip young people for the challenges and opportunities of 21st century living. Crucially, he underscores the importance of leadership adaptation in the face of the changing needs and support for learners.

In their chapter **Deborah Webster** and **Noel Purdy** return to the theme of safeguarding children and young people in a digital world. With reference to the plethora of digital media now available, they explore digital safeguarding through a phased framework of risk—*content, contact and conduct*. From their analysis of risk, they then offer a series of insightful practical recommendations for teachers, practitioners and policy makers alike.

Co-editor **Dave Trotman** in his chapter returns to one of Michael Marland's particular curriculum interests and its intersection with pastoral welfare—the Arts in schools. Tracing the major milestones and subtleties of difference in thinking about the arts in schools, his chapter calls for a reclaiming of the arts as an expressive force in the lives of children and young people in which they are active agents in the creation of their curriculum experience.

From the arts in schools to the martial arts in schools, **Scott Buckler** and **Harriett Moore** begin by raising the important and controversial issue of whether skills linked with violence have any place in schools. In their intriguingly titled chapter, they then set out the therapeutic benefits of martial arts training and what this can offer children and young people as a means of transpersonal education. Drawing on the histories of martial arts approaches and research conducted with young people in their school setting, the Mindful Movement Programme is subject to close analysis and explanation of its pastoral benefits.

In the final chapter of the book, **Matt Silver** and **Matthew Bell** discuss pastoral support for children with special educational needs and disabilities. Beginning with an overview of some of the theoretical underpinnings of learning theory, the binary of quality of life and inequality is discussed. In turn, they highlight the challenges faced by pastoral care in education for children with SEND and the urgent need for a more inclusive and human-centred approach.

* * * * *

As NAPCE celebrates its 40th Anniversary, the publication of this edited volume forms an important part of the celebrations for that event. Since NAPCE was formed in 1982 and the first issue of its respected international academic journal *Pastoral Care in Education* was published, the Association has promoted and shared ideas, good practice and research about pastoral care. As a meeting place for academics, researchers, school leaders and practitioners it has provided opportunities to share expertise and knowledge about the important contribution that effective pastoral care can make to children and young people in fully achieving their educational potential, becoming positive members of society and successful in their future employment. More information about the work of NAPCE can be found at https://www.napce.org.uk/

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CHAPTER 1

PASTORAL EDUCATION: PROBLEMS PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

DAVE TROTMAN AND STAN TUCKER

Introduction

At times of national crisis, education invariably finds itself in the public spotlight. Whether as a consequence of economic recession, internal and external threats of terrorism, public disenchantment and disorder, child protection, global warming, or the political inertia of young people, education, teachers and schools come to be regarded as one of the essential solutions to macro-social problems. Improving basic skills for employability, preventing radicalisation, achieving global economic competitiveness, safeguarding our children, addressing global citizenship and so on are all manifestations of the responses of policy makers to the condition of contemporary times—both in the UK and further afield. For some observers significant and immediate international events create a "tipping point" (Ehrlich & Ehrlich 2013; Russill & Lavin 2012; Gladwell 2000)—such as the impact of 9/11 in America, the economic collapse that was to follow some years later, the mass migrations from across the middle east and North Africa following the civil unrest of the "Arab Spring" and a plethora of environmentally triggered disasters (Ehrlich & Ehrlich 2013; Russill & Lavin 2012). Such events have to a greater or lesser degree shaped governmental responses to the effective function of education. "Tipping points" however are rarely predictable, truly seismic, or globally far reaching, and not all have profound wide-scale human impact, or are fully registered in the mind-set of those in a position of power or influence. The most cited reference points that we have of such tipping points are the man-made devastating global conflicts of the first and second world wars, the cold war space race, and the more fragmentary or diffuse examples of modern terrorism or economic downturn—that is, of course, until now.

The rapid emergence of a pandemic of actual global magnitude and the immediate reshaping of many of our taken for granted social practices has generated a profound tipping point. As this chapter is being written the mid and long-term effects of the global Covid-19 pandemic are yet to be fully evaluated in terms of its social, economic and environmental consequences. What is increasingly evident, though, is that in the new lexicon and necessary pandemic controls of "lock-down", "social distance" and "remote learning" young people are being significantly affected, and mostly very negatively, in relation to their educational, personal and mental well-being. In tandem with this, in "remote learning" the very purpose of school, the role of teachers and qualifications and the curriculum have become the subject of unparalleled public interest—to the extent that in some quarters the idea of "resetting" education has gained traction.

Public concern about societal well-being, however, is not new. In fact, rather than being an unforeseen tipping point, issues around the mental well-being of children and young people in particular have been something of a "slow burn" to which the authors and other commentators have devoted some attention (Trotman & Tucker 2018; Purdy 2013). In relation to wellbeing, however, the events of 2020 can indeed be considered pivotal. Combined with (re)new(ed) interest in the role of teachers and the potential for a resetting of the curriculum emerging from remote learning, this, as we shall argue in this chapter presents a tipping point for Pastoral Care in Education—a point of urgent current and future imperative that its advocates are well-positioned to address, providing an opportunity to both reclaim and reassert the curriculum to which they have dedicated themselves. On this latter point, and one of thrusts of this chapter, is the reappraisal of pastoral care as a holistic curriculum domain in the education of children and young people. In this reappraisal, the current vogue in English state education for a disparate "bolt-on" on approach to provision, whether it be wellbeing, mental health, mindfulness, emotional intelligence and so forth is rejected. So too is any protectionism of pastoral education "as it was". As Ron Best also cautions us, we should keep in mind that the idea of pastoral welfare and care as a curriculum concern for schools is [still] something of a uniquely British concept (Best 2000a, 3). The arguments set out in this chapter, then, are an invitation to the reader to consider the philosophical "drivers" for Pastoral Education and a curriculum strategy for pastoral care in education in the decade of 2021. In this undertaking, it is necessary to begin not only by tracing some of the salient points in the development of pastoral education in UK, but also the intersections of key aspects of education policy in the lives of children and young people. We begin then with a brief historical retracing of this agenda.

Lessons from Histories Past

In commencing any review of pastoral education, the name Michael Marland will be immediately apparent. Marland is credited with writing the first seminal text on the need for all schools to develop policies and practices for effective pastoral welfare and care. In the UK this has tended to coalesce around the priorities of care, personal and social development and civic responsibility. Crucially, Marland pointed towards the necessity to create common forms of pastoral provision in all schools concentrating on the affective dimension of personal development through forms of counselling and guidance that foster independence, self-confidence and awareness, and decision making opportunities; for Marland schools should be enriching places where lifestyle choices can be explored and nurtured (see Best 2014 for a detailed analysis of Marland's work). The idea advanced here is that *all* children and young people should be given both the space and opportunity to engage in activities that will enhance their critical thinking as competent and capable social actors. At the same time, aspects of social welfare are acknowledged and responded to through the provision of effective forms of support i.e. guidance and counselling. According to Marland, "the core of a school's work is the disciplinary, educational, vocational and personal guidance; real situations must contribute to the formulation of school policy" (Marland 1974, 12). Nowhere is this perhaps more apposite than in a current context where the function of school is now the subject of re-evaluation.

Much of Marland's thinking was advanced in the curriculum of secondary schools throughout the 1970s and early 80s, and largely until the advent in 1988 of the "National Curriculum"—a curriculum that was more akin to a syllabus and certainly not uniformly National. With the Education Reform Act of 1988 and the associated accountability measures of new public management, pastoral education was to experience a progressive erosion in terms of curriculum space and status in the subsequent stratification of the curriculum. It was not until the tragic death of Victoria Climbié, the ensuing enquiry and the landmark Laming Report was another "tipping point" for education reached in the form of the multi-agency approaches to the welfare of children and young people. This tipping point generated not only a change in relation to an already marginalised structure, organisation and delivery of pastoral policy and practice in schools, but in the form of multi-agency working the principles provide a particularly helpful prism through which to understand how pastoral care has moved in English schools from a common entitlement, Marland's original intention, to one that employs more targeted forms of intervention (Tucker et al 2015).

As a consequence, it is possible to trace a powerful and pervasive range of discourses and policy manifestations that appear to be consistently employed to problematise the lives of specific groups of children and young people and their families (Griffin 1993). These have been extensively used to justify particular approaches to pastoral care delivery including multi-agency working. Amongst these the "pathologisation" of families, children and young people can be readily found in the literature (Crozier & Reay 2005; Vincent 2003) typically involving the body being conceived as a "site of sinful inclinations, or in the modern scientific version, pathologies and illness" (Dussel 2010, 31) Accordingly the power to intervene, treat and cure is given to those whose expertise is legitimated through presumed expertise, knowledge, understanding and skill—conferred, for example, through dominant political ideologies, professional bodies, academic activity etc.

There has been, then, the emergence through the mechanisms of education and social policy what Smith et al (2007) describe as a "deficit agenda" that pathologises the lives of many young people and their families to explain manifestations of poor behaviour and class indiscipline, school exclusion, educational performance, underachievement, inadequate parenting, etc. One such example of this pathologisation can be found in England's "Pupil Premium", introduced as government policy and inspected by the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted). Designed to raise the attainment of disadvantaged pupils, the use of eligibility for free school meals was to become the primary indicator in the allocation of the pupil premium, based on an assumed relationship between free school meals (as an indicator of social and educational disadvantage) and risk of exclusion (2012,17). In other instances, in many schools in the UK it is possible to locate elements of safeguarding, family therapy, behaviour modification, group work, counselling, mentorship and advice that are specifically aimed at particular "problem" children, young people and their families, and "badged" under the name of pastoral care. It should also be noted that multi-agency approaches to pastoral welfare have been increasingly prioritised at senior management level in many English Schools. Involving combined expertise drawn from complementary professional groups such as social work, health care and policing, these are regarded by many leadership teams to be pivotal to fulfilling a strategic approach to effective pastoral interventions to the most vulnerable, "at risk" and socially isolated children and their families (Tucker et al 2015).

Writing in the journal *Pastoral Care in Education* in 2009, Calvert outlined a number of key questions concerning the future direction and priorities of pastoral care in terms of the role of schools:

> "Will they be dominated by an increasingly risk-averse approach to safeguarding and child protection? Will they be dominated by a compliance model imposed by an expanded inspection regime? Or will they be informed by a concerted attempt to adopt a holistic approach to welfare that prioritises literacy and children's voices?" (Calvert 2009, 276)

Calvert provides, in a very succinct way, an overview of the key dilemmas and challenges that many schools face in trying to develop and deliver effective pastoral care policies and practices that, for the most part, remain unresolved. What should be the priorities for pastoral care? Is it possible to respond to the performative demands of external agencies such as Ofsted and at the same time deliver effective forms of pastoral care? Can more inclusive forms of pastoral practices be developed?

The Emergence of Targeted Pastoral Provision

In his widely cited analysis of risk, Beck (1992) provides a powerful analysis of the nature of individual and collective experience. Beck argues that increased levels of vulnerability, alienation, disaffection and exclusion can be the product of personal, familial, community as well as wider social, economic and educational factors. Yet despite offering a broad conceptual map through which to understand and analyse the nature of risk, in UK schools the dominance of pathologically-orientated discourses concerning perceived deficiencies in family background, quality of parenting, life styles, etc. have served to shape pastoral provision and the nature of many multi-agency interventions.

The roots of such forms of discourse have a significant and influential academic history. For example, Cohen (1988, 31) locates the educational "failure" of young black people in a dominant discourse that stresses a lack of appropriate social, educational and economic "credentials" as possessed by a "superior [white] island race". Gittins (1985) similarly points to the way various discourses have been utilised to develop social and educational interventions that effectively prop up dominant middle class orientations of family ideology. Hudson (1989, 209) meanwhile focuses on the construction of "pathological paradigms" to illustrate how lack of "affection" and "control" are used to demonstrate the inferiority of working class child-rearing practices. Much of this can be located in the discourses of inequality and those forces affecting educational access. In America, Rivera's study of "elite professional service" employers reveals an attribution of superior abilities to candidates from "super elite"

institutions where symbolic capital and extracurricular accomplishments are prized above actual graduate achievement (Rivera 2011).

Following the influential work of Bourdieu (1977; 1986) many of the inequalities inherent in economic systems involve the displacement of the worst effects of differential access to the various forms of capital onto those least able to resist. In a UK context Dorling (2014) has further asserted the profound strategic relationship between educational inequality and social exclusion and poverty.

Griffin (1993, 114-125) for her part produces, through an examination of research into the lives of young people stretching back to the nineteenth century, and carried out in the USA and UK, a detailed analysis of the impact of problematizing discourses on the development of policy, service delivery and practice. Using a variety of discursive categories such as "troubled", "deficient", "disaffected", "delinquent", "diseased" and "perverted", it is asserted that such representations have shaped:

> "…the contemporary youth service, the education system, apprenticeship and training schemes, child-rearing conventions and practices, the juvenile justice system, the job market as well as priorities of contemporary youth research." (Griffin ibid)

The analysis offered by Griffin provides a sound base from which to understand how and why pastoral care and multi-agency provision have become more closely aligned in many primary and secondary schools in the UK.

Corroborating these observations, research in secondary schools and settings where alternative educational approaches are offered to pupils who find mainstream schooling difficult (described in the UK as Alternative Provision; see Trotman et al 2015, 2019 and Tucker et al 2015), it has become increasingly apparent that pastoral provision is consistently targeted towards those considered to be "at risk", vulnerable and disruptive. Here, a link can be forged between risk, vulnerability and disruption, to powerful and dominant problematizing discourses, where the idea of vulnerability has been both amplified and compounded in government responses to the pandemic.

It appears that priority is given to what can be done to "improve" the child or family (behaviour, attitudes, attendance etc.), rather than how educational policies and practices might be differently structured and organised to improve educational outcomes and life chances for the most disadvantaged. In a sense, the educational "problem" is turned on its frequently espoused child-centred head; primacy is given to fitting a

"dysfunctional" child into an examination-driven and performance-based educational system (Ball 2008; Reay 2017), rather than meeting what might be a range of complex educational and social needs. Through such an approach "individual and groups of children and young people can be effectively isolated from their peers by the levels of commentary, inspection and surveillance that are 'invited' by the state into their day-to-day existence" (Tucker 1999, 286).

Discourse and Policy

While practitioners and academics in the UK have continued to struggle with meaningfully defining the epistemic field of pastoral welfare in education, they have also had to resolve criticisms over its problematic historical roots in religious hierarchy and paternalism (Best 2000a, 4). Pastoral welfare as a curriculum concern has as a consequence historically tended to coalesce around imperatives of care, personal and social development and civic responsibility. The arrival in the late 1990s of New Labour's "third way" programme of social reform was, however, to have a significant bearing on the reorientation of pastoral provision in school settings. Predicated on a rebuttal of the dual polarities of over-centralised systems on the one hand and advancing corrosive market practices on the other, third way policy was to herald a new approach to the delivery of public policy through new forms of partnership (Newman 2001). A cornerstone of third way policy was the emergence of a multi-agency commitment to the joining up of services. In school contexts this typically related to new forms of partnership working between education, social services and health. Writing in 1998, the arguments for multi-agency working were considered overwhelming by observers such as Payne, who sharing the sentiments of many, asserted that: "…the case for treating social problems in a holistic fashion is overwhelming. People know, in a simple everyday fashion, that crime, poverty, low achievement, bad housing and so on are connected" (Payne 1998, 12). The imperatives for multi-agency working were given new urgency in 2003 following the death of Victoria Climbié in which the subsequent Inquiry identified acute failings of communication between housing authorities, social services, child protection teams of the Metropolitan Police Service and hospitals. The Victoria Climbié Inquiry (2003), then, gave new impetus to the challenges around multi-agency working and the safeguarding of children and young people. In the context of some of the problems already noted around multiagency strategy, the approach was largely prioritised around child-protection while the more diffuse aspects of pastoral care and pupil welfare

were either eclipsed or subject to codification and routinisation. The context for pastoral care and multiagency effectiveness were invariably substantially more complex than current educational policy and practice recognised. To this effect the immediate contemporary context of regional and national lockdowns has been both amplified and obscured in equal measure. As concerns around safeguarding remain predominant, although the concept of "Every Child Matters" (2003) has slipped out of the day-today language of many schools, it is evident that aspects of child well-being have not only been obscured but compounded by ministerial preoccupations that continue to be with particular forms of educational output and organisational culture in the dual forms of performativity and hyper-managerialism.

Describing performativity as both a culture and technology, Lyotard (1984) asserts that this is characterised by the macro-societal pursuit of efficiency and outcomes governed by narrow bureaucratic forms of output and accountability. Pivotal to performative cultures is the assumption that it is possible to precisely gauge and make transparent the performance of the core activities of an organisation (Lyotard 1984). Moreover, as Wayne Ross and Gibson note (2006), in dominant neo-liberal cultures where market freedom, privatisation and competition are valorised, such assumptions are asserted to have no credible alternative. In England the embracing of neo-liberal interests by successive governments has seen in state education an increasingly intrusive regulation of the curriculum, punitive forms of accountability through the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) and the forced academisation by government of those schools deemed to have failed centrally determined standards. While terms such as "special measures" are now part of the educational lexicon and a failing school is assured media interest, less has been known about the effects of performative cultures on children and young people. Amongst the early exceptions Cullingford (1999, 6) has reported the anxieties felt by primary age children during school inspection. Park (2013) has noted the debilitating effects of Ofsted on children and young people as they are made to feel responsible for judgements about their school on the basis of their test performance. Burke & Grosvenor (2003, 70) also describe young people's criticism of testing in schools and its increasing separation from meaningful learning while Trotman et al (2012) have reported the concerns of adolescent pupils being pressured into making early and potentially detrimental examination choices. In a comprehensive assessment of the impacts of performativity on pupil well-being, Hutchings' (2015) report for the National Union of Teachers highlights the anxieties induced amongst young people as part of the pressure to perform in English state schools. Combined with the World Health Organisation's (2012) finding that 11-16-

year-old pupils in England feel more pressured by their school work than in the majority of other European countries, and evidence from the Children's Charity Childline (2014, 2015) of a 200 percent increase in counselling sessions related to exam stress in the period 2012-2014, the effects of performative cultures have become increasingly visible. In light of this, such conditions do indeed call for a resetting of education and the curriculum. While the corrosive effects of performativity have received wide attention in the educational literature, new forms of education managerialism and their alienating effects have also become visible, presenting further challenges for the pastoral welfare of children and young people in schools in the context of the pandemic and its likely aftermath.

In particular, the demise of local authority powers and the acceleration of new configurations of combined school administration and governance have added further complication to this context. The forced academisation of schools and the creation of multi-academy trusts as single legal entities whose newly-created board of directors are accountable only to central Government has given renewed traction to unrestrained forms of hyper-managerialism. As a defining feature of the new public management emerging in the 1990s, hyper-managerialism has come to symbolise the movement towards simultaneous centralised and decentralised control (Skinns 2011, 14) and is now the dominant form of management and governance across a range of public services. Although the effects of renewed hyper-managerialism in schools have yet to be both fully realised and evaluated, early research on the impact of coercive academisation in England reveals, perhaps not surprisingly, a narrative of professional and community alienation in response to imposed regimes that are perceived by those affected as judgemental and unforgiving (Elton & Male 2015, 420). An immediate corollary of hyper-managerial cultures is the reorientation of organisational values away from community (at a time when it is most needed), child/pupil-centredness and pastoral concerns in favour of the valorisation of institutional performance measures and their associated technologies. The consequences for effective multi-agency strategies are then stark as the combined imperatives of performativity and hyper-managerialism, by necessity, require the separation and isolation of key services that can be purchased, deployed or discarded on the basis of efficiency and the palpable measurement of preferred outcomes. Moreover, in validating the proliferation of short-term interventions, hyper-managerial cultures both compound and magnify the "deficit agenda" outlined earlier in which children and young people can be conveniently "badged" as "at risk."

Meanwhile, prior to the arrival of the global pandemic, a range of reports from an array of organisations were highlighting the emerging crisis around the wellbeing of children and young people: Children's Society (Layard & Dunn 2009), the National Institute for Care Excellence (NICE 2013), the Office for National Statistics (ONS 2014), the Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD 2015) and UNICEF (2007). Subsequently, reports from the Sutton Trust (2020) and briefings from the UK's NSPCC have been prompt to identify the escalating impact of the pandemic on the physical and mental well-being of children and young people.

Although definitions of child well-being are variously defined both in the literature and these reports, common characteristics typically coalesce around the domains of physical, psychological, cognitive, social and economic well-being (Pollard & Lee 2003). UNICEF, for example in a survey of child well-being (2007) discuss six dimensions of well-being: material well-being, health and safety, educational well-being, family and peer relationships, behaviours and risks, and subjective well-being. On the basis of these dimensions UNICEF conclude that the UK, alongside the USA, has the worst profile of child well-being amongst the world's twenty-one richest countries. While some reportage has given justifiable attention to the economic factors governing child well-being, bodies such as NICE have devoted their attention to the domains of emotional wellbeing (being happy, confident and not unduly anxious or depressed); psychological wellbeing (involving personal autonomy, problem-solving and resilience, managing emotions and exercising empathy) and social wellbeing (developing positive relationships with others and not exhibiting disruptive, violent or a bullying behaviour) (NICE 2013).

Policy into Practice

The reality is that it is possible to identify various manifestations of "deficit agenda" policy and practice played out in many primary and secondary schools within the UK. Recent research (Trotman et al 2015; Tucker et al 2015) points to the use of time-limited interventions aimed specifically at "treating" (Griffin 1993) problematic and challenging behaviours, educational underachievement, exclusion, etc. At the same time, it is important to stress that for some schools inter-agency intervention is concerned with much more than merely reinforcing the kind of problematizing discourses described above. Indeed, data suggests that different approaches to inter agency and inter-professional practice can produce very different outcomes. For example: