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Managing ‘at-risk’ students: investigating the role of personal tutors in the delivery of pastoral care in further education

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education

At
Keele University

By
Mary Furey

June 2014

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Abstract

The thesis sets out to examine how systems of pastoral care in further education (FE) support personal tutors to meet the complex needs of students in an educational environment where performance management, compliance and accountability are priorities. The thesis is a single case study of an FE college in the North West of England, from now on to be called Buttercup college. In this study, Buttercup college is presented as a 'risk environment' (Kelly 2003) where systems of surveillance are 'designed in' (Rose 1999) and aligned to systems of care and emotional support in the management of 'vulnerable' and 'dangerous' students.

The research was designed and conducted from a social constructivist perspective. A mixed method, triangulated design supported the concurrent collection of data between July 2008 and July 2010 involving 36 teaching staff and 96 students in FE. Beck's (1992) 'risk society' thesis and Foucault's (1977, 1994) theories of power relations frame the study.

The findings reveal that pastoral care in FE is a model of emotional support, risk management and social control situated in an educational environment where risk governance has become a dominant discourse. In the context of FE, discourses of care, risk and performativity are negotiated and interconnected to reconstruct pastoral care as a policy lever. This study presents three overarching themes, 'working to target', 'emotional support' and 'managing student need'. Through an extended ethic of pedagogical care and a high level of risk consciousness, the

traditional role of the teacher/caregiver (McWilliam 2003) is changing. In Buttercup college, pastoral care is a key component in the college's risk governance framework. The student, in need of individual support, is reframed as 'at-risk' and subject to risk management which aligns the work of the personal tutor with that of a professional risk-manager.

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1 Introduction

"Pastoral care is not something separate from the daily work of the teacher."

Hamblin (1978 in Best 2007:250)

1.1 Introduction

This thesis critically examines the role of personal tutors in the delivery of pastoral care to full time vocational students attending Buttercup college where a large percentage of students are categorised as economically disadvantaged, unengaged with education and/or described as vulnerable due to some other factor. The personal tutor is defined, within Buttercup college, as a member of academic staff who has overall responsibility for the attendance, retention and success of students. Providing individual support, advice and guidance is a key function of personal tutoring. Pastoral care as a concept is understood, in this thesis, as that element of the teaching process which is concerned with meeting student needs and promoting students' personal and social development and fostering positive attitudes (Appendix 3). Pastoral care can be understood as emotional work through the involvement of personal tutors in the management of other people's feelings (James 1989), discussed in Chapter 4, section 4.3. Pastoral care is also understood as political work especially through the government's counter-terrorism 'Prevent' strategy which positions personal tutors in the act of policing young people 'at-risk' of radicalisation (Kundnani 2009) discussed in Chapter 3, section 3.4.2. This single case study examines how, through systems of pastoral care, personal tutors manage those students

identified as ‘vulnerable’ and ‘dangerous’ and ‘at-risk’ of failing to achieve their learning goals.

1.2 Contextualising the study

FE reform has been premised upon market and managerial principles which has, since the 1990s, repositioned parents as clients, teachers as providers and students as consumers (Blackmore 2004, Spours et al. 2007). Individual choice and local competition based on market forces has replaced a value system where education was regarded as a requirement for the public good. The provision of FE is governed by social policy which accepts risk as a fact of modern life, (Giddens 2002), where cost rather than need, (Lupton 2003), is the key driver through which educational resources are allocated. In society, young people are presented through the media as dangerous and in need of interventions and control. Risk profiling of young people by professionals is commonplace which supports the public perception of being at risk from the actions of young people. At the same time, young people are also presented as vulnerable and facing risky futures through, for example, exclusion from education and lack of employment opportunities.

Buttercup college is highly regulated through government policy, funding methodology and corresponding auditing requirements reflecting its position in an educational sector where there is on-going “*policy busyness*” (Fletcher and Perry 2008:4) and a constant concern with “*efficiency and effectiveness*” (Randle and Brady 1997:230). Buttercup college responds to external pressures by ‘mediating’

and ‘translating’ (Spours et al. 2007) policy initiatives into internal plans, systems and practices. The impact of policy, policy levers and funding is evidenced through a culture of target setting at all levels of the organisation, creating new forms of accountability through financial calculations which govern, at a distance, the actions of others (Rose 1999:152).

1.3 Justification for the research

Underpinning this thesis is an assumption that the pastoral care agenda in FE has moved from a pedagogical focus to a paradigm of compliance and accountability. Student needs are re-inscribed as risks (Lupton 2006) with individuals regarded either as exposed to a perceived risk, or posing a risk to others. Systems of surveillance, control, correction and risk management have reconstructed personal tutors as knowledge workers and risk managers tasked with making learning outcomes more visible, calculable and more accountable. Internal data from Buttercup college shows that the number of students identified as requiring support with social issues is increasing year on year, while the personal tutors comment that they feel ill-prepared to deal with many of these issues. There is a disconnect between personal tutors who want to deliver the best pedagogic experience, middle managers who are tasked with getting ‘more for less’ and senior managers who ‘crack the whip’ as the college operates in and responds to market forces. There is also separation between the perceived value of the ‘product’ (in this context, the qualification) or as Weber (1964) describes the ‘educational patent’ which has a specific market value reflected in the funding provided and the ‘service’ of pastoral care. While components of pastoral care

such as tutorial and guidance are funded, other aspects of pastoral care such as mentoring vulnerable students, or dealing with bad behaviour are not funded.

1.4 Insider perspective

In the context of this study, my professional identity is that of a mature female, minority ethnic, lecturer, middle manager and insider; a position which provides a 'lived familiarity' with the key participants (Mercer 2007:3). My FE career began in 1990 with a full-time teaching position including personal tutor responsibilities. In 2000, I was appointed to a middle management position with responsibility for pastoral care in one curriculum centre and with line management responsibility for thirty personal tutors. The centrality of my role results in daily contact with personal tutors and students, thus embedding me in the research process as a participant observer. As a pastoral manager, my role is not only positioned to provide evidence of compliance and accountability to my employer, but also to provide evidence of meeting a wider social agenda in terms of the welfare and safeguarding of young people and vulnerable adults. My role is supported through frequent professional development activities, for example, training on child protection and safeguarding delivered by the Local Safeguarding Children Boards (LSCB) established under the Children Act (2004).

1.5 Conceptual framework

In the context of this study, a 'framework' is understood as a 'working map' that does not attempt to define reality but to reflect the 'reality' of the project (Webster

and Mertova 2007). The development of the conceptual framework including the composition of the 'study propositions' (Miles and Huberman 1994) centred on four core beliefs and these are:

1. The objectives of FE are aligned to the achievement of government targets;
2. The wider policy context positions personal tutors in a public arena where value for money, effectiveness, and efficiency are key performance indicators;
3. Pastoral care is understood as the 'intersection' of policy initiatives, policy levers and performance management;
4. Risk as a discourse of governance is embedded and enacted in systems of pastoral care.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical resources that inform this thesis are drawn together to a) make sense of and provide a context within which educational policy and practice can be investigated and b) to interrogate the role of personal tutors in the delivery of pastoral care. The following section outlines two overarching theoretical positions which frame this study:

1. Beck's (1992) 'risk society' thesis is drawn upon to illuminate how risk management strategies and systems of risk governance, in the context of an educational institution, lead to systems of continuous monitoring and auditing of professional practice. The central theme of Beck's thesis is understood as a focus on how modern society has become a risk society in

terms of the production and distribution of risks in a global economy based on scientific and technical knowledge. In the context of this study, risk is situated in an educational institution and understood as a discourse of governance of young people materialised through systems of surveillance, control and risk management. This study also draws on the work of Ortwin Renn (2008) and his publications on risk governance. Renn (2008:9) argues that risk management requires consideration of the broader legal, institutional, social and economic contexts in which the 'risk' is evaluated. He defines risk governance as:

> *"the complex web of actors, rules, conventions, processes and mechanisms concerned with how relevant risk information is collected, analysed and communicated and how management decisions are made"* (Renn 2008:9).

The International Risk Governance Council, (IRGC), (2005:11) also define risk governance as a concept that comprises a broad picture of risk which not only includes "*what is termed risk management or risk analysis, but also looks at how risk-related decision making unfolds when a range of actors is involved*". In this study, I have drawn on Renn's (2008) work to explore how risk and risk related activities became embedded in systems of pastoral care (Chapter 6, section 6.2).

2. Foucault's (1977, 1991, 1994) concepts of 'governmentality', 'disciplinary power' and 'pastoral power' are drawn upon to illuminate how systems of pastoral care in FE can be understood as systems of surveillance, control and correction in the 'art of self-government' and in the 'conduct of conduct'

(Foucault 1994). Meeting student need is a key component of pastoral care, but as Kemshall (2006) argues, 'needs' in modern society are re-inscribed as 'vulnerability', that is exposure to risk.

1.7 Research design, aim and questions

The research design (Appendix 1) was an emerging model that unfolded and repositioned itself as the research developed. According to Yin (2009:26) the research design is the "*logical sequence that connects the empirical data to a study's initial research questions and ultimately to its conclusions*". The selection of a single case study was influenced by Yin's (2009:48) view that when the objective is to "*capture the circumstances and conditions of an everyday or common place situation*" then a case study is justified. The case study approach provided the opportunity to observe, in a structured way, the natural setting of the college community, while the final analysis establish generalisations about the wider FE sector in which Buttercup college operates (Cohen and Manion 1989). Taking a deductive approach, the study began by considering the wider societal changes which influence policy and practice before focusing on the delivery of pastoral care in one FE college. The research questions set the context for the study propositions or 'intellectual bins' as proposed by Miles and Huberman (1994:18) and outlined in Appendix 1. The theoretical resources were identified and the research instruments selected. A mixed method, triangulated design, was adopted for the collection and analysis of the data. Final interpretations and conclusions were presented thematically.

The main aim of this thesis is to examine the role of the personal tutor in FE and to explain how systems of pastoral care meet the complex needs of students in an educational environment where performance management, compliance and accountability are priorities. The study is underpinned by the following research questions:

1. How is pastoral care structured at Buttercup college to support students with diverse needs?
2. What issues and challenges do personal tutors identify as problematic in their delivery of pastoral care?
3. What is the impact on personal tutors of managing those students who are defined and identified as 'at-risk' of failing to achieve their learning goals?
4. What are the students' experiences in terms of personal support?
5. What model of pastoral care is constructed through this investigation?

The data collection and analysis timeframe was from 2008 to 2010. Primary data for questions 1, 2, 3 and 4 was obtained from the interviews with personal tutors and a survey with students at Buttercup college. Question 5 arose from the literature review and is answered through a discussion on the data analysis and final conclusions. The complementary data for the study was captured through two surveys with 'professional others' and documentary evidence from Buttercup college. The complementary data was used to triangulate key themes developed through the recurrent connecting statements made by all participants on the subject of pastoral care in FE.

1.8 Methodology and ethical considerations

The methodological approach was influenced by Leech and Onwuegbuzie's (2007:267) 'partially mixed method' model which allows the qualitative and quantitative data to be collected concurrently, analysed separately with the emerging outcomes connected at the end of the analysis. By adopting this 'partially mixed method' approach, a greater insight and understanding has been achieved than would have been possible with a single method approach. Ethical approval was obtained from the Ethical Review Panel at Keele University (Appendix 2). All aspects of the study were carried out within an ethical framework.

1.9 Defining 'pastoral care'

In this section, I introduce the concept of pastoral care and draw on my professional experience as a pastoral manager to justify my interpretation and approach to pastoral care. Defining pastoral care has been problematic especially considering the terminology also suggests ecclesiastical or agricultural roots (Calvert 2009). Collins (1999:42) argues that "*of its nature pastoral care defies rigid definition"*. A definition offered by Her Majesty's Inspectorate (HMI) (1989:3) for schools is wide ranging, and shown in Appendix 3, briefly it states that "p*astoral care is concerned with promoting pupils' personal and social development and fostering positive attitudes".* Such a definition presents 'pastoral care' as an umbrella term that represents all aspects of student welfare including attendance, retention and success. Since the introduction of the Children Act 2004, pastoral

care provision also includes the five outcomes of Every Child Matters (ECM). As Calvert (2009:269) highlights, "*whilst the five ECM goals might well map onto pastoral care practices* (that children stay safe, be healthy, enjoy and achieve, make a positive contribution and achieve well-being)*, "they do not replace pastoral care or cover all the areas that pastoral care arguably should*".

According to Collins and McNiff (1999:13) "*pastoral care is a commitment to be aware of the needs of others; a commitment to respond to those needs in a way that will be life-enhancing for all*". Best (1999:15) argues that "*in our commitment to the well-being of the child, we should accept the rights, duties and responsibilities entailed in the concept of the teacher in loco parentis*". Best (1999) argues that while this core value of pastoral care has not shifted significantly over the past twenty years, the emphasis given to teachers' caring, controlling and instructional roles has varied considerably over that period. Best's (1999:29) view is that education in the latter decades of the twentieth century has been dominated by a pessimistic view of humanity as individualistic, competitive and self-serving while "*authorities have embraced the market mentality and the reduction of education to 'product outcomes' and 'performance indicators".* Marland (1974), cited in Collins (1999), argues that the school is civilisation's choice for the adolescent's 'crisis of identity' and that educating the adolescent through this phase is at the core of pastoral care.

Douglas Hamblin (1978:15) cited in Best (2007:250) offers a definition of pastoral care that is just as relevant today as it was in 1978:

"Pastoral care is not something separate from the daily work of the teacher. It is that element of the teaching process which centres around the personality of the pupil".

Hamblin (1978 in Best 2007) argues that pastoral care is integral to teaching practices that recognise the student as a 'whole person' and considers their intellectual and social development together. The internal factors of personality, character and emotions, and the external factors of social and environmental must be brought together and not segmented for the purpose of instruction (Best 2007). Research carried out by Lang (1991) in Australia found that 'affective education', including work with the student's feelings, emotions and personal and social development is not taken seriously enough thereby raising concerns in terms of the training of primary school teachers in particular. Lang (1991) also notes that the different terms in use, such as 'pastoral care', 'personal and social development', 'moral education', 'health education', 'guidance and counselling', add to the confusion and result in less systematic training being offered to all teachers.

Best (1999) suggests the significance of the affective approach is threefold; the first is the acceptance that teachers want to educate the whole child or young person, and this includes to educate the emotions or affects themselves; secondly, '*emotional states'* such as values, attitudes and sensitivities, may promote or impede the child or young person's learning in other domains; thirdly, schools and colleges are '*institutions for socialisation'*. While there are different definitions and models of pastoral care in use, common to all is the responsibility of teachers to provide a moral and social education to students. Best (1999:27) argues that this

responsibility has begun to include accountability for all of society's failings, thus resulting in, "*an increasingly right-wing administration seeking to impose greater social control through the socialisation function of schooling*". Best's review (2002) of UK research on Pastoral Care and Personal Social Education in schools, presents a model of pastoral care which identifies five categories of professional practice in schools and these are; reactive, proactive, preventative, and developmental casework, the promotion and maintenance of an orderly and supportive environment and the management and administration of pastoral care (Appendix 4), discussed further in Chapter 4, section 4.1.

In this study, I draw on twenty three years' experience as a practitioner. I follow Collins and McNiff (1999:13) in that "*pastoral care is a commitment to be aware of the needs of others",* however I believe it should also encompass *"promoting pupils' personal and social development and fostering positive attitudes"* (HMI 1989). In the early 1990s pastoral care in FE was focused on 'knowing' and 'tracking' the student in terms of their emotional well-being and academic performance. In Buttercup college, during the late 1990s, the introduction of performance indicators, more rigorous systems of accountability and inspection brought under scrutiny all aspects of the curriculum including pastoral care. Social policy began to focus more closely on the educational, welfare and behavioural needs of young people, for example, the Children Act 2004 imposed a duty of care on educationalists to safeguard and protect children, young people and vulnerable adults (Chapter 3). In Buttercup college, risk management became a central theme of governance and the concept of the 'at-risk' student was introduced. As a result of risk-led social policy, 'needs' have been re-inscribed as 'vulnerability', that

is exposed to risk or posing a risk to others (Kemshall 2006). The term ‘at-risk’, in the context of this study, refers to a student who is failing to meet their learning goals due to some personal crisis. I draw on Foucault’s (1977, 1994) concept of pastoral power and the construction of the individual as ‘dangerous’ and in need of surveillance and control and categorise the ‘at-risk’ student community as either ‘vulnerable’ or ‘dangerous’ – those in need of emotional support due to their vulnerability and those who exhibit inappropriate behaviour which poses a risk to others. I argue that risk management strategies are embedded in the activities of emotional support and control of ‘at-risk’ students, discussed in Chapter 4. I draw on Best’s (1999, 2002) model of pastoral care for schools, in the absence of similar for FE, to provide a working platform from which to build a model of pastoral care in FE.

1.10 Contribution to knowledge

In this section I outline my ontological approach before presenting the study’s contribution to knowledge. I understand ontology to be concerned with assumptions about the nature of reality and what is knowable about that reality. I take a social constructivist position in that I understand that reality to be ‘local, specific and constructed’ (Punch 2009), as opposed to a positivist perspective which focuses on the objective accounts of the world and the function of science to explain that world. Social reality is constructed, produced and reproduced by social actors (in this study by personal tutors) in the course of their everyday lives. Blaikie (2003:17) argues this social reality does not exist as an independent and objective world that stands apart from the social actors’ experience of it – rather it

consists of a shared subjectivity where social actors together construct mutual knowledge from actions and situations.

In the context of this study, the personal tutors and students construct and reconstruct their reality through their knowledge, cultural meanings and interpretations of the day to day activities of teaching and learning. Knowledge of this social existence can only be achieved by interpreting the personal tutors and students own accounts of their reality, therefore, methods of inquiry include interviews and surveys to understand behaviour, attitudes, perceptions, language and the meanings attached to that language to explain the social world of the participants. I recognise my own subjectivity and accept that as a middle manager I am embedded in the 'materiality' of pastoral care as my work and that of personal tutors' is structured, guided and rationalised by various college guidelines, policies and procedures. In this context, the knower and the known are interactive and inseparable (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009:86). While I accepted Miles and Huberman's (1994:6) argument that the role of the researcher is "*to gain a holistic overview of the context under study",* I was mindful from the onset of the need to also stay 'detached'.

This study is original in that it links the professional practices of pastoral care in FE to the application of the processes of surveillance, control, power relations and risk by way of understanding the role of personal tutors in delivering pastoral care especially to those students identified as 'at-risk' of failing.

This study contributes to existing knowledge on pastoral care in FE in the following areas:

1. It contributes to the literature on pastoral care and adds a new dimension through the application of risk as a discourse of governance to aid understanding of a relatively new concept in FE, that of the 'vulnerable and dangerous' student;
2. It contributes to the literature on professional practice by demonstrating how pastoral care in FE has reconstructed the work of the personal tutor to that of a professional risk manager;
3. It outlines how pastoral care can be understood as a policy lever;
4. It contributes to educational debates by identifying the challenges of providing emotional support to students in the context of neo-liberal policy initiatives;
5. It offers a model of pastoral care for the FE sector.

1.11 Structure of thesis

Chapter two outlines the theoretical resources that inform this thesis - it draws on Beck's (1992) 'risk society' and Foucault's (1977, 1994) 'disciplinary society' theses to frame the investigation of pastoral care in FE. The study is positioned in the wider political debates on neo-liberalism, public sector reform and the social amplification of risk.

Chapter three presents the political and policy context and argues that the generation of risk knowledge has politicised the delivery of pastoral care. The chapter outlines the impact of policy on professional practices and shows how the pastoral framework constructs pastoral care as a 'hidden' policy lever.

Chapter four contextualises the study in terms of the current body of literature on pastoral care. Research on pastoral care in schools (Best, 1999, 2002, 2007) and Collins and McNiff, 1999) is acknowledged. Research on related components of pastoral care such as tutorial support (Fertig 2003), therapeutic transitions, (Ecclestone and Hayes 2009) and theories of emotional labour (Hochschild 1979, Colley 2003, 2006, Meyer 2009, Oplatka 2009, Schutz and Zembylas 2009) are also drawn upon.

Chapter five justifies a mixed method approach and outlines how different strands of data were collected concurrently, analysed separately and key themes merged to produce final conclusions. The chapter also demonstrates how the study was conducted within a framework of good practice in terms of ethical considerations and how the reliability and validity of the data was tested.

Chapter six presents Buttercup college as a bureaucratic organisation and demonstrates how systems of pastoral care support a risk governance model. This chapter presents the primary findings from the interviews with the personal tutors from Buttercup college.

Chapter seven presents the student experience of pastoral care and presents the dual nature of personal tutoring; that of care and control. This chapter presents the findings from the survey of vocational students at Buttercup college.

Chapter eight presents the final conclusion to the study; it returns to the research aim and questions and explains how the research objectives have been met. This chapter argues that the role of the personal tutor has changed from the traditional role of caregiver to that of risk manager. Interconnecting themes are discussed and a model of pastoral care in FE is proposed. A reflective analysis is offered on the methodology and methods selected and the contribution of the study is discussed and its limitations acknowledged.

2 Public sector reform and the social amplification of risk

2.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the theoretical framework underpinning this study and locates FE in the wider context of economic, political and socio-cultural change (Giddens 2013) where risk decisions permeate all aspects of political and social life. It considers the UK government's acceptance of neo-liberal influences, public sector reform and the introduction of 'new managerialism' as key drivers of political reform in the FE sector. I argue that practices of pastoral care and the management of students identified as 'at-risk' through their 'vulnerability' or through their level of 'dangerousness' to themselves or others can be understood by drawing on the wider debates of Beck's (1992) 'risk society' thesis, the social amplification of risk and Foucault's (1977) concept of the 'disciplined society'. In Buttercup college, the social amplification of risk produces a 'ripple effect' (Renn 2008) where risk communications on students with 'problems', with perceived 'risks' result in organisational responses designed to minimise financial loss (discussed in Chapters 3, 6 and 7). The chapter is divided into four sections. The first section focuses on Beck's (1992) 'risk society' thesis and justifies its significance to the study of 'at-risk' students in an educational context. The second section draws on Foucault's (1977, 1994) theories of the 'disciplinary society', power relations, surveillance and governmentality and relates these concepts to the study of pastoral care in FE. The third section discusses the key components of globalisation and neo-liberalism as a backdrop to the UK government's approach to public sector reform. The fourth section provides

‘linkages’ between the previous sections and the governance of FE – it draws on the theory of street-level bureaucracy (Lipsky 1969) to make sense of professional practices in the context of FE.

2.2 Conceptualising ‘risk society’

Ulrich Beck’s (1992) ‘risk society’ thesis argues that individuals in western society are living through a transitional period which he calls ‘risk society’ where changes to society based on technological, social and economic interventions to create wealth generate unpredictable side effects and are accompanied by risk. Beck (1992, 2006:332) argues that modern society has become a risk society in that it is increasingly concerned with “*debating, preventing and managing risks that it itself has produced”.* The theory of the risk society interprets how two interconnected processes; the end of nature and the end of tradition have, according to Beck (1992), altered the epistemological and cultural status of science and the constitution of politics. Historically, people worried about what nature could do to them, for example, the effects of earthquakes, floods, and bad harvests; now people worry about what they have done to nature. The risk society thesis does not suggest a world more hazardous than before rather it is a society increasingly preoccupied with risk and risk perception that generates the notion of risk. Beck (2006) argues that global risks result from a new form of global interdependence between nation states and cannot be resolved by national policies or international co-operation. Historically in a pre-industrial world hazards were regarded as ‘strokes of fate’ but in modern societies risks are generated by economic, industrial and technological advances, for example industrial pollution is reported to be

connected to certain respiratory illnesses. Earlier cultures confronted threats in different ways, unlike in modern times, where society according to Beck (1992:183) "*is confronted by itself through its dealings with risks".* Institutions such as science, business and politics designed to protect citizens and guarantee security are now regarded as the 'sources' of risk (Beck 2006). Beck's view (1992, 2006) is that the dominant risks affecting communities are global and therefore far reaching in their effects, for example the effects of environmental pollution.

Developments in science and technology have created what Beck (1992) describes as the distribution of 'bads' or 'dangers' and these have resulted in the growth of knowledge specialisms to interpret, recognise and manage the risks associated with modern technological society. Beck (1992) argues that technological, social and economic interventions in the creation of wealth generate unpredictable side-effects which in turn create more risks. According to Ericson and Haggerty (1997:6) this focus on the distribution of 'bads' rather than the distribution of 'goods' creates a collective fear which results in a value system of an unsafe society which then feeds incessant demands for more knowledge of risk. This concurs with Furedi's (2002) view that public debates on risk are creating what he calls a 'culture of fear' that is becoming embedded in everyday activities even to the extent that parents worry about letting their children play outside the home because of their perception of danger.

In most developed countries people are well educated, often prosperous and live in a society of mass production and consumerism yet they feel threatened and organise themselves to prevent their perceived negative visions of the future from

happening; resulting in those affected by risk positions taking responsibility to inform themselves of possible risks. For example, a toxic waste accident and the subsequent media coverage results in new risks being identified and debated such as the toxic residues in foodstuffs. Beck (1992:10) claims that

> "*just as modernisation dissolved the structure of feudal society in the nineteenth century and produced the industrial society, modernisation today is dissolving industrial society and another modernity is coming into being*".

Risk positions tend to be universal, specific and based on knowledge therefore the problems of modern society cannot be solved by increased production, redistribution or expansion of social protection. The extent of people's endangerment is, according to Beck (1992), dependent on external knowledge and as such risk positions create dependencies not found in class situations – historically one's class position determined one's fate but in the context of the 'risk society' one's fate is not linked to class position. The bureaucracy of knowledge not only identifies risks and hazards but also identifies who is affected and questions those who are responsible for assessing the dangers. Beck (1992) argues that risk positions unlike class positions link the quality of life with the production of knowledge creating what he describes as 'manufactured uncertainty' where the production of risks introduce into personal and social life political efforts to control them. Previously, class conflict was due to inequalities of wealth but in the 'risk society' it is the 'inequalities in themselves' that intensify the exposure to risk. According to Beck (1994:3) reflexive modernisation concerns "*a radicalization of modernity which breaks up the premises and contours of industrial society and opens paths to another modernity*". Reflexive modernisation is a

process of modernization that is characteristic of the risk society whereby progress is achieved through reorganisation and reform, what Lash (1994:140) describes as 'the transformation of tradition through the mediation of everyday experience'.

One corollary of the risk society thesis is the thesis of individualisation. Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002:2) offer two meanings of 'individualisation'; the first is that it refers to the breaking down of the old orders ordained by religion, tradition or the state; the second meaning is that, in modern societies, it is concerned with the network of regulations, controls and conditions which institutions, such as the welfare state, impose on individuals. According to Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002:2) the concept of individualisation changes the 'normal biography' to a 'reflexive biography' which in turn becomes a 'risk biography'. Lupton (2006:19) argues that the concept of individualisation relates to the way in which people perceive themselves and their relationships as requiring constant improvement through frequent decision making. Individuals are increasingly responsible for themselves and the consequences of their actions can, according to McGuigan (2006:219), be liberating but also disconcerting at the same time as it combines personal freedom with high anxiety. Mythen and Walklate (2006:3) argue, in their critical study of Beck's (1992) risk society thesis, that "*risk has become a mechanism for understanding and organising social processes and experiences*" and that current debates in Britain on welfare, crime, national security, food safety, employment and sexuality can all be understood in terms of risk. The media frequently refer to the 'risky' behaviour of young people through misuse of alcohol and drugs. Risk has become a common word applicable to a wide range of

situations in everyday usage in terms of knowledge of risk situations, risk assessment strategies, risk analysis and risk management.

Castel (1991) argues that the notion of the subject is dissolved and replaced by a combination of ‘factors’, the factors of risk. It is no longer necessary to manifest symptoms of ‘dangerousness’ (Foucault 1994), it is enough to display whatever characteristics the specialists responsible for the definition of preventative policy have constituted as risk factors. Castel (1991:289) argues this approach ‘constructs’ the objective conditions of emergence of danger so as then to ‘deduce’ from them new modalities of intervention. In this drive to eradicate perceived risks, new risks are constructed which require new preventative interventions and as such promote new modes of surveillance in what Castel (1991) describes as systematic pre-detection. Generally, individuals will take risks in such a way as to maximise benefits and minimise loss. Denney (2005) uses the example of the family to explain how factors such as employment opportunities and the availability of childcare facilities can cause conflicts in families due to the choices which must be made by parents – an example of the transfer of risk management from the state and state agencies towards the individual. This anticipation and prevention of danger has given, according to Denney (2005), rise to an industry of risk assessors and risk analysts.

A different perspective on risk is presented by the work of Mary Douglas (1992) who locates risk in cultural settings where risks are socially constructed and understood at the individual’s level of knowledge. How different societies respond to risk will depend on their perception of risk and what actions will ultimately be

taken and who will, or will not be blamed for any catastrophe. According to Douglas (1992) risk analysis must take into account the characteristics of the community in which the perceived risk occurs. Public perception of risk often depends on the intensity of advertising, for example the benefits of a healthy lifestyle, however this approach also reinforces the view that not to take responsibility for one's health is a personal failing. Giddens (1991) argues that risk is not always due to individual action and that there exists 'environments of risk' which can affect large populations, for example, the risk of an ecological disaster. According to Giddens (1991) risk and danger are closely linked and those who take calculated risks may not always be aware of the dangers.

Modern UK society tends to view young people as associated with high levels of anti-social behaviour, sloth and a lack of a positive work ethic. France (2007:139) argues that the media and the government have been influential in reinforcing the public perception of 'problem youth' taking risks and being out of control. Young people are constructed as 'dangerous' (Foucault 1994) and a threat to society thus requiring increased surveillance, regulation and control. According to Coleman and Hagel (2007), it is important to recognise that risk factors tend to 'cluster or co-occur', for example, parents living in poverty are also likely to suffer depression and other mental health disorders and may struggle with parenting, resulting in the risk indicators aggregating and increasing the overall impact of the risk factors. Kelly (2003:169) argues that we are seeing an increased involvement of professionals, such as youth, community and health workers, with young people on projects that attempt to regulate their 'anti-social' practices or to prevent crime together with a range of educational programmes designed to target the perceived

‘risky’, sexual, eating and drug practices of young people. This approach, argues Kelly (2003), presents educational institutions as risk environments in which the youth population is subjected to a diverse range of governmental strategies including surveillance of those who are ‘becoming’ an adult, a citizen, mature, responsible and self-governing.

Risk society is a knowledge society where governance is, according to Ericson and Haggerty (1997) contextualised as the provision of security in a situation where a specific set of dangers is calibrated, counteracted and minimized. According to Giddens (1991) the experience of security is based upon trust and the acceptance of a degree of acceptable risk in the form of guarantees and assurances. Risks are brought into existence by the advancement of scientific knowledge where knowledge of risk is not only a means of risk management but also a producer of new risks. Technologies of risk management and risk communication continually strive for improved knowledge of perceived risks and in so doing create new knowledge about further insecurities. Beck (1992) argues that risk discourse is future oriented with risk assessments required to convert uncertainty about what to do into action which results in imagined futures being brought into the present. According to Ericson and Haggerty (1997:92) every individual that is risk-profiled stands on a continuum between imprecise abnormality and risk, creating a situation where risk perceptions of normality and deviance become the dominant mind-set about people and populations.

From an education perspective it is now possible in most UK institutions for students to enrol, pay fees, contact their tutor and carry out almost all curriculum

activities via the Internet thereby reducing the need for face to face teacher/student contact. Selwyn (2010:92) argues that Internet connectivity regards learning as the individual's ability to connect to specialised nodes of information sources, to access a more diverse range of formal and informal learning opportunities regardless of place or social and economic background. The Internet has also been used as a device to link educational outcomes with national and global economic concerns in terms of competitiveness and the up-skilling of the workforce. While there are many benefits to global 'interconnectness' in terms of communication, travel and economic development, there is also a view that the Internet 'enrols individuals into bureaucratic networks of surveillance' (Selwyn 2010) where information on the day to day activities of individuals is observed and aggregated into systems of surveillance. Personal data systems derived from birth certificates, driving licences, tax returns and insurance policies facilitate the production and distribution of knowledge useful to numerous institutions in their respective risk management administration. Some institutions use electronic communication systems, including the Internet, as a mechanism through which to increase the surveillance of staff. While the Internet can act as an empowerment for those already empowered it can also create further dis-connects and inequality through lack of access to and understanding of the various technologies (Selwyn 2010:96).

2.2.1 The social amplification of risk

This section argues that public debates on risk events can contribute to the social amplification of risk, for example, incidents of terrorism, crime, financial and health

crisis. According to Beck (1994:41) society is confronted with 'unnatural, human-made, manufactured uncertainties and hazards' which ignore nation-state boundaries. Beck (1994) argues that this 'de-bounding of uncontrollable risks' creates areas of conflict, for example, ecological conflicts such as climate change which affects everyone but not necessarily in the same way. The global financial crisis and the threat of global terror networks are examples of what Beck (1994:41) describes as a global 'axis of conflict'. Most people respond to risks according to their own previous experience or 'perception' of the level of danger. Renn (2008:98) defines risk perception as:

> "*the processing of physical signals and/or information about potentially harmful events or activities; the formation of a judgement about seriousness, likelihood and acceptability of the respective event or activity*"

Risk situations can be interpreted as presenting a 'threat' or presenting an 'opportunity'. Kasperson et al. (1988) argues that signals about risk whether real or perceived can be understood through the transfer of information about the risk and the response mechanisms of society. Risk communication occurs through the risk assessments of the 'experts' or, more often, through the mass media of television, newspapers, films, radio and the Internet; cultural groups and interpersonal social networks where the amplification of risk leads to behavioural processes both on the part of individuals and organisations. Social policy is no longer about the alleviation of individual and collective needs but rather about the prevention of risk and the displacement of risk management responsibilities onto the 'entrepreneurial self' (Castel 1991) who is expected to make informed choices and avoid potential risks. In the context of FE, risk perception is aligned to the

work of personal tutors in their management of those students identified as 'at-risk'.

Renn (2008:137) argues that the social amplification of risk is based on the social and economic impacts of an adverse event and is determined by the direct physical consequences and the interactions of psychological, social, institutional and cultural processes. For example, media coverage can expose people to an 'adverse event' which in turn can influence and shape individual and societal interpretations and response. Young people often get negative coverage in the mass media creating a public perception that all young people are 'dangerous' (Foucault 1977). According to Renn (2008) there can be secondary effects to 'adverse events' as individuals or institutions demand additional protective actions, for example, extra security as a result of global terrorist attacks. Furedi (2012:1) argues that information published on an 'adverse event', such as a terrorist attack, can "*influence people's view of their level of vulnerability and their capacity to resist*". Terrorism is defined by Giddens (2013:1041) as 'violent attacks on civilians designed to persuade the government to alter its politics or standing in the world'. Furedi (2012:1) argues that our perception of global terrorism is shaped by a cultural script which tells us how a terrorist might look and act, for example, the narrative of the 'lone-wolf' – an individual not connected to any political group but acting on their own initiative, for example, in July 2011, Andres Breivik massacred seventy seven, mostly young people in Norway. Official concern about the spread of global terrorism and the possibility of a 'lone-wolf' attack in the UK contributed to debates on the government's counter-terrorism strategy including the role of FE colleges in the 'policing' of students (discussed in Chapter 3, section 3.4.2).

O'Malley (2006:47) argues that the provision of correctional services have been reshaped using 'risk-needs' analysis; an approach often criticised for being too expensive and not effective in reducing levels of crime. Crime prevention and reduction are key functions of the police and government agencies in attempts to manage what O'Malley (2006:43) describes as the 'fear of crime'. Muncie (2006:15) argues that remoralisation strategies, based on the behavioural potential of individuals rather than the 'crime' they have already committed, targets the 'causes of crime' which places a focus on the 'disorderly' and the 'anti-social'. Mass surveillance in public places, such as shopping centres, through the use of closed circuit television (CCTV) is justified as a strategy of 'crime prevention' through continuous people watching and the generation of risk knowledge. CCTV is also used in schools and colleges, including Buttercup college, creating what Zieleniec (2007:172) describes as an electronic extension of Foucault's 'eye of power'.

Flynn (2006), writing on the work of Mary Douglas (1992), argues that risk is culturally determined and relative to specific groups, such as young people, and associated with blame and moral responsibility. The mass media frequently report new risks on almost all aspects of life from the effects of climate change to what food to eat. Young people are frequently advised through the mass media in terms of 'dangers', for example, alcohol, drugs and the effects of obesity; creating an ever-increasing need for surveillance and control as to what counts as 'risk' and who is responsible (Mythen and Walklate 2006).

2.3 Conceptualising 'control society'

The changing nature of society can also be understood through the lens of social control. In the 18th century, crime in England was regarded as a breach of civil law. Crime was harmful to society and punishable by what society deemed necessary to compensate it for the social damage caused, for example, criminals were excluded from society through deportation or subjected to some form of public shame and humiliation to demonstrate the power of the sovereign. At the beginning of the 19th century the emphasis shifted from what was useful to society to a focus on what aspect of the individual's behaviour needed correction; the social view concerning the individual changed and began to regard the 'body' not as something to be tortured but something to be moulded, reformed and corrected (Foucault 1994).

With the onset of the industrial revolution capital investments in goods and raw materials increased. The acceleration of the establishment of capitalism resulted in increased crime, for example thefts from ships loaded with goods for export were common and it became necessary for society to set up controls to protect these new forms of wealth. With the growth of industrial society more individuals were required to offer their time to the production process where according to Foucault (1994) they were to become subjects of control, not as previously when social control was linked to a particular place but controlled through their 'time' which was put on the market and offered to the highest bidder; resulting in a 'transformation' of individual time into labour time and used to create profit (Foucault 1994).

The introduction of the prison system at the beginning of the 19th century set in place a model of social control which would continue to influence the design of prison systems from then onwards. According to Foucault (1977:209) the formation of a disciplinary society stretches, at one extreme, from the enclosed institution, what he describes as 'a sort of social quarantine' to, the other extreme, of a generalizable mechanism of functional discipline, of subtle coercion, achieved through 'generalised surveillance' which brought the effects of power to the most minute and distant elements. Foucault (1977) argues that Bentham's (1791) proposed model for a prison, known as the 'panopticon'[1], was based on the idea of continuous monitoring that not only focused on physical and psychological control of inmates but also included reform of their attitudes and behaviour. Through the central inspection tower the keeper had the ability to observe all inmates simultaneously while they were prevented from seeing and communicating with each other due to the extended walls of each cell. According to Foucault (1977:200) the panopticon produces permanent 'visibility' of the inmates and as such assures the automatic function of power where inmates are caught up in a power situation of their own making, which according to Foucault presents 'visibility as a trap'. The panoptican model was also designed to be used with other institutions, such as factories, hospitals, asylums and schools. Foucault (1977:203) argues that panopticon institutions are also centres of observations or laboratories where experiments could be carried out to alter, train or correct individual behaviour. Foucault (1994) argues that the panopticon system

[1] In 1791, Jeremy Bentham published his plans for a new model of a prison called the 'Panopticon' – a ring shaped structure with individual cells on the periphery with an inspection tower at its centre. The proposed building was never built due to lack of government support.

represents and embodies a new approach to discipline and punishment which is at once a system of surveillance, security, individualisation, isolation and knowledge which gives the ‘eye of the keeper’ a lot of power.

Using a factory setting as an example, Foucault (1977, 1994) identifies different types of power that can exist in any institution. Firstly, there is a form of economic power as the employee earns a wage in return for their labour time. Secondly, there is political power as those in charge issue orders and hire or fire employees. Thirdly, where a system of rewards and punishments exist to bring employees to account, there exists a judicial form of power. Fourthly, through the use of observation, or forms of inquiry, or systems of surveillance, various forms of knowledge can be deducted from employees, creating what Foucault (1994) describes as ‘epistemological power’ or ‘knowledge-power’ which is then analysed and leads to new forms of control, for example, physicians can extract psychiatric knowledge from patients because they have power over them. Pedagogical methods, developed from observations of children in a school setting, how they respond to school tasks, how they adapt to different circumstances are then used to create operational directives for those same institutions as new forms of power are brought to bear on the same children.

The 19th century introduced a form of individualising power, (Foucault 1994), as social control began to focus not on what crime individuals committed, but a concern with what the individual might or be capable of doing. Foucault (1994) argues that this new form of social power was adopted from religious institutions where the shepherd governed his flock and each of its members; caring for the

needs of the flock both individually and collectively. Foucault (1994) uses the metaphor of the 'shepherd and his flock' to show how the aim of government is now to promote the well-being of its subjects by means of detailed and comprehensive regulation of their behaviour. The control of the 'economy' (the population) is enhanced by the acquisition of 'knowledge power' obtained through systems of pastoral power - an individualizing form of power which knows its subjects in detail by seeking disclosure from them of their innermost secrets in order to act upon them to ultimately direct them.

As the concept of pastoral power began to spread out into the whole of society, Foucault (1994) argues, its function changed to a more rigorous analytical evaluation of the individual. Pastoral power in this social context was not about leading people to eternal salvation but about their earthly salvation in terms of health, well-being and security. Foucault (1994:57) uses the term 'dangerousness' to describe this change of emphasis in society when the behaviour of individuals needed to be controlled not in relation to what they had done but 'at the level of the behavioural potentialities they represented'. This resulted in a broadening out of responsibility from the judicial system to other professionals and organisations in the control of individuals at their level of 'dangerousness'. Police authorities became responsible for surveillance, with medical institutions responsible for psychological and psychiatric problems, while pedagogical institutions administered forms of correction, creating what Foucault (1994:57) describes as the age of the 'disciplinary society'.

Foucault (1994) argues that in the ‘panopticon’ model supervision, control and correction are forms of power which rely on what he describes as the ‘examination’ or ‘confessional’– not an inquiry of what has happened but a form of supervision, or extraction of knowledge, of an individual (for example a student) by someone who has power over him (for example a teacher). Panopticon institutions operate through the interactions of power and knowledge to create knowledge of the individual that is corrective and as such is regarded as a mechanism of transformation, a mechanism of normalisation (Foucault 1994). Starting with the ‘examination’ or ‘confessional’ and subsequent analysis of the data obtained, this process is then the starting point for ‘labelling’ the individual against predefined social norms such as normal, deviant, dangerous, or ‘at-risk’ and in need of professional intervention. In the context of pastoral care, personal tutors use the ‘confessional’ approach to extract knowledge from students and use this knowledge to label some students as vulnerable or dangerous and in need of intervention.

The panopticon model is used by King (2001) to argue that information and communications technology systems can be viewed as a mechanism of disseminating power and control. Robins and Webster (1988), cited in King (2001), argue that because of the proliferation of and our dependence on communication and information technologies our social lives have been turned into profitable exercises. Unlike the panopticon model which gave its keeper the ability to penetrate into men’s behaviour (Foucault 1994) information and communication technologies give the operators or keepers the ability to ‘penetrate’ into all of society’s behaviour. The police force access a variety of electronic technologies in

their surveillance of individuals, for example vehicle registration systems, criminal records, membership of political groups and so on. In this context, the police create probability data for their use in the risk management of populations, especially young people, resulting from the 'panoptic sort' (Gandy 1993:59) of personal data not of prison inmates but of all of society which echoes Foucault's (1994) concept of the 'disciplined society'. The use of electronic information management systems therefore requires expert operators to be capable of sorting and classifying 'disciplinary subjects' (Foucault 1994) into groups according to pre-defined risk management categories. In the context of pastoral care, personal tutors can be viewed as the 'expert operators' sorting and classifying their 'disciplinary subjects' (students) through systems of surveillance, control and correction.

Rose (1999:233) accepts Foucault's (1977) concept of the 'disciplined society' as a mode of power worked through the hierarchical observation and judgement of 'bodies', however, he argues that at the end of the twentieth century we no longer live in a 'disciplined' society but in a 'control' society where control is not centralised but dispersed. Rose (1999:234) defines 'control' society as:

> "*one of continuous training, lifelong learning, perpetual assessment, continual incitement to buy, to improve oneself, constant monitoring of health and never-ending risk management. Surveillance is 'designed in' to the flows of everyday existence".*

In control society, interventions are necessary but they are according to Rose (1999) administrative rather than therapeutic and do not target individuals but populations deemed to be 'at-risk' such as young people. In Buttercup college,

Rose's (1999) concept of 'dispersed control' is evidenced through the work of the personal tutors as they engage in the management of 'risky' youth.

2.3.1 Governmentality

Governmentality is defined by Foucault (1994) as the 'art of government' applied not only to state politics but also to the control of the 'self' in the 'conduct of conduct' from governing oneself to governing others. The term 'government' is used by Foucault (1994) in its widest sense not only in terms of hierarchical top down power but also includes other forms of social control such as those constructed in schools and hospitals. According to Foucault (1994) there are three fundamental types of government; the art of self-government which is connected to morality; the art of governing a family where the head of the household manages the wealth and goods within the family unit; and finally there is the art of governing the state which concerns politics. Foucault (1994:207) argues that those individuals aspiring to govern the state must first of all be able to control their own behaviour and create their own 'economy' of goods and wealth; as governing the state will also involve setting up an economy and exercising a form of surveillance and control towards all individuals in terms of their wealth and behaviour. According to Foucault (1994) government has as its purpose not only the act of government but also the welfare, longevity, health and wealth of the population - on the one hand the population is the subject of needs and aspirations while, at the same time, also the object of government control. Foucault (1994:216) argues that the constitution of expert knowledge is essential to governmentality and inseparable from the knowledge of all the processes related

to the population in its larger sense and this is what is known as the ‘economy’. Expert knowledge is also used as a means of providing guidelines and advice by which populations are surveyed, compared against the norms and rendered productive.

2.4 Globalisation, neo-liberalism and public sector reform

This section links the concept of ‘governmentality’ (Foucault 1994) to the key drivers of political change in the UK since the early 1990s and these are the processes of globalisation and the adoption of a neo-liberal approach to the role of the state. Public sector reform has been justified by the need for a skilled and competitive workforce ready to compete in the wider political, social and economic context of the ‘global society’. This section begins with a brief overview of globalisation before considering the main drivers of reform to the FE sector.

What is meant by globalisation is contested. According to Ritzer (2009) globalisation is a set of processes which involve the international flow of capital and trade supported through developments in information and communication technology, finance and an international division of labour – what Giddens (2013:127) describes as the ‘liquidity of the contemporary world’. Others, such as Perraton (2003) view globalisation as a state where individuals, companies and nations are increasingly dependent on each other. Hirst and Thompson (2003:17) define globalisation as ‘international interconnectedness’ which increases flows of trade, investment and communications between nations with the potential to shape the life chances of communities in parts of the world far removed from where the

initial interactions began. Multinational corporations create global competition, or attempt to monopolise competition, through the use of global business strategies which in turn affect the macro and micro economic policies which governments can pursue. According to Giddens (1991:64) there is an intrinsic relation between the "*globalising tendencies*" of modernity and "*localised events"* in day-to-day life and this creates a risk profile where risk can be perceived as derived from global events such as nuclear war to more institutionalised dangers such as those created through the banking and investment markets. Global and local risks become interconnected which makes them more difficult to calculate, manage and avoid, while at the same time these perceived risks generate in turn new risks (Navarra 2004). Giddens (1998) argues that globalisation has unleashed an unprecedented period of social change upon states and societies, while Keep (2011) argues that it is an unstoppable force which has created worldwide product, capital and labour markets in which the UK must compete.

Accepting these competing definitions of globalisation, I return to the position taken by Langhorne (2001:2) that globalisation is just the latest stage in a long accumulation of technological advances which have given human beings the ability to conduct their affairs across the world without reference to nationality, government or physical environment, or as Calhoun (2002:192) argues globalisation is a 'catch-all' term for the expansion of diverse forms of economic, political and cultural activity beyond national boundaries. The second half of the twentieth century brought about an information technology revolution with developments in systems of communication, the advent of satellite and the development of instantaneous electronic communication especially through the

Internet creating with Castells (2007) describes as the 'network society' – a network that is at the same time local, global, generic and customised in an ever changing pattern. The culture of the network society is a 'culture of protocols of communication' (Castells 2007) which enables communication between different cultures, not necessarily to share values but to share the value of the communication itself, creating a culture of communication which is open ended consisting of cultural meanings that not only coexist, but interact, and modify each other on the basis of the exchange. In this new 'informational economy' (Castells 2007) organisations are required to utilise the developments in digital technology to increase their competitiveness and innovation in a global economy.

While the interconnectedness of global economic and financial systems can be beneficial they can also generate a global crisis. In 2007, the United States (US) experienced a financial crisis which was predominantly due to a product known as a 'subprime mortgage' - a high interest mortgage given to individuals with low credit ratings. According to Giddens and Sutton (2013) other contributing factors included the movement of money and debt through global banks, insufficient regulation of global financial institutions and the US policy of home ownership. The resulting 'ripple effect' (Renn 2008) of the US financial crises created high levels of economic risk, uncertainty and insecurity in other global economies including the UK. Renn (2008:63) argues that globalisation and world trade have the potential to create 'systemic risks'; these are *"risks which have evolved from increased vulnerabilities and interconnections between geographic areas",* which are at the crossroads between natural events and policy-driven actions both at a domestic and international level. For example, the UK government's response to

the global financial crisis necessitated the introduction of 'austerity measures' to address the impact on the housing and job market – while governments in Iceland, Ireland, Greece and Spain had to introduce new structural adjustment programmes to bring their domestic economies back from the brink of bankruptcy.

In response to pressures of globalisation and the belief that traditional ties between nation states are breaking down; neo-liberalism has been pushed by multilateral agencies and powerful states, including the UK, as a major global project for economic growth and development as changes in the global economy challenge the role of the nation state in terms of policy-making, provision and funding (Bonal 2003). On the other hand, nation states are not just disciplined by the processes of globalisation, they are also in a position to create and influence global markets. According to Giddens (2013:604) neo-liberals argue that free market forces, achieved by minimizing restrictions on business, will lead to economic growth. Rose (1999) argues that neo-liberal strategies include the transforming of the organisation of government from an ethos of bureaucracy to one of business; from planning to competition, responding to the demands of the market.

In the UK, responses to the pressures of globalisation have been interpreted and responded to through the implementation of neo-liberal policies and practices. For example, FE reform has become the focus of successive governments as they "*simultaneously 'up-skill' the workforce, increase economic competitiveness and promote social inclusion*" (Simmons 2010:364). FE reform has also been premised upon the central belief that learning should be the formal acquisition of

economically useful knowledge and skills; but, as Simmons (2010) argues 'skills' have become re-defined as competencies demonstrated through performance related tasks and removed from the principled underpinning knowledge that enables students to engage in critical inquiry. In the UK, the 1970s and 1980s saw the rise of neo-liberal policies through the de-regulation of economic markets and the privatisation and corporatisation of government services. Lemke (2001:201) argues that

> *"neo-liberal forms of government feature not only direct intervention by means of empowered and specialised state apparatuses, but also characteristically develop indirect techniques for leading and controlling individuals without at the same time being responsible for them".*

The UK government has, through its agencies, become actively involved in all aspects of public service through increasing levels of competition in all areas of work and social life according to the principles of supply and demand (Simmons 2010). A key feature of the neo-liberal rationality is to turn subjects into responsible and moral individuals who assess the costs and benefits of their actions; creating what Foucault (1997) in Nadesan (2005:6) describes as the '*techniques of the self".* This approach enables government to shift responsibility for social risks such as illness and unemployment onto the individual or collectives such as families, communities and educational institutions (Lemke 2001). While the neoliberal political rationality emphasises 'self-entrepreneurialism' and the maximisation of the delivery mechanisms of the market; they also cause exclusion and dislocation resulting in the creation of, what Bonal (2003:173) describes as, 'local states of emergency' as governments respond to manage problems of social

control and social cohesion. According to Lemke (2001:202) the 'withdrawal of the state' can be reconstructed as a government technique used to shift regulatory competence of the state onto the 'responsible' and 'rational' individual.

New Labour, led by Tony Blair, came to power in 1997 and continued the neo-liberal transformative policies of the previous Thatcher-Major governments (1979-1997). Speaking at the Labour Party Conference, Blair (1997:7) outlined his vision for a 'new society' saying "*a strong society cannot be built on soft choices – it means fundamental reform of our welfare state, of the deal between citizen and society*". New Labour policies promoted an enterprise culture through the use of the free market, increased competition, de-regulation and the privatisation of public services (Jessop 2010). There was an increased emphasis on modernising the public sector to better serve the private sector and the perceived needs of changing world markets and societies. The public sector was regarded as bureaucratic, complacent and wasteful (Gleeson 2001). The value of the market, public choice and the setting of performance measures in quantitative terms were deemed necessary to bring about improvement in the quality and effectiveness of public sector providers. The 1990s witnessed the advent of 'third way politics' advocated by Giddens (2002) who argues that while the nation state is still important new cosmopolitan institutions are required for the regulation of the world economy and for the control of ecological risks and global inequality. Tony Blair (1997), the then Prime Minister, adopted the basic characteristics of 'third way politics' - the conviction that a growing market economy can be reconciled with a good society; that economic competition can co-exist with social co-operation and

that the values and policies underpinning this approach make for good electoral politics.

New Labour's commitment to public sector reform was driven by the Prime Minister's Strategy Unit, an elite unit based in the Cabinet Office between 2002 and 2010, to provide in-depth strategy advice and policy analysis for the government. The most efficient and effective way to reform public services was through the use of managerial techniques associated with 'New Public Management (NPM) (Cutler 2007). According to Rose (1999:150) the objective was not to transform government bureaucracy but to transform its ethos from one of bureaucracy to one of business, from the logics of the system to the logics of the market. The essence of NPM is its application of private sector management techniques to the public sector; an acceptance that market forces are superior to traditional forms of state bureaucracy and the need to reduce public spending in order to redistribute wealth towards those committed to free enterprise (Simmons 2010). New Labour adopted the key principles of NPM - a process which focused on top down performance management through a greater emphasis on outputs, regulation and performance assessment through inspection and direct intervention. Continuous improvement was factored in through providing consumer choice and engaging end users voice on the quality of provision. The NPM model focused heavily on accountability through explicit standards judged by performance indicators with an emphasis on outputs rather than inputs; a disaggregation of functions into corporatized units which would have their own budgets to enable them to trade with each other, thus creating, what Rose

(1999:150) describes as ‘a shift from an ethic of public service to one of private management’.

The principles of NPM were extended to the FE sector and justified by the need to save public money, to reduce drop out and improve the performance of 16-19 year olds. FE colleges began to adopt this concept of ‘new managerialism’ and in so doing acknowledged the basic assumptions of this approach which was, according to Randle and Brady (1997:230), *“that good management will increase efficiency and effectiveness and provide value for money”*. The key components of the new management principles were:

- Strict financial management and devolved budgetary controls;
- The efficient use of resources and an emphasis on productivity;
- The extensive use of quantitative performance indicators;
- The development of consumerism and the discipline of the market;
- The manifestation of consumer charters as mechanisms for accountability;
- The creation of a flexible workforce, using flexible/individualised contracts, appraisal systems and performance related pay; and
- The assertion of ‘the managers’ right to manage’.

  Randle and Brady (1997:230).

FE colleges began to identify new managerial values such as efficiency, compliance and flexibility which were written into new mission statements and strategic plans. New managerialism was underpinned by an ideology that wanted to control all aspects of college activity including tighter control of teaching and learning. Wallace and Hoyle (2005:8) describe the new managerialism as

‘excessive leadership and management’, a key tenet of which was to channel the agency of teachers within “*narrow limits delimited by central government policy-makers or leaders and managers acting on their behalf*”. Briggs (2004:587) observes that colleges were not only accountable for public funds (market accountability) but were also ‘professionally’ accountable for maintaining high standards of teaching and ‘culturally’ accountable to foster new knowledge and understanding.

2.5 Governance and FE

This section draws on Foucault’s (1994) concepts of power relations and governmentality to offer a closer interpretation of ‘the art of government’ in FE; an education sector highly regulated through government policy, funding and managerial criteria and the public reporting of its success. This section also draws on Lipsky’s (1969) theory of street-level bureaucracy to make sense of the professional practices of teachers in FE.

The Education Funding Agency (EFA) (2010) is the current government agency for the funding of pre and post16 education. The Department of Education regulate the operations of the FE sector through the funding mechanisms of the EFA and through The Office for Standards in Education, Children’s Services and Skills (Ofsted) who regulate and inspect FE provision, where “the *overall aim of inspection is to evaluate the efficiency and effectiveness of the provision of education and training in meeting the needs of learners”* (Ofsted 2009:4). College performance is monitored by the Department of Education through a downward

hierarchical structure of economic, political and judicial power structures through its agencies of the EFA and Ofsted.

Mennicken and Miller (2012) have incorporated Foucault's (1994) concept of 'governmentality' with accounting technologies to create a model of 'calculable practices' which can be recognised in the context of FE. College performance can be identified and monitored through the use of accounting numbers and shown to be competing, to be market oriented and to be providing 'value for money'. These accounting characteristics can then be used to compare the performance of all colleges and acted upon if necessary, for example, league tables and student success rates are made available for public scrutiny. Mennicken and Miller (2012:8) argue that "*accounting technologies are inextricably linked to the making of 'calculating selves*", therefore accounting practices require individuals to act on themselves in the name of efficiency and to "*know oneself means to know the costs of one's actions*". By using the devices of calculation, FE colleges are linked to government departments and government agencies, for example, the EFA and Ofsted, who in turn govern through what Power (1999) calls the 'audit explosion – an avalanche of checking on checking' and these accounting processes have become embodied in "*a wide range of neoliberal programmes of accountability and control*" (Mennicken and Miller 2012:9).

The marketization of education (Newman and Jahdi 2009) has created a bureaucratic structure in Buttercup college which aligns the role of the college principal with that of a head of a business enterprise where performance management and accountability are constructed through systems of supervision

and control. The role of the college principal can also be aligned to that of the head of a household in the art of 'governing the self', (Foucault 1994). The 'economy' (Foucault 1994) of Buttercup college is determined by the performance of its 'student' population, therefore through its bureaucratic structure it creates its own 'panopticon' model of surveillance, control and correction. In line with the principles of NPM, college performance is identified and monitored through the use of accounting numbers and shown to be competing, to be market oriented and providing 'value for money'. Buttercup college has its own power structures constructed through systems of performance management, compliance and accountability. This structure of graded authority ensures continuous supervision of those at the lower level by those at the higher levels of the institution.

Risk assessment strategies were also aligned to the principles of NPM and together created a climate of performance and risk management which started to permeate through all FE activities, for example, students wishing to attend off campus events had to be 'risk assessed' in terms of hazards and or potential risks that might cause harm. Such risk assessments added to the workload of teachers as new students had to be 'risk assessed' in terms of personal issues which might impact on their learning and achievement of the target qualification. The control of hazards through risk assessment and risk management has become the focus of government and all public sector institutions, including schools, colleges and universities. Profiling individuals perceived to be 'at risk' is common in education and health care, for example, social workers examine the background, health and lifestyle of parents as an indicator of whether or not their children are 'at-risk'. In FE, personal tutors are also profiling students in an attempt to identify any student

who is ‘at-risk’ of failing to achieve their learning goals; or who is involved in or displaying any form of ‘risky behaviour’, such as drug taking or bullying behaviour which can impact negatively on their learning and the learning of others. In the context of FE, managing risk is part of what Hodkinson et al. (2007:21) define as the learning culture; that is the particular ways in which the interactions between many different factors shape students’ learning opportunities and practices. ‘At-risk’ students contribute to and reconstruct that culture where learning can be, according to Hodkinson et al. (2007:35), ‘a process through which a person’s dispositions are confirmed, developed, challenged and changed’.

In Buttercup college risk management is concerned with the generation and collection of risk knowledge especially from the student population. Systems of pastoral care are designed not only to meet pedagogical objectives but also to operate as part of the college’s risk governance model (IRGC 2005, Renn 2008). Personal tutors operate like the ‘shepherd’ to the ‘flock’ (Foucault 1994) with the remit of promoting the well-being of full time vocational students through detailed and comprehensive interventions to modify behaviour and bring about academic success. In contrast, the pastoral care of part-time students is less structured and usually carried out by the subject teacher as part of their normal teaching commitment. Part-time students do not have weekly tutorials but can receive individual support with personal issues through the subject teacher and referral to the college wide support services. Students on part-time courses tend to be given a ‘clean slate’ (James et al. 2007) which enables them to make a ‘fresh start’ and put any previous negative educational experiences behind them. While full time students have to meet predefined ‘entry requirements’ for most courses they are

also given a ‘clean slate’ in terms of previous bad behaviour disclosed to the college through their school reference unless that bad behaviour is believed to pose a threat to the safety of others. Buttercup college distributes knowledge about students identified as ‘at-risk’ as per government guidelines to other ‘risk professions’ (defined by Ericson and Haggerty 1997:102 as an occupational group such as social workers) that claim exclusive abstract knowledge concerning how to address particular risks and improve risk management strategies. In this context, risk is problematized and rendered calculable and governable by a network of interactive actors, institutions, knowledges and practices (Lupton 1999:87). The ‘accounting calculation’ of the possible number of students who will fail to reach their learning goals is a management priority because of the negative financial implications of such ‘calculations’. Buttercup college monitors student behaviour through the use of CCTV managed by a contracted team of security guards to create what Powell and Edwards (2005:1) argue is a system where “*discourses of power impact the positioning of children as educational objects of control, domination and subordination*”. Ericson and Haggerty (1997) argue that bureaucracy is in itself a form of surveillance based on abstract knowledge and risk communications in terms of rules, regulations and technologies for administration. Buttercup college’s internal information and communication systems, such as email and the intranet, ensure information is disseminated to all staff simultaneously. Curriculum and pastoral managers utilise and share their electronic work schedules which enable senior management to observe, check and control daily activities. Middle managers replicate similar systems for the teachers in their respective curriculum areas, thus creating a surveillance system which, according to Giddens (1991), is a condition of ‘institutional reflexivity’

resulting from the identification of risk rationalities and the creation of systems to manage them which in turn helps to perpetuate the resultant fear as additional risks are identified in the process and the cycle of risk management continues.

In their study of nursing Holmes and Gastaldo (2002) found that self-regulation is a dominant form of social control and that nurses' therapeutic practice is currently based on the principles of self-care which in turn foster self-regulation. In terms of FE, there are high expectations for students to conform to the five Every Child Matters (ECM 2003) outcomes (Appendix 5); for example, choosing a healthy lifestyle and 'staying safe' in terms of personal responsibility for one's own safety. Students who deviate from the norm are designated 'at-risk' and are, therefore, positioned to be a threat to themselves and others and in need of expert knowledge. Personal tutors perception of 'risk factors' are constructed through their cultural assumptions and shared professional expectations in terms of the 'ideal' student. However, as Armstrong (2006) warns the identification of levels of anti-social behaviour depends upon assumptions about what is 'normal' and 'abnormal' and most importantly on who is doing the defining. According to Beck (1992) 'risks' are a reflection of human action, for example, many young people who take illegal drugs do so for short term benefits, fun, socialising and for new experiences. While many young people will be aware of the risks involved, others will not, but it could also be argued that many young people are not taking drugs out of ignorance but through knowledge - though many would also argue that these young people are ignoring the expert knowledge in terms of their long term health.

2.5.1 Professionalism in FE

In this section, I draw on Lipsky's (1969) theory of street-level bureaucracy to make sense of professional practices in FE. Lipsky (1969:1) defines street-level bureaucrats as men and women employed in public service and called upon to interact with citizens in the course of their job and as such 'represent' the government. According to Lipsky (1969:2) public sector workers, such as police officers and teachers operate within a bureaucratic structure where their actions can affect their clients significantly through their independence in terms of job performance including discretion in decision making. Although street-level bureaucrats have extensive influence over their clients they also have limited control, for example, teachers are often expected to compensate for aspects of children's up-bringing for which they are not responsible. Lipsky (1969:4) identifies three conditions that apply to the role of the street-level bureaucrat and these are; the job or profession encompasses a wide range of variation and a lack of adequate resources; the work proceeds in circumstances where there exists a sense of physical or psychological threat; their authority is regularly challenged; and expectations about job performance are ambiguous or contradictory and include unattainable idealised dimensions. Lipsky (1969:8) argues that street-level bureaucrats are not free to determine who their clients will be and are likely to "*develop frustrations with the institutional framework inhibiting them from doing their jobs 'professionally'*.

The implementation of 'managerialism' and the 'economising of education' (Shain and Gleeson (1999:448) has brought the discipline of the market into FE through

systems of performance management and accountability which have changed the working conditions and professional practices of lecturers and managers. The Further and Higher Education Act (1992) removed FE colleges in England from the control of the Local Education Authorities (LEAs). This process, known as 'Incorporation' resulted in colleges becoming independent corporate bodies responsible for the management of their own finances, premises and staff. The term 'Incorporation' is defined by Gleeson (2001:182) as the introduction of local management of colleges, institutional self-governance and independence from local authority. While Incorporation introduced greater autonomy and gave colleges freedom to compete in the marketplace, it also "*laid the foundations for even greater central control of FE via market and managerial forces*" (Gleeson 2001:182). Prior to Incorporation, FE managers and teaching staff based their relationship on mutual trust and a shared understanding of their professional roles. Teachers were regarded as 'experts' working together with professional autonomy and control over course content, teaching methods and assessment strategies. Post Incorporation, professional autonomy, discretion and accountability to peers was replaced by systems of performance management and surveillance.

Central to Lipsky's (1969) theory is the concept of discretion in professional practice – he argues that managers use discretion in policy implementation as they seek control of the workforce in the interests of the organisation. Evans (2009:3) challenges Lipsky's (1969) view and argues that the theory of street-level bureaucracy does not recognise the influence of professionalism within particular welfare bureaucracies. Evans and Harris (2004) offer a different interpretation of discretion; they argue that proliferation of bureaucratic regulations should not

automatically be equated with greater control over professional discretion and that discretion is neither a good or bad thing - in some circumstances discretion maybe an important attribute while in others it may not. Evans and Harris (2004:871) believe discretion should be regarded as:

> *"a series of gradations of freedom to make decisions and therefore the degree of freedom professionals have at specific conjunctures should be evaluated on a situation-by-situation basis".*

In their study of FE, 'Transforming Learning Cultures' (TLC), James and Biesta (2007) included nineteen learning sites in four FE colleges between 2001 and 2005. Findings from the TLC project showed that FE practitioners were disillusioned with their working conditions especially through pay and a lack of recognition of their expertise. The study also found that tutors had a strong commitment to teaching and learning and attending to students' needs but they complained about reduced autonomy through the impact of performance management and believed there to be a decline in resources (James and Gleeson 2007:130). Working with data from the TLC project, Hodkinson et al. (2007:403) found that tutors were:

> "*pivotal in mediating the various forces in the field - many prioritized students' needs, often working against the system to maximise student achievement"*.

Wallace and Hoyle (2005:12) argue that research shows that staff respond differently to the impact of reforms on their professional practice, these responses can by categorised as compliance, non-compliance or mediation. Compliance connotes that reforms have been accepted willingly either because staff believe in

the objectives of the reform or because they were reluctant to object. Findings from Shain and Gleeson (1999:455) show that recently appointed lecturers were more flexible in engaging with the new enterprise culture, for example, job security and not wanting to 'rock the boat' were key drivers in this strategy of compliance. Non-compliance, on the other hand, suggests staff ignored the changes being implemented or they overtly resisted them.

Mediation is this context describes a staff response to reform which is positioned between compliance and non-compliance. Staff often adapt their working practices and endeavour to work round particular reforms; a process described by Wallace and Hoyle (2005:12) as acts of 'principled infidelity' – principled in that staff want to sustain their professional values and infidelity follows from not fully adhering to the policy-makers expectations. Mediators prioritise the interests of other staff and students and in so doing may lessen the negative consequences of reforms. Shain and Gleeson (1999:456) found that there was a growing culture of collaboration, of what they describe as 'strategic compliers' – staff who identified more with their sector than with the 'competitive framework' within which they worked. Drawing on Bourdieu's social theory, James et al. (2007:122) define their use of the term 'mediation' as

> "*the individual's authentic agency and the structures (like language and social class) that enmesh individual persons and which they constantly enact*"

For example, a tutor gives a high mark to a student's piece of work, a decision which is personal and professional - the tutor is at the same time reproducing something "*more 'structural' such as the interpretations of criteria or standards"*

(James et al. 2007:123). In their study of FE, Gleeson and Shain (1999:462) describe middle managers as 'ideological buffers' as they operate between senior managers and teaching staff in the translation of policy into practice – they found that the majority of middle managers interviewed were 'strategically compliant' as they reconciled and negotiated professional and managerial interests; while others did not identify with the new corporate image of their institution and kept a 'professional distance' from senior management in order to retain their credibility with their staff.

According to Hodkinson et al. (2007:403) there are two key pressures impacting on the FE learning culture – the first is inadequate funding which can fluctuate year by year thereby creating pressure to increase income and reduce cost; secondly there is a 'deep technicism' that was central to policy and management approaches resulting in a view that "*teaching was seen as a matter of developing better techniques and applying them".* Learning in FE, according to Hodkinson et al. (2007:403) depends on the tutors in *"ways that often make unreasonable demands, are rarely recognised and supported in the system, and often are seriously undermined*". Wallace and Hoyle (2005) argue that effective leadership and management of the education profession requires a 'shift of direction' from reforms designed to literally 'reform' to more temperate government policies which would be less ambitious in the pursuit of government agendas and more focused on improving students education.

2.6 Summary

This chapter presented the theoretical framework underpinning this study and began with an overview of Beck's (1992) 'risk society' thesis and Foucault's (1977, 1994) concept of the 'disciplinary society' and justified their significance to the study of 'at-risk' students. The key components of globalisation and neo-liberalism were discussed as a backdrop to the UK governments' implementation of public sector reforms. Accounting processes and systematic auditing, where surveillance is 'designed in' to everyday events (Rose 1999), showed how the FE sector is highly regulated. The chapter concluded by drawing on Lipsky's (1969) theory of street-level bureaucracy to aid understanding of the practices of 'compliance' and 'mediation' (James et al. 2007) in FE as teachers work within the constraints of insufficient resources and job insecurity - issues connected to policy implementation and developed further in Chapter 3, section 3.3.

3 Policy and practice

"*This country will succeed or fail on the basis of how it changes itself and gears up to this new economy, based on knowledge. Education is now the centre of economic policymaking for the future*" (Tony Blair, November 2005:6).

3.1 Introduction

This chapter argues that the effects of policy implementation and the generation of risk knowledge has politicised the provision of pastoral care in FE. This chapter presents the political and policy context in which personal tutors respond to, mediate and act upon changes which impact on their professional practice. The wider FE policy context is described as a '*changing landscape'* with on-going *'policy busyness'* (Fletcher and Perry 2008:4) which subjects the FE sector to constant change in terms of funding, curriculum and pastoral care. Laws and Fiedler (2012:1) argue that the 'funding mechanism' has changed the relationship between the student and the academic, from 'apprentice-master' to a model of 'consumer-provider'.

This chapter has four sections. The first section presents an overview of the political context and interprets New Labour policy reforms (1997-2010) to education as a process of marketization. When New Labour came to power in 1997, welfare reform was a priority and they argued that new policies were needed to cope with poverty and inequality as well as improvements to health and education.

The second section considers what Ainley and Bailey (1997:25) describe as 'the catalogue of change unleashed upon colleges'. It begins by focusing on two key policy changes which have reworked the professional practices of the FE teacher/lecturer and repositioned them as 'facilitator', 'knowledge worker', 'assessor' and 'manager'.

The third section considers key policy changes which have embedded systems of performance management, compliance and accountability into systems of pastoral care and these are:

- Education and Inspection Act (2006)
- Framework for Excellence (2008)
- Common Inspection Framework (2009)
- Education Bill (2011)

This section also considers two key policy changes that inform professional practice in the delivery of pastoral care and these are:

- Education Reform Act (1988)
- Children Act (2004)

This section concludes by considering the impact of the government's counter-terrorism strategy, 'CONTEST' (discussed in 3.4.2.) on FE colleges. In February 2008, the government launched a public consultation on the role of FE providers in "*promoting community cohesion, fostering shared values and preventing violent extremism*" (DIUS 2009:9) – an initiative which later found its way onto the pastoral curriculum and resulted in the positioning of personal tutors in the role of 'security policing' (Shain 2013) through the acquisition of risk knowledge.

The fourth section examines the role of policy levers, defined by Spours et al. (2007:195) as *"instruments of governance"* used to "*regulate institutional performance*" and argues that pastoral care is a 'hidden' policy lever.

The fifth section provides an overview of youth policy including the government's response to youth unemployment through the introduction of the Youth Contract. The section also includes an overview of the wider social and political landscape young people negotiate as they 'transit' from school to college to employment.

3.2 The political context

It has been a central aim of successive governments (New Labour 1997, Coalition 2010) that funding for education and training should be directed towards improving the nation's ability to compete in a global economy through a highly skilled workforce which in turn will improve economic outcomes and social mobility. Speaking in 2008, Bill Rammell MP, the then Minister of State for Innovation, Universities and Skills said

> "*our goal is to create an FE sector that gives people the chance to develop world-class skills, to help overcome disadvantage and achieve economic well-being – an FE sector that provides the nation with a skills base fully able to meet the challenges of a changing global economy*".

Improving the nation's economic and social regeneration through education and training within a framework of widening participation and social inclusion were

main items on the New Labour agenda. Tony Blair (1997) argued that his government would change society's dependency on welfare and bring the unemployed, 'the workless and excluded underclass' back into society and into work through initiatives that would be achieved through 'labour market attachment' and the regeneration of marginalised groups and communities. New Labour's policy began to focus on market commodification, consumer choice and competition and public accountability to justify value for money. Jessop (2010) argues that unemployment was no longer due to a lack of jobs but due to a short-fall in job readiness therefore policies were designed to improve the economic performance of the UK through the development of the skills base of the workforce and tackle problems of social disadvantage and economic deprivation.

New Labour's education policy was dominated by neo-liberalism in its promotion of the business ethic, managerial efficiency, privatisation and the market system (Day 2010). Investment in education was justified on the grounds that it would lead to increases in efficiencies. There was increased use of league tables, increased regulation and control of the curriculum, together with enhanced inspection and greater control of teacher training. In FE the marketization of the sector has transformed college structures into independent businesses competing in the 'micro' market (Kilmister 2010) for their customers, for their students. New Labour's approach to FE created the simultaneous promotion of both competition and collaboration as colleges compete with each other for government funding but at the same time are required by government and its agents to collaborate (Spours et al. 2007). For example, Buttercup college engages with its local partners in terms of sharing best practice for the safeguarding of young people, while at other

times, these local partners are in direct competition with the college for the recruitment of new students. Speaking in Sedgefield (2005, April), Tony Blair said that for New Labour "*education is the best economic policy"* and *"education is the best social policy",* however, as Jessop (2010) warns neo-liberal economics can also dismantle many of the structures that limit and regulate the operation of the market.

Since the late 1970s, UK political and institutional reforms have reshaped the ideals of the welfare state - a system where common risks were pooled and redistributed via systems such as health care, welfare benefits, state pensions and unemployment benefits, to a situation where collective responsibility is now reframed as an individual one (Kemshall 2006:60). As institutions of the welfare state disengaged from the containment of social and economic risks, individuals have been encouraged to take responsibility for themselves and conform to the model of the 'prudential citizen' (Franklin 2006:151). This approach has benefited those individuals who have the political and economic resources to make the best choices for themselves, for example, in terms of education and health, but for those less well-off this approach creates inequalities and barriers to participation. New Labour policy on education began to include emotional well-being as a policy concern, culminating in the Children Act (2004) which introduced a legal framework to support local authority agencies and their partners, such as schools and colleges, in the protection and safeguarding of children, young people and vulnerable adults.

At the launch of Labour's re-election campaign, Tony Blair (2005) defended his government's investment in education saying:

> "*a good education system, developing the talents of every pupil, is one built around parent preferences and meeting those individual requirements school by school. Public services need to be responsive to what the user - the parent, the patient, the law-abiding citizen - wants and needs. Our whole investment and forward reform programme is aimed at this goal*". (The Guardian Newspaper 2005).

Speaking at a Royal Society of Arts conference, Michael Gove MP (2009:2) explained that the 'renaming' of the old education department was *"no idle exercise"* but reflected a philosophical shift in how Government sees its role;

> "*we no longer have a single department of state charged with encouraging learning, supporting teaching and valuing education, instead we have one department which manages schools – and sees them as instruments to advance central government's social agenda*".

Gove (2009) places a responsibility on educational institutions to not only deliver the curriculum but to also take responsibility for enacting social change and as such constructs teachers as 'instruments' of social responsibility. While traditional Labour governments have been associated with reforming and developing the welfare state to protect people in times of difficulty, New Labour policy focused on reductions in public funding, frequent education reforms and increased competition for students resulting in a loss of academic freedom and increases in workload for lecturers and managers in FE colleges. Frequent education reforms and changes in associated funding have introduced high levels of responsibility and accountability which has transformed lecturers into 'managers' and students into

‘customers’. According to Keep (2006), cited in Thompson (2009:37), FE is “*the most highly regulated and centrally directed education system in the world”*.

In May 2010, a new government was elected, a coalition arrangement between the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats. A key stated policy aim of the coalition is the reduction of the UK budget deficit together with widespread reform of the public sector. Coalition policies have, according to Avis (2010:4) resulted in “*more of the same*”. The sustainability of the modern welfare state is brought into question (Dean 2007) with the social protectionist ethic giving way to an ethic of self-responsibility (Rose 1999). In the welfare state, citizens not only enjoyed civil and political rights but also social entitlement rights. The economic argument is that the welfare sector is unproductive and parasitic of market capitalism, freedom and regulation (Muncie 2006). Old forms of governance are giving way, to what Rose (1999:141) describes as ‘advanced liberalism’ where subjects are constituted as consumers whose capacity for long-term self-sufficiency and responsible self-management is to be promoted, enabled and regulated. Rose (1999:141) argues that all aspects of social behaviour are now *“reconceptualised along economic lines – as calculative actions undertaken through the universal human faculty of choice*”.

3.3 Policy and the reworking of professional practice

This section demonstrates how the introduction of National Vocational Qualifications (NVQs) in 1986; the removal of FE colleges from the control of the LEA (1992) and the introduction of new forms of ‘managerialism’ and regimes of

accountability have impacted on the professional practices of teachers and managers in FE. Most FE colleges have developed from institutions that originally were sponsored by middle class employers and philanthropists for the education and training of those employed in craft occupations where the curriculum was determined by examination boards dominated by employers. In this context, the teacher was a subject/trade specialist appointed to deliver centrally determined syllabi creating, what Colley et al. (2007:45) describe as a 'high synergy between the purposes and the pedagogy'. Craig and Fieschi (2007:2) define teacher professionalism as

> "*a set of collectively held norms that regulate the teaching profession according to values and practices that are embedded in the experience of shared professional goals and relationships*".

Ainley (1998:559) argues that at the beginning of the 1990s the Conservative government proposed turning Britain into a 'learning society', a concept he defines as one which:

> *"systematically increases the skills and knowledge of all its members to exploit technological innovation and so gain a competitive edge for their services in fast-changing global markets*"

In a competitive global economy employers demand workers who are able to adapt flexibly to new technological demands and willing to acquire new skills throughout their working life. FE is charged with up-skilling the workforce and generating economic renewal while, at the same time, providing the solutions to a host of social problems especially those concerning young people. In the 'learning society' individuals invest in their own human capital through education and training and frequently retrain and reskill throughout their working life (Ainley

1998). Individuals embark on a process of 'lifelong learning' where life becomes, as Rose (1999:161) describes, 'a continuous economic capitalisation of the self'.

In 1986 a national framework for NVQs were introduced into FE. NVQs were competence-based units drawn up by employers and industry Lead Bodies for various occupational areas, such as Business Administration and Construction. Private training providers were able to bid for funding to offer NVQs which put them in direct competition with FE colleges. With the introduction of NVQs, teachers had to complete their own competence awards to become 'Assessors' and in so doing reposition themselves in a new role of 'trainer/assessor'. The NVQ curriculum was restrictive in that there was no syllabus; only the performance criteria had to be achieved by students who had the option to keep practicing the 'skill' until they were proficient. In this context, Randle and Brady (1997) argue that this shift in professional practice has created a conflict between the 'professional paradigm', where lecturers are seen as 'funds of expertise' and the 'managerial paradigm' where they are regarded as 'flexible facilitators and assessors'.

The framework of Incorporation (1992) was laid down in the 1988 Educational Reform Act (ERA) which began the process of removing FE colleges from the control of the LEAs by delegating financial and managerial control to governing bodies of colleges – a process which positioned the FE curriculum in the market place. College Principals were now appointed as Chief Executives and accountable to a new governing body made up of employers and local community representatives. Principals became responsible for their own budgets and the

employment of staff. Most colleges had to restructure their management and teaching teams and appoint more specialist staff for areas such as finance and data management (Ainley and Bailey 1997). A new funding authority was established through the creation of the Further Education Funding Council (FEFC) – a centralised organisation with staff placed at both regional and national level. The FEFC introduced a national formula and a common level of funding for all colleges while at the same time specifying the curriculum that it would fund. The FEFC also assumed responsibility for the strategic control and inspection of colleges based on the principle of 'more for less' where funds can be 'clawed back' if colleges fail to meet targets (Shain and Gleeson 1999).

Prior to Incorporation (1992) colleges received funding from their local LEA and the employment of teachers was regarded as favourable through what was known as the 'Silver Book' contract of employment. In 1993, new contracts of employment were introduced which resulted in longer working weeks, no limit on teaching hours and shorter annual holidays (Ainley and Bailey 1997). Existing teachers were offered financial inducements to sign the new contracts, however many were critical of the new reforms to FE and expressed their resistance by not abandoning the 'Silver Book' agreement and reiterating their commitment to their sense of professional autonomy (Shain 1999). In some colleges, staff were threatened with dismissal if they did not sign; while others found that while they were allowed to remain on the 'Silver Book' they were denied any further pay increases; a situation which caused tensions between staff who transferred onto the new contracts and those who did not. Gray (2007) argues that the loss of autonomy and increased workloads has turned teachers into 'semi-professionals'.

Industrial action and restructuring were common as colleges adjusted to their new found position in the marketplace. FE colleges had to strive for continued increases in 'productivity' and greater 'cost efficiencies' and in so doing give greater emphasis to the needs of employers – resulting in systems which were justified as a means of cutting costs while simultaneously raising standards. Therefore the everyday language of the business world has come to permeate all areas of education including FE, as Alexiadou (2001:427) explains:

> "*Teachers are seen as production workers, 'raw material', or part of the 'machinery' of the institution and their contribution is evaluated along these terms with students perceived as the 'products' of teacher's work or the customers that the products have to be sold to*".

FE lecturers respond to and mediate policy changes and, in the context of economic growth, assume a responsibility to ensure that students are ready for waged labour and are sufficiently skilled to meet the needs of employers. Rikowski (2001) writing on the significance of education to a capitalist society, argues that

> "*an educated worker in today's paradigm is a worker who is able to adapt – who is able to take one job one day and another job the next day - who is engaged in life-long learning on a continuous process, which means updating their skills to suit the market".* (Rikowski 2001 cited in Beckmann and Cooper 2004:150).

According to Ainley and Bailey (1997:57) the role of some FE teachers had changed from "*being a teacher and doing some management to being a manager and doing some teaching*" as colleges began to increase the size of their middle

management team to drive the internal achievement of FEFC targets. Gleeson (2001) argues that the majority of senior managers in his study of five FE colleges had been appointed following major restructuring and early retirements with most appointments being made in the departments of marketing, personnel, estates and finance. New and existing FE managers were tasked with "*interpreting shifting national policy agendas at college level and making these meaningful to staff on the ground*" (Gleeson 2001:183). FE middle managers 'inhabit two worlds' (Ainley and Bailey 1997) as they work on behalf of senior managers to implement policy changes while at the same time they control, manage and mediate with the teaching staff, or they act, as Shain (1999) describes as a 'buffer' between the state and FE teachers. In FE middle managers also act as 'objects of calculations' as they monitor teacher performance while at the same time they also act as 'relays of calculations' (Rose 1999:152) as they evaluate and account for their own performance. Middle managers are made more governable, from the top downward, as they too are caught up in the 'conduct of conduct' (Foucault 1994).

The FEFC also introduced a requirement for colleges to 'self-assess' their performance on a yearly basis; a strategy which supported the implementation of robust performance management systems in colleges. Beckmann and Cooper (2004:149) argue that practices introduced in the name of quality assurance were having a profound effect on students and teachers, for example,

> *"we are seeing the increasing production of uncritical thinkers, compliant to the needs of the market, and in the case of teachers and lecturers the increasing deprofessionalisation of the education system*".

Randle and Brady (1997:236) argue that performance surveillance destroys trust and leads to those aspects of work which are not visible and measurable becoming undervalued. The loss of control of student management and the assessment of performance by external agencies has Randle and Brady (1997:234) argue confirmed that *"the de-professionalization of the lecturer is the outcome of government strategy*" and this is reflective of the process of de-skilling that Braverman (1974) asserted craft labour has undergone during the past decade.

After 'Incorporation' there was greater pressure on FE lecturers to be more accountable in terms of student recruitment, retention and success. As financial pressures increased, many colleges began to increase their involvement in commercial activities and franchising resulting in several investigations being carried out by the funding authority. Between 1993 and 1997 more than 50% of colleges were in financial difficulty (Gleeson 2001:182). Colley et al. (2007:47) argues that in FE "*pedagogy is implicitly dependent on the wider purposes that FE is supposed to serve*" and as such strategies to improve teaching and learning are invoked as the solution to a range of external problems. According to Hodkinson et al. (2007:29) learning is understood as practical and embodied and not simply as mental; learning is done with others and as such should be understood as a thoroughly social process. James and Gleeson (2007:127) argue that contrary to "*managerialist tendencies, professionality has to be understood as a fundamental feature of a learning culture*". In the context of FE, regimes of accountability and control have taken priority over pedagogical practices and have impacted on both teachers and managers.

3.4 Policy and the pastoral framework

This section focuses on key policies which have impacted on the work of personal tutors. It discusses the implications of: the Education and Inspection Act (2006), the Framework for Excellence (2008), the Common Inspection Framework (2009) and the Education Bill (2011). Collectively these policies focus on compliance and accountability and have impacted on the structure of FE colleges and on the work of personal tutors. The Education Reform Act (1988), the Children Act (2004) and the government's Prevent Strategy (2010) are linked directly to the delivery of pastoral care in FE and are concerned with the themes of 'care' and 'control'.

3.4.1 Compliance and accountability

The Education and Inspections Act (2006) outlines a new strategic role for local authorities responsible for promoting choice, diversity, high standards and, for the first time, the fulfilment of every child's educational potential. The Act (2006) also gives local authorities responsibility for the delivery of the objectives of the Government's White Paper (2005), *'Youth Matters'*, which focuses on those aged 13-19 to follow a curriculum which motivates and engages them, preparing them for life and work. Central to these curriculum reforms was the introduction of 14 specialised diplomas, with access and entitlement being opened up for every young person. The diplomas were to be developed through local partnerships led by employers and higher education (HE) to provide progression pathways for those who want to continue to either employment or university. Coffield (2006:11)

questions the repeated attempts by different governments to give employers a leading role over both the curriculum and the national strategy for skills as *"one long story of spurned advances*". Ruth Kelly, (2005), the then Secretary of State, underlined her determination to:

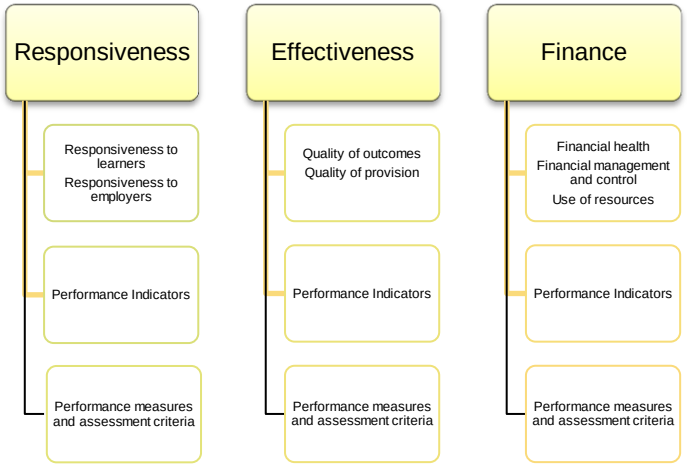
> "*put employers in the driving seat, so that they will have a key role in determining what the 'lines of learning' should be and in deciding in detail what the Diplomas should contain*" (DfES, 2005a:45, cited in Coffield 2006:11).

By September 2008, new diplomas in five subject areas were available in selected schools and colleges. This new qualification for 14-19 year olds was offered as an alternative to GCSEs and A Levels. The diplomas were designed to increase the choices available to young people and will enable them to gain more practical, hands-on experience which will be more beneficial to employers. Buttercup college engaged with local partners in the delivery of engineering diplomas on a pilot basis. The provision of pastoral care was problematic due to the flexible nature of the curriculum and the involvement of different stakeholders, many of whom did not have the specialist knowledge required to support students with a range of diverse individual needs.

The introduction in 2008 of the Framework for Excellence created a curriculum and political shift which impacted on the internal structure of most colleges. Buttercup College had to restructure its vocational curriculum into two main strands; courses that were 'learner responsive', and those that were 'employer responsive'. The third dimension of the framework focused on the 'effectiveness

and financial health' of the college and, as such, brought under scrutiny all areas that support students to achieve including pastoral care. The following table highlights the three strands:

TABLE 1 FRAMEWORK FOR EXCELLENCE



(LSC 2008)

The Framework for Excellence is a tool of governance and is used by colleges and other providers of post compulsory education to assess and improve their performance. Reporting and accountability procedures require colleges to produce an annual self-assessment review benchmarked against pre-defined performance criteria, a copy of which must be forwarded to Ofsted.

The introduction of the Framework for Excellence (2008) had a major impact on the provision of pastoral care in Buttercup college as senior management aligned the targeting of 'underperformance' and the 'management of performance risk' with the responsibilities of pastoral managers. Senior managers began to focus on all aspects of tutorial and guidance to ensure that maximum data levels were reached in terms of student retention and success. Personal tutors were allocated targets for student attendance, retention and achievement while all subject tutors in each curriculum area were set individual targets for their respective subjects.

According to the Principal of Buttercup college (2009), the role and function of personal tutors is ‘the glue’ that binds the curriculum and the well-being of students together and therefore ensures the financial success of the college. Systems of rewards and punishment frame this target culture where personal tutors are positioned as subjects of economic and judicial forms of power (Foucault 1994). Tutors who reach their targets are rewarded through systems of internal recognition while those who fail are held accountable and often subject to sanctions and additional professional training.

The Common Inspection Framework (CIF) for FE and Skills, (2009) – known as the ‘common inspection framework’ - was devised by Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector in line with the Education and Inspection Act 2006 to outline the common evaluation statements and information on the judgements which inform all Ofsted inspections from September 2009. This common evaluation schedule sets out the structure of an Ofsted inspection and identifies the key areas of compliance and accountability against which judgements on the college performance will be made. This common inspection framework applies to the inspection of provision provided largely by FE colleges, sixth-form colleges, independent specialist colleges, local authorities, employers, independent learning providers and not-for-profit organisations. In all Ofsted inspections, a common grading system is used: Grade 1, Outstanding; Grade 2, Good; Grade 3, Satisfactory; and Grade 4, Inadequate. FE colleges and other educational training institutions which are judged to be ‘inadequate’ are placed in special measures and may have their curriculum provision withdrawn with corresponding financial losses. The governance of FE is therefore regulated and controlled through the auditing mechanisms of Ofsted and

the EFA. In Buttercup college frequent systematic auditing carried out through a structure of power relations has created an ‘economy’ (Foucault 1994) where the personal tutors knowledge work is structured, guided and rationalised to achieve the best possible inspection outcome.

In January 2011, the Education Bill (DfE 2011) was introduced in the House of Commons to take forward the legislative proposals in the Schools’ White Paper, together with recommendations to improve skills from the Department for Innovation, Universities and Skills (DIUS). The government believes that “*the best school systems in the world are characterised by strong accountability”* and this Bill (2011) promised to “*free ‘outstanding’ schools and colleges from routine inspection”,* Department of Education (DfE), (2011). The performance indicators of the CIF were reformed by Ofsted in 2011. The previous 27 separate judgements, made by Ofsted, will be reduced down to 4 key areas; pupil achievement; teaching; leadership and management; and behaviour and safety (DfE 2011). The focus on behaviour and safety has direct consequences for pastoral care in FE colleges, for example, pastoral care programmes already include the monitoring of student behaviour on campus; this will now be extended to include evidence that students have received guidance on how to stay safe not only on campus but in their personal lives.

3.4.2 Care and control

This section argues that pastoral care, from a policy perspective, can be interpreted as both ‘care’ and ‘control’. Policies of care (The 1988 Education

Reform Act and the Children Act 2004) are juxtapositioned alongside policy to manage student behaviour (Education and Inspection Act 2006) and the government's 'Prevent' strategy, applied to educational institutions to "*ensure that staff and students are aware of their roles in preventing violent extremism*" (DIUS 2009:4).

The 1988 Education Reform Act set the foundations for the delivery of a pastoral curriculum, designed for schools but adopted by FE colleges, to promote the spiritual, moral, social and cultural development of all students. The Act (1988) was grounded in a political ideology of the free market, unlike the previous Education Act (1944) where the emphasis was on the personal, not on market forces, and where the State positioned itself in the role of *loco parentis*. In response to the 1988 Act, the pastoral curriculum began to include such topics as different beliefs, cultures, values, rights and responsibilities, discrimination, relationships and emotional well-being. Following the 1988 Education Reform Act, teachers in schools and colleges were held increasingly more accountable to the Government but with less autonomy over their roles. Previously, teachers had a professional obligation to society and were recognised as experts in their field. Their position now shifted to one where the 'expertise' was about controlling the systems that administer education via the state.

The Children Act 2004 provided a legislative spine for developing more effective and accessible services focused on the needs of children, young people and families; a national framework to "*maximise opportunity and minimise risk*" (DCSF 2009:3). Well-being is defined (Children Act 2004) as

> "*the promotion of physical and mental health; emotional well-being; social and economic well-being; education; training and recreation; recognition of the contribution made by children to society; and protection from harm and neglect"*. (cited in Ofsted 2013:9).

The Children Act (2004) created partnerships between local authority agencies, schools and colleges in the protection and safeguarding of children, young people and vulnerable adults. The Act was the culmination of responses to a number of tragic cases of child deaths due to abuse, such as that of Victoria Climbié, in which local support agencies were accused of failing to intervene early enough to prevent such a tragedy. The Act (2004) calls for education, health and social care professionals to work together to share information, break down barriers and create effective working partnerships; creating a community of '*bio-power'* (Foucault 1994) to maximise the health and welfare of 'a population' - to prevent children falling between the services of different agencies. Levitt et al. (2008) highlights that such multi-agency arrangements pose a number of challenges to those responsible for regulating professionals as they introduce interdisciplinary and cross-boundary characteristics to services that were once contained within separate professional groups. The Children Act (2004) *"enshrines in law a definition of children's well-being and we know that definition in shorthand as the five ECM outcomes"* (Crow 2007:45) which schools and colleges are charged with implementing.

The Children Act (2004) also imposes a duty of care on specified agencies to ensure their functions are discharged having regard to the need to safeguard and promote the welfare of children; for example, where children and vulnerable adults

are patients or offenders. The 2004 Act also requires local authorities to establish and operate a database of information about all children and young people who were being supported by various professional agencies creating what Rose (1999:260) describes as 'circuits of surveillance and communication' designed to "*minimise the riskiness of the most risky*". The introduction of 'Working Together to Safeguard Children' (2006) created a formal structure between the local authority and its many agencies, including FE colleges, to work together and share information in the protection of children, young people and vulnerable adults. Crow (2007:45) argues that there is now an "*overarching emphasis on well-being as a principle priority in policy and services for children including the functions of education and schools*".

In light of the aforementioned legislation (Children Act, 2004 and ECM 2003), teachers, lecturers, personal tutors and pastoral managers are required to be sensitive to the personal, social, emotional and/or behavioural problems of their students. In FE, personal tutors have to embrace these new requirements through carrying out 'preventative work' and delivering a more cohesive pastoral curriculum to raise awareness of any behaviour that threatens the safety of young people. In the majority of colleges, the ECM agenda was embedded originally in existing systems of tutorial and guidance. Over the past few years, the ECM agenda has gained momentum and is now the main focus of all group tutorials as colleges demonstrate compliance with government policy. The impact of ECM on personal tutors and pastoral managers has been significant within the current framework of performance management, compliance and accountability. Ofsted has informed all post-compulsory providers that its judgement of an organisation's

quality will be influenced by the evidence available to support the delivery of the ECM agenda.

> "*Any limiting grades are considered before the overall effectiveness judgement is made. Limiting grades relate to safeguarding, and equality and diversity as these are considered to be essential in assuring the quality of the development and well-being of young people and adults. The grades for these two aspects may therefore limit other grades, including the grade for overall effectiveness*" Ofsted (2009:2).

The Education and Inspections Act (2006) requires schools to adopt a behaviour policy which will give staff in charge of pupils the power to discipline inappropriate behaviour or for not following instructions. This guidance and the provisions around the use of force to restrain violent students is also extended to FE institutions. In Buttercup college the responsibility for dealing with and reporting on the behaviour and safety of students is delegated downward from pastoral managers to personal tutors. The focus on student behaviour was revisited with the publication of *The Importance of Teaching*: *Schools White Paper* (2010) when the government promised to focus Ofsted inspections more strongly on behaviour and safety and to:

> "*restore the authority of teachers with zero tolerance on bullying, clear boundaries, good pastoral care and early interventions to address problems*" (DfE 2010:25).

While the government acknowledged that teaching standards have improved in recent decades, it believes that "*what is needed is decisive action to free our teachers from constraint and improve their professional status and authority"* (DfE

2010:8). The White Paper also highlights the need to retain high levels of accountability and in terms of pastoral care, it

> "*recognises that schools have always had good pastoral systems and understand well the connections between pupils' physical and mental health, their safety, and their educational achievement and that they are well placed to make sure additional support is offered to those who need it*" (DfE 2010:9).

Given that a similar model of pastoral care exists in FE, it is ironic that the funding of pastoral care which is known as 'entitlement funding' (EFA) has been reduced from 114 to 30 funded hours from September 2011. Entitlement funding, applicable to full time students aged 16-19, is intended to fund activities which support student success on their chosen programmes of study and progression onto university or into employment but do not in themselves lead to additional qualifications. Most colleges use entitlement funding to provide a combination of tutorials, guidance, study skills, one-to-one support and enrichment activities such as sport, relevant work experience and visits to exhibitions. Marion Plant, Principal of North Warwickshire and Hinckley College, speaking to The Guardian (Mourant 2011), fears her college faces losing £1.3m in entitlement funding over the next year. The impact of this massive cut in entitlement funding for the academic year 2011/2012 could result in further restructuring within some colleges and could lead to job losses within the sector. Due to the timescale, it is outside the scope of this study to evaluate the impact of this reduction in entitlement funding.

In 2006, the government identified terrorism as one of the highest risks to the UK with the publication of its counter-terrorism strategy, known as 'CONTEST'. Public opinion was growing increasingly concerned with the possibility of terrorist attacks particularly since the 2001 bombings in the US and the London bombings in 2005 where three of the bombers were found to be British born. Shain (2013) argues that since the 2005 bombings, Muslims have been subject to intense scrutiny particularly young Muslim men who came to be identified as the 'enemy within'. A key objective of the government's counter-terrorism strategy was to 'work with sectors and institutions (including FE colleges) where there are risks of radicalisation that need to be addressed' (DIUS 2009:4). The 'CONTEST' strategy (2009) is divided into four elements of operation as follows:

1. Pursue – this strand is focused on disrupting terrorists and their operations;
2. Protect – this strand is focused on reducing the vulnerability of the UK and UK interests overseas;
3. Prepare – a strand focused with ensuring that the UK is as ready as it can be for the consequences of a terrorist attack;
4. Prevent – focused on stopping people becoming or supporting terrorists or violent extremism.

The 'Prevent' element focused on all educational institutions including Buttercup college. David Lammy (2009), the Minister of State for Higher Education and Intellectual Property, writing on the role of FE colleges in preventing violent extremism, highlighted that while the core role of FE is to "*develop the talent and innovation capacity of this country"* their role must also "*extend beyond the purely*

vocational and include the ability to engage with the social challenges our society faces" (DIUS 2009:3).

In February 2009, the DIUS published, in conjunction with the Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF) and the Association of Colleges (AOC), two documents specifically for the FE sector but based on similar ones produced for schools. The '*Colleges: Learning together to be safe*' (2009) and '*The Role of Further Education Colleges in Preventing Violent Extremism*: *Next Steps'* (2009) outline the role FE must play in promoting community cohesion and preventing violent extremism. The '*Next Steps'* (2009) report highlights how

> "*colleges accept the particular need to focus on Al-Qaida related activity - many colleges may have other pressing issues that they need to tackle on a daily basis - in particular dealing with knife or gang crime - colleges working in partnership with others locally will be best placed to identify and respond to the most relevant challenges"* (DIUS 2009:8).

In Buttercup college, the above documents were circulated to all pastoral managers in advance of 'training' sessions presented by the local police as the college prepared itself to act like a 'centre of observation' (Foucault 1977) in the policing of its student population and in the creation of its own 'risk arena' through risk communications and the social amplification of risk (Renn 2008). As a result of these initiatives, the personal tutor was not only responsible for managing student behaviour but now also responsible for any student whose behaviour might indicate any form of radicalisation. The practice of involving FE colleges in the maintenance of national security concurs with Rose's (1999) view that the collectivisation of risk in the social state is being displaced with an

‘individualisation of risk’ which is intensified as individuals are encouraged to take responsibility for their own property and personal security.

In the North-West, ‘Prevent’ initiatives were adopted by the local police who set up ‘Channel Panels’, comprising of representatives from statutory partners, community groups and police; for example, the Youth Offending Team (YOT), the Local Safeguarding Children Board (LSCB), National Health Service (NHS), Probation Service, Faith Groups and local educational organisations, including Buttercup college. In Buttercup college, pastoral managers are the ‘named contact’ for the local ‘Channel Panel’ whose key objective is to raise awareness and consider individuals who may be targeted for radicalisation or recruitment into terrorist organisations, and to assess the level of intervention / support required; in this context such concerns are viewed as a safeguarding issue, just as with other areas of risk such as drugs and sexual exploitation. This strategy results in the simultaneous creation of anxiety and insecurity, creating what Rose (1999:247) describes as ‘*the securitisation of habitat’* – a concept applied, in this context, not to the home but to the college campus. Securitisation of habitat is both individualising and collectivising as space is reconfigured in the name of security (Rose 1999). The nature of any ‘support’ required is usually provided by the partner agencies, for example, additional mentoring arrangements could be put in place with a view to redirecting any ‘identified’ students away from the risk of radicalisation.

In the North West, the police and a local youth theatre group have produced teaching materials, for example ‘*Not In My Name’*, a script to be used by teachers

in drama productions with young people. One justification for this drama production is that it is

> "*a response to an identified need for people from all backgrounds to be able to ask questions and speak about terrorism and extremism in an educative and productive manner*" (Lancashire Constabulary 2009:2).

All pastoral managers in Buttercup college and in other local FE colleges in the North West (2009) received a copy of '*Not In My Name'* with a request to invite the local police into college to present this workshop to full time vocational students. Buttercup college arranged a dozen such workshops which were facilitated by personal tutors, pastoral managers and the police. While it is acknowledged that such workshops raised awareness of how individual and community tensions could be dealt with in a positive manner, the workshops also raised concerns from students, many of whom were now concerned that they may be sharing a classroom with someone who could be 'radicalised'. In the context of FE, this surveillance culture positions pastoral managers and personal tutors as the 'eye of the keeper' (Foucault 1977, 1994) on behalf of the police in the surveillance of 'dangerous' young people and in the identification of perceived risks to society. The management of risk and social control, in this context, positions pastoral managers in the 'art of government' (Foucault 1994) not only in terms of their own behaviour but as Foucault (1994) argues in the 'conduct of conduct' of personal tutors and students.

Following criticism that 'Prevent' alienated rather than co-opted Muslims (Shain 2013), the Home Secretary announced a review (November 2010) and set out a number of objectives, including to -

> "*examine the role of institutions – such as prisons, higher and further education institutions, schools and mosques – in the delivery of Prevent and to consider the role of other Prevent delivery partners, including the police and other statutory bodies*" (Home Office, Prevent Strategy 2011:17).

While the percentage of people ready to support violent extremism is small, it is significantly greater among young people (Home Office 2011:12). The Home Office is responsible for co-ordinating local delivery and have appointed dedicated Prevent Co-ordinators to support this initiative. Some geographical areas have established links with existing crime reduction partnerships while other areas have set up specific 'Prevent' groups. This network is also supported by new Prevent Engagement Officers (PEOs) who connect counter-terrorism policing to neighbourhood policing and communities and who have

> "*developed community contacts and an understanding of community issues; identified Prevent-related risks; generated Prevent projects and shared information with Prevent partners to support strategic objectives*" (Prevent Strategy, Home Office 2011:99).

This approach concurs with Foucault's (1994) view that the police, as an instrument of the State, have come to take over the role of 'pasturing'; they have become the 'shepherd' to the 'flock' (Hartmann 2003).

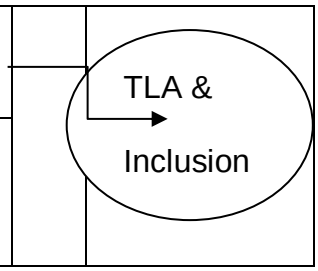
Kundnani (2009), in a review of the Prevent strategy, argues that some local authorities were pressured to accept Prevent in direct proportion to the number of Muslims in their area – constructing, he argues, the Muslim population as a 'suspect community'. Shain (2011:36) argues that since the 1960s successive

governments have characterised minority communities, such as Muslim youth, as problems to be managed and contained. Kundnani (2009:6) argues that employees of voluntary sector organisations and local authorities are increasingly required to "*act as providers of information to the police*", for example, teachers and youth workers and this has implications for professional norms of confidentiality. The 'Prevent' strategy has resulted in the direct surveillance of the student population which is reflective of Foucault's (1977) 'panopticon' where systems of social control are broken down into flexible methods of control and adapted. In Buttercup college, designated managers work with the police to develop systems and procedures for the 'reporting' of suspect individuals. The responsibility for managing the 'risk of radicalisation' has been aligned with the work of personal tutors, which re-positions them in this context as 'risk assessors'.

3.5 Pastoral care as a policy lever

This section argues that pastoral care is a policy lever. Spours et al. (2007:195) defines 'policy levers' as "*instruments of governance chosen by government to regulate institutional performance*", as shown in the next table:

TABLE 2 POLICY LEVERS

Policy Levers Targets / Funding / Inspection / National planning / Initiatives	
Other Factors Institutional planning / Local labour market and employee relations / Qualifications / Internal learning environment / and the needs of learners.	

Spours et al. (2007) *Factors influencing TLA (teaching, learning and assessment) and inclusion in eight FE sites*.

Spours et al. (2007:193, 195) argue that their research on the impact of policy on teaching, learning and assessment found that FE colleges respond to external pressures, including policy levers by 'mediating' and 'translating' policy initiatives into internal plans, systems and practices which, in turn, create difficulties as colleges attempt to:

> "*meet the needs of learners, communities and employers - to negotiate the challenges of national policy, translate policy levers and at the same time respond to local ecologies*".

Three out of the four FE principals interviewed by Spours et al. (2007:195) felt their colleges were being "*increasingly 'strait-jacketed' by the lack of funding stability and tensions within national policy and the highly directive nature of targets*". In Buttercup college, policy changes are 'translated' by senior management and cascaded downward to personal tutors for implementation.

I draw on the work of Spours et al. (2007) to support my argument that systems of pastoral care can be interpreted as a 'policy lever'. National policy levers, such as funding and inspection do not act in isolation but work together through the use of 'calculable practices' and target setting to create an accountability relationship with each other. The needs of learners tend to fluctuate creating and recreating different scenarios of well-being at different times of the academic year. According to Spours et al. (2007:199) findings showed that learners with "*multiple interacting disadvantages affected attendance, punctuality and behaviour in ways that made learner aspirations difficult to achieve"*; they concluded that policy levers contribute to mounting 'transaction costs', that is, the cost of the time, energy and resources that staff devote to meeting the requirements of the accountability systems. In

Buttercup college, pastoral care is the intersection of discourses of care and performativity (the instruments of governance) and the work of the personal tutor is regulated through the accountability systems of performance management and the appraisal of professional practice, therefore, this study concluded that programmes of pastoral care can also be defined as 'policy levers'.

3.6 Youth in transition

This section provides an overview of youth policy set against the wider social context of increasing levels of youth unemployment and government reductions in funding for young peoples' services. Young people are labelled by their deficits and portrayed in a polarised way, either as good or bad, or as vulnerable and dangerous citizens (Kelly 2003, Stephen and Squires 2004). According to the journalist, Poly Toynbee, speaking at a fringe meeting of the 2011 Labour conference, the government's reduction of family intervention projects and benefits will result in "*the social deficit being created will be infinitely worse than the economic deficit, it will last from generation to generation*" (cited in Puffett 2011). France (2007:18) argues that during the 1980s youth unemployment began to be seen as a result of "*overindulgence by the state in protecting the young worker and the dependency culture created by the benefits system*". Young people, especially those living in disadvantaged areas, with special needs who were either disaffected, truanting or excluded from school were regarded as being most 'at risk' of future social exclusion. New Labour (1997) propagated that risk factors were related to individual failings and in turn individual failings were due to poor parenting, bad influences from peers, lack of respect, and with no interest in

education; thereby reconstructing youth as ‘less than good citizens’ and ‘the problem’. Stephen and Squires (2004:352) argue that this fixation on danger and risk serves to reinforce, rather than redress, processes of marginalisation and constructs youth as ‘dangerous others’ contributing to the view that ‘young people have become the universal symbol of disorder’.

The individualisation and responsibilisation, of young people in particular, is achieved through strong victim-blaming components which justify greater surveillance, intervention and regulation; constructing those on benefit as active agents in their own self-regulation and self-construction (Dean 2007). As these new reforms move further away from the basic social security entitlement that characterized earlier welfare ideals and towards a more disciplined and contractual arrangement (Barker and Lamble 2009:321) they align with Foucault’s (1977:217) view that -

> *“our society is not of spectacle but of surveillance; under the surface of images one invests bodies in depth; behind the great abstraction of exchange there lies the anchorages of power”.*

The introduction of the New Deal for Young People (NDYP 1998), renamed Flexible New Deal in 2009, was a crucial turning point in the transformation from a welfare state to a workfare state and it reflected New Labour’s thinking on the causes of and solutions to unemployment (Melrose 2012). The NDYP presented four options for young people, to enter subsidised or unsubsidised employment, work in the voluntary sector, join an environmental task force, or enter education or training. Through the NDYP structural problems of unemployment were

represented as problems with ‘worklessness’ and ‘welfare dependency’ invoking a shift from ‘passive’ to ‘active’ welfare measures which began the process of producing young people as a ‘new class of docile workers’ (Melrose 2012:4). In 1997, the then Prime Minister, Tony Blair, outlined how ‘the new welfare state must encourage work not dependency’. The foundations of the ‘welfare-to-work’ strategies can be understood on two levels; firstly the social protection of workers depends on global investment, labour and competition which in turn impacts on national markets in terms of labour force costs, workforce education and skills base and productivity; secondly shifting political moral assumptions about the responsibilities of the citizen and the rights guaranteed by the state for those, described by Rose (1999) as ‘on the social’ (in receipt of welfare payments). The Pathways to Work programme (2003) continued the government’s efforts to effect behavioural change amongst the unemployed including penalties for those who “*refuse to take up the opportunities”* offered (Brown 1997 cited in Melrose 2012:4). The 14-19 Education and Skills White Paper (2005:24) highlighted the need to “*tackle disengagement”* through the introduction of a new curriculum and qualification entitlement including 14 new employer-led diplomas; a foundation learning tier of qualifications; more functional skills, and a significant expansion of apprenticeship training.

By the late 1990s, all local authorities in the UK had been given the statutory duty to ‘prevent offending by young people’, creating a “*plurality of expertise” (*Muncie 2006:6) in the local management of young people. The establishment of a Youth Offending Team (YOT) with representatives from probation, police, health and education authorities were tasked to deliver programmes and interventions to

reduce crime rates through getting young people to recognise the consequences of their actions. Speaking in 2006, the then Prime Minister, Tony Blair emphasised the government's determination to intervene in the lives of young people who were deemed likely to be involved in criminal activity in later life. Blair (2006) believed that the state's power to intervene in the lives of dysfunctional families needed to be enhanced. The '*No More Excuses'* White Paper (1997) focused on stopping children from getting into crime through the use of a range of risk factors including psychological, family, social, economic and cultural factors (Garside 2009). The Youth Crime Action Plan (YCAP), (2008), also focused on the early identification of problems in children and young people which could lead to criminal activity in their later life, for example, temperament problems, maltreatment, low IQ of parents/child, parental conviction and low socio-economic status were some of the risk factors used to justify early intervention. Garside (2009:7) argues that while the YCAP focused only on a 'small minority of troublemakers' it failed to address the more fundamental structural factors affecting young people and that risk factors should only be used to show 'increased probability' rather than predicting future offending patterns with confidence. According to Armstrong (2004:110) risk factors research shows that as a predictive tool, risk factor analysis has limited utility and the margin for error is high with risk factors research being "*much more suited to generalizations about groups rather than predictions about individuals"*.

Coalition policies continue New Labour's reforming agenda with ever increasing levels of micro-management of welfare recipients. The government perpetuates a paradigm of prevention through identifying the risk factors behind anti-social

behaviour with a view to managing the problem with specific targeted prevention techniques. The Welfare Reform Bill (2009), introduced to support those who are out of work or employed in low-paid work, consists of a basic allowance with additional elements for children, disability, housing and caring and with a range of sanctions for non-compliance. A recent report (2012) commissioned by Acevo, the voluntary and charity groups organisation, highlights that one in five young people are not in employment, education or training resulting in an anticipated cost of £28bn by 2022. Responding to the report, David Miliband MP said "*Britain faces a youth unemployment emergency*" (Wintour 2012). According to the Office for National Statistics (ONS), in March 2013 there were 1.09 million young people (aged from 16 to 24) in the UK who were Not in Education, Employment or Training (NEET). Students who were previously NEET usually require additional support from personal tutors in terms of mentoring and emotional support to sustain their motivation to full time education.

The government's reform of the social justice system (Social Justice: transforming lives, March 2012) is focused on '*prevention'* throughout a person's life as a key strategy to reduce anti-social behaviour and improve youth employment. The government proposes that with carefully designed interventions in family life, school and youth justice systems to stop people falling off track into difficult circumstances they can prevent damaging behaviours like substance abuse and offending. A second key principle of the policy is '*a vision of a second chance society'*, where anybody should be able to access the support they need to transform their lives. While the government recognises that a growing social economy will need investment, it is drawing this investment from the private sector

with the establishment of the 'Big Society Capital' (BSC), a financial institution to support the investment made "*on the basis of positive social impact as well as financial returns"* (DWP 2012:66). The government argues that the growth of social investment could aid social cohesion by "*connecting successful financiers and businesses with difficult communities*" (DWP 2012:64); an approach which will further shift responsibility for welfare reform to the private sector and the individual claimant (Barker and Lamble 2009). The Department of Education's 'Positive for Youth' (2011) policy sets out the government's vision for how councils, charities, communities, and businesses will support those aged 13 -19. While the report condemns the use of negative images that present young people as a nuisance, it fails to recognise the impact on young people of the removal of the Education Maintenance Allowance (EMA), designed to support young people from poorer backgrounds into education and the substantial increase in higher education fees.

The Wolf Review (2011) of vocational education highlights how 16 and 17 year olds 'churn between' education and short-term employment. The Review outlines how schools and colleges steer students onto courses they can easily pass; but it attributes the failures of vocational education to central government's constant redesign, re-regulation and re-organisation of 14-19 education. Keep (2012) argues that a weak labour market for youth combined with many young people being overqualified for the jobs available tend to act as a disincentive to learning. According to Wolf (2011) vocational education and training programmes, with their narrow specific qualifications targeted at very narrow job categories, do not equip people with transferable skills and general academic learning so that they can access more employment opportunities.

The government response to Wolf (2011) included two key initiatives - the review of vocational education and the introduction of the 'Youth Contract'. The review of vocational education includes the introduction of 'Study Programmes' - tailored to meet individual need, education and employment goals (DfE 2013). Funding is also set to change from being aligned to individual qualifications to now being aligned directly to the student. Any student who has not achieved a GCSE grade C in English and Maths will have to continue studying these subjects. Young people who are not able to study for a qualification will be offered work experience and employability skills. Work experience will also be an integral part of 16-19 study. It is not clear how colleges will manage the curriculum for those students who have to continue to study GCSE English or Maths as well as follow a vocational programme and whether or not a student will be able to meet the study requirements of doing both.

The Youth Contract was introduced in November 2011 as the government response to tackle youth unemployment. The Youth Contract is a programme of support in England (2012 to 2015) designed to support those 16 to 17 year olds who are NEET including financial incentives for employers. Speaking on its launch, the Deputy Prime Minister, Nick Clegg, described youth unemployment as 'an economic waste and a slow-burn social disaster'. Other incentives under the 'Youth Contract' include increased funding for growth in work experience opportunities and apprenticeships for 16 to 24 year olds. Wage subsidies for three months are also to be offered to employers who take on 16 to 24 year olds. A review of the Youth Contract (April 13) found that while nationally 4,364 16 to 17

year old NEETS took part only 1,202 were successfully re-engaged in a 'positive outcome' – defined as 5 out of 6 months in full or part time education or training, or apprenticeship (Centre for Economic and Social Inclusion (CESI) 2013). The review showed that for the geographical area of Merseyside, Lancashire and Cumbria the number of NEETS re-engaged in a positive outcome was only 15 out of 231 (CESI).

The provision of youth services has been exposed to a market system with local authority services subjected to severe spending cuts while other services, such as local libraries, have been closed. There is encouragement for profit-making organisations to adopt a social purpose and provide services for young people where the government will pay 'on results'. Government rhetoric perpetuates the notion that 'success' means economic independence from the state. The National Citizen Service (NCS) is one of the Coalition Government's flagship initiatives for building a bigger, stronger society. The NCS provides a summer programme, delivered through a system of 'invitations to tender' which provides opportunities for young people from different socio-economic backgrounds to design and carry out a social action project in their local area. An interim evaluation of the 2011 NCS programme (n= 8,500 16 year olds) was carried out by NatCen Social Research (NSR), (2012:12) - it confirms the NSC pilots "*cost the government £14.2 million to deliver*" (2012:51) – such expenditure justified by the social benefits resulting from the impact of the NCS which are estimated to be in the region of £28 million. In response to a series of questions about 'how in control of their life these young people felt', 37% agreed with the statement that *"if someone is not a success in life it's their own fault*" (NCS 2012:37). While the benefits to

young people of an ‘outbound week’ of physical activities are not contested, such programmes are expensive and can be interpreted as an example of the government’s attempts to responsibilise and remoralise young people.

3.7 Summary

This chapter has shown how the professional practices of teachers and personal tutors are linked to policy requirements and the achievement of government targets. The introduction of a business model to the management of educational activities has created tensions between pedagogical practices and the positioning of pastoral care as a policy lever. The chapter concluded with an overview of the wider social and economic context in which young people negotiate their transition from school to college to work.

4 Theorising Pastoral Care

Schools and other educational establishments for children and young people deal with the same issues, and clarity of what pastoral care means or might mean is long overdue (Calvert, 2009:276).

4.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to contextualise the study in terms of the current body of literature on pastoral care. The searching and selecting of literature was conducted through the EBSCO education databases and related journals and articles relevant to the study. The literature on pastoral care falls into two unrelated strands, one strand being that of technique, the 'doing of pastoral care', the other of critique (Lang 1991). Technique refers to literature which takes a mainly unproblematic approach and focuses on how to make improvements to various components of pastoral care. Critique is represented by publications which have called into question many of the basic assumptions made about pastoral care and presents an area more problematic than is normally recognised (Lang 1991:29), and it is this literature that has been drawn upon in this study. The literature review found that while pastoral care in a school setting was well documented there was little corresponding literature for FE (Hart 1996, Brown 2004).

Defining pastoral care, in the context of FE, has been problematic as outlined in Chapter 1. Collins and McNiff (1999:13) argue that pastoral care is a "*commitment to be aware of the needs of others"* which presents pastoral care as 'all-

encompassing' which can include a number of concepts such as, mentoring, caring, counselling, control, emotion work and therapeutic education. In this study, I argue that, each concept listed above can be interpreted as a 'component' of pastoral care, a 'component' which can stand alone or be combined with other 'components' to create a programme of pastoral care which can be delivered to student groups or individual 'at-risk' students. The literature review identified 'related themes' in pastoral care (Brown 2004) or 'components' which were 'aligned' thematically under the key concepts of care, emotional support, risk management and social control.

Best's (1999) model of pastoral care (Appendix 4) designed for schools proved a useful tool to understand pastoral activities in an FE context. Best's model (1999) has three distinct but related care objectives – 'reactive pastoral care' which is concerned with the 'getting to know' the student and responding to their needs. 'Proactive pastoral care' is primarily concerned with prevention and prepares the student to cope when problems occur. Finally, with 'developmental pastoral care' the main objective is the development of practical knowledge and coping skills. In the context of FE, 'reactive' actions are aligned to activities of care and emotional support, while 'proactive' actions are aligned to pre-assessment of risk, risk management and social control. Findings show that 'developmental' activities in the context of the empirical site were not given priority. This study argues that, in the context of FE, care objectives are obscured by other 'market orientated' objectives driven by policy, policy levers and new modes of governance of young people. In the context of FE, pastoral care is understood as a fusion of systems of care, emotional support and control where the role of the personal tutor is akin to

that of "*the eye of the keeper*" Foucault (1994) in the care, containment, control and remoralisation of young people.

This chapter has four sections. The first section gives an overview of the pastoral curriculum. The second section considers pastoral care as emotional support. The third section positions pastoral care as risk management. The fourth section posits that pastoral care can be also viewed as social control.

4.2 Pastoral curriculum

The provision of pastoral care has been a long-standing tradition of English education, albeit one that occasionally has been submerged or ignored (Ungoed-Thomas 1997). Historically, pastoral care evolved from a general concern about 'knowing' and 'tracking' the student in new and large comprehensive schools to more focused forms of pastoral care culminating in the 1970s in well-developed programmes of personal, social and vocational education (Blackburn 1983a, 1983b). According to Best (1999) the 1970s and 1980s saw the development of the pastoral curriculum through combining and extending the concepts of 'knowing' and 'tracking' the student with a 'welfare' agenda - a process which transformed the caring relationship of 'the shepherd and his flock' (Foucault 1994) to one of individualised power which began to focus on 'labelling' individuals against predefined social norms of what was and was not normal. Best (1999) argues that our commitment to the welfare of the child has not changed but, over the past twenty years, the pastoral curriculum has shifted and become aligned to wider political changes. The Education Act (1988) was a key component in the

shift towards a more market-oriented education system where the value of provision was judged by how much that provision cost. In terms of the measurement of schools' effectiveness, those things which were hard to measure, such as the level of pastoral care provided, and where price could not be easily determined brought into question the value of what was being taught. Education in the latter part of the twentieth century has, according to Best (1999:29), been dominated by –

> *"a pessimistic view of humanity as individualistic, competitive and self-serving rather than promoting the qualities of equality, co-operation and respect for others".*

Calvert (2009:275) argues that while the early phases of pastoral care were more responsive and reactive pastoral care now must, "*give way to more pro-active approaches that attempt to anticipate the issues that young people would face*". At the turn of the century schools were reviewing their pastoral care programmes in light of an increased awareness of the importance of a holistic approach to learning as outlined by Bulman and Jenkins (1988:1)

> "*we see the pastoral curriculum as concerned with pupils learning a wide variety of skills, knowledge, and attitudes that will make it more likely that they might become mature adults, able to cope with the stresses of a complex, rapidly changing society*" (cited in Calvert 2009:273).

Grenham (1999:73) warns that a mythology has grown up around the concept of the 'problem student' and that this has facilitated the development of pastoral curricula in schools.

"*The existing system of pastoral care in most schools has arisen mainly out of an effort to address these students' needs; it helps the students to adapt to school systems, and helps the school's system to accommodate them and their needs*".

Grenham's (1999) research focused on the 'silent majority'; those students who were not seen as 'problem students' and demonstrated that existing structures did not meet the needs of these students; changes were needed to include self-esteem workshops to encourage young people to gain in confidence. Grenham (1999:90) goes on to argue that "o*ur school has become deeply aware of the need to make care visible throughout the structures and the relationships that constitute our school life"*. According to Murphy (1999:94*),* schools have the privilege and the responsibility for providing and promoting opportunities for young people *"to grow intellectually and emotionally, and for putting in place a framework of care that will support cognitive and affective development*".

Traditionally, in schools, pastoral structures were hierarchical in nature creating a culture where the dominant discourse was one of power and control (Calvert 2009). With the introduction of the Children Act, (2004) those schools who had the freedom to determine aspects of their own expenditure, budgets and specialisms began to introduce new structures. Many state schools changed their management structures and replaced the pastoral positions of Heads of Year and Heads of House with Learning Managers and Learning Mentors (Calvert 2009). This transition saw the introduction of para-professionals, not only in schools but also in FE, to carry out tasks previously undertaken by teachers, for example, in class support workers and mentors. Edmond and Price (2009) argue that the

advent of ECM (2003) resulted in the creation of new job roles taken up generally by non-teachers, thus separating teaching and learning from pastoral care - for example, the number of teaching assistants in secondary schools increased from 3800 in 1997 to 18,900 by 2007. The introduction of para-professionals has also taken place in FE as colleges look for efficiency savings in their response to the demands of the ECM agenda. How a school or college conceptualises its pastoral curriculum can produce varying end results, for example, if the curriculum is one that supports and values an exploratory, open-ended approach to learning then the outcomes will be very different to a curriculum that leads to measurements of learning through examination results and externally-set requirements.

In FE, the pastoral curriculum is designed to:

- meet pre-defined targets for attendance, retention and success of students;
- provide evidence of compliance with all relevant legislation especially those in relation to the Children Act (2004) and safeguarding;
- offer a system of support and guidance to meet individual student need;
- increase participation and achievement of disadvantaged young people;
- respond to policy initiatives and internal and external auditing requirements;

The dominant discourse of pastoral care in FE is one of performance and compliance where current structures can be described as pro-active and incorporate risk-management strategies to detect early signs of 'the issues young people face' (Calvert 2009). Pring et al. (2009:41) argues that there is

> "*a tension between policy aims, operationalised through targets and performance measures, and the aims and values embedded in pedagogy and institutional ethos*".

4.3 Pastoral care – as emotional support

The inclusion of emotional well-being as a political concern grew in prominence during the previous Labour government (1997-2010), for example, the introduction of the Children Act (2004) imposed a duty of care on educationalists to safeguard and protect children, young people and vulnerable adults. In the context of FE, this 'duty of care' is aligned in particular with the role of the personal tutor. There was widespread agreement in all areas of public policy that social exclusion was linked to destructive influences that damaged self-esteem and emotional well-being (Blair 1997). The low educational achievement of certain groups, such as young people, working-class boys and girls and single mothers were linked directly to their 'complex needs' including low self-esteem, feelings of vulnerability, and risks linked to a cycle of social and economic deprivation. Improving opportunities for those 'excluded' groups became a priority for FE. Ecclestone (2007:455) argues that the development of people's emotional well-being and emotional engagement are official aims of social policy.

Emotional labour is defined by James (1989:15:19) as

> "*the labour involved in dealing with other peoples' feelings, a core component of which is the regulation of emotion. Emotional labour is hard work, can be sorrowful and difficult. It demands that the labourer gives personal attention which means they must give something of themselves, not just a formulaic response*".

The expression of 'emotion' is, according to James (1989), regulated as a form of labour, and in the workplace this is regarded as a commodity. Colley (2003:6) argues that in emotional labour "*the 'emotional style' of providing a service is part of that service itself, since in processing people, the product is a state of mind*". In Buttercup college, personal tutors deal with students feelings in relation to their programme of study, for example, disappointment, frustration, joy and anger. Personal tutors also deal with students personal problems (examples are shown in Appendices 21 and 22). According to Durkheim (1961) in Fisher and Chon (1989:1) emotions originate in social relationships and through the process of interpretation and interaction are collectively constructed and passed onto the individual as a social norm. In Buttercup college, personal tutors function as a collective force to create a framework of beliefs and behaviour to which students must comply, for example what level of inappropriate behaviour would warrant different sanctions. Any deviation from this 'framework' will elicit an emotional response and concurs with James (1989) view that those who do emotional labour must also give something of themselves. Colley's (2006) own study on the involvement of nursery nurses with children concluded that

> "*emotional labour carries a cost for the nursery nurse, not because children consume her emotional resources, but because her emotional labour power is controlled and exploited for profit by employers*".

According to Meyer (2009) attempts to separate emotions from or to join them with teaching practice have implications for teacher identity and development. Reay (2000) describes emotions as 'goods' created by mothers and 'consumed' by others such as their children. In terms of schools and colleges, emotional capital

is accrued over time between the interactions of students and teachers, and is transformed systematically into social and cultural capital. Emotion therefore constitutes what is socially acceptable and unacceptable in the classroom and, ultimately, in the educational organisation itself. Emotion is central to understanding why people become good teachers and good leaders, but some institutions can be 'greedy' (Blackmore 1999) in terms of how they use emotion, physical strength and intelligence. Blackmore (1999:162) argues that responses to change management are improved if the environment is emotionally stable with staff having a positive attachment to each other.

Chang and Davis (2009) argue that caring is something that teachers do rather than feel. Teachers communicate to their students the values they 'care' about and the frequency and quality of their interactions with students will communicate to them who they 'care' about. Traditionally, teaching and tutoring were considered to be complementary aspects of the same job with most institutions developing their own pastoral programme to cover such topics as health education, careers, social skills and behaviour management. Until the 1970s, the tutoring role was often limited to administrative contact with a particular group of students to pass on information, and check on attendance and progress, however the role was also regarded as a remedial safety net and given a lower priority than academic teaching (Bullock and Wikeley 2004). Support for the nurturing of affective skills, such as social and emotional development, is vital to success in later life as well as the outcomes of academic achievement measured by tests and examinations, therefore the 'central purpose of institutionalised pastoral care must be to support the process of learning' (Bullock and Wikeley 2004).

Research by Hart (1996) compared the personal counselling role of the college tutor with the work of trained student counsellors. Hart's findings revealed that, although the average weekly time allowed for tutorials was 90 minutes, one-third of tutors claimed to spend three hours per week on tutorial duties. Research carried out by Van Laar and Easton (1994:84) focusing on lecturers' experiences of helping students in distress found that

> "*94% of respondents* (n=100) *had advised one or more distressed students in the previous year, suggesting that academic staff, despite lack of training in counselling skills were often called upon to act as counsellors*".

McLennan's (1991:151) study of formal and informal counselling found that *"students seek and receive counselling help from a variety of informal sources, both on and off campus, including academic staff, friends and family members*" where the choice of helper was not determined by the 'severity' of the problem but by *"the students' perception of their pressing need for help"*. Maunders et al. (1991) national survey of counselling services in FE found that "*there is no doubt that the tutorial role involves the use of counselling skills"* (cited in Hart 1996:85). In their study of NVQs James and Diment (2003:414) found that the working relationship between assessor and candidate was "*at times indistinguishable from counselling*" as the assessor offered "*unconditional personal support*" to ensure that the candidate achieved the qualification.

Robson and Bailey (2009:102) in analysing the effects of Incorporation found that teachers interviewed in the early years following Incorporation expressed "*their care and empathy for the students in terms of a broader preoccupation with public*

or collective well-being". Research conducted (McWillian and Jones 2005:2) with primary school teachers in Australia and New Zealand on the social, cultural and institutional processes pertaining to the management of risk found that "*risk-as-danger is a pervasive condition in which all teachers work as a result of a radically expanded duty of care*". Teachers not only teach the curriculum, but also take responsibility for the welfare of children and young people far beyond previous experiences; examples from McWilliam and Jones (2005:3) include *"protection from drugs, bullying, over-excitement, sunburn, falling over, nastiness, sadness, racism, and inappropriate physical contact with others"*. Therefore, these additional responsibilities place teachers under increased pressure to update their own knowledge on these subjects as well as keep up to date with their own organisation's changes to policy and practice.

Arlie Hochschild (1979) is credited with highlighting concerns about the personal and cultural costs of the commodification of emotion, and with attempts to turn responses into a form of capital (Price 2001). Hochschild believed that labour was not only divided between the dualism of manual and mental, but also incorporated the use of emotions. Hochschild believed that capitalist culture was responsible for the management and commodification of what she called 'emotional labour' and, as a result, work is transformed into its opposite; not a source of human bonding and satisfaction, but of alienation and eventual emotional burn-out (Colley 2006). Social rules are applied to behaviour but rarely to emotion or feeling. Hochschild suggests that it is the dangerousness of instrumentalising emotion for exchange in the market place that is the hallmark of capitalism (cited in Price 2001). Hochschild (1983), cited in Robson and Bailey (2009:103), defines

emotional labour as "*the process or the work involved in controlling feelings in the context of paid employment".* In Hochschild's, *The Managed Heart* cited in Bolton (2009), the term 'emotional labour' is also used to describe emotion management with a 'profit motive slipped under it' from a study of flight attendants as an example where emotion management is increasingly used by organisations in a service-producing society. Hochschild (1983) argues that

> "*emotional labour requires one to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others – in this case, the sense of being cared for in a convivial and safe place*" (Hochschild 1983:7 cited in Avis and Bathmaker 2004:6).

Oplatka (2009:58) argues that emotional labour involves "*selling the emotional self for the purposes and profit of the organisation*". In other words, emotional labour is controlled by the organisation and employees are required to display particular emotional states, whereas 'emotion work' is controlled by the individual and there is no link between emotion and remuneration, and any kind of emotion management is not enforced. The following quote from Callahan and McCollum (2002) clarifies;

> "*We argue that the term emotion work is appropriate for situations in which individuals are personally choosing to manage their emotions for their own non-compensated benefit. The term emotional labour, on the other hand, is appropriate when emotion work is exchanged for something such as a wage or some other type of valued compensation*" (Callahan and McCollum (2002) cited in Oplatka 2009:58).

In FE, personal tutors do emotional labour as they are required, by their personal tutoring role, to display caring emotions such as sympathy and empathy, as they support and manage students to deal with challenging personal issues which impact on their learning. This study draws on the work of Staden (1998:1) who uses Hochschild's (1979) theory in her analysis of nursing practice, to show that jobs requiring emotional labour share three common characteristics:

1. They require face to face or voice to voice contact with the public.
2. They require the worker to produce an emotional state in another person, gratitude or fear for example.
3. They allow the employer, through training and supervision, to exercise a degree of control over the emotional activities of employees.

The work of personal tutors can also be aligned to these characteristics as they work to modify the behaviour of vulnerable and dangerous students. According to James (1989:26) the emotional labourer's skills are:

1. being able to understand and interpret the needs of others
2. being able to provide a personal response to these needs
3. being able to juggle the delicate balance of each individual and that individual within a group
4. being able to pace the work, taking into account other responsibilities.

The above skills can also be recognised in the work of personal tutors but as James (1989) argues emotional labour remains 'undefined, unexplained, and usually unrecorded'.

Avis and Bathmaker's (2004:8) research with trainee FE teachers found that central to their understanding of lecturing was "*a notion of care and of empathy with students – caring appeared to be pivotal to their construction of a preferred identity as a lecturer*", however in the process of occupational socialisation and the realisation that some students did not want to learn, they began to distance themselves from students. A similar point was made by Woods (1983) that the "*lecturer distances themselves from students to sustain long-term survival and emotional well-being*" (Woods 1983), cited in Avis and Bathmaker (2004:12). Therefore, emotional labour involves the suppression and management of feelings to create an acceptable state of mind in others. Colley (2003:7) argues that "*individuals not only mobilise existing dispositions but also work further on their own feelings in learning to labour appropriately*".

In FE, there is a strong professional script for teachers, lecturers and trainers to show commitment and loyalty to the organisation and to take responsibility to achieve the maximum possible results for all students. Therefore, there is a significant investment of time and energy to establish productive and caring relationships with students. There is also a professional script for dealing with other stakeholders such as parents and employers which presents the organisation as a 'caring' entity. According to Sarbin (1986:91 cited in Oplatka 2009:63) "*the ways we respond to emotions are tied to values; to conditions that involve one's identity*". Oplatka (2009:67) warns against 'moral deception', that is when a teacher may smile at a student not because they are responding to his/her needs in terms of affection and empathy but because it may raise the organisation's image as a warm and welcoming place. Oplatka (2009) gives an

example of one teacher who could not market her school to parents of students with special education needs because it might damage the school's image.

Test scores, examination results, league tables and other student assessments are the most commonly used indicators of student learning and achievement. These public indicators of education accountability can lead teachers to categorise students as Ecclestone (2007:455) explains, "*it is becoming commonplace for teachers to refer to 'vulnerable learners', 'at-risk' learners', learners with 'fragile identities' and 'low self-esteemers'*". Ecclestone challenges this intervention in people's emotional well-being and expresses doubt that this type of engagement will enable them to realise their potential – "*instead, the concept aims to illuminate the deeper cultural shift towards pessimistic images of people's resilience and agency*" (Ecclestone 2007:465). There is general agreement that more and more demands are being made on teachers to contribute to the academic success and the emotional well-being of pupils (Day and Qing 2009). In terms of FE, there are the constant challenges of accountability driven by the 'performativity' agenda of the government and its agencies. There is constant scrutiny of teachers' ability to improve student retention and success. Many students lead uncertain emotional lives, for example, the impact of drug misuse, bereavement and illness on students are not only concerns for their family and home life but also concerns for their teachers. Damasio (2004a) cited in Day and Gu (2009) has identified three emotional tiers that are key to teachers' work and these are:

1. **Background emotions** – where a teacher's well-being is negatively affected, then their ability to 'read others' background emotion is also negatively affected. For example, in lessons it is important for the teacher

to be effective in managing behaviour – being able to detect edginess, excitement and malaise.

2. **Primary emotions**– these include fear, anxiety, anger, disgust, surprise, sadness, and happiness. Some or all of these are likely to be present in teachers' work and if negative emotions persist they are likely to prevent the teacher from succeeding.
3. **Social emotions** – these are usually context related and include embarrassment, shame, guilt, pride, jealousy, envy, gratitude, admiration, sympathy, indignation and contempt.

Day and Gu's own research (2009:19) involving 300 teachers in 100 primary and secondary schools in England found that teachers' sense of emotional well-being, in particular their primary and social emotions, were affected by different conditions in different phases of their professional lives. As teachers respond to experiences of positive and negative influences their sense of emotional well-being will either decrease or increase and this may affect their capacity to be effective all of the time. Drawing on Hochschild's theory and other related studies there is evidence that personal tutors are doing emotional labour; what is less clear is the impact of such work on their own sense of emotional well-being. Research by Kidger et al. (2010) with secondary school staff found that it was impossible to overlook pupils' emotional health and teachers needed more training to deal with pupils' emotional distress.

4.4 Pastoral care – as risk management

This section argues that risk management is a key function of the role of the personal tutor in the management of 'vulnerable and dangerous' students in Buttercup college. McIntyre (2012:23), writing on best practice within the FE sector, argues that:

> "*risk management can only be considered effectively embedded once it becomes an integral and intrinsic part of the college's corporate strategy, decision making and operational activity*".

Buttercup college has developed a cyclical approach to risk management to support the achievement of the college's objectives. In terms of the student population, a key objective is to meet the agreed FSA funding targets for the recruitment, retention and success of all students, thus accounting for the college's main source of income. Pastoral care, as an overarching system of student welfare, is part of Buttercup college's risk management strategy and an example of what Kelly (2003:173) describes as 'reflexive biographical projects' (in this context the projects are 'at-risk' students) which are subjected to continual processes of review, evaluation and audit.

The Children Act (2004) places a moral duty on teachers and other public sector workers to observe and report the behaviour of children, young people and vulnerable adults who might be subjected to any kind of abuse. This 'duty of care' (Children Act 2004) can be linked to 'risk management practices' as personal tutors work with a heightened sense of awareness of the 'possibilities of risk', as yet unknown, as yet in the future, of the consequences of negative student

behaviour resulting in the prolific use of 'student profiling'. Personal tutors interpret 'student risk positions' as socially and politically contingent upon their view of the social world (Denney 2005). According to McWilliam (2003) teachers as pedagogical practitioners are required to pay increasing attention to the risk minimisation policies and practices of the 'risk conscious' school. Denney (2005:73) argues that "*risk prediction has become a standard practice in many professional practices*", for example in social work the background health and lifestyle of parents are also considered as an indicator of whether or not their children are 'at-risk'.

The impact of policy levers such as funding, targets, inspection and policy initiatives on teaching, learning and assessment (Spours et al. 2007) in terms of FE has created a climate where each full-time student is risk-assessed in terms of: a) any personal issue (vulnerability) identified as a 'risk' that may impact on their learning and subsequent achievement of a qualification – such 'risks' have financial implications for the college; and b) any 'risk' or level of 'dangerousness' that they might pose to others in the college – for example through anti-social behaviour. In FE, government funding is linked directly to the retention and success of students, therefore any student who gets 'injured, ill, or experiences any other form of misfortune' is, in an FE context, identified as an 'at-risk' student - perceived to be a financial risk because failing students result in lost revenue for the college. Systems of pastoral care are the intersection of both 'vulnerable' and 'dangerous' students in need of interventions which create what Miller and O'Leary (1987) describe as the 'governable person' – an individual who is constructed through accounting techniques as a more manageable and efficient entity. Kelly

(2003:172) argues that risk discourses used to ‘colonize’ the unknown, perceived to be threatening future, can have the unintended consequence that certain groups, such as young people, are only known through their ‘risky’ behaviour. This point is illustrated by Calabrese et al. (2007) in their research on ‘at-risk’ students in two schools in the United States where they found that teachers focused on the deficit nature of the ‘at-risk’ student rather than on the student’s strengths.

Foucault (1977, 1994) linked the term ‘dangerousness’ to the control of individuals at the point of their ‘potential’ to be dangerous rather than at the point where they had demonstrated they were dangerous. This perspective can be linked to the work of personal tutors who are ‘risk aware’ in their monitoring of the potential of students to be ‘dangerous’. Castel (1991) argues that the level of intervention is no longer “*the direct face to face relationship between the carer and the cared, the helper and the helped, the professional and the client”*. The level of intervention is, according to Lupton (1999:93) the collection of data produced by professionals that identifies various factors deemed liable to produce general risk situations. However, in contrast to the notion of ‘dangerous’, which is linked directly to an individual, the notion of ‘risk’ does not necessarily link directly to one individual but can be applied to a population or social group through the systematic statistical correlations and probabilities which can be drawn together without the observation of individuals. A risk then arises from the combination of various, often abstract, factors which identify the likelihood of undesirable modes of behaviour.

Lupton (1999:93) argues that "*to be designated 'at risk' is to be located within a network of factors drawn from the observations of others, to be designated as part of a 'risk population'*. Personal tutors, through the identification and monitoring of perceived risks in the student population are constructing what Castel (1991) describes as a system of 'systematic pre-detection' and as a result are creating a new mode of surveillance. Under this new mode of surveillance, an individual does not need to be observed and identified as 'dangerous'. It is sufficient for an individual to be a member of a particular social group, or a marginalised group, who have a 'high risk' profile, such as students who have been excluded from school. Young people are often marginalised due to economic and social circumstances, for example, those classified by the government as 'NEET'. Young people are also often regarded as 'dangerous' especially in light of high profile media cases where young people have been involved in anti-social behaviour. Jackson and Scott (1999) argue that children and young people come under public scrutiny when they are perceived to be in danger, either as victims of adult abuse or neglect, or as a danger to others.

Research carried out by Coleman and Hendry (1999:14) found that attitudes to all relationships changed as a function of age; that concerns about different issues reached a peak at different times during the adolescent stage and that young people adapt successfully to the demands of the adolescent transition by spreading the process over a number of years and dealing with one issue at a time. Therefore, problems are likely to occur with adolescents who have more than one issue/problem at any given time. In Buttercup college, many students identified as 'at-risk' of failing to achieve their learning goals have multiple

personal issues which impact on their academic success. While Coleman and Hagell (2007) draw our attention to the risks associated with adolescence such as smoking, binge drinking and anti-social behaviour, they also highlight that many young people are more resilient and manage their adolescent years positively. Other studies also show that young people exposed to a major adversity appear to cope well and show remarkable resilience in the face of huge odds (Werner and Smith 1992, Ferguson and Horwood 2003). Coleman and Hagell (2007:65) argue that we are becoming a society focused unduly on developing strict and rigid structures of 'risk management'. A good example of this view is to consider society's expectation of young people to manage their sexual risk. In the UK, the age of consent is 16, while in Germany it is 14, and in Denmark and France it is 15. Therefore, it could be argued that in the UK we are over protecting young people and also being negative to those young people whom we know are being sexually active.

In FE, risk assessment of students occurs early in the academic year, usually in September, as part of the application and enrolment process (discussed in Chapter 6, 6.3). Pastoral care can therefore be interpreted as an arena where risk is problematised (Lupton 1999) rendered calculable and governable – an arena where expertise (in this context the expertise of personal tutors) intersects with risk management strategies to produce what Kelly (2003:173) describes as 'hybridized knowledges' about what is 'appropriate' and 'economic' in terms of the guidance of young people.

4.5 Pastoral care – as social control

This section argues that pastoral care in an FE context can also be interpreted as 'social control' where personal tutors use systems of power relations to control and correct student behaviour. In the wider political and social context there is a general mistrust in relation to the behaviour and capacities of young people to make successful transitions to adulthood. Concerns about danger and risk provoke a range of practices and interventions that have the potential to impact negatively on young people (Kelly 2003). Reichman (1986) cited in O'Malley (2004:140) argues that in order to predict offences and to interdict them before they occur social control must be 'front loaded', and this is achieved by collecting greater and greater amounts of personal data not only on those under suspicion but on the behaviour of everyone. This view concurs with Foucault (1994) as personal tutors practice pastoral power in their identification of 'risk factors' through the use of the 'confessional' at the beginning of the academic year - the pre-assessment phase of the risk governance model, (expanded on in Chapter 6). In this duality of practice, personal tutors' own subjective perception of a 'risk occurrence' or as O'Malley (2004) describes 'the fear of crime' is brought to bear on their professional practice while on the other hand they must respond positively to students who have taken part in 'risk taking' behaviour.

In an FE context, personal tutors 'get to know' their students through tutorials or 'confessionals' and extract information which label students 'at-risk' and select suitable interventions to bring about the desired change in behaviour. Students are, in this context, subject to the control of the tutor which sets in motion the self-

examination whereby individuals start to work on themselves as if they desired to change a particular behaviour or attitude. Personal tutors not only care for their tutees, but they also 'act upon' them as a 'lever' to control behaviour and as such position themselves as mediators in the process of social control. The personal tutor 'polices' his/her tutees to achieve the desired behavioural outcome which is in contrast to the caring dimension of the role. Best (2007) emphasises how teachers are expected to be vigilant, and this is enshrined in the concept of *loco parentis*, a principle which has legal as well as a moral and professional force within the education service in the UK.

Contemporary politics is, according to Furedi (2002), about instilling fearfulness into people and creating a 'culture of fear' where everyday anxieties can become potentially scary. Writing on developments in crime prevention, O'Malley (2004:49) argues that old causes of crime such as 'family isolation', 'inadequate parenting', 'single parents', 'low self-esteem', and 'poor social skills' have been translated into 'risk factors'. Kundnani (2009:7) argues that practices which turn public services into instruments of surveillance will only serve "*to alienate young people from institutional settings that would otherwise be well-placed to give them a sense of trust and belonging*".

Practices of 'expert knowledge' continue to be used to survey young people in education in the name of national security, creating what Lupton (1999:87) describes as "*a heterogeneous network of interactive actors"* which, in this context, is the college management, personal tutors and the police, who through their 'interactions', students are rendered calculable and governable. This approach

also concurs with Castel's (1991) view that preventative strategies dominated by a combination of 'risk factors' rather than individual needs helps to increase the need for risk assessments which in turn create new modes of surveillance. The role of the media in over-sensationalising risk-taking behaviour and perpetuating the notion that all young people are a 'problem' has to be considered. This increased awareness of 'risk perception' in an educational setting also places teachers' own behaviour under scrutiny. It is argued by McWilliam and Jones (2005:10) that as teachers acquire new knowledge for managing risk they also constitute themselves as self-regulating subjects, thus producing

> *"the safe teacher as the subject of perpetual self-surveillance and always-already a risky subject and all even remotely possibly risky events as objects of suspicion".*

For example, personal tutors participate in workshops delivered by the police to raise awareness of how young people are radicalised and how they, as individuals with frequent contact with students, can be proactive in the art of surveillance. On the other hand, personal tutors must 'police' themselves in their private and professional lives and not partake in any risky behaviour that would jeopardise the college's reputation as a safe environment and as such become self-regulating subjects. Given the timescale of this empirical study, it is difficult to gauge the impact of the Prevent strategy (as discussed in Chapter 3, 3.4.2), on the delivery of pastoral care however during the academic year 2011/2012, in Buttercup college, its objectives were being aligned with the responsibilities of personal tutors.

4.6 Summary

This chapter contextualised the study in terms of the literature review and found the concept of pastoral care to be problematic and difficult to define. Best's (1999) model of pastoral care in schools was drawn upon to provide structure to the discussion on the literature and the repositioning of pastoral care in FE as one of emotional support, risk management and social control. This chapter demonstrated how personal tutors negotiate a duality of 'responsiveness' to student need and a 'responsibility' for their safety.

5 Methodology

5.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines and justifies the methodological theory which influenced and shaped this empirical study. This study is located within a pragmatic paradigm and uses a single case study to provide an in-depth and holistic view of pastoral care in one FE college. The first three sections justify the case study approach and the research methods adopted. The fourth section presents an overview of the pilot study and explains how it informed the main study. The fifth section introduces the participants and justifies the data collection and analytical strategies. Finally, the ninth section presents the ethical considerations before setting out how the validity and reliability of the study was achieved.

5.2 Taking a case study approach

The physical site for the study was Buttercup college, a general FE college, within which the 'heart' of the study centred on pastoral care. There are 36 FE colleges in the North West of England and Buttercup college, as a 'case', is typical of 30% of these colleges. According to Ofsted, as at March 2013, inspection reports confirmed that 11 colleges in the North West were graded outstanding, including Buttercup college, 18 were graded good, 4 satisfactory with 3 being graded inadequate (Ofsted Data View Report March 2013). This study draws on Yin (2003, 2009) who argues that the case study model is justified when the objective is to capture the circumstances and conditions of 'everyday activities'. The

experiences of participants in one FE college illustrate how national policies and government initiatives affect individuals and institutions at a micro level. According to Yin (2003:13) a case study is an empirical inquiry that

> *"investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident".*

A case study is preferred when 'how' and 'why' questions are posed and the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context and the investigator has little control over events (Yin 2003).

A 'case' is defined by Miles and Huberman (1994:25) *as "a phenomenon of some sort occurring in a bounded context – a unit of analysis*", while Stake (1994) uses the term 'intrinsic case study' to identify a study undertaken because the researcher wants a better understanding of a particular case, in contrast to the 'collective or multiple case study', where the study is extended to several cases or populations to learn more about a particular phenomenon. In the context of this study, the delivery of pastoral care is an 'everyday event', creating the 'lived experience' of the personal tutors and students that were central to the study. Yin (2009:15) argues that in doing a case study the goal is to "*expand and generalise theories not to enumerate frequencies*", thereby offering evidence, for example, to complement other studies rather than trying to replace them.

A common criticism of the single case study concerns its lack of generalizability. According to Punch (2009) a case study may produce potentially generalizable results by using the concepts of 'conceptualizing' and by 'developing propositions'

where the findings from a case study can be put forward as being potentially applicable to other cases. To improve the 'generalizable' outcomes from this study, a mixed methods triangulation design (Punch 2009) was used to obtain complementary qualitative and quantitative data. Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004:18) argue that the fundamental principle of a mixed method approach is that the researcher must "*combine the methods in a way that achieves complementary strengths and non–overlapping weaknesses*". Concerns about the generalizability of this study are addressed by focusing on increasing the construct validity of the study through using multiple sources of evidence to create what Yin (2009:98) describes as 'a chain of evidence', which is established by creating explicit links between the questions asked, the data collected and the conclusions drawn, an example of which is shown in Appendix 18. The boundary of this case study was set by the research questions and the conceptual framework, as outlined in Chapter 1.

5.3 Triangulation Design

The purpose of a triangulation design is to obtain complementary qualitative and quantitative data on the same topic (Punch 2009). A triangulation design was selected for this study to illuminate what was being studied from different angles (Fulcher and Scott 2007:76). Triangulation is defined by Cohen and Manion (1989:269) as "*the use of two or more methods of data collection in the study of some aspect of human behaviour*". Denzin (1978) provides four principles of methodological triangulation which guided this research and these are:

1. The nature of the research problem and its relevance to a particular method should be assessed and, where necessary, the method tailored to the problem at hand;
2. Methods should be combined with a ‘checks and balances’ approach so that threats to internal and external validity are reduced as much as possible; so that the particular weakness of one method is compensated for by the particular strength of another;
3. The theoretical relevance of each method must be considered as well as the implications of combining methods which at first may appear contradictory;
4. Researchers should continually reflect on their methods, being ready to develop or alter them in the light of developments in the field and emerging data. (Denzin 1978).

The research design was also influenced by Denzin’s (1978) emphasis on the importance of what he calls ‘time, space, and person’, which means that data can be collected about different people doing the same activity and data can be collected at different times and in different places. Greene et al. (1989) argues that there are many reasons why researchers should use mixed methodologies, for example data obtained through different methods improves the consistency of the findings, results from one set of data can shape subsequent steps in the research process and data emerging can stimulate new research questions or challenge results obtained through one particular method.

5.4 Adopting a mixed method approach

This section justifies the selection of a 'mixed method' design for the data collection and analysis. Since the 1990s researchers have been looking past the heated ideological disputes of the paradigm wars with their associated thinking of an either–or approach (Punch 2009) and started to recognise how many topics require both a qualitative and quantitative approach if there is to be a full understanding of the topic. The underlying principle of the mixed method approach is that of pragmatism; that is a focus on what works. Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009:74) argue that "*pragmatism views knowledge as being both constructed and based on the reality of the world one experiences and lives in*". According to Andrew and Halcomb (2009) pragmatism is concerned with a philosophical stance that embraces multiple view-points of a research problem where the research questions determine the type of methods to be used. Punch (2009:300) advocates caution that mixed method projects are more complex in planning and in arranging the collection and data analysis.

Mixed methods are defined by Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003:711) as

> "*a type of research design in which QUAL and QUAN approaches are used in types of questions, research methods, data collection and analysis procedures, and/or inferences*".

According to Punch (2009:298), mixed method research is where

> *"the investigator collects and analyses data, integrates the findings, and draws inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches or methods in a single study or programme of inquiry*"

The ‘mixing’ may be nothing more than a side by side or sequential use of different methods or it can be that different methods are being fully integrated in a single analysis. Mixing can, however, also be used across disciplinary traditions. According to Bazeley (2004:2) it is important to explain *what* is being mixed and *how* it is being mixed along a continuum of a number of independent dimensions along which any particular research maybe placed -“*if one uses numbers, interpretation is still involved, if one’s data are texts, counting may still be appropriate*”. Howe and Eisenhardt (1990) posit that methodology must be judged by how well it informs research purposes more than how well it matches a set of conventions; they further argue that what counts as good research will not necessarily match what counts as orthodox methodology.

As mixed methods research can be carried out in different ways, typologies are useful for identifying the key characteristics of the different research designs. According to Morgan (1998) one way of creating a typology is to use the timing or sequence in which methods are used or the priority accorded to them in the research design. I was guided by Morgan’s (1998) argument that the first decision of a mixed method researcher is to decide which method will be the principal method used to collect data and which method will be complementary. The second decision is to determine the order in which the data is to be used; one being used as preliminary data and the other as follow-up data. The literature on using a partially mixed method approach (Punch 2009:297) focuses on the importance of merging the data from the qualitative and quantitative analysis into one overall interpretation. As stated earlier, Leech and Onwuegbuzie (2007) make a distinction between fully mixed methods and partially mixed methods. The

procedure for both is the same except with the partially mixed method approach the data is mixed only at the interpretation stage – as opposed to the mixing of the qualitative and quantitative techniques within one or more of the different stages of the research process. I selected to use the partially mixed method approach as the data is analysed separately within each method with a final mix of the emerging themes to reach a final interpretation. According to Punch (2009:296) the use of a triangulation design is advantageous in that it brings together the different strengths of each method. My approach has included the concurrent but separate collection and analysis of the data using semi structured interviews and three surveys. Key themes were identified and the outcomes merged to produce a final thematic interpretation of the results.

5.5 Pilot study

This empirical study began with a pilot which was carried out early in 2008 at the same geographical site as the main study. The pilot focused on investigating the pastoral care provision for one group of students identified in Buttercup college as the 'Year 11' group. All of these students had been excluded from school and were attending college as a 'fresh start' on a range of vocational courses, and were a key group of students in terms of interpreting how tutors managed and responded to their specific individual needs. Semi structured interviews were planned with 10 out of a group of 20 students. It was agreed with the teachers that interviews would be held outside of lesson time, which may account for the fact that only four students attended. The course tutor was also interviewed and documentary evidence including the course file and attendance and behaviour

data were also analysed. The overall findings showed that while these students had complex personal issues which impacted on their learning, their attendance at the college was very good and they were highly motivated in their approach to learning. The level of pastoral care necessary to support these students was considerable and tutors reported that they had to 'invest' a considerable amount of time on student welfare especially in terms of working with external agencies, such as probation and social services.

This pilot was useful in that it clarified how the main research project might work in terms of negotiating access to teaching staff and students. The pilot also highlighted the need to 'work within' student timetables as many students were not willing to get involved in their free time unless they received a 'voucher'. The pilot investigation highlighted how some students were 'conditioned' to expect a voucher with a monetary value, such as a mobile top up voucher, as a reward for attending any event outside of lesson time. It was found to be common practice in some areas of college that when students were needed for 'open evenings' they were offered vouchers as incentives to attend. No such vouchers were available as part of this pilot or main study. As a result of the pilot study, some of the research questions for the main project were refined and access arrangements to lessons and tutorials were amended in light of the finding that students were not willing to give up their free time to participate in interviews.

5.6 The participants

There were three distinct groups of participants involved in this study, as follows:

1. Personal tutors at Buttercup college

There are 180 personal tutors employed at Buttercup college with 30 based in the Business and Information Technology (BIT) curriculum area. Between 2008 and 2010, semi structured interviews were carried out with 7 Personal tutors from BIT, (5 female and 2 male). The ethnic background of this group was predominantly White British but did include two tutors of Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) origin. Every effort has been made to protect their identity as requested by them, so personal names have been changed and do not reflect any cultural or ethnic connections. At the time of interview:

1) Rose had 10 years teaching and pastoral care experience.
2) Violet had 5 teaching experience but only been a personal tutor for 3 years.
3) Lilly had 14 years teaching experience and 13 years as a personal tutor.
4) Andrew had 9.5 years teaching experience and has been a personal tutor for 9 years.
5) Charles had 11 years teaching experience and been a personal tutor for 6 years.
6) Jasmin had 10 years teaching experience and been a personal tutor for 2 years.
7) Rick had 4 years teaching experience and been a personal tutor for 2 years.

All of the personal tutors above have qualified teacher status.

2. **Full time students** – (Buttercup College)

   Ninety six students were surveyed. All were tutees of the personal tutors listed above.

3. **'Professional others'**

   Two surveys were produced, one for personal tutors and one for pastoral managers and sent electronically to members of the Further Education Tutorial Network (FETN), a national organisation set up in 2004 to support managers and practitioners in FE colleges with responsibility for pastoral care.

   18 personal tutors responded - (17 were female and 1 male).

   11 pastoral managers responded – (all were female).

5.7 Data collection strategy

The data collection methods included semi structured interviews, surveys and organisational documents. Primary qualitative data was provided through the interviews with the personal tutors at Buttercup college. Primary quantitative data was provided through a survey with full time vocational students at Buttercup college. Complementary data was captured through two surveys with those participants described earlier as 'professional others'. Buttercup college policy documents (listed in Chapter 5, section 5.7.2.) and a selection of personal tutor records were also analysed. All data was collected concurrently with equal weighting given to each method. The following section explains how this worked.

5.7.1 Primary data collection

This section outlines the strategy adopted when interviewing the personal tutors and surveying the students at Buttercup college.

The interview is one of the most popular data collection tools in qualitative research. As Jones (1985), cited in Punch (2009:144), argues,

> "*in order to understand other persons' constructions of reality, we would do well to ask them in such a way as to address the rich depth and context that is the substance of their meanings*".

In September 2009, fifteen tutors were invited to take part in semi-structured interviews. Seven tutors agreed to participate, while others offered apologies but could not participate due to time constraints and workloads. The participant group included male and female tutors from different subject areas; four had substantial experience of pastoral care and three were relatively new to the role.

During October 2009, interviews were arranged at a mutually convenient time and tutors were provided with an information sheet and a consent form (Appendix 7) and 8). The location of the interview, in most cases, was my office as this provided a confidential space in which to work. A list of questions was drawn up to guide the interview process, (Appendix 9), and these were formulated around key aspects of their role, for example, the main challenges of the role, the range of 'at-risk' issues they had to deal with, their training needs, the time available to work with vulnerable students, and other challenges which impact on their role. The interviews were relaxed but focused conversations. All personal tutors were

happy for the conversations to be tape-recorded but did seek reassurance that the content remained confidential and would not be published in any way that could result in their identification - this was understandable as the organisational culture is such that personal opinions, particularly on controversial issues, are not usually shared in public. During the interviews advantage was taken of any conversational opportunity that arose to explore other issues not on the checklist. Tape recordings were later transcribed converting them into a written text for analysis.

In October 2009, a survey was carried out with 96 full time vocational students at Buttercup college, all were tutees of the personal tutors interviewed. A social survey is defined by Buckingham et al. (2004:29) as

> "*a technique for gathering statistical information about the attributes, attitudes or actions of a population by administering standardized questions to some or all of its members*".

Surveys aim to measure some specific set of behaviours or attitudes (Buckingham 2004). According to Punch (2009:211) quantitative data conceptualises reality in terms of variables which it then measures and establishes relationships between these variables. The main component of pastoral care is the weekly tutorial between the tutor and student. In designing the questionnaire, I wanted to gauge student perceptions of tutorial and access to their personal tutors. All students were advised of the purpose of the project; how it would be conducted and how they could contribute to its findings. Students were advised that they may withdraw at any time from the research. All students, in the study, were assured of confidentiality. The survey was carried out in a classroom normally used by

students as part of their normal studies, so they were familiar with their surroundings. All students were provided with details of the research and given a consent form to complete, (Appendix 10 and 11).

The student questionnaires (Appendix 12) were produced in hard copy and taken to 'group tutorials' for completion in the presence of their personal tutor. Prior to the distribution of the survey, and in compliance with the college's professional code of conduct for staff, students were reminded of the college's duty of care and advised that counselling services were available if they had any personal difficulties and needed support. Data from the completed questionnaires was input manually onto a computer spreadsheet (Microsoft Excel 2010) which aided analysis.

5.7.2 Complementary data collection

This section outlines the collection of complementary data which was facilitated by my membership of The Further Education Tutorial Network (FETN), a voluntary national support network of teachers in England responsible for the delivery and management of pastoral care in FE. FETN members are the third category of participants in this study and are described as 'professional others'. In order to survey members of FETN, it was necessary to take out a professional subscription (2010) with an online provider (Survey Monkey) of research facilities. After designing the questionnaires, the electronic 'link' was forwarded by email to the chair of FETN who in turn forwarded the 'link' to members. On completion, the questionnaire was 'returned' anonymously to Survey Monkey. This approach

ensured the confidentiality of member responses as all responses were coded and individual identity is not known, (Appendix 13 shows an example).

Two survey questionnaires were used; one for those members who were personal tutors and one for those who were pastoral managers (Appendix 14 and 15). Unlike the survey used with the students from Buttercup college in the collection of primary data, these surveys are best described as 'correlational surveys' (Punch 2009:248) meaning that they are not simply descriptive but rather multivariable in design in order to capture a wide range of information. For example, in a correlational survey biographical information can be captured as well as factual information on the participant's attitude and opinion (Punch 2009). Therefore, in developing these two surveys for 'professional others', I endeavoured to not only capture data on gender, employment status and years of experience but also to capture data on behaviour, opinions, and values in terms of the 'lived' experiences of the participants.

Documentary evidence from Buttercup college included policy documents, internal emails and management reports. A personal research diary was also used to record natural occurring situations, to summarise reading and to action plan.

5.8 Data analysis strategy

This section explains and justifies the theoretical models underpinning the procedures adopted to analyse the data. A review of the literature on the methods used to analyse qualitative data emphasise the variety of techniques available to

the researcher. Punch (2009:170) highlights that the term 'data analysis' has different meanings among qualitative researchers leading to different methods of analysis. Qualitative research focuses on the study of human behaviour and social interaction in natural settings and, therefore, this complexity means that there are different ways of analysing social life and multiple perspectives on the outcome of such investigations.

5.8.1 Primary data analysis

In this study, the primary qualitative (QUAL) data is drawn from the interviews with the personal tutors and the primary quantitative (QUAN) data is drawn from the student survey at Buttercup college. The analysis of the qualitative data drew on Miles and Huberman's (1994:11) interactive model of data analysis which includes three linked sub-processes; data reduction, data display, and drawing and verifying conclusions; activities which do not stand in isolation but occur concurrently as the analysis develops throughout the study. The key purpose of data reduction is to reduce the data without any loss of information. In the early stages, data reduction is achieved through constant editing and summarising of the data. In the middle and later stages, data reduction occurs through coding and the identification of patterns and themes to build a logical chain of evidence. According to Punch (2009) there are many different descriptions of coding to be found in the literature but what is important is that first level coding is descriptive and low-inference whereas later coding integrates data through using higher-order concepts. According to Fulcher and Scott (2007:27) "*coding brings fragments of data together to create categories of data that we define as having some property*

or element". For example, Miles and Huberman (1994) use 'descriptive' codes to store information on what is being studied and 'pattern' codes to go further to interpret and interconnect the data. Richards (2005), on the other hand, uses 'topic' codes to focus on 'what is in the data' according to its subject and 'analytic' codes to interpret, conceptualise and theorise the data. Despite the terminology used, the first level of coding is always descriptive with second and higher levels of coding being more analytic.

Another useful tool in qualitative data analysis, and used in this study, is memoing, defined by Glaser (1978), cited in Punch (2009:180) as "*the theorising write-up of ideas about codes and their relationship as they strike the analyst while coding".* Memos are not sequential and like coding can begin at the beginning of the analysis. Memos can create useful connections between codes and link different concepts to each other to produce propositions. Miles and Huberman (1994) argue that incorporating suitable displays such as diagrams to organise and present information can help the reader to 'see what is happening'. Data display can be achieved by organising the data into analytic categories and producing diagrams, matrices, or graphs to aid interpretation. For example, in the early stages of this empirical study I produced a number of graphs from the quantitative data which highlighted connections between data fragments. Reducing and displaying the data logically facilitates the identification of key themes and patterns. Drawing and verifying conclusions usually follow from the data reduction and display however it often takes place concurrently. During the early stages, possible conclusions maybe vague and not fully supported by the data, however as the analysis develops these conclusions are sharpened and verified. Before

drawing final conclusions, Miles and Huberman (1994:262) suggest a number of tactics for testing or confirming findings such as comparing and contrasting cases, looking for 'unpatterns', following up surprises, and triangulation across data sources and methods. Coffey and Atkinson (1996:153,155) argue that "*our important ideas are not 'in' the data – the data is there to think with and to think about*" therefore, they claim, generalising and theorising go beyond the data as our intellectual resources and judgements are influenced by our theoretical perspective and the research literature.

In designing the analytical framework I adopted Miles and Huberman's (1994) model for the qualitative analysis. I also drew on the approach taken by Alexiadou (2001:51-69) who used an eight stage multi-layered approach to analyse and interpret interview data acquired through research carried out in two FE colleges in England. The following operational model shows the various stages in the analysis of the interview data, however as indicated already, activities at the middle and later stages tended to occur concurrently rather than sequentially.

TABLE 3 QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

	Qualitative analysis of the interview data from Buttercup college
Stage 1	Transcribe tapes to written text
Stage 2	Deconstruct data – identify key phrases, relationships between variables, patterns, themes. Code data
Stage 3	Identify key themes and characteristics
Stage 4	Cluster data that represents themes together
Stage 5	Identify characteristics, functions and attach meaning.
Stage 6	Review all transcripts in light of the themes emerging
Stage 7	Identify patterns and links between themes – identify relationships, contradictions, and inconsistencies.
Stage 8	Construct individual propositions / draw and verify conclusions

All the interviews were tape recorded and later transcribed verbatim into written text. Each transcript was read several times to develop a sense of the whole of each interview. Transcripts were checked again with the tape to ensure accuracy of content. At Stage 2, each interview was deconstructed to identify those parts of the text that were considered to bear the 'weight' of the meaning. Codes were not pre-specified but developed as key pieces of data were identified. Each interview transcript was re-visited a number of times during the whole analysis to ensure nothing significant was missed. Numerous memos were written as prompts for use during the later stages of the analysis. At Stage 3, data was clustered as key themes began to emerge. Stage 5 and 6 involved clustering key themes together while retaining the exact language from the transcript. Interview transcripts were revisited in light of the emerging findings. The number of variables was reduced (Alexiadou 2001) to highlight contradictions and similarities while remaining mindful not to lose information contained in the original variable (Punch 2009:278). Appendix 16 shows the interview data from Buttercup college and presents the correlation of key variables from stages 4 to 8 and ranks them in order of 'weight of evidence'. The procedure adopted for testing the findings is explained in this chapter, section 5.9.

Quantitative data consists of variables which describe some attribute or idea about the participant and the relationship between variables is a key component in the analysis. Early quantitative research in education focused on the 'experiment' to establish cause-effect relationships between variables which could then be measured. Many educational questions could not be studied using the experimental design so quasi-experimental and non-experimental designs were

created. Two designs emerged – one was the comparison between groups model which was based on the experiment and with the t-test and variance as its main statistical feature; the second focused on the relationships between variables based on reasoning with correlation and regression as its main features and described by Punch (2009:214) as the 'correlational survey' strand. According to Punch (2009) the correlational survey is suited to those who want to study nature as it is; to study reality as it is. To analyse the primary quantitative data, the following table was created.

TABLE 4 QUANTITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

	Quantitative analysis of survey data from Buttercup college
Stage 1	Input questionnaires onto computer (Excel spreadsheet)
	Cross tab variables (Punch 2009)
	Create frequency distribution table (Punch 2009), (Blaikie (2003)
Stage 2	Identify relationships and associations between variables (Blaikie 2003)
	Identify key themes
	Test key themes for 'goodness of fit' and draw conclusions

The first stage of the analysis consisted of a count of the occurrences of each variable and the creation of a frequency distribution table. Where possible, the data was interrogated through the use of percentages and a comparison of responses by gender. The second stage of the analysis drew on the work of Blaikie (2003:3) and his use of a 'bivariate descriptor' to investigate the strength of associations between variables and to compare the characteristics of each variable in the same group, for example the comparison of responses from males and females. Key themes were identified and tested, discussed later in this chapter, section 5.9.

5.8.2 Complementary data analysis

The complementary data obtained from the two correlational surveys completed by ‘professional others’ (FETN) were analysed using the same analytical model as described in the previous section. Buttercup college policy documents linked to pastoral care were analysed and these were: Tutorial, Safeguarding, Admissions, Anti-Bullying and the Teaching and Learning Policy. The Achievement Strategy and the Learner Charter were also consulted. A sample of personal tutor records were also analysed and these are discussed in chapter 7.

5.9 Testing the analytic mix

The previous sections have demonstrated how the primary and complementary qualitative and quantitative data was collected and analysed separately. This section explains how key findings were tested. Firstly, the theoretical propositions and the research questions were revisited. Secondly, the Chi-square test (Maben 2012), proved a useful tool to test the ‘reliability’ of some the key themes emerging from the quantitative data analysis. The Chi-square ‘goodness of fit’ test is used to determine whether there is a significant difference between the expected frequencies and the observed frequencies and whether there is, or is not, a significant difference between data sets that cannot be due to chance alone. Appendix 17 shows a worked example for the key theme of ‘student behaviour’, and the reliability of the quantitative data is strengthened as the sample was not selective of students already experiencing emotional or other risk indicators; but based on a representative sample of the student population (Maben 2012).

Thirdly, in order to test and verify final conclusions from both the qualitative and quantitative data, a 'chain of evidence', was used to check for representativeness, and researcher effect (Miles and Huberman 1994:246). A chain of evidence was built for each emerging theme through verifying the data at each step of the analytical process, using a series of 'if-then' tactics (Miles and Huberman, 1994) to establish a sound basis for the relationships and generalisations claimed. Appendix 18 shows an example for the emerging theme 'impact of policy and policy levers'. The dangers of bias originating from the 'overlap' of participant observer, insider and researcher were reconsidered by revisiting the underlying data for each key theme. The final data test included a 'word frequency test' which extracted the most frequently used words which were then analysed against the interconnecting themes, discussed in chapter 6.

5.10 Ethics, reliability and validity

This section argues that the findings are reliable and valid. It also demonstrates how the research was conducted within an ethical framework of good practice. The study was conducted within an ethic of respect for the individual, their knowledge, values and position as collaborators in the research process. The study followed the guidelines for educational researchers as outlined by the British Educational Research Association (BERA), (2004). According to BERA (2004) researchers have specific responsibilities to participants and these are – making sure participants give voluntary informed consent, are informed of the right to withdraw, have knowledge of any detriments arising from participation, the use of

any incentives and their entitlement to confidentiality and anonymity. As a participant observer in this empirical study, four different roles had to be adopted and negotiated; that of lecturer, manager, researcher and 'insider'. In Buttercup college, the student population is a mix of different ethnicities and cultural backgrounds, while the staff profile is predominantly white British. Mercer (2007:3) defines an insider as "*someone whose biography (gender, race, class, and sexual orientation) gives them a lived familiarity with the group being researched*". The outsider, on the other hand, is someone who does not have this intimate knowledge of the group being researched, prior to their entry to the group. In the context of this study, professional 'insiderness' was established through employment, however from personal experience, there was also recognition that some participants may consider my BME background to position me more as an 'outsider'.

As a middle manager, I was mindful of what Punch (2009:45) describes as 'positionality' and how this might influence how the personal tutors would respond to my study and in particular to the interview questions. My position as manager-researcher provided advantages in terms of access, knowledge and understanding of the field of inquiry. I had already established good working relationships with colleagues and my professional background was well known. I had a good understanding of the culture being studied, the jargon used and the wider economic and political landscape in which Buttercup college operated. The study was incorporated into my everyday work and was designed to focus on observation and analysis; it did not aim to change any procedural or organisational practice. As a participant observer I was able to observe what was going on

without others being necessarily aware of my role as a researcher (Coghlan 2007). I was mindful, from the beginning, that this role duality also presented challenges, for example, my managerial position created different power relationships and these would need to be negotiated and managed. Punch (2009) argues that all researchers come to their project from some 'position' and he advises that the advantages of the researcher's position should be maximised while the disadvantages should be minimised. I acknowledged Bonner and Tolhurst's (2002) advice that there is a danger of developing too much rapport with participants and becoming so enmeshed in the study that the research perspective is lost.

According to Punch (2009:44) teachers researching their own classroom or college must be mindful of their own bias and subjectivity and how they account for what can be seen as their vested interest in the results. To mitigate the impact of my 'insider' knowledge and my own subjectivity, I decided to use a mixed method triangulated design for the data collection and analysis including participants, unknown to me, from outside the empirical site. All participants gave voluntary informed consent to take part and were informed of the purpose of the study, how they could withdraw and how their data would be stored (Appendix 7 and 10). My vested interest in the study of pastoral care arose from a professional concern to raise awareness of the challenges of managing 'at risk' students within the constraints of externally set targets and funding allocations. No financial incentives were received for completing the study and any costs incurred were paid out of personal finances.

Prior to the data collection phase of the study, written permission was obtained from the Ethical Review Panel at Keele University (Appendix 2). Written permission to interview teaching staff and students was also obtained from the Principal of Buttercup college. From the onset, the challenges of maintaining normal working relations with tutors and students while remaining objective and detached were always present. Prior to setting up the interviews, I recognised the personal tutors' right to privacy and finding a suitable space to carry out the interviews was paramount. Buttercup college operates a 'room utilisation' policy in order to maximise the number of students that can be accommodated. All rooms, including classrooms, offices and tutorial rooms are identified, electronically recorded and allocated by a central resource manager on receipt of a formal request from managers. I considered it impracticable to use this system to request a room for the interviews as the room allocated could be at the opposite end of college in an area not normally used by the personal tutors. While such 'room booking' systems are useful, they did not give any flexibility in terms of their availability as any changes to date or time would have to be done by generating another 'room' request. In Buttercup college, all pastoral managers have their own office as a confidential space is frequently required for meetings with teaching staff, students and parents. With the agreement of the personal tutors, my office was used for the interviews as this provided a familiar, easily accessible, convenient and private space.

All participants in the study were provided with the broad aims and objectives of the research, the areas to be investigated and the information to be gathered as far as it was possible to do so in advance. In Buttercup college, personal tutors

who agreed to be interviewed were provided with further information and signed a consent form. Meeting dates and times were arranged in line with the tutors' preferences, for example, no interviews were conducted on Fridays out of respect for those of the Muslim faith wishing to attend prayers or during the period of Ramadan. A list of prepared questions was used to guide the discussion. The tape recording and transcription of the interview conversations provided ongoing opportunities to check content and accuracy of transcription and interpretation. All personal tutors were informed that they could add or retract information at a later date if they so wished. Tutors were assured of confidentiality in terms of responses and identity as real names were removed and replaced with pseudonyms in the final report. The storage of data adhered to the requirements of the data protection legislation; all hard copy data was kept in a locked cabinet within a restricted access area and all electronic data were stored on my own personal computer. There are no known detriments to any participants arising from participation in this study.

During the interviews, I was mindful of the power relationships that existed and the need to keep my role as a middle manager separate from that of researcher, always conscious of what 'face' I was presenting, while not getting drawn into the role of supporter or advocate for the personal tutors opinions. I was also conscious that the participants' pre-conceptions of me and of my opinions, known or unknown could colour their accounts (Mercer 2007). On the other hand, I recognised the mutually supportive relationships and reciprocal levels of trust that already existed as we worked collectively to meet our respective college targets for the retention and success of our students. During the interviews, to mitigate

my own subjectivity, I did not enter into debates but allowed a silence instead which then enabled the conversation to continue – contrary to both Oakley (1981) and Logan (1984) cited in Mercer (2007:10) who argue that interviewers should not withhold their own views or resist friendship because sharing experiences and attitudes helps to develop trust.

Hammersley (1995) suggests all accounts produced can be used not only as a source of information about events, but also to reveal the perspectives and discursive practices of those who produce them. The decision to survey 'professional others' (FETN) or 'critical others', as described by Woods (1993) was made to increase the dependability of the findings by including others from the same professional area (pastoral care). It was clear that responses would be received anonymously and that confidentiality would be assured as none of the responses would be shared in any other context and were only for the purpose of this study. In this context, I had adopted the role of 'outsider' in that I had no intimate knowledge of those who choose to respond. Was I, as described by Schulz (1971:34), cited in Mercer (2007:8), "*a man*, (or in this case a woman), *without history – whereas the insider cannot escape his or her past*". Mercer (2007:11) argues that it is more helpful to conceive of 'insiderness' and 'outsiderness' as a continuum with many dimensions rather than as a single dichotomy. Identities are always relative, and cross cut by other differences such as age which is innate but still evolving as are the dimensions of time and place of the research. I concur with Hammersley (1993) cited in Mercer (2007:6) that

> "*there are no overwhelming advantages to being an insider or an outsider – each position has advantages and disadvantages, and these will take on*

slightly different weights depending on the particular circumstances and purposes of the research".

The validity of the data was increased by triangulating the findings across all participant groups, key themes were identified from the analysis of the different strands of qualitative and quantitative data and grouped together to create 'interconnecting' themes. Huberman (1995) cited in Webster and Mertova (2007:90) argues that access, honesty, verisimilitude, authenticity, familiarity, transferability and economy are key components of validity and reliability. Access can be viewed in two ways – firstly there is the access by readers to the cultural context and process of the construction of knowledge between the researcher and the participants. For this study, access was negotiated with all participants in advance with the time and place mutually agreed. Secondly, there is the access to the researcher's notes, transcripts and data on which the findings are based. In this thesis, some of this documentation is included as appendices, however due to the need for anonymity of the participants, the full interview transcripts cannot be made available. Verisimilitude or truthfulness of the study has been increased by the adoption of a mixed method approach for the data collection, analysis and the reporting of thematic findings.

5.11 Summary

This chapter outlined and justified the methodological approach which influenced and shaped this study. A mixed method, triangulated design, was developed for the concurrent collection and analysis of the primary and complementary data.

The characteristics of the three different participant groups were shared. The ethical considerations were outlined and demonstrated how the study was conducted within a framework of good practice. Strategies to ensure the validity and reliability of the data were outlined and justified.

6 Findings – care and accountability

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from the primary data generated through the interviews with the personal tutors from Buttercup college together with findings from the complementary data drawn from 'professional others', where relevant, to support the discussion[2]. This chapter has three sections. The first section interrogates the data by drawing on Renn's (2008) model of risk governance to frame the analysis of Buttercup college as: a) a bureaucratic organisation and b) its use of pastoral care as a key component of risk governance. The second section answers the first research question – *how is pastoral care structured at Buttercup college to support students with diverse needs?* The question is answered by demonstrating how pedagogical processes support a risk management model.

6.2 A model of 'risk governance'

The findings confirm that Buttercup college is very 'risk aware', for example, there are policies covering standardised risk assessments in terms of safeguarding, child protection and enrichment activities including off campus trips and visits. There are also policies on behaviour management to support personal tutors who

[2] Participants from the primary site are identifiable by the use of their pseudonym followed by (BC) (where BC refers to Buttercup college). Where complementary data is included from 'professional others' (FETN), their contribution is attributed by the use of labels, for example, T2 (FETN) indicates the 'comment' was made by a personal tutor, or M2 (FETN) indicates the quote is from a pastoral manager.

are the front line disciplinarians for those students who breach the college's 'code of conduct'. However, the evidence of 'risk governance' (as defined in Chapter 1) is more clearly understood by considering the overall strategic and operational functions of the college. I draw on the work of the IRGC (2005) and Renn's (2008) model of 'risk governance', (shown below) and use this model to interpret and understand the generation of risk knowledge before adapting the model to the key phases of the 'learner journey' in Buttercup college. While accepting that the 'risk governance framework' (IRGC 2005, Renn 2008) was designed for the study of risk in terms of environmental, industrial and chemically generated risks, it has proved a useful lens through which the strategic and operational functions of Buttercup college can be repositioned to illuminate how pastoral care activities are structured to reframe student needs as 'risks' within the college's model of risk governance.

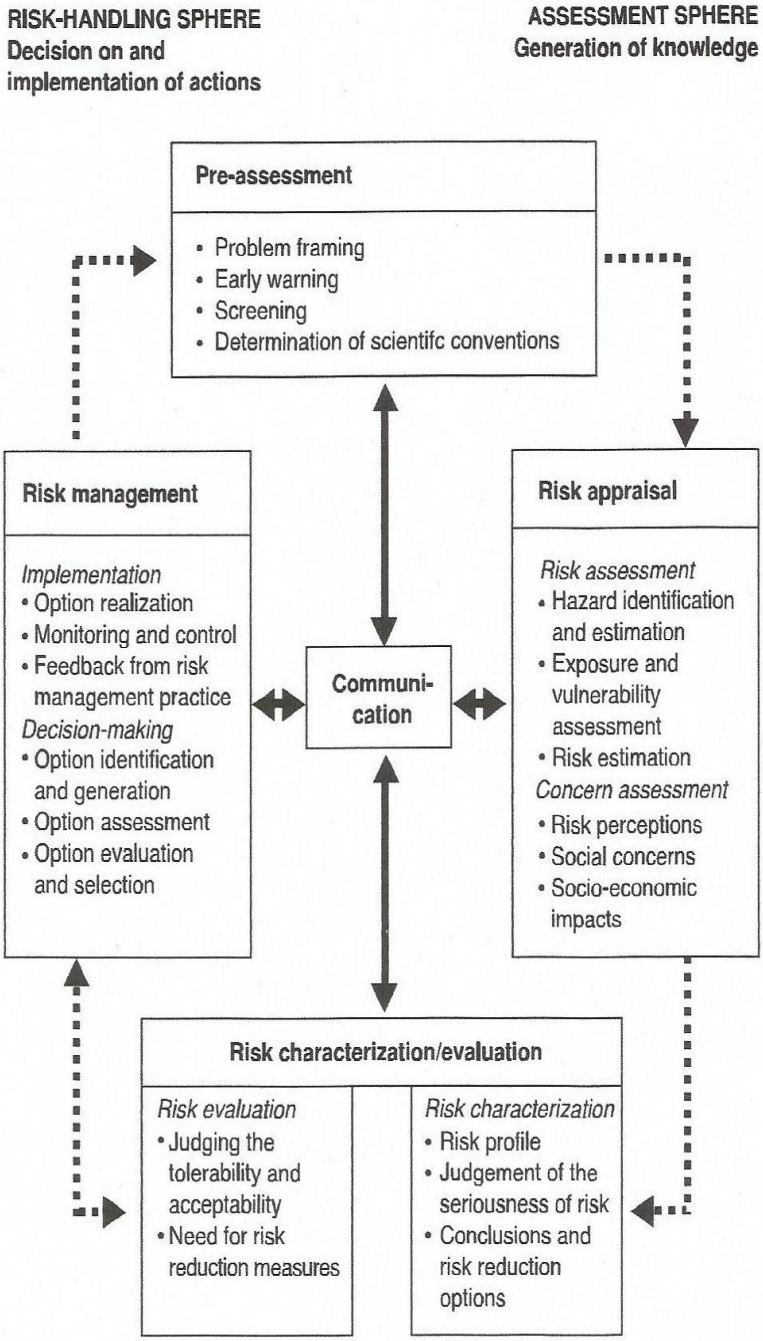


Figure 10.1 *Basic elements of the risk governance framework*

Source: adapted from IRGC, 2007, p6

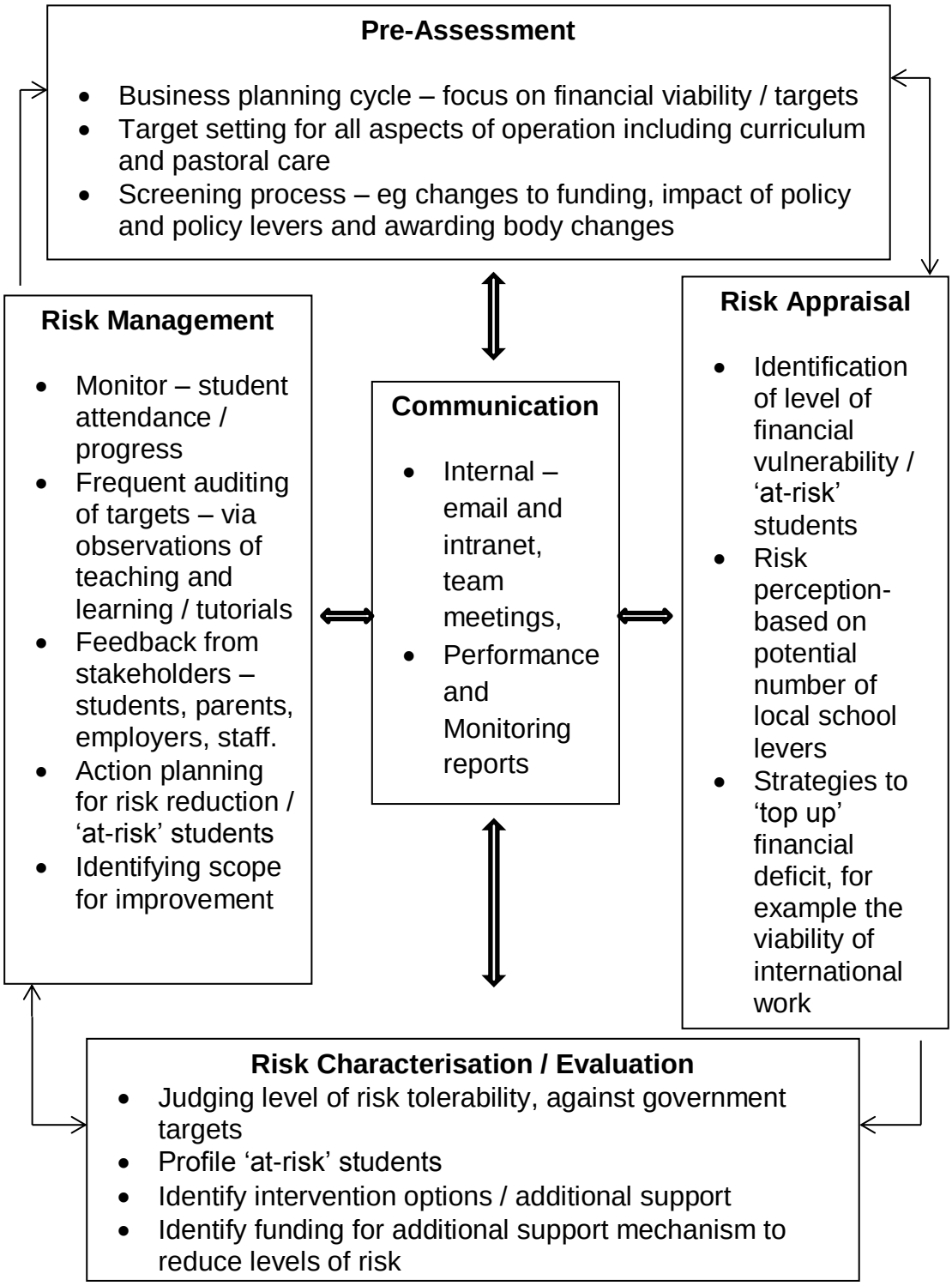
Renn (2008) argues that a 'risk governance framework' consists of four consecutive phases, and these are pre-assessment, appraisal, characterisation and management with risk communication included at all phases of the model. Renn (2008:65) advises that if the interpretation of evidence is the guiding principle *"for characterising risks, then risk assessors* (in this context, personal tutors) *are probably the most appropriate people to handle this task";* if the interpretation of underlying values and the *"selection of yardsticks for judging acceptability are the key problems, then risk managers* (in this context, pastoral managers) *should be responsible".*

In Buttercup college, the 'business planning' cycle (or pre-assessment stage in the risk governance model) begins in February each year and lasts up to six weeks. The primary objective of 'business planning' is to ensure the financial stability of the college. The college's 'Achievement Strategy' (2011:1) states that "*continuous improvement of retention, achievement and success rates is a key priority*" and in order to achieve these the college must set "*challenging achievement targets which are monitored and measured regularly against local and national benchmarks*". During the business planning period, curriculum and pastoral managers must present to the Principal the expected number of new students; the expected number of existing students progressing onto higher level courses; the expected income; staffing levels and details of the operating budgets required. Targets for recruitment, retention, success and progression are set by the Principal and subsequently cascaded downward to all staff, as Rose (BC) confirms "*we are very conscious of targets, we know we must keep them* (students) *coming in so we can meet the targets"*. Risk appraisal is also part of the business

planning cycle where the identification of the level of financial vulnerability is assessed, for example, changes to the funding methodology, the low recruitment of students to certain courses, or changes to assessment requirements.

The next page shows the adoption of Renn's (2008) model of risk governance and its application to Buttercup college activities. Pastoral care activities are then repositioned within this model to show how pastoral care is aligned to risk management strategies.

TABLE 5 BUTTERCUP COLLEGE'S RISK GOVERNANCE FRAMEWORK



Model adapted from Renn, O. (2008:365) *Risk Governance, coping with Uncertainty in a Complex World*.

The risk appraisal and the risk characterisation phase of the 'risk governance' model takes place in September when all new students are interviewed and formally assessed for literacy, numeracy and information technology skills. Those students identified as 'at-risk' at this stage will be subject to various interventions such as mentoring, additional curriculum support, counselling, or whatever intervention the personal tutor deems necessary for the student to be successful. The risk management phase of the model concerns the on-going monitoring of the student population in terms of their attendance, behaviour and progress with the sole purpose of keeping the number of early leavers to a minimum. The risk management phase is a highly active phase for both students and personal tutors and takes place through weekly tutorial sessions and formal progress review meetings held between October and March. Through the 'business planning' process and the use of numbering, systems of surveillance and control are put in place, creating a 'macro' panopticon model of education where the Principal is 'the eye of the keeper' (Foucault 1977) as staff are kept under constant supervision through the use of performance indicators such as targets, graded observations of lessons and appraisals. The structure of pastoral care, in this context, can be described as a 'micro' panopticon where the exercise of surveillance and control is enacted through the role of the personal tutors who act as 'the eye (or eyes) of the keeper' as they monitor, control and correct student behaviour (Foucault 1977). In this context, intervention is possible at any time as power relations are exercised spontaneously creating a situation where there is "*power of mind over mind*" in this field of visibility (Foucault 1977:206). The personal tutor, in this context, simultaneously plays two roles; on the one hand the subject of subordination and

observation; while on the other hand, the observer in the generalisation of the efficient and economic use of discipline, as outlined in the next section.

6.3 The structural provision of pastoral care at Buttercup college

This section answers the first research question - *how is pastoral care structured at Buttercup college to support students with diverse needs*? There is a formal process for administering pastoral care through timetabled weekly sessions, progress reviews, action planning and attendance and retention monitoring. Personal tutors have one hour per week to meet their tutees as a group and one hour per week to meet them on a one-to-one basis to discuss progress and deal with any emotional, social or behavioural issues. The content of group tutorials is standardised across college and includes the mandatory topics necessary to show compliance with the five ECM statements which aim to promote the personal, social, moral and cultural development of the students. Tutors report that there is insufficient time to cover the scheme and deal with the complex issues students present. Charles (BC) outlines the challenges, "*we are always playing catch up in terms of time; official time does not meet the needs of students*". Violet (BC) explains how "*you can use up a lot of your free time*" doing this role. Preventative work is carried out through personal tutors delivering specific workshops to target vulnerable groups, for example, raising awareness of the dangers of drug taking, smoking and anti-social behaviour, personal safety, employability, citizenship and, more recently, preventing violent extremism. Due to the complex nature of some of these topics, some workshops are co-presented with guest speakers such as serving police officers, youth workers, and behaviour specialists. It is recognised

that this aspect of pastoral care does enable individual students to receive advice and guidance to deal with personal problems. However, there is also evidence that this type of 'preventative work' is used to monitor the student population where personal tutors are required by the college to act as agents in the surveying of student behaviour and the labelling of certain behaviours as 'risks' which are then regarded as calculable and governable through the identification of a further range of interventions.

An analysis of the personal tutor records found that personal tutors focused mostly on 'reactive casework'– using one-to-one tutorials to identify and respond to the needs of individual students with problems of a social, emotional, physical, behavioural, moral or spiritual nature. This approach is evident of a system of pastoral power (Foucault 1994) where the emphasis is on the pre-assessment, appraisal and risk management of students. Andrew (BC) outlines how "*sometimes for the big issues time is needed to catch up*". Personal tutors regard the 'preventative' strategies as an early warning system to detect issues which might become 'critical incidents' at some point in the future – an attempt to reduce future 'reactive casework'. The analysis of the tutor records concluded that there was less emphasis on 'developmental' work aimed at promoting personal, social, moral, spiritual and cultural development however there was evidence that personal tutors did signpost students to online resources for these topics and to external support agencies, such as social services.

An analysis of the college policies found that only the Tutorial Policy and the Safeguarding Policy were directly relevant to the delivery of pastoral care. In the

late 1990s, a tutorial policy was developed which stipulated students' entitlement to weekly tutorials, regular and formal reviews of progress and support and guidance according to individual need. The policy serves to underpin the entitlement for all students to support and guidance in achieving the maximum benefit from their programme of study. The most recent version of the policy was dated 2005 and stipulates that:

> "*each full time learner will be made aware of the College's tutorial policy and allocated a personal tutor – the role of the Personal Tutor will be fully defined and explained in the Tutor Handbook*" (Appendix 19).

Prior to 2009, each personal tutor had their own copy of the 'Tutors Handbook' – an aid memoire for pastoral care, with details of key policies, procedures and examples of good practice. In 2009, senior management reduced the number of annual inset days available for developing and updating teaching resources. As a result the Tutor Handbook was not updated and became obsolete leaving those new to the role of personal tutoring without a valuable resource.

The structure of pastoral care is understood as a key component in the college's risk management strategy. The academic year commences in September when personal tutors interview new students (the pre-assessment and appraisal phase of the risk governance model (IRGC 2005, Renn 2008) and begin to identify and categorise those 'at-risk'. Risk assessment in terms of academic ability takes place through a formal process of literacy and numeracy tests, known as 'initial assessment', the outcome of which will determine the level of academic support required. Risk assessment of individual pastoral need transpires through a system of less formal tutorials and conversations. There is prior agreement between

tutors as to what ‘risk factors’ (Castel 1991) or ‘multiple disadvantages’ (Spours et al. 2007) will be included in the categorisation of students as ‘at-risk’ at this stage of the enrolment and assessment process – as tutors attempt to make the perceived risks ‘calculable and governable’ (Lupton 1999). As personal tutors engage in this exercise of risk perception, they are albeit unknowingly, producing a list of systemic risks (Renn 2008), to identify those students who are likely to become known only by their ‘increased vulnerability’ or ‘risky behaviour’ (Kelly 2003).

The ‘at-risk’ categories for 2010 are listed below:

- late entrants to the course (Mid to late September)
- in receipt of additional learning support
- having a negative attitude
- displaying inappropriate behaviour
- non achiever in previous year
- working part time and/or doing more than 12 hours per week
- with low level entry qualifications
- in care / foster care or leaving care
- subject to a health condition
- taking prescribed medication
- lacking in motivation
- not meeting punctuality / attendance targets

Personal tutors record their assessment of each student’s perceived level of risk and inform their programme leader so that additional support can be put in place, however this will depend on the funding available. This process concurs with Castel’s (1991:287) view that grouping together certain types of ‘risk factors’ by experts, in this case the personal tutors, sets off an automatic alert. This exercise of collecting and categorising ‘risk factors’ through the close surveillance of every student concurs with Foucault’s (1994) concept of pastoral power where the ‘confessional’ is used to extract knowledge which then identifies the need for intervention. The on-going monitoring of ‘risk factors’ can be aligned with the

management phase of the ‘risk governance’ model (Renn 2008). In their research with American university students, Singell and Waddell (2010:25) found that students who are predicted to be at-risk based on their attributes remain so throughout their college career.

The effectiveness of the tutorial process, a key element of pastoral care, is measured through:

1. Learner feedback obtained through the ‘Induction Survey’ which is completed in October and measures student response to their first few weeks in college (QUAN data);
2. The observation and grading of tutorial activities takes place throughout the academic year (QUAN data);
3. The sampling and auditing of tutorial tracking documents carried out three times during the academic year, (QUAL and QUAN data);
4. An analysis of attendance, retention, achievement against target completed weekly (QUAN data);
5. An analysis of complaints, usually completed twice in the academic year (QUAL data);
6. An analysis of disciplinary trends (QUAN data).

The effectiveness of the tutorial process is part of the college’s ‘Achievement Strategy’ and is measured primarily by drawing on QUAN data, as illustrated above, which reinforces the tutors’ belief that any ‘work’ which is not quantifiable is not recognised by the college.

6.3.1 The role of the personal tutor

In Buttercup college there is no job description or formal process of recruitment for the role of personal tutor – a situation which concurs with James and Gleeson's (2007) finding that informality, uncertainty and flexibility were regular features of the recruitment process and work situation of some FE practitioners. In Buttercup college, lecturers are invited by management to take on the role of being a personal tutor for a specific group of students, "*I was just asked to take on the role; it sort of evolved out of a restructure*" Charles (BC). For some, the acquisition of the role of personal tutor arose out of substituting for colleagues who were absent through illness, or as a result of re-organisation of the curriculum. Tutors are given an extra two hours each week to carry out this role working with a group of between 17 and 20 students. Lilly (BC) was appointed to a lecturing post in 1996 - one year later when her colleague was off ill, Lilly (BC) was asked to be a personal tutor for a business group: "*I did one year and was a personal tutor after that - that was it, nothing formal*" - currently she has 40 tutees in her care. Only one tutor interviewed said that the pastoral role was discussed at her interview for a lecturing post. There is no formal induction period for those new to the role of personal tutoring, however many self-select to work-shadow more experienced tutors until they feel confident in the role. This rather casual approach to recruitment suggests that senior management do not regard the role as important, yet the evidence from this study shows that "*it is a stressful role*" (Violet BC), and that "*being a personal tutor is not a soft option*" (Lilly BC). However, the findings show that senior management do select the best classroom practitioners to be personal tutors.

Graded lesson observations form a key part of the college's quality strategy and those teachers/lecturers who have performed well and who have good success rates are the tutors who are asked to take on the role of personal tutoring. It can be argued that by being a good teacher you are likely to be given more responsibility and increased workload by taking on the role as Violet (BC) explains:

> "*I think over the years I have put 110% into being a personal tutor and into pastoral care – it is a stressful role, but it does have its perks as well – you can't disagree with that – but there are some times you think, 'O No' but once they have left you with a qualification you think I have done my job*".

Despite Violet (BC) putting in '110%' she describes personal tutoring as a stressful role which concurs with Meyer (2009:73) who describes teaching as emotional practice and argues that this practice has implications for teacher identities. Violet's account shows how she compensates for the stress involved by focusing on the positive part she plays in the student's achievement. Violet's view also illuminates the tensions between her 'professional practice', her expertise as a teacher and the 'managerial paradigm' within which she is regarded as a 'flexible facilitator' (Randle and Brady 1997). Violet (BC) not only offers her manual and mental labour but also her emotions (Hochschild 1979). Colley (2006), drawing on Hochschild's work, argues that where emotional labour is used it often results, not in human bonding, but in alienation and burn-out.

Buttercup college's Tutorial Policy is dated 2005 and the reference handbook has been discontinued since 2009. This raises a concern as to how tutors define their role and ensure consistency in terms of support for students. In 2010 tutors were

provided with a broad definition of their role (Appendix 20). During the interviews personal tutors were asked what they perceived to be the key elements of their role and what challenges it presented. The findings highlight the moral and legal responsibilities embedded in the role of personal tutoring. The data suggests that tutors regard communication with students as crucial however this communication is predominantly related to problem solving; to the management of perceived or potential risks. In this context, personal tutors are exercising a form of 'bio power' (Foucault 1977:140) as they survey students to accumulate knowledge for the specific purpose of maximising productivity, that is the number of qualifications ultimately achieved. No tutor mentioned the delivery of tutorial or signposting to more specialist services as a key element of their role. The data also show how emotion work is used to build trusting relationships with students. In response to the question – 'what are the key elements of your role as a personal tutor', Violet (BC) said:

> "*I am one central point of contact for the students, so the students I have that I am personal tutor for I tell them that anything that they feel they can't talk about to other tutors, or indeed their parents, then they can come and see me and have a chat – so I would say I was a steadying influence while they are in college*".

Violet (BC) is a caring tutor, conscious of her role of *loco parentis* as she encourages students to talk to her. Violet's (BC) actions can also be interpreted as encouraging students to take up her offer of 'confessional' opportunities (Foucault 1994) to create a situation where she can 'act upon' them and be a 'steadying influence' on their behaviour. Violet (BC) goes on to explain that the most important part of her role is-

"*to help the students settle in the two years of their course – give them any support that they require inside college and just oversee them over the two years of the programme – and that could involve – I mean – you have to deal with personal issues with them, sometimes they come to you with personal problems, but it's good for them to have somebody there to help them – knowing that they are not on their own*".

For Violet (BC), the emphasis is on getting her students to 'settle in' and 'being there to help them' so 'they are not on their own' which demonstrates her active involvement in their care and emotional well-being. In Buttercup college there is an expectation that the learning environment is always presented to students as a safe, warm, friendly and caring environment.

For Rose (BC), the most important aspect of her role is;

"to make sure they are happy and to instil confidence into students and to not only get them a qualification but also to turn out students with qualifications who are also responsible human beings".

Rose (BC) is working with a professional script that is beyond the official description of her role firstly as a lecturer and secondly as a personal tutor. She is also informed in terms of policy and organisational expectations that she plays a part in, what Tony Blair (2005) described as the creation of the 'law-abiding citizen' or what Kemshall (2006) refers to as the creation of the 'prudential citizen' who becomes an active risk manager. Rose (BC) is also exercising a form of disciplinary power over her students to produce positive effects on their behaviour and attitudes and to get them ready for learning and prepared for employment – a

process akin to the concept of the ‘governable person’ as described earlier by Miller and O’Leary (1987).

Jasmin (BC) explains the key elements of her role as follows:

> “*ensuring their well-being, that is all encompassing, from making sure they are coping ok with the workload to making sure they are happy and interacting with other students; helping them resolve problems, a home problem, or college problem, work related or college social problems*”.

While Jasmin (BC) is demonstrating how she provides emotional support for her students, she is also outlining pastoral care as an ‘all encompassing’ model of emotional support that includes not only ‘tracking’ the student’s curriculum progress but also including wider ‘welfare’ concerns which concurs with Best’s (1999) view that pastoral care is no longer about getting to ‘know’ and ‘track’ the student but it is also now about accounting for the ‘welfare agenda’.

Charles (BC) also regards himself as ‘the one central point of contact’ which may explain why students report (Chapter 7) that they will seek out their personal tutor whenever they need them irrespective of the tutor’s teaching commitment. Charles goes on to explain:

> *I tell them that anything that they feel they can’t talk about to other tutors, or indeed their parents, then, they can come to me and have a chat; I am a steadying influence while they are in college”*.

Charles (BC) ‘steadying influence’ concurs with Best (1999) view that responsibility for ‘welfare’ brings with it the duties enshrined in the concept of the teacher in loco parentis. However, these students are aged between 16 and 19

therefore there is rarely a mention of the responsibility of 'loco parentis' in the wider context of FE. For Andrew (BC), the most important element of the pastoral role is "*to be there for the students, trying to be an assistant to them for everyday problems and issues as well as socialising*". Andrew's (BC) view that he is an 'assistant to them' implies that his understanding of pastoral care is an 'all encompassing' role – his reference to 'everyday problems' suggests managing behaviour and as such concurs with Fuerdi's (2009) view that socialisation can be used as a mechanism for behaviour control.

Personal tutors in Buttercup college were asked to identify the key challenges to the role and these are listed below:

- "*they all come with different problems but meeting their one to one needs is quiet a handful*" Rick (BC).
- "*the biggest* (challenge) *is trying to keep up with the students; keeping them on track – students do have issues behind the scene – taking on too many students, sometimes can become an issue if you have got two groups and you need to monitor each student"* Andrew (BC).
- "*the time constraints is one big thing because you have a lot of time tied up contacting parents and in individual meetings with students*" Rose (BC).
- *"each year things are altering, the balance is changing from teaching to social work, there is many, many hours spent with them*" Lilly (BC).
- *"making sure they are coping ok with the workload – making sure they are happy and interacting with other students"* Violet (BC).
- "*the biggest challenge, due to the nature of attendance, I now seem to be spending more time chasing them up rather than some of the more*

*important things. Good students get neglected because a lot of your time is spent doing other things. Every month when I get the 'sheet' (*performance monitoring sheet*) if mine aren't up there,* (on target), *its dead pressure - as the targets get higher it's harder for us then to keep the students engaged; to keep them coming in because if they don't come in they are not going to achieve; it's a catch 22 really*" Charles (BC).

The above list of challenges shows there is a common focus on time demands involved in delivering pastoral care. Having two groups increases the number of students to be monitored and requires more time to deal with the 'issues behind the scene' which is interpreted as 'issues' occurring away from the classroom. The time 'tied up contacting parents' is likely to be outside the formally recognised teaching and pastoral hours and in the tutor's own time. The 'nature of attendance' is interpreted to refer to the weekly monitoring of attendance, which is a college requirement, and the subsequent time involved in 'chasing' up those who are below target. Good students 'get neglected' is understood as those students who are already responsible and have already met or exceeded their personal target. Students with 'different problems' (Rick BC) is interpreted to mean students requiring either academic or emotional support. Rick's view that meeting one to one needs is 'quiet a handful' is interpreted as referring to the diverse nature of personal issues that students can present, problems Rick will have to sort out.

Lilly's perception that the balance is changing 'from teaching to social work' suggests that Lilly is recognising a change in her professional practice as a

teacher. Lilly's view concurs with Gleeson et al. (2005:17) who argue that as FE adjusts to accommodate 'issues of social justice and inclusion' it creates uncertainties for teachers as they address the personal problems of new types of 'included' student - their study found that "*this shift from 'teaching to welfare' arose in a number of interviews*". Ainley and Bailey (1997:68) also found that teachers were concerned about the changing nature of their role as they reported:

> "*we're having to spend more and more time supporting our students who are also not unaffected by the economic climate and various other things that are going on. So, that's not teaching either; that's about the kind of work you have to do outside the teaching to support students that are there*".

What's 'not teaching either' might now be described as pastoral care; that is 'what has to be done outside the teaching'.

Referring to the monthly monitoring, Charles (BC) says '*if mine aren't up there',* is interpreted as referring to the identification of those students who are on target and those who are not – his reference to '*its dead pressure as targets get higher'* is interpreted as an expression of frustration with this system of target monitoring, not only in terms of the students' performance but also in terms of Charles own performance as a teacher. This concurs with Ainley and Bailey (1997:45) who report on their interview with one Assistant Principal who stated that;

> *"we don't actually do register checks; what we do is to require information from individual teachers about their registers three times a year for our performance indicators, so they know that they're being monitored on absences*".

In their study of FE, James and Gleeson (2007:130) found that some tutors gave examples of frustration "*because regimes of funding, management and audit/inspection prevented or made more difficult the exercise of judgement based on experience*".

Findings from the complementary data ('professional others', FETN) show that similar issues are experienced by personal tutors across the region. In response to the question – 'what are the main challenges of being a personal tutor? Tutors' said:

- *"Time"* (T1, T8, T14 and T16).
- *"To not get too personally involved"*, (T2).
- *"Offering the right advice for various situations"*, (T3).
- *"Attempting to reconcile or find a way of resolving conflict between student / personal constraints and academic demands"*, (T4).
- *"Finding enough time for each learner and keeping up with the paperwork"* (T5).
- *"Too many students in my caseload"* (T6).
- *"Student well-being"* (T7).
- "*Collating all the progress information from subject tutors ready for 1:1 reviews*" (T9).
- *"Supporting, engaging and tracking"* (T10).
- *"The red tape that hinders us helping our students"* (T12).
- *"The time it takes outside of tutorials to deal with all things tutorial related"* (T13).
- *"Time and appreciation by managers of the depth, scope and responsibility of the role"* (T17).
- *"Behaviour"* (T18).

The lack of sufficient time is a recurring theme and concurs with Hart (1996) and Ainley and Bailey (1997). Not 'getting too involved' (T2, FETN) is interpreted as referring to the professional boundary that the tutor wants to keep between 'doing her job' and 'not getting too personally involved' in the student issues – which is interpreted as separating out the practices of 'teaching' from 'welfare'; this concurs with what James and Gleeson (2007) describe as a 'shift' from teaching to welfare.

The ‘red tape’ (T12 FETN) is interpreted as referring to the challenges presented by working within prescribed funding regulations and the target culture which dominates the professional practices of personal tutors. For another tutor, (T4 FETN), the challenge is ‘attempting to reconcile or find a way’ suggests a form of mediation (as defined in section 2.5.1) as the tutor tries to resolve conflicting situations between what course of action might best meet the personal needs of the student and the academic demands of their programme of study. ‘Resolving conflict’ (T4 FETN) can also be interpreted as managing the inappropriate behaviour of students. The lack of ‘appreciation by managers of the depth, scope and responsibility of the role’ (T17 FETN) concurs with James et al. (2007:96) that in some FE colleges, successful teaching and learning remain ‘hidden from view’, while Colley et al. (2007) argues that teaching in FE is of low status in the hierarchy of professions. The challenge of personal tutoring, as expressed by T17 (FETN), is comparable to what James and Diment (2003) describe as ‘underground working’ in their reference to a tutor whose work was not recognised by the community in which she practised.

The challenges of personal tutoring, as outlined above, can be aligned with Lipsky’s (1969) theory of street-level bureaucracy as outlined in Chapter 2, section 2.6.1 – as personal tutors in FE are teachers working in the public sector and regarded by students and parents as representing the ‘education wishes’ of the government. Personal tutors engage in the process of responsibilisation as they work with students to manage their own behaviour and take responsibility for their own learning. Personal tutors are also working on their professional perception of risk knowledge and risk communication as they enable students to be proactive in

the ‘art of self-government’ (Foucault’s 1994). The ‘lived experience’ of the personal tutors can be aligned to Foucault’s concept (1977:204) of ‘laboratories of power’ where tutors, through the mechanisms of observation and the ‘confessional’, acquire knowledge of students which in turn is used to modify their behaviour, to train and correct them. The exercise of power in this context is not added on from the outside, but is according to Foucault (1977:206), “so *subtly present* (in the tutors) *as to increase their efficiency by itself increasing its own points of contact”.* The emotional well-being of children, young people and vulnerable adults is a policy concern (Children Act 2004) and tutors are aware of their responsibilities for managing the needs of distressed students. In responding to student need tutors can express many different feelings, such as care, concern, empathy, sympathy, responsibility, frustration and anger. Personal tutors have to manage the negative and positive feelings of students as well as their own. The work of personal tutors can also be interpreted as ‘a product’ (James 1989) and in this context their ‘emotional labouring’ is a key component in the overall risk management strategy of the college. Personal tutors in Buttercup college, must draw on their own stock of emotional resources built up over time, their ‘emotional capital’ (Reay 2000:572) to support students to deal with ‘different problems’ particularly those identified as ‘vulnerable’ and in need of personal support.

6.4 Interconnecting themes

This section presents the emerging ‘interconnecting’ themes and these are; working to target, responding to policy and policy levers, accounting for professional conduct, managing and dealing with uncertainty and working with

reduced resources. The following sections address each theme in light of the theoretical discussions in earlier chapters.

6.4.1 Working to target

This study found that working to externally pre-defined targets was a concern for tutors, as Rick (BC) explains "*everything now is based on facts and figures which I think is wrong, because we are starting to move away from the education"*. Rick is aware of the financial implications attached to his professional role where he is, as argued by Rose (1999:152) required to 'translate' his actions and his professional values into an accounting value. The need to recruit and retain students is a priority as Andrew (BC) explains "*the organisation wants to keep students whatever the issues, but how far can we go*", which reflects Blackmore's (2004:441) view that performativity works as a disciplinary system of judgements, classifications and targets towards which schools, colleges, and teachers must strive and against and through which they are evaluated. Andrew's comment could be interpreted to express a frustration with the 'discipline of the market' (Shain and Gleeson 1999) as he makes the suggestion that the college keeps students to meet government targets 'whatever the issues'. Student success is measured and funded by the achievement of a formally recognised qualification, as Charles (BC) explains "*the government only funds students who pass – this is how this game works – if they don't pass we don't get funded*". Charles's view can also be interpreted as an expression of frustration with the 'promotion of the business ethic' (Day 2010) and the funding regulations of the EFA where,

according to Randle and Brady (1997) the qualification has become a quantifiable performance indicator.

Beck (1992:132) argues that "*individualisation delivers people over to an external control"* where the unseen institutional shaping of biographies begins to take place. Charles's (BC) reference to the 'game' can be interpreted as the 'market' where vocational qualifications are traded creating interventions which not only affect the organisation but also shape individual biography. Drawing on Foucault's (1994) concept of disciplinary power, Rose (1999) argues that the use of panoptic techniques of surveillance, individualising and normalising is creating a 'new game of power' between communities, associations and networks. According to Rose (1999:188) there is a 'new game of power' emerging between those who govern and the governed and this raises questions about -

> "*the kinds of people we are; the problems we face and the relations of truth and power through which we are governed and through which we should govern ourselves".*

Discussing the role of targets in managing pastoral care, Rose (BC) said tutors have no option "*but to roll with the government*" which concurs with Foucault's (1994) 'panopticion' model (outlined in Chapter 2) of constant surveillance and judgement of personal tutors and pastoral managers which reduces their 'resistant powers' while at the same time maximising their 'economic and social utility' (Rose 1999).

One aspect of the college's performance management strategy is to use a 'traffic lights' system to monitor student data – where green indicates on target, while

amber suggests a cause for concern and red indicates below target. This system has a dual function in that it is also used to monitor staff performance. Tutors are often confused by such performance indicators, as Rose (BC) explained:

> *"I do find statistics difficult to cope with because you can run a really good programme and it can go up and up and then it might dip a year and so you are flagged up as 'red'* (under target) – *I think it was last year we were flagged up as a red programme and we were told that even though our figures, for retention and success, were in the 80s and 90s we had a dip that meant we were flagged up as 'red' – but another programme's figures were in the 40s but as they had constantly gone up they were not flagged as red, yet we were doing nearly twice the amount. It's always been a bugbear of mine - retention has got to be a lot more difficult for two years than for one year, often students think they are all grown up after completing the first year and leave college".*

The use of the 'traffic lights' as a monitoring tool can be interpreted as an element of the risk governance model (Renn 2008) discussed previously or as a mechanism in the 'conduct of conduct' (Foucault 1994). The 'traffic lights' system is a common monitoring tool used in other colleges as outlined by a participant in this study - *"we use an amber alert mechanism to act as a trigger for personal tutors",* (M10 FETN). The use of an 'alert mechanism' can also be interpreted as the 'physical representation' of what Lipsky (1969) describes as a sense of psychological threat that public sector workers can experience – in the context of FE the fear of not achieving predefined targets seems to be always present. Hargreaves and Shirley (2009:33) argue that only a small percentage of teachers

are able to generate consistently high outcomes each year, in reality "*teachers and students have bad years*". On the other hand, Jasmin (BC) argues "*targets make you look after your students a bit more"*. While there is an acceptance by tutors that "*targets are always going up*", Rick (BC), there is also recognition that pastoral care is a vehicle through which college targets are achieved. According to Lilly (BC) "*it is the personal tutorship that make students' meet targets*" – this view concurs with Mennicken and Miller's (2012) theory of '*calculable practices'* where accounting technologies are used to create the professional, in this case the personal tutor, who '*knows the cost of one's actions*' in the construction of the '*governable person'*, the student, through systems of pastoral power with the objective of meeting government targets.

Working to target also positions tutors in competition with each other, as outlined by Jasmin (BC), "*if the student fails it looks bad for the tutor and staff can be de-motivated by this – last year someone did not pass and it came back on me*". Jasmin (BC) is expressing a sense of 'personal failure' which is brought about by the organisation's individualisation of risks whereby the outcome is no longer regarded as an event that just happened, as if it were a 'stroke of fate', but is seen as a consequence of the decisions made by the individual. Beck (1992:136) argues that in the individualised society there is also an additional burden in the form of 'guilt ascription' which will give rise to new types of personal risk in the emergence of a changed personal identity. When students do not achieve the expected grades, there are often mitigating factors, for example, many students have low grades on entry and despite making good personal progress will continue to be regarded as low achievers.

In response to the question - *With the increased emphasis on meeting targets, how does this impact on your role as a personal tutor?* Andrew gave the following response:

> *"As a personal tutor, I am wearing two hats here because I am course tutor and this is what you have got to have to achieve – on the other hand as a personal tutor, I have got to get to all the students, make sure they are stable, got the right number of students - one or two students might be very high risk and I have tried every support, everything in place, they might have to be moved on – but we do tend to find that the key area has to be the personal tutorship to ensure those students are on target"*.

Andrew has three roles, that of teacher, personal tutor and course tutor (also known as course leader or programme leader). As a course tutor, Andrew has responsibility for over sixty students and this involves communication with a range of subject tutors to track the progress of all students. As a personal tutor his role includes ensuring the emotional welfare of his tutees – 'making sure they are stable' is interpreted as making sure there are no risk factors, no risk knowledge which would warrant action. For Andrew the achievement of targets is clearly linked to his role as a personal tutor.

Personal tutors in Buttercup college also have a target, based on current class numbers, for progressing students onto university, however this target is not always realistic according to Violet (BC) "*there is an expectation that all will progress to university, but students need to be capable of going to university*". Andrew (BC) was concerned *"that there is a perception that students can progress*

whatever the issues". At the end of each academic year, usually in June, personal tutors arrange 'taster sessions' and visits to local universities. The objective of this activity is two-fold; firstly there is the need to provide students with advice and guidance on progression opportunities; secondly, there is a need to generate evidence for the funding and inspection authorities that the college provides this facility. The outcomes of such progression initiatives are also monitored by management as part of their business planning process to establish in advance how many students will be progressing internally onto higher level courses and how many will be leaving college.

Working towards target creates pressure on tutors to keep students despite what maybe in the best interest of the student or member of staff – as Jasmin (BC) explains "*the pressure to keep students falls on the personal tutor*". Tutors comment on how they know a young person is not ready to be in college because of their level of immaturity or lack of commitment, but the only way to exclude a student is through the disciplinary process, however this can take time and many tutors complain of its cumbersomeness, as Charles (BC) explains - "e*ven if I know it's right for him to go, I have to say you can't, I need you".*

6.4.2 Responding to policy and policy levers

Fertig (2003) argues in his study of tutorial support that lecturers 'professional desire' to aid learning was in contrast to their 'managerial' imperative for financial security. In this study, personal tutors acknowledged the constraints of the target culture but they also demonstrated strong pedagogical views which were in

contrast to the 'managerial' paradigm within which they operated. For example, tutors frequently spent their own time dealing with students' personal issues and felt they had a responsibility "*to be there for the students outside tutorial time*" Charles (BC). Traditionally, the tutoring role was often limited to a more administrative task with the cascading of information and the checking of attendance and progress (Bullock and Wikeley 2004). The empirical data suggests that this is no longer the case and the role now encompasses a wide range of responsibilities, for example "*to set SMART targets, track attendance and monitor retention and achievement" (*Appendix 20); which positions tutors as accountable for organisational targets which in turn are related to targets set by the EFA.

The rules and regulations of the EFA, the government's funding agency, is the most significant policy lever for the FE sector. Lilly, (BC) highlights how "*we are living around retention and success targets"*. Through the EFA's authority the government creates an accounting relationship with each college creating, what Rose (1999:198) describes as 'a composition of networks of numbers' which connect the political powers with those they wish to govern. Charles (BC) points out "*targets drive the decisions we have to make*" – a view which concurs with James (2011:117) that one of the key drivers of policy is the role of FE in the wider economy which is often justified in the context of global competitiveness. The academic success of students is crucial to the financial stability of the college; any student underperforming against target requires intervention, as Rick (BC) explains, "*if students' don't pass we don't get funded at the end of the day - because that is how this game goes".*

Tutors struggle with the concept that one student will attract additional funding and another will not. For example, a student who suffers from dyspraxia is identified as having additional learning needs and therefore will attract additional funding which would provide a mentor or support worker to be assigned to that student; on the other hand a student who has behavioural problems, self-harms, or is bullying others will not generate any additional funding yet the personal tutor is likely to spend more time with this type of student.

The following table illustrates:

TABLE 6 CURRICULUM FUNDING

Aspect of provision	Funded
Curriculum – main qualification	Yes
Student has additional learning need – eg dyspraxia – impacts on learning	Yes
Tutorial and Guidance	Yes
Social/Personal Risk Factors – for example student displays threatening behaviour which impacts negatively on teaching and learning.	No

Spours et al. (2007) argues that the lack of specific funding to support the needs of learners was a concern and concurs with M10 (FETN) who would like to see *"identified funding to support emotional and social behavioural difficulties in the manner that dyslexia, dyspraxia and aspergers are supported*". According to M6 (FETN), funding should be "*improved to facilitate more group and individual support"*.

6.4.3 Accounting for professional conduct

Formal accountability to parents, students and the collective community of teachers is generally accepted, however accountability as a means of measuring performance is regularly contested (Johnson 2005). This study found that personal tutors can have multiple professional identities – teacher, personal tutor, programme leader and course co-ordinator. The boundary between these various roles is often blurred and compounded by the responsibilities of pastoral care, as Lilly (BC) explains "*the balance is changing from teaching to social work*". Historically, the personal tutor had an academic focus on tracking student performance, now the emphasis is on student well-being. This is also a concern, identified in the data from 'professional others', as T2 (FETN) asks "*where is the line between personal tutor and counsellor and personal tutor and social worker?*", and for T17 (FETN) the concern is similar as she asks "*where is the line between personal tutor and counsellor/social worker*". For T8 (FETN) the main challenge is "*keeping the boundaries between academic, tutorial and pastoral*". The references above to 'the balance is changing', 'the line between' and 'keeping the boundaries' suggests these tutors are aware of a tension between their 'academic' role and their 'tutorial/pastoral' role. This concurs with James and Gleeson (2007:129) who describe, in their study of FE, "*a perceived shift from teaching to welfare"*. The references to 'counsellor' and 'social worker' concur with Maunders et al. (1991) who found the tutorial role involved the use of counselling skills. Research carried out by Ainley and Bailey (1997) found that lecturers in FE attributed falling standards to the demands of new qualifications and the changed nature of the student body which they saw as demanding more help and support from them.

Research carried out in four UK schools by Brown (2004:205) also found that "*there were difficulties drawing boundaries and establishing the role of the pastoral care worker*".

In research carried out by Hargreaves (1994:142), one of his participants described teaching as "*a profession that when you go home, you always have stuff that you think about - you think, I should be doing this; I feel guilty sitting down*". The performance management of personal tutors, in Buttercup college, includes formal and graded observations of lessons and tutorials, monthly course reviews, weekly monitoring of attendance and retention data and yearly appraisals. This study found that personal tutors view the performance of those students identified as 'at-risk' as a key category in the organisation's judgement of their professional performance. Rick (BC) argues that "*this is how this game goes; we have to ensure our students pass; the only way we can do that is if we give them sometimes more than they need*". The course timetable is the official record of the funded hours available for teaching and pastoral care; 'giving them more than they need' suggests the tutor is using their 'free time'. While giving students additional support in the tutor's own time is very commendable, it can mask the challenges reported by other tutors, (Rose, Charles and Lilly) who say they don't have sufficient time on the timetable. Funding for teaching and pastoral care in FE has been reducing year on year, as outlined in section 3.4.2, which is in contrast to the view of the government outlined in its White Paper (2010) that nothing matters more in improving education than "*giving every child access to the best possible teaching – no profession more vital and no service more important than teaching*" (DfE, Importance of Teaching 2010:3).

This study found that the daily experience of those tutors interviewed to be more akin to that of the managerial professional as described by Brennan (1996:22) cited in Sachs (2001:152) as

> "*a professional who clearly meets corporate goals, set elsewhere, manages a range of students well and documents their achievements and problems for public accountability purposes*".

Sachs (2001) claims that there are two discourses, democratic and managerial professionalism that are shaping the professional identity of teachers. A democratic discourse focuses on collaboration and co-operation between teachers and other educational stakeholders. The managerial discourse, on the other hand, gives rise to what Sachs (2001:159) describes as an 'entrepreneurial identity', an identity in which:

> *"the market and issues of accountability, economy, efficiency and effectiveness shape how teachers individually and collectively construct their professional identities".*

After Incorporation (1992) Buttercup college, like other FE colleges, became a business and began to develop a culture of managerialism with increased emphasis on efficiency and performance management. A new culture of accountability was introduced by the funding authority which was at the time the FEFC. Twenty one years after Incorporation (1992), this study finds that the culture of managerialism and accountability has become well embedded in Buttercup college. There is a continuous drive for efficiency, for example when the academic results are good, there is pressure on tutors to make further

improvements, as Rose (BC) explains "*when you do well you are creating a rod for your own back, last year I got 97% retention and this year this target was moved up to 98%*". Rose's comment, 'creating a rod for your own back' is interpreted as a frustration with the college who have increased her retention target to 98%. Rose's view concurs with Lipsky (1969:8) that street-level bureaucrats (as defined in section 2.5.1) can 'develop frustrations' with the institution as it imposes what is perceived to be additional challenges which impact on their professional judgement.

The introduction of the Children Act (2004) extended teachers' duty of care for children, young people and vulnerable adults and added to the existing legal requirements derived from 'common law' duty of care and the duty arising from their contract of employment – duties embedded in the new Teachers' Standards (DfE 2012) effective from September 2012. The requirements of the Children Act (2004) meant that all teachers in Buttercup college had to complete additional training to understand the legal implications of the Act (2004) and to acquire the knowledge and skills necessary to deliver the 'preventative' teaching required to cover the five ECM outcomes, for example workshops on personal safety and substance misuse; while pastoral managers had to complete additional training to improve their child protection and safeguarding practice. Rose (1999:234) argues that 'continuous training' is a component of the 'control society' reflecting a new individualisation of security achieved through the responsibilisation of individuals in the organisational management of risk. The role of education is questioned by Rose (BC) as follows:

"if we are turning out students with qualifications who are not decent human beings then we are not doing our job – sometimes that gets lost because it's not quantifiable, its vitally important, I think, for people to learn to be decent human beings and a lot of them don't come in with those skills".

Rose's reference to 'sometimes that gets lost because it's not quantifiable' concurs with Randle and Brady's (1997) view that aspects of work which are not visible and measurable become undervalued. Rose's concern is also interpreted by considering the view of the American sociologist, Hannah Arendt (1961) who argued that children and young people are introduced by adults into a continuously changing world and in education this responsibility for the world takes the form of authority. However Arendt also identified a crisis particularly at that time in American education, she said:

"*the problem of education in the modern world lies in the fact that by its very nature it cannot forgo either authority or tradition, and yet must proceed in a world that is neither structured by authority nor held together by tradition"* (Arendt 1961:195).

During the study, personal tutors expressed concern at their lack of control over events that occur outside the campus. For example, many students work part time and this often results in students being late or too tired to attend classes. The current economic crisis is also having an impact on family finances leaving less money available for books and transport. Students are encouraged to be proactive in gaining employment experiences, however if this starts to impact on their learning then it is regarded as an 'at-risk' issue. There is an increasing number of students arriving with 'at-risk' issues each year, such as those involved

in criminal activity, taking illegal drugs and self-harming, issues that Jasmin (BC) feels strongly about, *"the majority of these social issues are outside my control*", yet Jasmin has a 'duty of care' (Children Act 2004) for such off-campus problems. Jasmin is likely to respond to those 'social issues' through a process of mediation (Wallace and Hoyle 2005) as she works around issues that impact on students' achievement; and in this context, her view that 'issues are outside her control' concurs with Lipsky's (1969) theory that street-level bureaucrats, as defined in Chapter 2, have limited control over their clients' actions.

All personal tutors interviewed regarded themselves as caring, supportive and adaptable and wanted the best outcome for their tutees, as Violet (BC) explains

> "*we need to give the students all we can and enable them to mix with other students across college, to break down barriers between the more academic and the vocational*".

Violet (BC) is taking responsibility for the socialisation of students as she attempts to address the on-going debate between the values of vocational and academic education. According to Furedi (2009) policymakers view the curriculum as a tool for the correction of wider cultural and behavioural problems and 'by extension' teachers become mediators in the process of socialisation. Research carried out by Calabrese et al. (2007:7), in their American study, found that teachers working with 'at-risk' students view themselves as 'difference makers' but acknowledged that it was the rapport and relationship building that took place outside the classroom that made the real difference to the 'at-risk' students' academic outcomes.

6.4.4 Managing and dealing with uncertainty

This study found that personal tutors respond to uncertainty by developing a range of coping strategies. According to Rose (BC) *"there are so many different circumstances that you could never anticipate for every single thing you are going to come across".* Tutors are held accountable for success targets and in July (the end of the academic year) final data is produced. Tutors are pro-active in their own 'survival' planning so they over-recruit, if possible, the previous September, as explained by Charles (BC), *"the strategy is to over enrol, then you can let someone go - we play this game, so we have to give as much personal support as needed so they do pass*". Another strategy used by Rose (BC) is to "*build in action planning weeks to meet targets"* and to "*do extra workshops if needed*". These 'coping' tactics of over-recruiting at the beginning of the academic year could be counter-productive, as tutors have a large number of students to manage at the beginning of the academic year. The tutors' example concurs with Furedi's (2006:8) view that in contemporary times "*fear migrates freely from one problem to the next without there being a necessity for causal or logical connection*".

Personal tutors are continually trying to predict what might occur that will impact on their pre-defined targets, as Jasmin (BC) explains "*even in meeting your enrolment targets you have to be mindful that further down the line someone (eg student) might get a job and disappear".* Jasmin's (BC) view is consistent with Denzin's concept of 'emotional understanding' (cited in Meyer 2009) in that teachers must reach into their own past emotional experiences to comprehend the emotions of their students in order to make the correct decisions. Jasmin (BC) is

fearful that any of her students may find a job and leave before the course is completed; a view likely to be based on the 'knowledge' she has gained of each student's particular personal circumstance; or a view based on her past experience. Jasmin's concern about the need to meet achievement targets as well as enrolment targets concurs with Ainley and Bailey's (2007:45) finding that "*the difficulty for a college is that if a student drops out they just disappear so you don't get paid any more for a student that you thought you'd enrolled*".

Some personal tutors use a 'travelling register'; an unofficial paper-based register which is passed on from lesson to lesson via the students and submitted to the personal tutor at the end of the day. This is a useful strategy for the personal tutor to identify quickly, through 'live data', those students who are absent from classes taken by other teachers and whose parents must be contacted, as Rose (BC) explains "*you have a lot of time tied up in contacting parents, in individual meetings with students especially if any issues crop up when you yourself would be in class".* Lilly (BC) manages uncertainty by being "*self-reliant and being part of a team"*, whereas for Rick (BC) the personal tutor needs "*to be capable of encompassing everything; whatever comes along*". Charles (BC) has a system to

> "*keep track of them, on-going monitoring and the need to log patterns of behaviour and if there is a negative pattern, we know they* (the students) *will fail".*

For Andrew (BC) the key is "*you have to spot things quickly such as family problems and social issues*". The personal tutors' response to uncertainty concurs with Kelchtermans et al. (2009:216) view that vulnerability in teaching exists when teachers are not in full control of their working conditions, such as policy demands

and regulations; where working conditions are imposed on them through legal frameworks and policy directives. In this study, personal tutors are making decisions about what to do and how to react to 'as yet unknown risks'. The tutors actions reflect Beck's (1992) view that subjects are 'active' today to prevent their 'projected' dangers of the future.

6.4.5 Working with reduced resources

In the context of this study, resources refers to a) the amount of time given to a tutor to perform their role, for example, two hours per week for pastoral duties, and b) the range of teaching and learning materials they can access, the support they receive from managers and the availability of other college facilities such as counselling. Personal tutors report that they don't have sufficient time for key aspects of their role, as Lilly (BC) explains:

> "*each year you see the difference in the student and each year they are coming with more and more baggage and instead of giving us time to help them, we are having our time cut because it is more important for them to achieve, to be here, and get a qualification at the end, than it is to turnout a well-rounded individual capable of going and finishing a university course- that they are able to. We don't get the extra hours that we ask for and each year we are finding we need more because it certainly isn't a soft option being a personal tutor anymore*".

Lilly's comments suggest that she perceives a change in her professional practice as she deals with students who have 'more and more baggage' and without the extra hours requested. Biesta et al. (2007:146) argue that since the 1950s reform

in FE has focused on solving the perceived social and moral problems of young people. Working with reduced resources concurs with Lipsky's (1969) theory of street-level bureaucracy that public sector workers, such as teachers, lack sufficient time to make and act upon decisions as they manage individuals who require intense personal attention. Lilly's (BC) reference to a 'well-rounded individual' suggests she holds a view that young people should be offered a broad education. Public debate on the funding of FE and the needs of young people are divorced from the opinions of personal tutors, as communication between the EFA and college management excludes the 'lived reality' of personal tutoring, however, blame cannot be levelled entirely at the organisation as its own survival depends on providing 'more for less', ultimately responsibility lies with government. Furedi (2009:20) argues that a significant portion of the resources and energies devoted to education are wasted when *"society loses sight of the importance of young people's education as an intrinsically worthwhile activity".*

According to Andrew (BC) "*there is a lot to this role*". It is common practice for students to seek out their personal tutor whenever they need them; "*students think the personal tutor is available anytime anywhere*" Rose (BC). Personal tutors frequently comment on how they have to "*put in a lot of personal time*" Violet (BC) to meet student needs. This is an interesting outcome in terms of the investment of personal time in addition to the implications for their own work/life balance. One of the difficulties for the personal tutor is that they do not see their tutees on a daily basis. The majority of personal tutors will teach their tutees for at least one subject but, given that some personal tutors have up to 40 tutees, it can be an onerous task to check on all of them on a daily basis, as Lilly (BC), explains:

"*not seeing your tutees everyday but still having to keep track of them. I am doing tutorials of one hour with the students because of everything they want to talk about, the relationship with their families, their friends – they feel they can just sit and unburden themselves because they have so much expectation, but as they have no one to talk to we are the link, which is why I think it is important that they feel they can actually see you when they need to talk to you now*".

Lilly is performing a key aspect of pastoral care which is 'reactive' care (Best 1999) in that she is keeping track of students to prevent emerging issues for developing into critical incidents. Lilly (BC) is also using 'counselling skills' as she supports students who 'unburden' themselves – this concurs with research carried out by Van Laar and Easton (1994) who found that lecturers frequently act as 'counsellors'. It was suggested to Lilly (BC) that because she was giving them (students) the opportunity to catch up with her anywhere, she was setting herself up to be busy. Lilly explained her worry that they might have nobody else to talk to and;

"*sometimes you have that conflict that you are spending more time with the ones who have got problems, although the others don't need you, in your head you think am I being quite fair here – yes, the problem is the lack of time*" (Lilly BC).

The lack of time for teaching was also a key finding in research carried out in the US by Bird and Little (1986 cited in Hargreaves 1994:96) who argue that "*time is particularly important for breaking down teacher isolation and developing norms of*

collegiality". In the UK, Campbell's (1985 reported in Hargreaves 1994:97) research in ten primary schools found that "*time here is a scarce resource worth supplying in greater measure to secure school improvement*". The lack of time is also consistent with research carried out by Hart (1996:89), who found that

> "*the average number of students allocated to a personal tutor was 19.5, and the average weekly time allowed to tutorial work was 90 minutes – however one third of tutors claimed to spend more than 3 hours per week on tutorial duties*".

Resources are a key concern, as Rose (BC) explains:

> "*Looking back at the resources for tutorials over the past 10 years – it's diminished - the main priority for the college is the main qualification - anything that is measurable - anything that is achievable – it will tick a box and that's the important thing*".

Rose's view that the priority for the college is just the achievement of the main qualification is linked to the government accountability agenda where success is judged only in terms of league tables, examination results and other measures of performance such as the number of FE students who progress to higher education. According to Hargreaves (1994:103) system wide accountability could be achieved through sampling rather than "*through profligate and politically controlling systems*".

A different view on resources is presented by Andrew (BC) -

> *"we have all the resources available – everything is hands on in our systems – resource wise they are all updated and they are all on line and sometimes we devise things for ourselves maybe through our peers – if I come across something, then I pass it on*".

Andrew designs websites so he is very skilled in using electronic resources and uses his skills to support other personal tutors by providing them with resources electronically. Andrew's action concurs with findings from Shain and Gleeson's (1999:459) study that lecturers share resources "*in the interests of time and self-preservation*" and "*in spite of rather than because of official policy agendas*".

6.5 Summary

This chapter presented the findings aligned to the concepts of 'care' and 'control'. It presented the structural provision of pastoral care in Buttercup college by aligning its key components to the college's risk governance framework (Renn 2008). The findings identified five interconnected themes; 'working to target, responding to policy and policy levers, accounting for professional conduct, managing and dealing with uncertainty and working with reduced resources' – themes which are carried forward to the final chapter for further discussion.

7 Findings – supporting the 'vulnerable' and controlling the 'dangerous'

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from the primary quantitative data drawn from the survey of vocational students. The findings present Buttercup college as a 'centre of calculation and action' (Rose 1999) where power relations are enacted to bring about the engagement of students in their own self-governance. The first section presents the student experience of pastoral care and identifies two key themes; 'dangerous behaviour' and 'emotional support'. The second section draws on findings from the primary qualitative data and draws parallels with the personal tutors' perspective of managing 'at-risk' students; three key themes are presented: 'counselling those in need', 'resolving conflict' and 'managing risk factors'. The final section highlights the professional development needs of personal tutors.

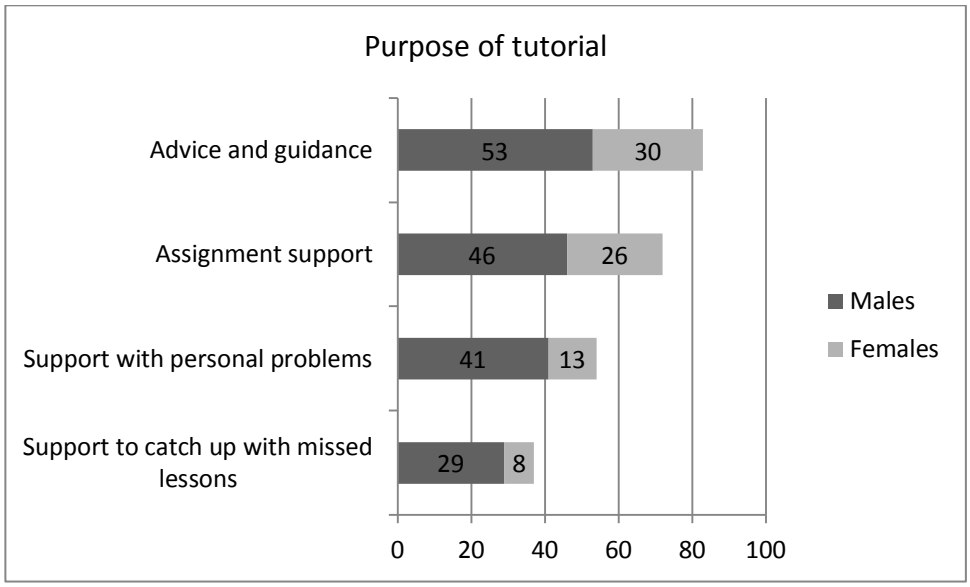
7.2 Student experience of pastoral care

This section presents the findings from 96 questionnaires completed by full time vocational students (BC) and provides the answer to the fourth research question – *'what are the students' experiences in terms of personal support'?* The sample is representative of the curriculum area where the majority of students studying business are male. Of the 96 participants, 59 were male and 37 female; all aged between 17 and 20 at the time of the survey, as follows:

Age	Males	Females	Total
17	30	10	40
18	16	9	25
19	10	14	24
20	3	4	7
Totals	59	37	96

The data from the questionnaires was used to create frequency distribution tables, using absolute numbers, to count the number of 'occurrences'; the number of student responses to each variable in questions 3 to 10 (Appendix 12). For example, students were asked in question 6 what they considered to be the purpose of tutorial; their responses are shown, in absolute numbers, in table 7 below:

TABLE 7 PURPOSE OF TUTORIAL



An analysis of the electronic registers finds that the average attendance at weekly tutorials was very good at 95% - above the college target of 90%, however the students' perception of the tutorial function is largely curriculum focused. The data, table 7, shows an over-reliance on tutorial time for curriculum support and suggests that students could be struggling in their lessons or are not managing their 'self-study' time effectively. Using the tutorial time to support tutees with

assignments is challenging for the personal tutors as this means that the prescribed tutorial 'scheme of work' is not being adhered to on such occasions. There is no provision for students to catch up with 'missed' lessons. "*I get two hours a week for each group; it is by no means enough"* Lilly (BC). According to Andrew (BC)

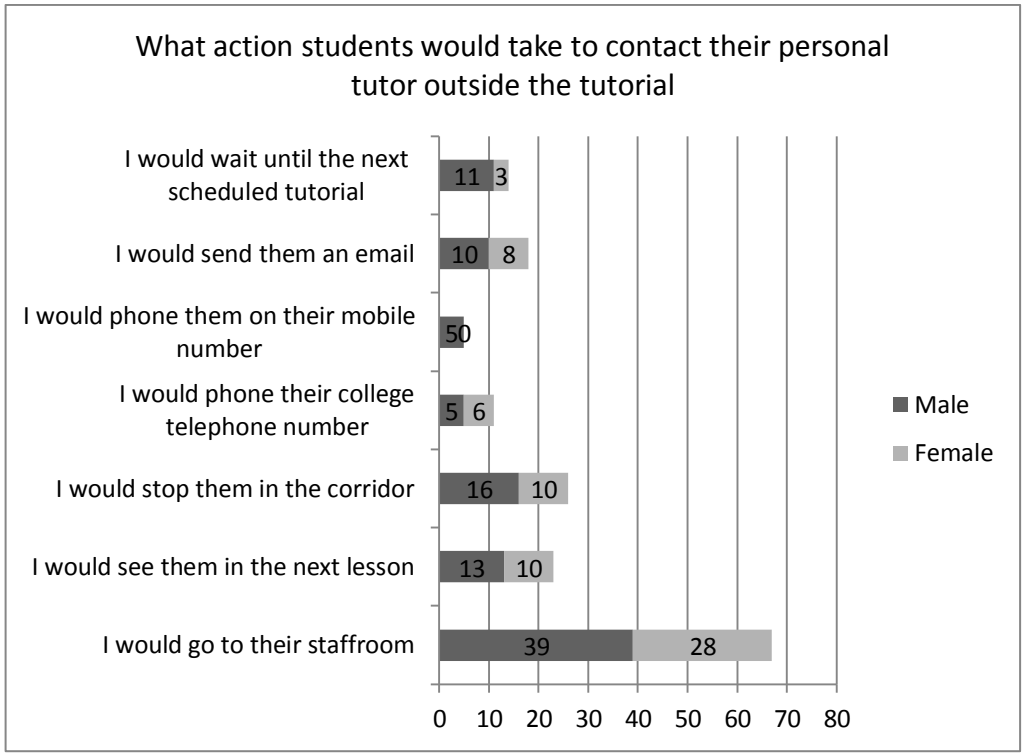
> "*the two hours is basically making sure you get the paperwork done – sometimes they want ad hoc meetings in the corridor or they are banging on the staffroom door – saying, can I have a chat, I have got this issue*".

It is not contested that a key role of personal tutoring is to provide advice and guidance and a large proportion of males and females access this through tutorials. A large number of students (54) also expect support with personal problems. Given the age range of the participants (17 to 20) this 'dependency' on the personal tutor for support with personal issues is interesting. One interpretation is that this 'dependency' is a reaction to the personal tutors' own reiteration to students to discuss with them all issues impacting on their learning. Ainley and Bailey (1997:66) report, in their study of FE, that teachers complained of the lack of time available for dealing with students' problems, as illustrated below:

> "*they stop you in the corridors. They are always coming into the room and they need help and you can't really say, look, I'm too busy. I've got too much workload. I can't really deal with you now, go away".*

Students were asked (Question 7, Appendix 12) how they would contact their personal tutor if they needed support outside their allocated tutorial session; their responses are shown below:

TABLE 8 STUDENT OPTIONS TO CONTACT PERSONAL TUTOR (BC)



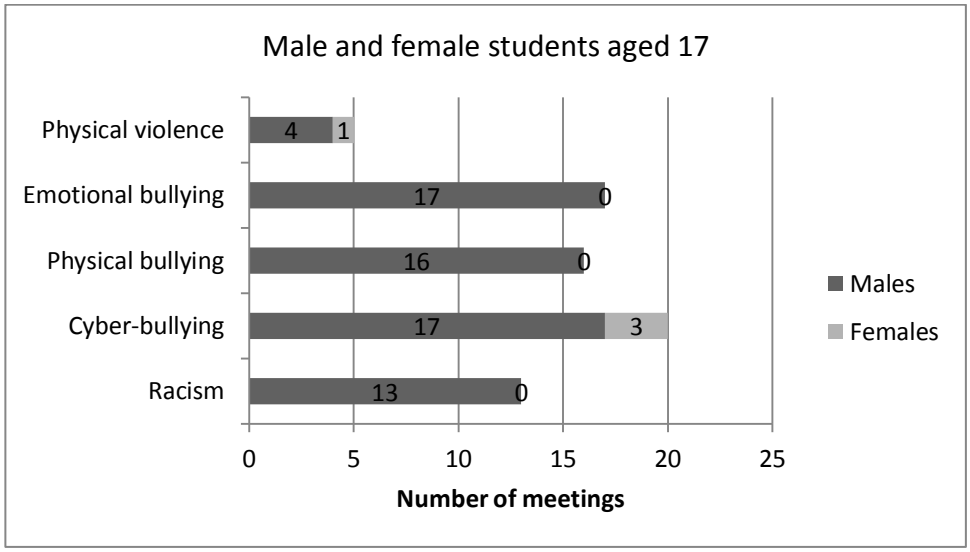
The table above is consistent with the responses from the personal tutors in that students expect them to be available at any time and concurs with McLennan (1991) that the choice of helper for students in distress is determined by the student's perception of their own pressing need for help. However, such a large number of students (67) knocking on the staffroom door on a regular basis will be a challenge as it is likely their personal tutor may be in class and a subject tutor may have to deal with the enquiry or alternatively the student returns later when the personal tutor has returned to the staffroom. The number of students (26) who said they would also stop the personal tutor in the corridor is also considered high. This approach could cause the personal tutor to be late for class and may well explain why some tutors are often late. Considering all of the responses it is clear that students expect to be able to contact their personal tutor at any time and view the personal tutoring role to be primarily one of emotional support.

7.2.1 Presenting ‘dangerous’ behaviour

This section focuses on categories of ‘inappropriate’ behaviour of students since these are issues identified as risky and problematic by the college. In this context of managing ‘inappropriate’ behaviour, pastoral care is both ‘emotional support’ and ‘social control’; reflecting the dual nature of personal tutoring as one of care and control in the management of ‘vulnerable’ and ‘dangerous’ students. This section also includes comments from the personal tutors by way of comparison.

Students were asked (Question 8 Appendix 12) to indicate what risk behaviours they had discussed with their personal tutor. In analysing the responses, common or related, ‘risk factors’ were grouped together and are presented here in tables 9, 10, and 11.

TABLE 9 STUDENT MEETINGS WITH PERSONAL TUTOR (BC A)

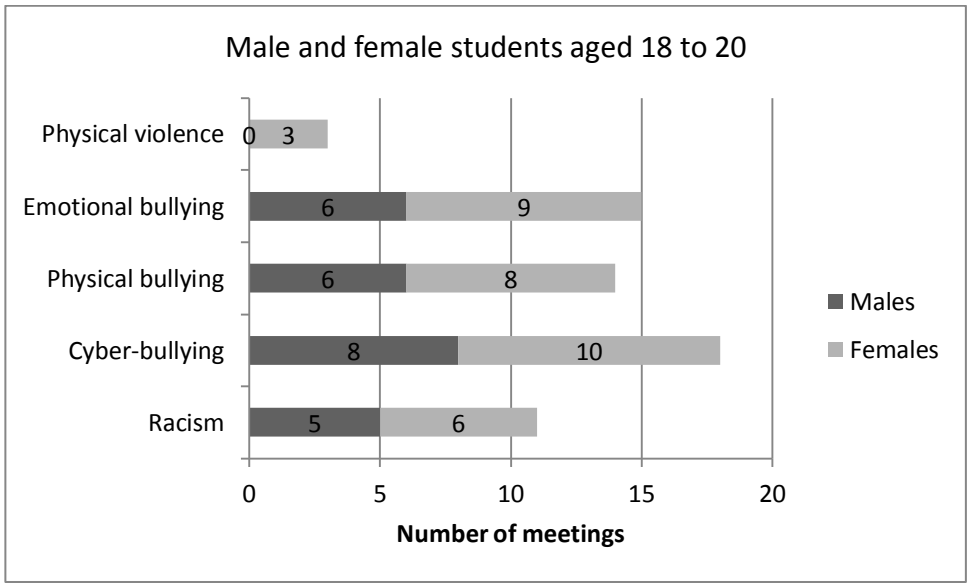


There were 30 males and 10 females aged 17. All the behaviours (Table 9) can be categorised as ‘bullying’ and include the victims of bullying incidents. Bullying

is defined as "*behaviour, usually repeated over time that intentionally hurts another individual or group, physically or emotionally*" (DCSF 2010:25). Charles (BC) talks of how he has to "*cajole students to behave so that those who do not misbehave are not affected*". According to the UK's National Bullying Survey (2006) 69% of children in the UK reported they were bullied, while 85% said they had witnessed bullying. Will et al. (2004:141) found in their study of burnout among teachers that "*the competence to cope with disruptive student behaviour was a significant predictor of the burnout dimensions of emotional exhaustion*".

Table 10 presents the findings on the behaviour of students aged 18 to 20. There were 29 males and 27 females in this category.

TABLE 10 STUDENT MEETINGS WITH PERSONAL TUTOR (BC B)

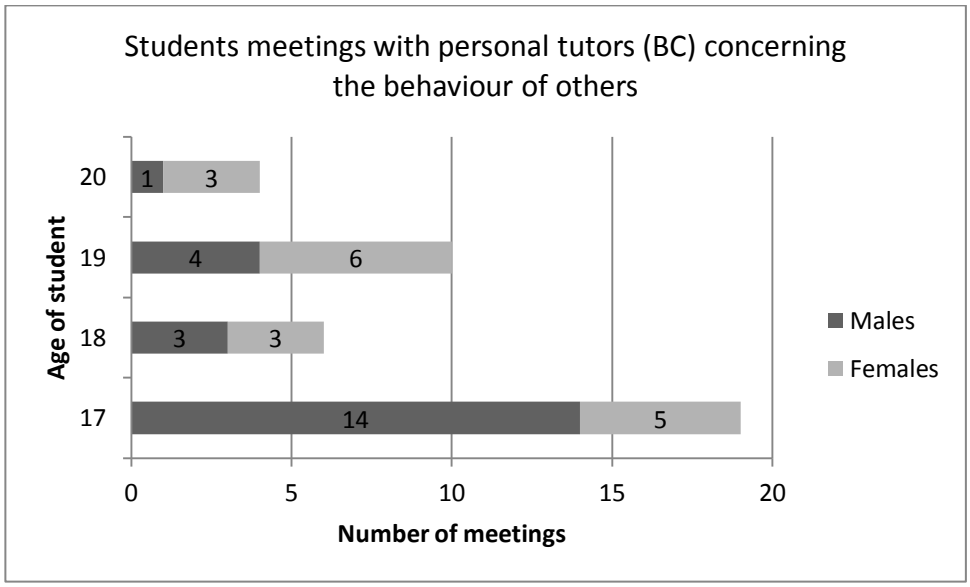


Findings show that females in this category meet more with their personal tutors than their male peers. The involvement of 18 year olds in displays of bad behaviour is contrary to findings in research carried out by Cebulla and Tomaszewski (2009) on behalf of the DCSF – which concluded that as young

people grew older their participation in risky behaviour changed and those who committed offences against people or property declined with age. On the other hand, Cross (2009) found that "*girls were twice as likely as boys to experience persistent cyber-bullying*" in her study of 11 to 16 year olds and that "*30% had experienced some form of cyber-bullying*". Ofsted's (2013:4) report on its evaluation of PSHE in schools carried out in 2012 with 50 maintained schools found that while pupils learnt how to keep themselves safe *"not all had practised negotiating risky situations or applied security to social networking sites*".

The behaviour of 'others', in the context of this study, is interpreted as the inappropriate behaviour of other students towards the student reporting to the personal tutor. The analysis of this data is shown in the table below:

TABLE 11 THE BEHAVIOUR OF OTHER STUDENTS (BC)



The data presented in tables 9, 10, and 11 concur with the personal tutors view that "*behaviour is an 'at-risk' issue*", Jasmin (BC). Violet (BC) confirms she "*had to deal with bullying, racial abuse and fighting within the college*". According to Rick

(BC), "*recently there were some students under the influence of alcohol and drugs which had to be managed*". Rose (BC) shares her concerns as follows:

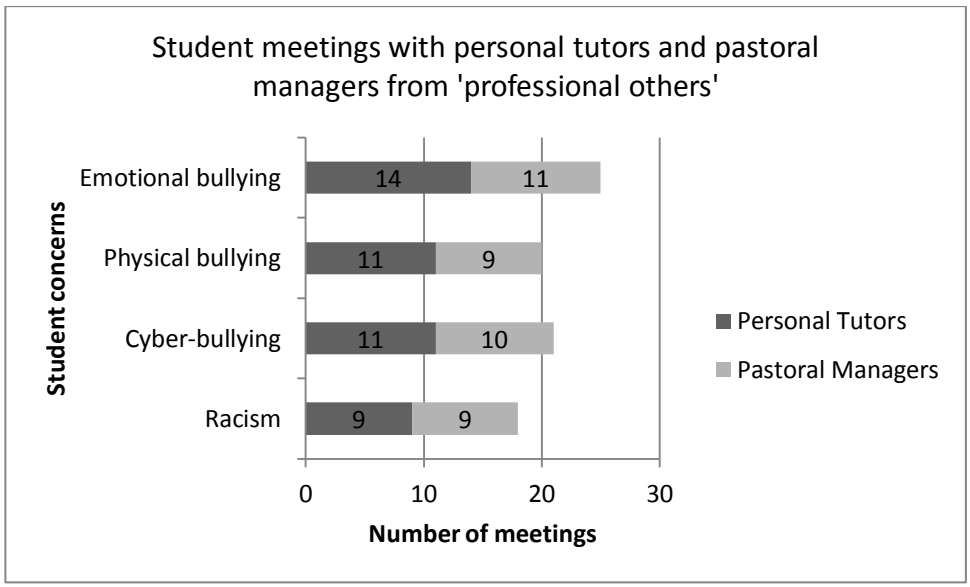
> "*some come to college and they are not able to interact with other people in a grown up way – there is a vast difference between a 16 year old and an 18 year old in terms of maturity – we are there at that crucial period and it's up to us to develop them".*

In the above comment, Rose (BC) is accepting responsibility for the socialisation of those, yet immature young people, she will educate in 'the art of self-governing' (Foucault 1994) as they transit from education to employment.

The student behaviour issues highlighted in this study are consistent with national concerns about inappropriate behaviour amongst young people. ChildLine is the UK's private and confidential service for children and young people up to the age of 19. Between 2007 and 2008, 18% of their calls from children and young people in distress were related to incidents of bullying. 53% of children talked about physical bullying while 56% discussed verbal bullying (ChildLine 2012). Bullying can lead young people to self-harm where they set out to harm themselves deliberately, for example, by cutting their wrist or arm. During 2007 and 2008, 5% (n=406) of calls to ChildLine concerned racist bullying. The Child Exploitation and Online Protection (CEOP) agency is part of the UK policing force and offers training and teaching materials to all educational institutions. However, this study found that CEOP teaching resources were designed for different age categories; 4-7, 8-10, and 11-16 which excludes the majority of students attending FE colleges.

The data from Buttercup college (student survey) was triangulated with the data from ‘professional others’ and shows that other FE colleges deal with similar issues in terms of student behaviour – shown below:

TABLE 12 STUDENT BEHAVIOUR (‘PROFESSIONAL OTHERS’)



The findings in this section concur with Stephen and Squires (2004:366) study of anti-social behaviour where they found that the management of the ‘dangerous other’ was a component of pastoral care. Their findings also showed that young people believed they were ‘picked on’ for behaviour that was rooted in mental health or special educational needs problems.

7.2.2 Needing emotional support

This section focuses on the students’ need for emotional support. It contrasts the student responses to certain categories of ‘risk’, table 13, with the personal tutors and pastoral managers from ‘professional others’, table 14.

TABLE 13 STUDENTS IN NEED OF EMOTIONAL SUPPORT (BC)

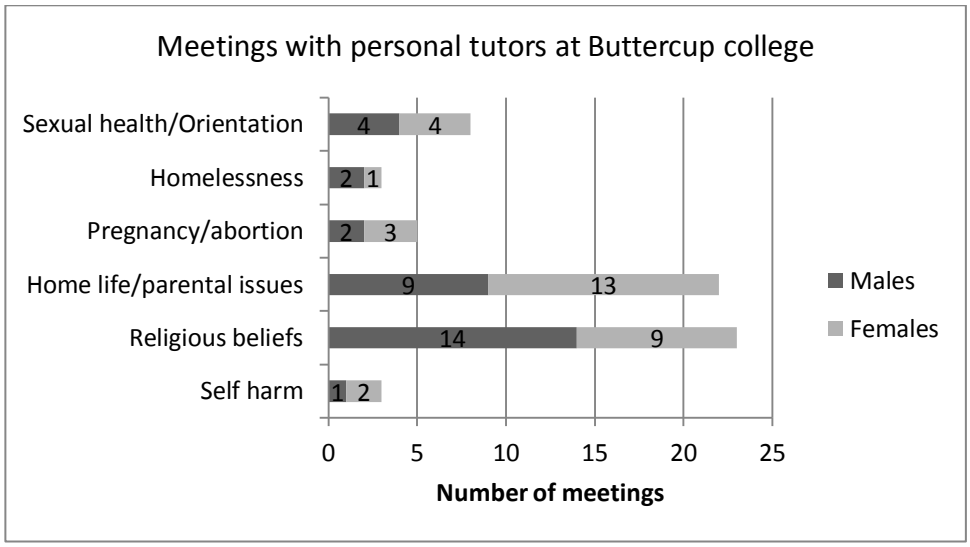
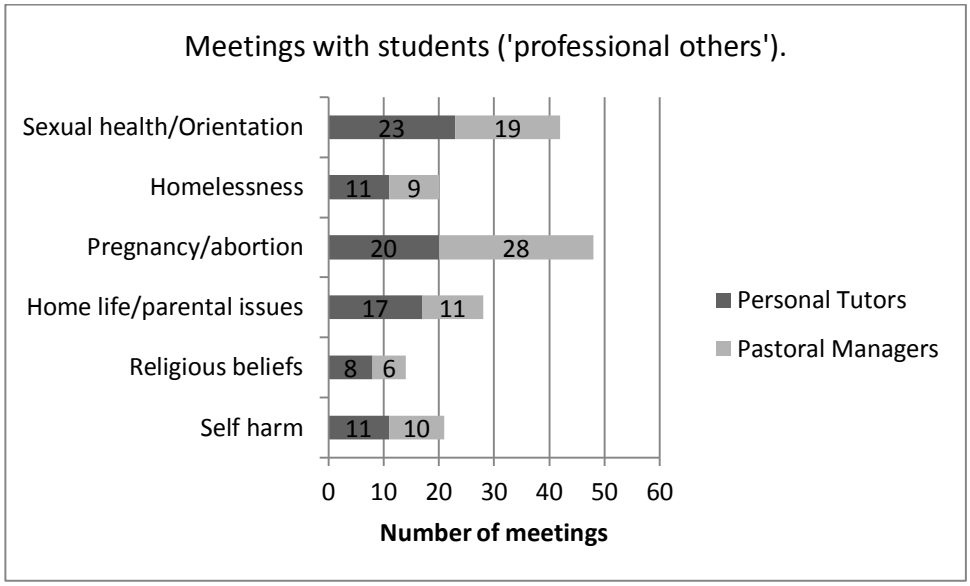


TABLE 14 TUTORS PROVIDING EMOTIONAL SUPPORT ('PROFESSIONAL OTHERS')



The findings in table 13 and 14 above show that personal tutors and pastoral managers in other FE colleges support students with similar 'risk' issues to the students at Buttercup college. The findings also resonates with the personal tutors' (BC) views that they are dealing with many complex issues for which they have not received sufficient training and feel unable to deal with. According to Lilly's (BC) "*each year students' are coming with more and more baggage*" which is interpreted as school leavers 'coming to FE' without sufficient knowledge and

skills to look after themselves. A recent Ofsted (2013:5) report on the outcomes of its inspection of PSHE in schools (n=50), found that:

> *"In two fifths of schools where learning was weak, pupils had gaps in their knowledge and skills, most commonly in the serious safeguarding areas of personal safety in relation to sex and relationships, mental health, and alcohol misuse"*.

If those school leavers, described above, enter FE, then those 'gaps' in their knowledge and skills will have to be addressed; most likely through systems of pastoral care. A study carried out by Laws and Fiedler (2012) with the school of nursing and the school of commerce in an Australian university found that all their interviewees, (n=34) mentioned that "*students' emotional problems detracted from other work that was part of their performance requirements".*

7.3 Personal tutors' experience of managing 'at-risk' students

This section answers the third research question, which was - *what is the impact on personal tutors of managing those students who are identified as 'at-risk' of failing to achieve their learning goals?* In the day to day management of pastoral care the characteristics of 'vulnerability' and 'dangerousness' are not easily separated. Students, defined early in the academic year as 'vulnerable' maybe later defined as 'dangerous'. It could also be argued that those identified as 'dangerous', usually due to bad behaviour, could also be vulnerable in different circumstances. Tutors were asked if they could give some examples of the at-risk issues they had to deal with. The data analysis identified that the responses could

be divided into three sub-themes and these are; counselling those in need, resolving conflict and managing risk factors.

7.3.1 Counselling those in need

This section focuses on the 'at-risk' issues (other than behaviour) presented to personal tutors by their tutees. The data analysis presented draws on:

1. the primary data captured from the interviews with the personal tutors at Buttercup college;
2. the complementary data captured from the surveys with 'professional others'(FETN) and one example of a 'student record'.

Findings show that the personal tutors' 'duty of care' extends outward from Buttercup college into the student home and community as outlined by Rose (BC) below:

> "*A student got thrown out by his father and we had to try and find somewhere for him to stay that evening – so we got student welfare involved and made phone calls and we also got involved in the other issues - why had he been thrown out by his dad? We also arranged counselling for him and that proved very beneficial for him*.

In the above account, Rose is very proactive in supporting her student – by 'finding somewhere for him to stay' she is responding to events outside the classroom and outside the college. Rose (BC) is also using the 'examination' (Foucault 1977) to generate risk knowledge as she 'got involved in other issues'. Rose (BC) gave other examples, as follows:

> "O*ver the years they can go really from one extreme to another – we have had students who have been in safe houses - last summer we had a student who had been moved into a refuge from a different county – so it can be lots of different things – students who think they might be pregnant – students who have relationships with people they should not have relationships with – students who have left home".*

The student circumstances described by Rose (BC) are likely to result in those students not achieving their attendance or success targets. Dealing with students who are pregnant or in inappropriate relationships is also drawing Rose (BC) into doing emotional labour as she deals with the 'feelings of others' (James 1989).

According to Lilly (BC) she spends a lot of time providing emotional support for her students, as she explains below:

> "*I have one student whose girlfriend was having a baby and he did not know whether to leave or to stay, whether it was his, it was not a case of passing it on to someone; it was with numerous cups of coffee, so you rely then on common sense".*

Lilly (BC) is drawing on her 'emotional capital' (Reay 2000) to work through her 'emotional involvement' with this student; she is also presenting an image of what Ecclestone (2009) describes as 'therapeutic circle time' - that is an extension of counselling practice. Lilly (BC) is a trained teacher but not a trained counsellor, however she identifies this as a gap in her own professional development;

> "*I would like us to have staff development on counselling, not mentoring, but counselling, so that I knew that I was saying the correct things - to teach me how far you can go, because when you are sat with a parent who is*

very nice to you and you talk openly to him and then you find out later he has been hitting his son, I think if I had been trained properly I would have picked that up" Lilly (BC).

Lilly (BC) is referring to a 'child protection' case she had to deal with when a student disclosed to her that he had been assaulted by his father. Lilly's comments are interpreted to mean that she feels her training as a teacher is not sufficient as she suggests if she had training as a counsellor, she would have been better prepared, she would have 'picked that up' – which concurs with Colley's (2003:7) view that individuals "*work further on their own feelings in learning to labour appropriately*".

The examples provided by Rose and Lilly (BC) present the college environment, as Furedi (2009:44) argues in his writing about the perceived fragility of children in a school setting, that it is in all but name, functioning as a clinic. The experiences of Rose and Lilly (BC) are similar to those described by Hart (1996) when she compared the counselling role of the college tutor to the work of a trained student counsellor. Hart (1996:83) states that

"*recently, the counselling aspect of the tutorial function has been made explicit and there is a real expectation that all personal tutors will offer this 'listening ear'*".

Buttercup College provides access to a trained counsellor for students and staff but this study finds that only 3% of students accessed the college counsellor, despite a large percentage of the same students having personal and social issues (Appendix 21). Hart (1996:95) also found that, "*it is hard for tutors who*

have other responsibilities and who are not in professional supervision always to keep clear boundaries".

In Buttercup College there is no formal system of professional supervision. Personal tutors use counselling skills as do social workers. Baginsky et al. (2010:40) reports in her study of social workers (n=1026) that 85% received fortnightly supervision and many social workers

> "*reiterated their belief that good supervision made a difference to their practice, effectiveness and functioning and without it there was real danger of unsafe practice*".

In Buttercup college professional boundaries are also blurred by the lack of 'professional supervision' especially for those tutors who deal with serious safeguarding issues. Senior management of Buttercup college were asked, during this study, to consider putting in place 'supervisory' facilities for personal tutors similar to systems found in the health service – their response was that any tutor requiring professional support should contact the HR department. This concurs with what Rose (1999) describes as 'individualised risk' as personal tutors are encouraged to take responsibility for their own well-being.

7.3.2 Resolving conflict

This section presents the findings in relation to the impact of inappropriate behaviour occurring outside the campus but impacting on the responsibilities of personal tutors as Lilly explains:

> "*We have had assault, bullying, we have had assaults by families on a student, we have had an arranged marriage, it wasn't forced but was going that way but it was dealt with – and all of that was with one group. With another group, I am in the process, even though it's the end of term, of doing references for a chap who is going to court for assault and very likely going to get a custodial sentence*" Lilly (BC).

It would be considered a normal expectation for a teacher to provide a reference for a student to support their application to university or employment, but not necessarily for a court appearance. It is, however, not uncommon for solicitors to contact Buttercup college staff for references as they 'build a case' to present their client as a 'good student'. For the personal tutor, such as Lilly, this can be a time consuming activity and if the student does get a custodial sentence then retention and success targets will be affected.

Charles (BC) provides another example:

> "*I have had some students who had some problems at home, money wise, not having somewhere to live - I referred them to student services – other issues include bullying, racial abuse towards one another – which can lead to some confrontation in terms of fighting within the college*".

The role of the personal tutor is no longer limited to administration and curriculum concerns or a remedial safety net (Bullock and Wikeley 2004) – it is an all-encompassing role where tutors need a breadth of skill and knowledge to manage its complexity.

Buttercup college has a robust reporting and recording system in place to safeguard students in line with child protection legislation. The college advises

personal tutors to also record other ‘sensitive’ conversations with students, such as details of the ‘event’ and the action taken so that there is evidence, if required, that they have acted with a ‘duty of care’. The following example, a ‘student snapshot’, is an internal, informal log of ‘events’ written by the personal tutor and kept by them in their personal tutor file. Such ‘snapshots’ are useful if there is any form of investigation or inspection or accusation of tutor impropriety:

> *Nathan enrolled in September 08. He began his course well and was not identified at risk initially by his tutors. On the 10th September, a parent of another student rang me to say that Nathan and three other boys had attacked her son at the local train station yesterday evening as he waited for the train after finishing at college. She explained how four boys had come up to her son on the platform and attacked him for no reason – he had taken several punches to his face and body. A passer-by called the police. 12th September, I spoke to Nathan about the incident - he confirmed he was there but denied hitting this boy – claiming it was his friends who hit him – but would not give the names of these boys. Nathan is living in the local hostel and is on probation doing community service. He has no contact with his parents and comes across as a very angry young man. He refuses mentoring and counselling. Phoned hostel manager and she to speak to his key worker and advise. He is allowed to return to class on the condition that he is on his best behaviour until I can arrange a disciplinary meeting with SD. 15th September – another tutor is concerned that Nathan continues to miss her lessons. (Personal Tutor – Rick)*.

The above account is another example of where an external event, in this case a fight at the train station, resulted in the involvement of the personal tutor. Nathan

can be described as a ‘governable person’ with a network of ‘agents’, such as his teacher, hostel manager, key worker, police officer and probation officer, all collaborating to improve his ‘art of self-governance’ (Foucault 1977). Cameron and Neu (2004:298), writing on the work of Foucault, argue that agents are enlisted not just by the regulations they must follow but also by “*their over-lapping and loosely aligned interests*”. In the case of Nathan, the legislative requirements of the Children Act (2004) and requirements of the Every Child Matters agenda hold those involved in his support to account and as Cameron and Neu (2004) suggest – when the student is ‘examined’, the ‘agents’ are also held accountable.

7.3.3 Managing risk factors

Students experiencing single or a combination of ‘risk factors’ are supported in Buttercup college through its system of pastoral care and the work of personal tutors. I draw on Coleman and Hagell’s (2007:2) definition of ‘risk factors’ as anything that might contribute to poor outcomes for young people, such as poverty, deprivation, illness or dysfunctional family background. Risk factors can be ‘individual’ such as poor health, or ‘family’ related such as the loss of a parent, or ‘community’ such as poor housing. Findings show that separating and classifying risk factors is problematic and concurs with Laws and Fiedler’s (2012:1) observations that “*role boundaries around the promotion of students’ well-being were not clearly defined*” in their study of university staff engaging in pastoral care.

Dealing with external risk factors that impact on teaching, learning and pastoral care is a challenge for tutors. In the following example, the complexities and the

over-lapping of responsibilities present both personal and professional challenges for the tutor, as Charles (BC) explains:

> "*we have a young girl, her mother is quite ill, she has just had an operation. Her father has left and she has three younger family members so now she has become the main carer in the house – so problem being that she is looking after everything in the house so her college work has suffered, she came back only this week to be honest – at half term she was going to pack in the course because of the pressure of assignments so she could not keep up - so we have had to look at ways and means of combating that. Her mother does not want her to give up but obviously her mother is ill and the pressure of deadlines. I think, more and more these days myself and other personal tutors feel that sometimes we are not equipped – sometimes we feel like, it's like more a social worker role for what we need to do and we get a few hours a week to do it but our main duty is to teach. We get lots of support with the teaching and the observation and everything else – but come to – as a personal tutor there is such a wide remit you know sometimes some of the issues we are dealing with are not really – I am not saying I am not capable of dealing with – but it's the point where I think I am not really sure what advice and guidance I should be giving".*

Charles (BC) has got to know his student very well and is sympathetic to her family circumstances, but he is also aware of the pressing need for her to achieve her qualification. To the student and her mother, Charles is a public servant and as such represents the 'government' (Lipsky 1969). Charles demonstrates how he is trying to mediate between different and conflicting professional roles; between the demands of 'teaching and welfare' (Gleeson et al. 2005) and between what he

describes as ‘more of a social worker role’. Charles’s ‘mediation’ is between the student, her mother, other tutors and the constraints of the management system within which he operates as a teacher. He is also involved in risk communication with other tutors as he tries to meet the needs of this student – a practice which also positions Charles as a ‘risk assessor’. Charles (BC) reference to the support with teaching and observation are related to the quality systems designed to bring about improvement in teacher effectiveness; systems designed to meet the requirements of the market.

The findings from the complementary data (‘professional others’) triangulates well with the findings from the primary data especially in terms of ‘risk factors’ and ‘risk management’. In response to the survey question: w*hat were the most difficult issues you have had to deal with in terms of students in distress over the past two years?* Personal tutors and pastoral managers (‘professional others’) gave the following examples:

- *illness, sexual abuse cases, forced marriage issues, and attempted suicide (T2)*
- *child abuse (T3)*
- *indifference is a difficult aspect and when there is no parental support it makes it harder to engage the student (T4)*
- *self-harm, pregnancy, students with alcoholic and/or terminally ill parents (T5)*
- *students who self-harm, students who should not be on the course but the college wants to keep students (T6)*
- *homelessness and abuse (T7)*
- *mental health issues (T8)*
- *personal problems such as drugs, money, and relationships (T9)*
- *eating disorders and self-harming (T10)*
- *family financial difficulties (T11)*
- *problems at home (T12)*
- *clinical depression, psychosis, self-harm, and suicide risk (T13)*
- *attendance issues (T14)*
- *addiction, significant mental health issues, anger management, sever financial hardship and homelessness (T15).*

- *safeguarding (T16)*
- *adult issues to an immature group (T17)*
- *abuse, rape, and pregnancy (T18)*
- *complex abuse issues (M1)*
- *mental health issues (M2)*
- *eating disorders and self-harming (M7)*
- *sexual abuse and serious drug issues (M8)*

The above list is not dissimilar to the findings from Buttercup college (Appendix 21). The range and diverse nature of the personal issues that students bring to the classroom concurs with Best's (1999) view that the curriculum has been aligned to a wider political agenda. The findings in this chapter support my argument that pastoral care in FE in an infusion of emotional support, risk management and social control.

7.4 Professional development

This section presents the findings on the professional needs of personal tutors, who deal with many complex social issues which require them to have more specialist knowledge than the data suggests they have. Buttercup college's tutorial policy (2005:2) states that

> "*the college will support personal tutors by offering staff development opportunities, by providing a tutor handbook and resource materials, and by identifying specialists who can assist tutors in areas of tutorial work"*.

As noted earlier, during this study senior management planned to update the tutorial policy but there were no plans to update the handbook which was discontinued in 2009. This study found that while there are several developmental workshops available throughout the year on a range of topics, these are mostly curriculum focused with very few devoted to the delivery of pastoral care. A

number of workshops are mandatory for all staff, for example, child protection, safeguarding, health and safety, equality and diversity, and fire awareness. Compliance with mandatory training requirements is robustly monitored and includes the threat of dismissal for non-attendance. Training opportunities are advertised through a dedicated section on the staff website and those who wish to attend book places via the online booking system.

This study found that the responsibility for the dedicated training of personal tutors is left to middle or line managers in each of the different curriculum areas. Some managers arrange regular training on target setting, reviewing student progress and disciplinary procedures – all topics related to the curriculum and the achievement of a qualification which is interpreted as training associated with 'risk management'. External agencies, such as those providing health care, do offer training opportunities that would be of benefit to personal tutors, however details of these events are usually sent initially to middle managers who then cascade the information downward through email, resulting in a low take-up of such training. Hart (1996) also found that tutors expressed their concern at the lack of training and support for their personal counselling role.

The findings show how the lack of continuing professional development impacts on personal tutors, as Andrew (BC) explains, "*we get support but it is not enough, most of the things are just learnt on the job*". According to Rose (BC)

> *"when you are a teacher, whether or not it's on the teaching side or pastoral side, you want to do as much as you can for the student and we are not allowed to do that and I think that is a real shame*".

Rose (BC) is a qualified teacher and wanting 'to do as much as you can for the student' and 'we are not allowed' is interpreted to relate to what she perceives to be a lack of opportunity to exercise her professional judgement and pedagogic values. Rose's comments can be aligned with Gleeson and Davies's (2005:19) argument that in FE the professional practices of tutors and students are 'tied to a hegemony of performance that binds them' to the external requirements of the funding authority and in this context "*teaching becomes a constant struggle against rather than with students*". A similar point is reported by Colley et al. (2007:17) that "*pressures from policies driven by economic rationales are having an impact on professional roles and identities*". Day and Gu (2007) argue that adapting and surviving are emotionally demanding tasks and in their study of 300 English teachers, the majority linked 'being a teacher' with 'being yourself' in the classroom, while being other than self was seen as alienating, frustrating and a source of anger.

This study found that tutors were concerned about how to react to 'as yet unknown' risk issues, as Jasmin (BC) explains - "*you don't' always feel that you have enough knowledge of the way to deal with things, but in the same token it's difficult to ask for training on things*". Jasmin (BC) goes on to question how training in some controversial issues, such as domestic violence, might be delivered and if one would remember what was taught when a situation arose, "*will I need that knowledge and will I remember that knowledge if I need it – it's not until you are in it you think is the pope catholic*". Jasmin's (BC) comments can also be interpreted as questioning the range of organisational mandatory training that tutors attend while at the same time personal tutors are not getting the training

they need. The acquisition of risk knowledge exposes tutors to possible future risks they may have to manage and as such creates a state of 'manufactured uncertainty' (Beck 1992). In the context of this study, it is argued that personal tutors' own emotions are also affected in the acquisition of risk knowledge, for example training on how to deal with students who disclose 'domestic violence' issues could adversely affect tutors who may have had their own personal experiences of domestic violence. This also concurs with Ericson and Haggerty's (1997) view that trying to convert uncertainty into some future imagined action begins to become the dominant mind-set of those involved, and in this context, the mind-set of personal tutors.

All the tutors interviewed agreed that teacher training programmes, especially those designed for the post compulsory sector, did not, but should include pastoral care. In response to the question - do you feel you have sufficient training to deal with these complex issues? Violet (BC) said,

> "*when I did my Post Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) there wasn't enough to show you 'real life'- when you go into the classroom the issues you have to face – more of what I learnt was theory, there wasn't enough practical to help you deal with it, so when you come into a teaching job you are sort of thrown in and you are expected to know what to do- there should be something where you get trained in terms of challenging behaviour or what the pastoral role is – it's a bit of a culture shock when you come in, that was the hardest for me*".

According to Kelchtermans et al. (2009:230) trainee teachers should have the opportunity to 'read' teachers emotional experience of change provoked by policy

changes so that they have "*a vehicle to interpretatively disentangle the impact of those changes on their work and themselves*". Meyer (2009:75) argues that trainee teachers usually focus on the technical aspects of teaching rather than the emotional and motivational and most will become members of a professional culture and will start to accept its practices before they become aware of its constraints. However, Lilly (BC) is a teacher with thirteen years' experience of delivering pastoral care, yet she says:

> "*I have no experience of any other college, but the type of student we get, we do need more formal training; more confidence, at the moment, we just sit and talk, we give advice based on experience and common sense and things we have gone through, but I am sure there are other things we could offer*".

Lilly's (BC) comments echoes a key finding in Brown's (2004:198) study that "*the different roles pastoral care workers take on makes training provision very difficult*". Race (2002:459) argues that in a post-Fordist world, teachers are not able to think or engage in reflective practice, especially since the 1990s when "*education policy priorities are meshed with a professional culture of teaching to weaken teacher professionalism*".

In this study, the lack of sufficient time to deal with student issues; the lack of appropriate training and the absence of a formal system of supervision are key concerns.

7.5 Summary

This chapter presented the findings from the student survey and identified two key themes; the students 'need for emotional support' and the students 'presenting dangerous behaviour'. Findings from the interviews with personal tutors, on the other hand, identified aspects of counselling, resolving conflict and managing risk as key themes. The dual nature of care and counselling is positioned against managing 'dangerous' behaviour and other 'risk factors', which concurs with the personal tutors view that there is a conflict between teaching and what they describe as 'social work' (Lilly and Charles BC). The chapter concluded by examining the professional needs of personal tutors and identified the lack of professional supervision as a concern.

8 Discussion and final conclusions

8.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to present the final conclusion to the study and outline how the research aim and objectives have been met. This study finds that the pedagogical practices of the personal tutor are fragmented and constructs the role of the personal tutor as a risk manager. This study finds that pastoral care in FE is an infusion of emotional support, risk management and social control. The bureaucratic structure of Buttercup college has created its own 'Panopticon' (Foucault 1977) model through the intersection of pastoral power, expert knowledge through the generation of risk knowledge and risk communication and systems of surveillance which are 'designed' (Rose 1999) and aligned to the management of 'at-risk' students. The FE environment is presented as a 'risk environment' (Kelly 2003) where personal tutors are active in the 'art of government' and in the 'conduct of conduct' (Foucault 1977).

This chapter is divided into seven sections. The first section presents a discussion on the findings and argues that the role of the personal tutor can be constructed as a risk manager. The second section presents the answer to the fifth and final research question, which is '*what model of pastoral care is constructed through this investigation*? The third section offers a critical evaluation of the research design. The fourth section revisits the research questions and shows how the study objectives have been met. The fifth section offers recommendations that support the work of personal tutors going forward. The sixth section outlines the

lessons learnt from the study and acknowledges its limitations. The seventh section takes a reflective stance to what has been an eventful personal and professional journey.

8.2 Constructing the pastoral risk manager

This study began with a proposition that the pastoral care agenda in FE had moved from a pedagogical focus to a paradigm of compliance and accountability. Chapter 2 set out to present the wider economic, political and social context in which the study was positioned - it offered a brief account of the processes of globalisation and the impact of neo-liberal influences on the political reform of the FE sector. The study drew on Beck's (1992) 'risk society' thesis and Foucault's (1977, 1994) thesis of the 'disciplinary society' to provide a theoretical base from which to understand the operational landscape of Buttercup college. The adaptation of Renn's (2008) model of risk governance facilitated the 'peeling back' of pastoral care from its 'care agenda' to reveal pastoral care as a policy lever and a key component in the college's risk governance model. The personal tutors in this study were first and foremost 'teachers', yet much of their work involved the generation of risk knowledge and risk communication as they negotiated the diverse and complex needs of students. Chapter 3 outlined the policy context in which personal tutors operate and the implications of policy changes on the pastoral framework showed that pastoral care is both political and emotional work. The pastoral curriculum is aligned to wider political and welfare agendas which impact on the professional practices of tutors. Chapter 4 contextualised the study in terms of the literature and focused in particular on the literature that offered a

critique of pastoral care. The review identified related themes and these were 'emotional support', 'risk management' and 'social control'. Chapter 5 outlined and justified the research methods adopted and the presentation of findings. The chapter also explained how the study was conducted in an ethical framework and how the validity and reliability of the study was ensured.

8.2.1 The fragmentation of pedagogical practice

This study highlighted the changing nature of the role of the personal tutor; it is no longer about 'knowing' and 'tracking' the student but also includes their well-being which has become aligned to wider political changes (Best 1999) especially through the introduction of the Children Act (2004). The role of the personal tutor is also divided between 'care' and 'control' – repositioned from the caring relationship of the 'shepherd to the flock' (Foucault 1994) to one repositioned through individualised forms of power to create what Blair (2005) described as the 'law-abiding citizen'.

Some participants in this study had three roles; personal tutor, teacher and course leader which provided challenges in terms of the time required for supporting students 'at-risk'. This study finds that personal tutors use counselling skills in their 'care' of vulnerable students, while they 'control' the dangerous behaviour of other students. There is no job description or formal process for appointing staff to this role, which is interpreted to mean that Buttercup college management do not give the role parity of esteem, with a 'curriculum' role. Participants in this study expressed concern at the inclusion, of what they described, as 'social work' –

which refers to the diverse and complex nature of the personal issues that students need support with. The scope of the role also extends beyond the college campus as tutors are drawn into family situations either by students, their parents or by a sense of their 'duty of care'. There is little professional autonomy as tutors work within a framework of performance management, compliance and accountability where working to target is the priority as the 'qualification' has an economic value. The professional responsibilities of the personal tutor range from teaching to supporting 'vulnerable' students, to controlling the inappropriate behaviour of students, to the 'policing' of those who might become radicalised.

8.3 Constructing a model of pastoral care

This section provides the answer to the fifth research question, which is:

What model of pastoral care is constructed through this investigation?

Chapter 4 presented a review of the literature and outlined how literature on the more problematic areas of pastoral care was limited as opposed to the literature on technique, on the 'doing' of pastoral care. Moreover, whilst there was ample literature in terms of pastoral care in schools, there was very little on pastoral care in FE. Best's (1999) model of pastoral care for schools highlighted the absence of a similar model for FE and this study set out to address this issue as part of its investigation of the role of personal tutors in FE. To progress the development of such a model, the interconnecting themes identified in chapters 6 and 7 are revisited. Chapter 6 identified five 'interconnecting themes' and these are: working to target, responding to policy and policy levers, accounting for professional conduct, managing and dealing with uncertainty and working with reduced

resources. The following section justifies the grouping of these themes under three overarching themes; ‘working to target’, ‘providing emotional support’, and ‘managing student need’.

8.3.1 Working to target

The personal tutor is positioned in a bureaucratic and rational organisation (Buttercup college) operationalized through models of risk governance designed to maximise efficiency, effectiveness and value for money. The role of the personal tutor is positioned to meet pre-defined government targets for recruitment, retention, attendance and success. The FE sector is one of constant change in terms of policy requirements creating an uncertain environment where the generation of risk knowledge and risk management have become key elements in the management of students with ‘needs’.

There is insufficient training to prepare tutors to manage the diverse range of issues they have to deal with. In Buttercup college, there is no formal job description or formal recruitment process for the role of personal tutor, there is however a ‘checklist’ of main duties (Appendix 20). The findings show personal tutors do not receive appropriate training for the complexities of their role. Gleeson et al. (2005) argue that professional knowledge is constructed through experiences as practitioners. This study finds that while tutors are well trained in ‘academic’ activities and college procedures there is a lack of training for the components of pastoral care. Personal tutors use counselling skills as they

interact with and manage vulnerable students. Unlike social workers, personal tutors in this study do not have access to any form of professional supervision.

8.3.2 Providing emotional support

Chapter 7 presented two key themes in terms of the student experience, and these are: presenting ‘dangerous’ behaviour, and ‘needing emotional support’. The findings also showed that the tutors are involved in; counselling, resolving conflict and managing risk factors. These findings highlight the dual nature of the personal tutoring role - on the one hand they are the ‘caregiver’, while on the other, they are the ‘disciplinarian’. These themes are grouped together as ‘emotional support’.

8.3.3 Managing student need

The management of student need is a key component of personal tutoring but, as this study found, the generation of risk knowledge and the risk management of ‘vulnerable’ and ‘dangerous’ students (as defined in this study) is a large part of the personal tutor’s responsibility; activities linked directly to an internal accountability framework designed to meet the external requirements of the funding authority (EFA) and the inspection authority (Ofsted). This study found that controlling the ‘dangerous’ and providing emotional support to the ‘vulnerable’ was challenging. This study found personal tutors focused on ‘reactive’ casework as they responded to students’ individual needs; they also focused on ‘preventative’ work through raising awareness of key issues in an attempt to

reduce future ‘critical’ incidents. Personal tutors also had insufficient time for their ‘reactive’ and ‘preventative’ casework which may explain why they do very little ‘developmental’ work – that is work focused on spiritual, moral and cultural development.

8.3.4 An empirical model of pastoral care

At the conclusion of this study, pastoral care in Buttercup college is described as a model of emotional support, risk management and social control. This model of pastoral care is an outcome of this study and is justified through the data analysis as outlined in the previous chapters. In Buttercup college, pastoral care is embedded in risk management strategies designed to meet government targets. Through the ‘marketization of FE’ and an ‘extended duty of care’, the professional practices of personal tutors are not only aligned to the ‘curriculum’ but also to a ‘welfare’ agenda.

Pastoral care as emotional support, risk management and social control can be presented graphically by linking the different stages in the ‘student journey’ to the various components of the college’s risk governance framework, as discussed earlier in section 6.2. The ‘student journey’ is a term, used in Buttercup college, to refer to a timeline of key events in the FE academic year, from the student’s application to, enrolment on and completion of a programme of study. The following table illustrates:

TABLE 15 PASTORAL CARE – A MODEL OF EMOTIONAL SUPPORT, RISK MANAGEMENT AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Student Journey		The professional practices of Personal Tutors (Buttercup college)
Academic year: September Personal tutors engage in mostly 'reactive' casework	Application Interview Enrolment Induction Diagnostic Assessment	Risk appraisal and risk classification: • Identification of vulnerabilities • Create risk profiles (students 'at-risk') • Identify levels of risk tolerability (minimum number of students to meet targets) • Identify risk interventions (level and type of support required) • Continuous monitoring of support strategies All of the above stages include emotional support and social control as tutors respond to individual student need and whether the student is identified as 'at-risk' through 'vulnerability' or 'dangerousness'
October Personal tutors engage in mostly 'proactive' casework) ⇓ July	Retention Achievement Success Progression	Risk management through weekly group tutorials and one to one individual reviews: • Frequent monitoring of the 'vulnerable' • On-going control of the 'dangerous'; • Respond to feedback from students, subject teaching staff, parents and other external agencies; • On-going action planning for risk reduction; • Continuous monitoring of support strategies; • Continuous monitoring of data against targets.

8.4 Evaluation of research design

Throughout the study, I remained disciplined in my attempt to provide what Cronbach and Suppes (1969), cited in Punch (2009:307) describe as a report which has;

"*a texture that displays the raw materials entering the argument and the logical processes by which they were compressed and rearranged to make the conclusion credible*".

The research design evolved as the study progressed (Appendix 1). The selection of theoretical resources to frame the study initially proved difficult. The literature review highlighted the different components of pastoral care located in a school setting but very little in terms of FE. As the study progressed, literature, policy and initial findings began to clarify and sharpen the focus of the study. Adopting a mixed method approach was challenging especially the management of the data analysis, however, using a triangulated approach provided rich data which not only answered the research questions but also highlighted other underlying themes; such as emotional support. All of my research activities were carried out overtly and all participants were provided with information in advance. Ethical considerations were given a high priority and everything possible was done to ensure this study was embedded in an ethical framework.

8.5 Meeting the research objectives

The study has achieved its aim – which was to examine the role of the personal tutors in FE and to explain how systems of pastoral care meet the complex needs of students in an educational environment where performance management, compliance and accountability are priorities.

This section explains how the five research questions have been answered. Each question is listed below for reference:

1. How is pastoral care structured at Buttercup college to support students with diverse needs?

This study concludes that Buttercup college is a bureaucratic organisation where risk appraisal and the generation of risk knowledge, especially on its student population, is a key component of its model of risk governance. This study drew on Best's (1999, 2002) five strand model of pastoral care in schools to facilitate understanding and interpretation of pastoral care in Buttercup college. Findings show that personal tutors are concerned primarily with 'reactive' casework and the delivery of 'preventative' workshops on key topics relevant to young people where the emphasis is on the risk management of 'vulnerable and dangerous' students. This study found there was less emphasis on the 'developmental' aspect of pastoral care aimed at promoting personal, social, moral, spiritual and cultural development. The data analysis found that pastoral care and the role of personal tutors in Buttercup college are designed to meet government targets which presents pastoral care as a 'policy lever'. Findings show that students 'at-risk' require a greater investment of time and resources than is currently made available to personal tutors.

2. What issues and challenges do personal tutors identify as problematic in their delivery of pastoral care?

Personal tutors find working to meet government targets and accounting for professional conduct challenging. They have insufficient time and training for the complexities of their role. Courses which are run over two years are problematic in terms of maintaining retention and success targets. One of the challenges

identified is having too many students to look after (Andrew BC). Tutors also question why they find themselves 'doing' social work. The daily monitoring of tutee attendance, especially on days when personal tutors are involved in teaching others, was identified as a challenge. Tutors also believed they were increasingly being held accountable for any off-campus events where their tutees had behaved inappropriately.

3. What is the impact on personal tutors of managing those students who are identified as 'at-risk' of failing to achieve their learning goals?

The range of 'at-risk' issues (Chapter 7) presents clear evidence that personal tutors are required to support students with complex personal issues for which they have not received sufficient training. The data showed that doing pastoral care is both emotional and political work. A review of the literature indicated that the emotional toil of caring for others, especially those 'at-risk' and the demands of frequent policy changes, coupled with the lack of sufficient resources can have a negative impact on the emotional well-being of personal tutors and pastoral managers.

4. What are the students' experiences in terms of personal support?

The findings from the survey showed that students at Buttercup college regard the weekly meeting with their personal tutor as an opportunity to discuss coursework and to deal with any personal problem they may have. The data also supported the personal tutors' perception that students expect them to be available at any time should they have a problem. Students present a range of behaviours, including dangerous behaviour, the management of which could be very time

consuming. Finally, the ‘at-risk’ factors identified by the students confirmed the breadth and seriousness of the topics which personal tutors had also highlighted as areas of concern for them in terms of their own training requirements.

5. What model of pastoral care is constructed through this investigation?

This question arose from the literature review and has been answered in the earlier section, 8.3.4.

8.6 Recommendations

The role of personal tutoring in FE would be enhanced if the following recommendations were sanctioned by the DfE:

1. Recognise the role of personal tutoring and support certification to raise the profile of this work;
2. Make the PSHE curriculum compulsory for all full time students in FE;
3. Provide appropriate funding for the delivery of PSHE so that tutors have sufficient time to do more ‘preventative’ work to support those students, who through no fault of their own, are labelled ‘at-risk’, ‘vulnerable’ or ‘dangerous’;
4. Make it a statutory requirement for all providers in the FE sector to have in place a system of supervision for personal tutors and pastoral managers similar to that in place within the realm of social work.

8.7 Lessons and limitations

A well-worn research diary is a reminder of the steep learning curve that had to be negotiated. On reflection, using a mixed method approach without any training on electronic software such as Nvivo or SPSS was naïve and resulted in copious amount of hours spent analysing data manually. The limitation of the study concerns the lack of data on the impact of gender on the delivery of pastoral care - this is acknowledged as an oversight when setting the research questions.

There were fifty-nine male and thirty-seven female students in the study; a sample that is representative of the empirical site where more male than female students study business. In terms of managing student behaviour, male students aged 17 and female students aged 18 to 20 were the most problematic. Thirty-two females, (twenty-one personal tutors and eleven pastoral managers), together with four male personal tutors took part in this study. FE is generally recognised as an under-researched area and the impact of gender difference on the delivery of pastoral care in FE would be a key area for further research.

8.8 Reflections on a personal and professional journey

Pastoral care has been a major component of my professional career and the drive for this study was born out of a need to know why the language of risk had become embedded in the classroom. In 2006, after yet another organisational restructure, I was drawn to research because I had "*an interest in addressing a particular kind of research question namely 'what is going on here"* (Pole and

Morrison 2003:18). The interweaving of a personal biography with a professional passion for supporting young people in difficulty has been the catalyst for this study. Balancing time and enthusiasm with the commitments of a full time middle management role were, at times, intensely challenging. I have taken advantage of the opportunities that have come along to share my research findings, for example, in 2009 I presented a paper at the 6th Annual Postgraduate Conference, '*Moving Forward*' at the University of Aberdeen (2009). This has been a personal and professional journey through which I have gained new knowledge and skills. My aspirations for the future include seeking out opportunities to develop my research skills as part of a research community.

8.9 Summary

This chapter presented the final discussion and conclusion to the study. It outlined and justified the finding that the role of the personal tutor has changed from the traditional role of caregiver to that of risk manager. The chapter outlined how the research aim had been achieved and the research questions answered. Finally, the chapter presented a model of pastoral care for FE – a model that interprets pastoral care as emotional support, risk management and social control.

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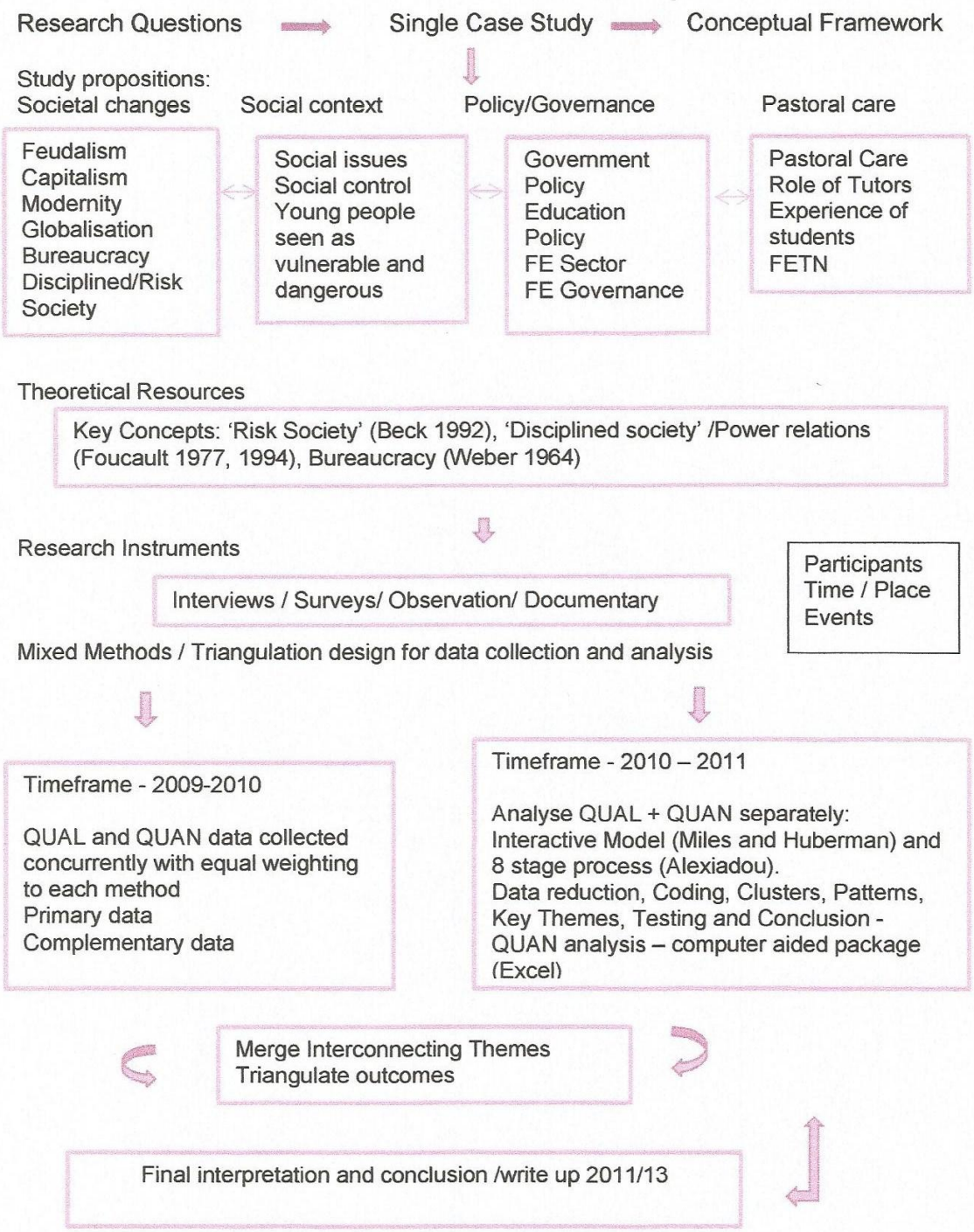
Appendix 1 Research Design



References:

a) Andrew and Halcomb (2009)
b) Kettles et al (2011:540)
c) Miles and Huberman (1994)
d) Punch (2009)
e) Webster and Mertova (2007:105)

Appendix 2 Ethical approval

Keele University

RESEARCH AND ENTERPRISE SERVICES

9 September 2009

Ms Mary Furey

Dear Mary,

Re: 'Managing 'at-risk' students: investigating the role of personal tutors in the delivery of pastoral care in further education'

Thank you for submitting your revised project for review.

I am pleased to inform you that your project has been approved by the Ethics Review Panel.

Amendments to your project after a favourable ethical opinion has been given must be notified to the Ethical Review Panel. If there are any amendments to your project please contact Nicola Leighton Research Governance Officer n.leighton@uso.keele.ac.uk

If you have any queries, please do not hesitate to contact Michele Dawson in writing to m.dawson@uso.keele.ac.uk

Best wishes.

Yours sincerely

M. Dawson

Ms Sheelagh McGuinness
PP **Vice-Chair – Ethical Review Panel**

Yours sincerely

M. Dawson

Mrs Sue Brelade
PP **Vice-Chair – Ethical Review Panel**

cc RI Manager

Research and Enterprise Services, Keele University, Staffordshire, ST5 5BG, UK

Telephone: + 44 (0)1782 734466 Fax: + 44 (0)1782 733740

Appendix 3 Definition of Pastoral Care

A definition offered in 1989 by Her Majesty's Inspectorate (HMI) for schools is wide ranging and is listed here to show the breath of responsibility placed on the personal tutor:

> "*Pastoral care is concerned with promoting pupils' personal and social development and fostering positive attitudes: though the quality of teaching and learning; the nature of relationships amongst pupils', teachers; arrangements for monitoring pupils' overall progress, academic, personal and social; specific pastoral structures and support systems; extra-curricular activities and the school ethos. Pastoral care should help a school to achieve success - it offers support for the learning, behaviour and welfare of all pupils, and addresses the particular difficulties some individual pupils may be experiencing*", (Department of Education and Science (DES), (1989:3), cited in Calvert (2009:268).

Appendix 4 School model of pastoral care

1. **Reactive pastoral casework**- this is work undertaken on a one-to-one basis in response to the needs of individual students with problems of a social, emotional, physical, behavioural, moral or spiritual nature.

2. **Proactive, preventative pastoral care** – this is about raising awareness and is often delivered in the form of presentations or activities undertaken in tutor or form periods and assemblies, to anticipate 'critical incidents' in children's lives (Hamblin,1978) and aimed at pre-empting the need for reactive casework.

3. **Developmental pastoral curricula** – this involves promoting the personal, social, moral, spiritual and cultural development and well-being of children through distinctive programmes, tutorial work and cross-curricular activities.

4. **The promotion and maintenance of an orderly and supportive environment** – the focus here is on building a community within the school or college through extra-curricular activities – this hidden curriculum of supportive systems and positive relations between all members, and the promotion of a pervasive ethos of mutual care and concern.

5. **The management and administration of pastoral care** – this is concerned with the planning, motivating, resourcing, monitoring, supporting, evaluating, encouraging and otherwise facilitating all of the above

Best (1999:58-59).

Appendix 5 Every Child Matters

The Children Act 2004 incorporated the Every Child Matters (ECM), (2003) agenda with its five key outcomes and these are as follows:

1. **being healthy:** enjoying good physical and mental health and living a healthy lifestyle

2. **staying safe:** being protected from harm and neglect and growing up able to look after themselves

3. **enjoying and achieving:** getting the most out of life and developing broad skills for adulthood

4. **making a positive contribution:** to the community and to society and not engaging in anti-social or offending behaviour

5. **economic well-being:** overcoming socio-economic disadvantages to achieve their full potential in life.

Appendix 6 'Risk Factors'

Personal tutors in Buttercup college agree a checklist of 'at-risk' factors to support their judgements in identifying students 'at-risk'. The following list is an example from 2009/2010.

- late entrants to the course (Mid to late September)
- in receipt of additional learning support
- having a negative attitude
- displaying inappropriate behaviour
- non achiever in previous year
- working part time and/or doing more than 12 hours per week
- with low level entry qualifications
- in care / foster care or leaving care
- subject to a health condition
- taking prescribed medication
- lacking in motivation
- not meeting punctuality / attendance targets
- poor progression from previous course
- parental known risks
- custodial information from probation / police
- safeguarding concerns received from school or police.

The above list is in line with Coleman and Hagell (2007:2) who define four possible uses of the term 'risk' and these are:

1. *Risk factors* – the term that usually refers to the factors that might contribute to poor outcomes for young people, such as poverty, deprivation, illness or dysfunctional family background. These can be further subdivided into *individual risk factors* – eg low intelligence, poor health, hyperactivity, low attention span and low frustration tolerance. *Family risk factors* – including parental ill health, parental involvement in crime, and loss of parent due to death or divorce. *Community risk factors* – eg poor housing, crime rate, substance misuse, economic disadvantage. In summary, risk factors are the variables that contribute to poor outcomes.
2. *Risk behaviour or risky behaviour* – applies to potentially harmful behaviour that young people might engage in, such as having unsafe sex, abusing substances such as alcohol or illegal drugs, smoking, drinking to excess or taking part in various types of anti-social behaviour.
3. *Young people at risk* – is used to refer to those who are potentially vulnerable, such as those who are socially excluded, those who are subject to abuse or neglect and those who are in custody or in care.
4. *Young people who pose a risk to society* – this concept is used to apply to those who engage in anti-social behaviour or who in other ways pose a threat to their communities.

Appendix 7 Information sheet – personal tutors

This information sheet is designed to explain my research project on Pastoral Care in Further Education. I am conducting this research as a student of Keele University. You are invited to take part in the study. Before you decide whether or not to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully.

The purpose of the study is to investigate pastoral care in further education and in particular how those students identified as 'at risk' are supported. The study will run for a period of one year from July 09 and include feedback from personal tutors and full time students between the ages of 17 and 19.

You are invited to participate as an experienced Personal Tutor who has been involved in managing students who have been identified as 'at risk'. It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part you will be given a copy of this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

Data collection will include the use of semi structured interviews and these will normally not last any longer than one hour. It is anticipated that only one interview will be necessary, however a further interview maybe requested. Interviews will take place during the normal college day and at a mutually convenient time. No financial cost will be incurred by you – neither will you receive any financial payment for taking part.

The benefits to taking part are that you can contribute to our collective understanding of pastoral care in the current climate of further education. Your contribution may be influential in supporting those students who have personal issues and who rely on personal tutors for support and guidance. You will be able to support other Personal Tutors raise awareness of the complexities of pastoral care especially in the current climate of target setting and accountability.

All of the information collected will be kept confidential and stored securely by me in line with data protection guidelines. The data collected will be analysed and reported on thematically in my thesis. Anonymity is assured for all participants and with any published findings, pseudonyms will be used to protect identity. My supervisor is Dr Farzana Shain at – f.shain@educ.keele.ac.uk. However, if you require further information please email me at - m.furey@ippm.keele.ac.uk.

Thank you.
Mary Furey
July 09

Appendix 8 Consent form – personal tutors

Project Title: Managing Parallel Risks: An investigation of the role of pastoral care in further education.

Please complete and return before participating in the interview: Thank you. Mary Furey

	Yes	No
	(√as relevant)	
1. I confirm that I have read the information sheet and understand the purpose of this research;	☐	☐
2. I confirm that I have had an opportunity to seek clarification and ask questions;	☐	☐
3. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I can withdraw at any time without giving a reason;	☐	☐
4. I understand that the information provided by me will be kept confidential, used only for the purpose of the research, stored securely and only kept as long as is necessary.	☐	☐
5. I understand that information provided by me will be held anonymously so that I should not be identifiable individually within the research.	☐	☐
6. I agree to the interview consultation being audio recorded;	☐	☐
7. I agree to the use of anonymised quotes in publications.	☐	☐

Name of Participant _____ Date _____ Signature _____

Name of Researcher Date Signature

Appendix 9 Interview questions

The following questions guided the interview conversations with personal tutors at Buttercup college:

- How long have you been employed in BC?
- How long have you been a Personal Tutor in BC?
- How were you appointed to the role of Personal Tutor?
- How many tutees do you, on average, provide pastoral care for?
- What are the key elements of this role?
- What are the main challenges of this role?
- How do you identify students who may be at risk of leaving and/or failing to achieve?
- What 'at risk' issues have you had to deal with recently?
- How well equipped do you feel to deal with such complex issues?
- Is there any area in which you feel you need more training?
- How many hours per week are you allocated to do this role?
- How many hours per week do you feel you need to do this role?
- How many hours per week do you spend dealing with student issues as part of your role?
- How do you feel about sustaining this level of support in the future?
- Are you consulted by the college on what resources, eg hours you need to carry out this role.
- In your view, does the college give this role a high, medium or low priority when allocating resources, eg hours and rooms?
- What, for you, are the most difficult aspects of this role?
- What you would like to be able to change?
- Are you given targets for retention and success?
- With the increased emphasis to meet targets, how does this impact on this role?
- Please give any other information which you think would be useful to this study.

Appendix 10 Information sheet – students

Information Sheet for Students

Dear Student

I am completing a research project as part of my studies with Keele University. I want to investigate how Personal Tutors provide help and support to students through the tutorial system – that is the 'group tutorials' and 'one to one' tutorials that you attend as part of your programme of study.

Therefore, I would be grateful if you would take part in this study by completing the attached questionnaire. It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you decide to take part you will be given this information sheet, a consent form and questionnaire to complete. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. All the answers you give will be kept confidential and will not be shared with anyone at the College. No financial cost will be incurred by you – neither will you receive any financial payment for taking part. If you take part, you will be contributing to my understanding of our tutorial system.

The questionnaire will have a number of questions for you to answer as per your own experience as a student. You do not need to write your name on the questionnaire. All of the information collected will be kept confidential and stored securely by me in line with data protection guidelines. The data collected will be analysed and reported on thematically in my thesis. Any direct quotes from the questionnaire will be kept anonymous therefore you will not be identifiable individually within the research.

The College provides specialist staff such as counsellors to provide confidential help and support to students, therefore this is a reminder that this facility is always available to you and appointments can be made through Student Services on XXXX.

My supervisor is Dr Farzana Shain at – f.shain@educ.keele.ac.uk. However, if you require further information please email me at - m.furey@ippm.keele.ac.uk.

Mary Furey

Thank you

Appendix 11 Consent form – students

Project Title: Managing Parallel Risks: An investigation of the role of pastoral care in further education:

Please complete and return this consent form it before you complete the questionnaire. Thank you. Mary Furey

	Yes	No
	(√ as relevant)	
1. I confirm that I have received and read the information sheet which explains the purpose of this research.	☐	☐
2. I confirm that I have had an opportunity to ask questions about this project.	☐	☐
3. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I can withdraw at any time without giving a reason.	☐	☐
4. I understand that the information provided by me will be kept confidential, used only for the purpose of this research, stored securely and only kept as long as is necessary.	☐	☐
5. I understand that information provided by me will be held anonymously so that I should not be identifiable individually within the research.	☐	☐
6. I agree that quotes from the questionnaire maybe used in publications on the understanding that they will be used anonymously.	☐	☐

Name of Participant	Date	Signature
Name of Researcher	Date	Signature

Appendix 12 Student questionnaire

Note: Please make sure you have received and read the Information Sheet which gives details on this project – then if you are happy to participate – please read, complete and return the consent form. Finally, complete this questionnaire. If you have any questions, please ask.

Q1	Are you (Please √ box as appropriate) a. Male ☐ b. Female ☐
Q2	What is your age? ☐
Q3	Do you attend weekly group tutorials? a. Yes, I attend every week ☐ b. Yes, I attend most weeks ☐ c. Yes, I attend sometimes ☐ d. I only attend tutorial when I have a problem to discuss ☐ e. No, I never attend tutorial. ☐
Q4	During tutorial, do you feel confident to discuss: (you can tick more than one box) a. Any personal problem you may have ☐ b. Your coursework ☐ c. Your attendance ☐ d. Your behaviour ☐ e. I won't discuss any topic that the tutor has not raised f. Other, please list ☐

Q5	Do you attend Individual Tutorials? (these are the one to one appointments arranged with your Personal Tutor) a. Yes, I attend all Individual Tutorials arranged ☐ b. Yes, I attend most of the Individual Tutorials arranged ☐ c. No, I never attend an Individual Tutorial ☐ d. I always ask for a meeting with my Personal tutor ☐ e. I sometimes ask for a meeting with my Personal tutor. ☐ f. Other, please list
Q6	What is the purpose of Tutorial? (you can tick more than one box) a. To provide advice and guidance ☐ b. To support students with their assignments / study ☐ c. To help students with personal problems ☐ d. To help students catch up if they have missed lessons ☐ e. Other, please list.
Q7	Would you contact your Personal Tutor outside of your tutorial time? a. Yes, I would go to their staffroom ☐ b. Yes, I would see them in the next lesson ☐ c. Yes, I would stop them in the corridor ☐ d. Yes, I would phone their college telephone number ☐ e. Yes, I would phone them on their mobile number ☐ f. Yes, I would send them an email ☐ g. No, I would wait until the next scheduled tutorial ☐ h. Other, please list ☐

Q8	If you have discussed any of the topics listed below with your Personal Tutor - please tick the relevant box. You can tick more than one box – but please read the full list first. 1) EMA payments ☐ 2) Self/Family finance ☐ 3) My behaviour ☐ 4) Behaviour of others ☐ 5) My Punctuality ☐ 6) My Attendance ☐ 7) My Coursework ☐ 8) My parents/guardian ☐ 9) Home life in general ☐ 10) Pregnancy ☐ 11) Abortion ☐ 12) Self Harm ☐ 13) Domestic violence ☐ 14) Fear for my own safety ☐ 15) Physical violence ☐	16) Emotional bullying ☐ 17) Physical bullying ☐ 18) Cyber bullying ☐ 19) Racism ☐ 20) Discrimination ☐ 21) Homelessness ☐ 22) Probation issues ☐ 23) Community Service ☐ 24) Custodial sentence ☐ 25) Sexual orientation ☐ 26) Sexual health issues ☐ 27) Fear of abduction ☐ 28) Religious beliefs ☐ 29) Leave of absence ☐ 30) Dispute with parents ☐ 31) College rules ☐ 32) Learning support ☐ 33) Mentor support ☐ 34) Other, please list
Q9	Do you receive additional learning support? a. Yes, a support tutor attends all my classes ☐ b. Yes, a support tutor attends some of my classes ☐ c. Yes, I receive support outside my lessons. ☐ d. No, I do not receive additional learning support ☐	
Q10	Have you ever missed Lessons or Tutorials due to: a. Illness ☐ b. Looking after a family member who was ill ☐ c. Attending the doctor / dentist ☐ d. Other reason – please list below ☐	

Q11	Have you ever missed lessons due to dealing with some personal issue? a. Yes ☐ b. No ☐ c. If you answered a. Yes – would you like to give an example? ☐
Q12	Do you always meet the deadlines set for assignments? a. Yes ☐ b. No ☐ c. If you answered b. No – would you like to give your reasons. ☐
Q13	Have you ever asked for an appointment to see a College Counsellor? a. Yes ☐ b. No ☐ c. Prefer not to say ☐
Q14	Have you been allocated a Mentor / Support Worker to help you with your studies? a. Yes ☐ b. No ☐ c. Prefer not to say ☐

Appendix 13 Online survey

Example:

The following is an example of ‘data capture’ for Question 4 from ‘professional others’.

4. What are the main challenges of being a Personal Tutor?

Hide replies

1.	time and resources	Tue, Jun 22, 2010 10:57
2.	To not get too personally involved	Mon, Jun 21, 2010 9:36 A
3.	offering the right advice for various situations	Mon, Jun 21, 2010 8:38 A
4.	attempting to reconcile or find a way of resolving conflict between student pastoral / personal constraints and academic demands	Mon, Jun 21, 2010 8:31 A
5.	Finding enough time for each learner and keeping up with papaerwork	Fri, Jun 18, 2010 9:38 AM
6.	too many studnets in my case load	Wed, Jun 16, 2010 2:03 F
7.	Student wellbeing	Wed, Jun 16, 2010 12:48
8.	Time for individual students	Wed, Jun 16, 2010 11:23
9.	Collating all the progress information from subject tutors ready for 1:1 reviews	Wed, Jun 16, 2010 10:33
10.	Supporting, engageing and tracking	Wed, Jun 16, 2010 10:19
11.	keeing the boundaries between academic tutorial and pastoral	Wed, Jun 16, 2010 10:09
12.	The red tape that hinders us helping our students	Wed, Jun 16, 2010 10:06
13.	The time it takes outside of tutorials to deal with all things tutorial realted	Wed, Jun 16, 2010 10:05
14.	Time	Wed, Jun 16, 2010 9:50 A
15.	making the correct judgement calls for the full spectrum of issues	Wed, Jun 16, 2010 9:49 A
16.	Time	Wed, Jun 16, 2010 9:48 A
17.	Time and appreciation by managers of the depth / scope / responsibility of the role. Also, where is the the line between personal tutor and counsellor / social worker?	Wed, Jun 16, 2010 9:42 A
18.	behaviour	Wed, Jun 16, 2010 9:40 A

25 responses p

answered questic

skipped questic

http://www.surveymonkey.com/MySurvey_Responses.aspx?sm=lysSYFGQYtl907w... 14/07/2010

Appendix 14 Survey - ‘professional others’ (personal tutors)

(The survey was designed and distributed through a personal subscription to SurveyMonkey).

Personal Tutors:

1. Are you, male, female?
2. Are you employed, full time, part time?
3. How many years’ experience do you have as a Personal Tutor?
4. What are the main challenges of being a Personal Tutor?
5. Over the past two years, what were the most difficult issues you have had to support students with?
6. What aspects of this role do you feel most confident with?
7. What aspects of the role do you feel least confident with?
8. What aspects of personal tutoring do you most enjoy?
9. What changes, if any, could the Government and/or its agencies make to improve the student experience?
10. As a personal tutor, have you had to support students deal with personal issues, such as those listed below? You can tick as many as relevant.

EMA payments
Self/Family issues
Student’s own behaviour
Punctuality
Attendance
Coursework
Pregnancy
Abortion
Self Harm
Child Protection issues
Emotional bullying

Cyber bullying
Physical bullying
Racism
Homelessness
Sexual health issues
Sexual orientation
Fear of abduction
Forced marriages
Arranged marriages
Religious beliefs
Learning support
Mentoring support

Appendix 15 Survey - ‘professional others’ (pastoral managers)

(The survey was designed and distributed through a personal subscription to SurveyMonkey).

Pastoral Care Managers:

1. Are you, male, female?
2. Are you employed, full time, part time?
3. How many years’ experience do you have as a manager responsible for pastoral care?
4. What are the main challenges of being a manager of pastoral care programmes?
5. Over the past two years, what were the most difficult issues you have had to support students with?
6. What aspects of the role do you feel most confident with?
7. What aspects of the role do you feel least confident with?
8. What are your strategies for managing those students identified as ‘at risk’?
9. What changes, if any, could the government and/or its agencies make to improve the student experience?
10. As a manager, have you had to support students deal with personal issues, such as those listed below? You can tick as many as relevant.

EMA payments
Self/Family issues
Student’s own behaviour
Punctuality
Attendance
Coursework
Pregnancy
Abortion
Self Harm
Child Protection issues
Emotional bullying

Cyber bullying
Physical bullying
Racism
Homelessness
Sexual health issues
Sexual orientation
Fear of abduction
Forced marriages
Arranged marriages
Religious beliefs
Learning support
Mentoring support

Appendix 16 Qualitative data analysis

Report A / table 2-4

(Variables taken from interview transcripts with Personal Tutors at Buttercup College)

Revision and regrouping of key themes Table 2:

Variables	Codes	Revision and regrouping of key Themes
<u>Pressure to keep students</u> The pressure to keep the students falls on the personal tutor Perception that students can get the wrong message then..... Sometimes no matter what you do for the students, it's not at the right time in their life Even if I know it's right for him to go I have to say you can't – I need you. Sometimes you have to sacrifice one for the benefit of the others. Sometimes you know they are not ready to be in college.	Pr1 Pr2 Pr3 Pr4 Pr5 Pr6	Organisation Priorities Retention
<u>Progression</u> Students need to be capable of going to university Need to progress to university The expectation that all will progress to university	Pog1 Pog2 Pog3	
<u>Priorities</u> The organisation wants to keep the students whatever the issues Priority for organisation is getting main qualification	Org1/Pr1 Org2	
<u>Two year programmes</u> Retention is got to be a lot more difficult for two years than for one year. More challenges on a Two year programme compared to a one year programme. A two year programme should have more resources than a one year programme	Org3 Org4 Org5	

<u>Teacher training and professional development</u> Teacher training - no emphasis on role of personal tutor Teacher training - no focus on what the pastoral role entails Teacher training - not enough practical Most of the things are learnt on the job Teacher training should include pastoral –	Tt1 Tt2 Tt3 Tt4 Tt5	Professional identity In house CPD link also to organisation
<u>Professional Development</u> Does attend the PDU sessions Attendance at PDU sessions is voluntary – staff book themselves on – therefore no monitoring of who should and does attend and is it relevant Not enough training New and young staff need more training So many issues not easy to identify what training is needed too When issue comes up –you ask am I equipped to deal with this.... Would you remember what you were trained on? Constant updating required to be compliant with external changes	Prof1 Prof2 Prof3 Prof4 Prof5 Prof6 Prof7 Prof8/Gc4	
<u>Role of Personal Tutor</u> No specific job specification Most PT were asked to take on role It's a stressful role Being a PT is not a soft option anymore Each year we see changes We are becoming social workers The balance is changing from teaching to social work We get support but it is not enough Not enough professional development to deal with the diverse issues Need to be trained on how to deal with more issues There is a lot to this role (eg Personal Tutor) Students think the PT is available anytime anywhere It's a guessing game – identifying students who have issues behind the scene Being a mum helps Having experience Acting like a Social worker Acting like a Surrogate mother	Rol1 Rol2 Rol3 Rol4 Rol5 Rol6 Rol7 Rol8 Rol9 Rol10 Rol11 Rol12 Rol13 Rol14 Rol15 Rol15 Rol16 Rol17 Rol18 Rol19	Organisation and Professional Identity Managing risk Emotional support

Use common sense I have put in 110% into being a personal tutor over the years You have to be on the ball		Surveillance
<u>Implications of role of Personal Tutor</u> A lot of personal time has to be put in You use a lot of your free time Not seeing your tutees everyday but still having to keep track of them There are so many different circumstances that you could never anticipate for every single thing you are going to come across	Ch1 Ch2 Ch3 Ch4/Chu1 Ch5	Challenges Professional identity
<u>Coping Strategies</u> Strategy is to over enrol, then you can let someone go We play this game – therefore have to give as much personal support as needed so they do pass Have to build in action planning weeks to meet targets Do extra workshops if needed	Cs1 Cs2 Cs3 Cs4	Professional identity
<u>Responsibilities</u> The need to turnout students with qualifications who are also responsible human beings need to instil confidence in students to create opportunities for them to talk about academic and home life students come with more social issues than educational issues Keeping track of them Chasing them up Following up reports by other staff Individual meetings with students The need to deal with a range of diverse issues Impact of large groups – less time for each student To help students settle in Give them support Someone to talk to Need to be self reliant Best to work as part of a team Job satisfaction is best when they leave with a qualification or return from university Importance of working as a team Use the experience of other staff To be there for the students – outside tutorial time too	Res1 Res2 Res3 Res4 Res5 Res6 Res7 Res8 Res9 Res10 Res11 Res12 Res13 Res14 Res15 Res16 Res17 Res18 Res19 Res20 Res21 Res22 Res23 Res24	Professional identity Organisation Emotional support Social work Managing risk Responsibility

Getting to know them Assisting them with everyday problems All students need to achieve qualification Making sure they are coping Being there for the students Making sure they are happy Making sure they are interacting Looking for any problems Resolving problems at home or in college The need to bond with them Encompassing everything that comes along	Res25 Res26 Res27 Res28 Res29 Res30	
<u>Resources – other</u> Need more flexibility to manage hours Resources have diminished over past 10 years Some personal tutors develop and share own resources Do have staff development days – but need more time to catch up with the big issues Pressure to give more time to someone who has a problem and then the impact of that on others...	Rs1 Rs2 Rs3 Rs4 Rs5/Pr1	Resources / Organisation Funding implications Impact on those who don't have a problem/
<u>Resources - Time</u> 2 hrs is not enough – outside this there is the chasing, the phone calls – We are doing this role everyday (not just 2hrs per week) 2 hrs is not always enough – if you have to deal with an incident, phone parents, etc. Individual tutorials are often 10mins each – not enough time 2 hrs is not enough Those students with problems take more time – between 2 and 8 hrs per week. Whatever the cuts you have to spend the time with them (even giving up lunch time) Time – chasing them up Time – phoning and meeting parents Spends more than 2 hrs per week with them Pressure not to ask a student to come and see you at a later time – in case they don't...	Rst1/Rol1 Rst2 Rst3 Rst4/Si1/22 Rst5 Rst6 Rst7 Rst8 Rst9/Pr1	Organisation Funding implications Extra hrs. all unrecorded A crisis in terms of contact time Risk perception
<u>Challenges for Personal Tutors</u> Providing a good level of support with reduction in hours and resources being 'flagged' as failing Keeping track of them Picking up the signals that something is wrong The need to monitor, look for and log	Chug1 Chug2 Chug3 Chug4 Chug5	Challenges Performance Surveillance Level and

patterns ("if there is a pattern we know they are going to fail") Ad hoc meetings in the corridor with students Students coming to the staffroom expecting you are available Monitoring the subject tutors Being a personal tutor for two groups Following up issues subject tutors have with my students You have to spot things quickly, family problems, social issues They all come with different problems. Sometimes you are called out of class to deal with problems Students from previous years coming to you Having more than one group Demands on time throughout the week The uncertainty of not knowing what might come up Society is changing	Chug6/Rst 1 Chug7 Chug8 Chug9/Org 1 Chug10 Chug11 Chug12 Chug13 Chug14 Chug15/Org3 Chug16 Chu1 Chu2	breath of responsibility Issues from 'at-risk' students
<u>Control – lack of control</u> Targets set for the whole programme but PT does not have control of whole programme PT does not have any control of whether or not students will do any work outside of college – Certain issues (in terms of students problems) are outside my control outside influences are impacting on college and we don't have any control over them Different things from outside are affecting - eg recession, students have no money	Ctl1/Pr1/Tar9 Ctl2 Ctl3 Ctl4 Ctl5	Lack of control Targets Outside issues
<u>Target Culture</u> Targets make you look after your students a bit more You have to find out the causes – eg non attendance – as you don't want to fall below target When you do well you are creating a rod for your own back - 97% retention target was moved to 98% If the student fails it looks bad for the tutor - Staff can be de-motivated by this – someone has not passed and it has come back to me. Less emphasis on targets in schools Statistics difficult to cope with - you can run	Tar1 Tar2 / Pr1 Tar3 Tar4 Tar5 Tar6/Tar7 Tar7/Tar6 Tar8 Tar9	Target culture Risk Management

a really good programme and it can go up and up and then it might dip a year and so you are flagged up as 'red' Another programme whose figures were in the 40's they had constantly gone up but they were not flagged up as red – yet we were doing nearly twice the amount. The personal tutorship is what makes the students meet the targets All mention attendance, retention and success targets Targets always going up	Tar10 Tar11 Tar12/Pr1	
<u>Government Change</u> Everything is starting to be target driven – like the NHS.. You have to roll with the government changes We have to respond to the governmental issues We have to respond to government changes	Gc1/Tar9 Gc2 Gc3 Gc4	Government policy / change / impact of change
<u>Funding</u> Role of funding LSC only fund students who pass – this is <u>how this game works</u> – they don't pass we don't get funded. Everything is now based on facts and figures	Fnd1 Fnd2 Fnd3/Tar9	Funding levers Risk management
<u>Education</u> We are starting to move away from education Perception of vocational as 'less than' academic Those with lower grades are regarded as Failed.	Ed1 Ed2 Ed3	Role of Education
'<u>At-risk issues /social problems / student problems</u> Pregnancy Pregnancy Bullying Violent behaviour Assault Violence Behaviour Bad behaviour Arranged marriage	Si1 Si1 Si2 Si3 Si4 Si3 Si5 Si5 Si6 Si6	Social Problems Teenager problems Teenagers as dangerous to themselves and others

Arranged marriages Personal safety – use of safe houses Alcohol Drugs Court appearances (do a reference) 17 year old – “parents had washed their hands off him” Abuse by parent Everything from minor to the extreme Refugees Relationship problems Those who have left home Those who have been asked to leave home Student thrown out by his father	Si7 Si8 Si9 Si10 Si11 Si12 Si13 Si14 Si15 Si16 Si17 Si18	Risk factors Risk management Emotional support – impact on personal tutors

Stage 5, 7, 8, -Factor Analysis **Table 3/ Part A**

		Task 1	Task 2			Task 3
Themes – from Table 2	**Sub section of themes**	**No of variables**	**Correlation between variables**			**After correlation**
Organisation factors – adjustment for other factors impacting on organisation	Pressure to keep students	6	3	3		3
	Progression of students	3	1.5	1.5		1.5
	Pressure of 2year programmes	3				3
	Priorities of organisation	2	1	1		1
	Lack of resources – time (ref funding)	12	6	6		6
	Lack of resources – other	6				6
	In house CPD	9				9
	Role of Personal Tutor	19	6	6	7	7
	Implications of role of Personal Tutors	6				6
	Coping strategies of Personal Tutors	4				4
	Responsibilities of Personal Tutors	30	10	10	10	10
	Challenges for Personal Tutors	21	7	7	7	7
	Lack of control – their perceptions	7	3.5	3.5		3.5
Totals		128				67
Professional Identity	Teacher training	5	6 10 7			28
Government Policy / Policy levers	Target culture – managing and responding to	16	3 1.5 1 6			
	Government change	5				
	Education – role of	3				
	Funding	4				
Totals		28				39.5
'At-risk Issues	Social problems of teenagers – Risk Factors	22	6 10 17 3.5			58.5

Summary – Factor Analysis **Table 4**

Part B

Key Themes	Weighting	Comments / (thoughts from the process)
Organisational Factors	67	Very difficult to separate the internal workings of the organisation for the impact of external factors
Professional Identity	28	Training, Recognition, (lack of recognition?) Doing social work professional identity / CPD /Tutors feel they have no control over many aspects of their role
Government Policy and Policy Levers	39.5	Linked to the implications of the target culture on organisations. Linked to Government policy and target culture – also the drive for education to solve social problems. Note low score on funding – is this due to lack of knowledge – very different perspective from managers.
'At-risk issues'	58.5	Problems with teenagers – these are identified by tutors as risk factors which may prevent them reaching their targets. The 'problems' of young people – eg 'vulnerable and 'dangerous'
Researcher Notes - other factors to consider – reminders from the data		
The surveillance of students – to ensure risk factors are identified Fear of being 'flagged' – refers to targets and ongoing monitoring. Responsibility – how does their perceptions relate to the organisational definition of the role of a personal tutor? Personal tutors are teachers / lecturers with additional responsibilities of 'pastoral care' – the 'external' view of this role is vastly different from their reality of 'becoming a social worker'. Do personal tutors have multiple identities? There is evidence to suggest that of teacher, personal tutor, social worker and also a 'parenting' role – what is the 'role' of public mothering in the managing of vulnerable and dangerous students. Gender issues. How does data link with the students perceptions of pastoral care?		

Appendix 17 Chi-Square test

Example:

Ref: Question 8, example taken from Excel spreadsheet

A Chi-Square Test is used to test if there is significant difference between the expected and observed frequencies

Considerations:

Do the number of responses in each category differ significantly for the expected number?

Is this difference between expected and observed due to sampling error or is it a *real* difference?

Formula: $X^2 = (O-E)^2/E$

Key: O = observed frequency

E = expected frequency

df = degree of freedom

x^2 = Chi Square

The following table is taken from categorical data derived from Question 8

MALES - TOTAL 59	**O**	**E**	**(O-E)**	**$(O-E)^2$**	**$(O-E)^2/E$**	
Physical violence	4					
Emotional bullying	18	14.75	3.25	10.56	0.72	
Physical bullying	25	14.75	10.25	105.06	7.12	
Cyber bullying	24	14.75	9.25	85.56	5.80	
Racism	18	14.75	3.25	10.56	0.72	
					14.36	Chi-square value
df = 3					7.82	Table value

FEMALES - TOTAL 37	**O**	**E**	**(O-E)**	**$(O-E)^2$**	**$(O-E)^2/E$**	
Physical violence	3					
Emotional bullying	9	9.25	-0.25	0.06	0.01	
Physical bullying	9	9.25	-0.25	0.06	0.01	
Cyber bullying	12	9.25	2.75	7.56	0.82	
Racism	6	9.25	-3.25	10.56	0.83	
					1.66	Chi-square value
df = 3					7.82	Table value

Notes:

1. Calculation of expected frequency:

   In the above test, it was hypothesized that all frequencies would be equal in each category

   The sample was divided by the number of categories (59/4=14.75)

2. Responses <5 were combined with another closely related category

   Example - physical violence for males = 4 was combined with physical bullying

3. Degree of Freedom (N-1)

4. Null Hypothesis

   The null hypothesis states that there is no significant difference between the expected and observed frequencies

   The alternative hypothesis states they are different

   The level of significance (the point at which there is 95% confidence that the difference is NOT due to chance alone is set at 0.05

   If the chi-square value is equal to or greater than the table value, reject the null hypothesis: differences in the data are not due to chance alone

Source of reference:

Maben, A. (2012) Chi-Square Test adapted from Statistics for the Social Sciences (1979) by Vicki Sharp, cited at www.enviroliteracy.org on 20 April 2013.

Appendix 18 Chain of Evidence

The following is an example of a chain of evidence for the theme 'impact of policy'.

Study Propositions (from Research Design)

Risk Society Globalisation Disciplined Society Social change	Government Policy Education Policy FE Sector FE Governance	Pastoral Care Role of Tutors Experience of students	Social issues Social control Vulnerable and dangerous young people

Theme – Impact of policy and policy levers

Neo-liberal market oriented approach to education	Impact of policy and policy levers especially EFA	Tutors have little physical control over what they do, but are emotionally involved	The narrowing of educational outcomes

Theme – Impact of policy and policy levers

Characteristics	Codes	Opposite	Emotion
Government Change 1. *Everything is starting to be target driven – like the NHS..* 2. *You have to roll with the government changes* 3. *We have to respond to the governmental issues* 4. *We have to respond to government changes*	Gc1/ Tar9 Gc2 Gc3 Gc4	Less emphasis on government targets; More professional autonomy; No attachment to economic goals	Pressure on tutors to meet, often unrealistic, targets set by funding agency
Funding 1. *Role of funding* 2. *LSC only fund students who pass – this is <u>how this game works</u> – they don't pass we don't get funded.* 3. *Everything is now based on facts and figures*	Fnd1 Fnd2 Fnd3/ Tar9	Broader criteria for funding students; Less restriction especially on those most in need	Feelings of anxiety / loss that only 'facts and figures' count.
Education 1. *We are starting to move away from education* 2. *Perception of vocational as 'less than' academic* 3. *Those with lower grades are regarded as 'failed'.*	Ed1 Ed2 Ed3	Enhanced pedagogy Parity of esteem All students seen as equal	Sense of loss; lack of professional parity with teachers in schools

Appendix 19 Tutorial policy (BC)

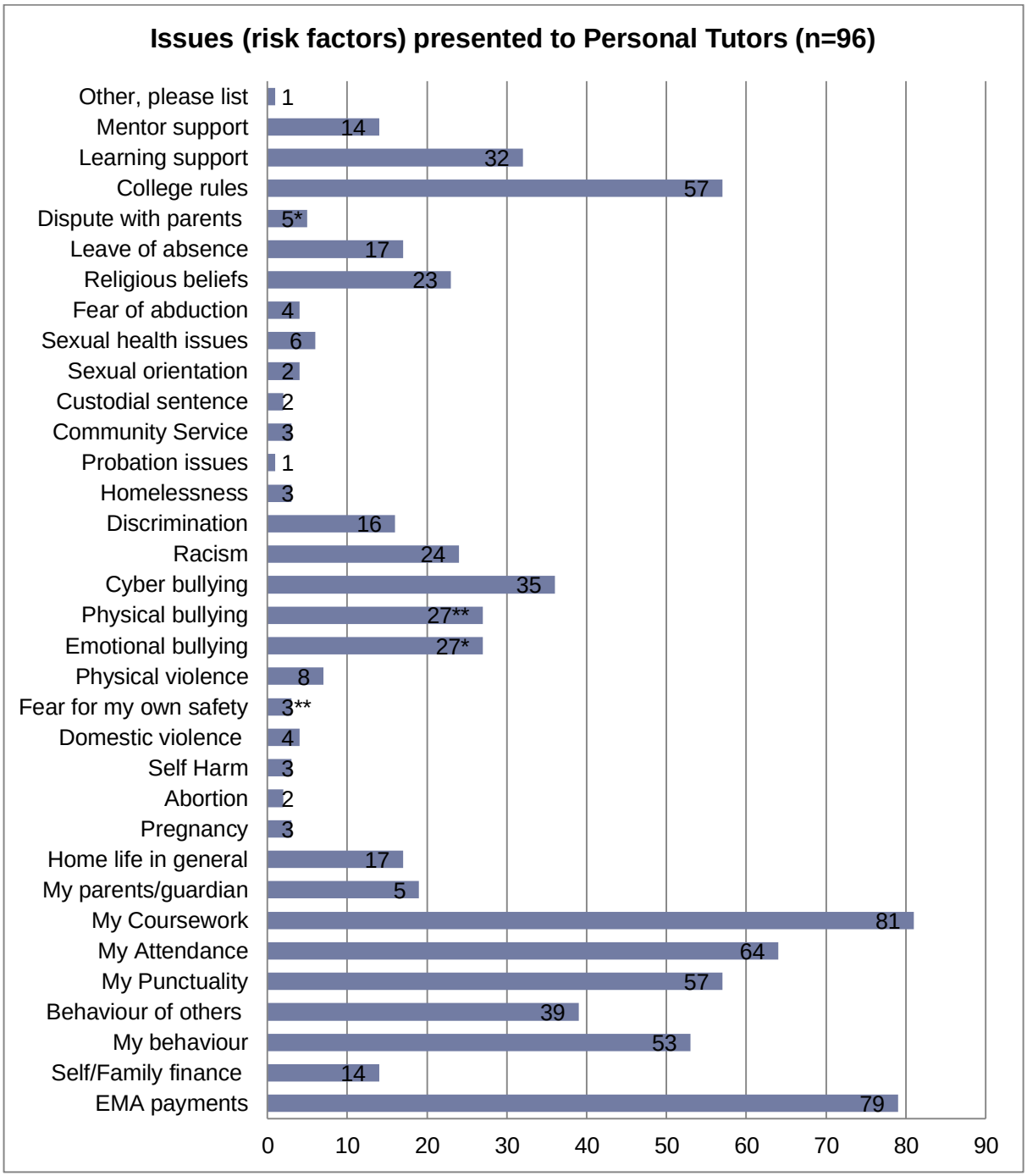
Excluded material can be found in the hard copy via Keele University Library.

Appendix 20 Role of the Personal Tutor (BC)

Excluded material can be found in the hard copy via Keele University Library.

Appendix 21 Student need (BC)

This table shows the responses to Question 8 and represents all age groups in the sample.



Appendix 22 Vignettes (BC)

Excluded material can be found in the hard copy via Keele University Library.