Forty years of *Pastoral Care:* An appraisal of Michael Marland's seminal book and its significance for pastoral care in schools

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Abstract

Michael Marland's seminal book: *Pastoral Care* (London: Heinemann, 1974) was published 40 years ago this year. The thesis of the book - that pastoral care is the central task of the school, and must be planned and institutionalized through pastoral roles and structures - is explored against the background of the social, cultural and educational developments taking place in the 1960s and 1970s. Its influence on research and publication in the field is demonstrated in the literature which deals with both the 'technique' and 'critique' of pastoral care in schools, much of it published in *Pastoral Care in Education*. Marland's later writings, especially on the role of the form tutor and the idea of a 'pastoral curriculum', the conferences he convened, and his part in the founding of the National Association for Pastoral Care in Education (NAPCE), are seen to be a natural extension of the book's thesis. Despite the difficulty of measuring the outcomes of educational literature, the article concludes that the significance of Marland's book and his related activities was substantial, and that the relevance of its underlying values is as great as ever.

Key words: *Michael Marland; pastoral care; pastoral curriculum; comprehensive schools*

Introduction

According to his obituary in *The Guardian*, Michael Marland, CBE, MA, was a "visionary headteacher who pushed the boundaries of traditional education in advocating the comprehensive ideal" (*Guardian* Obituary, 3rd July, 2008). For Roy Blatchford of the National Education Trust, he was "a godfather among fellow headteachers, a status half assumed by him and readily granted, as was his due, by his peers" (Blatchford, 2008). For *Times Higher Education*, he was (among other things) "a keen patron of the arts ... and a founder chairman of the Royal Opera House Education Committee" (Obituary, 27th July, 2008). He was also the founding Chair of the National Association for Pastoral Care in Education (NAPCE), a periodic contributor to this journal, and a sometime member of its Editorial Board. I have written somewhat personally and anecdotally in this journal before of his contribution specifically to NAPCE (Best, 2008), and do not wish to revisit that aspect of his work here. Rather, I wish to focus on his book *Pastoral Care* (Marland, 1974), the fortieth anniversary of whose publication we mark this year.

Pastoral Care was of course but one book among many which bore the Marland stamp, and it was not the best known of his works. This is almost certainly *The Craft of the Classroom* published the following year (Marland, 1975), and it is possible that the edited volume *Language Across the Curriculum* (Marland, 1977) which followed upon the report of the Bullock Committee (Bullock Report, 1975) on which he served, reached more teachers and schools. Other publications, including the anthologies and edited texts which he contributed to the English curriculum, may also have had a greater impact on what teachers actually do with children in classrooms. But, so far as I can determine, it *was* the very first book with the words 'pastoral care' in its title, and the very first book to examine in a comprehensive way the field of pastoral care as it is known in England and Wales.

Such was the width of its compass and the depth of its insight, that it may be thought of as the definitive work which both informed the professional practice of school organization and the delivery of pastoral care, and influenced theoretical and empirical research on aspects of pastoral care through the 'eighties and 'nineties. It stimulated the elaboration and exploration of key concepts and pastoral structures and processes, and provided a ready target for those who sought to develop a critical sociological analysis of schools' pastoral work as performing a controlling function for the

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school and society. It continues to provide the backdrop to contemporary literature on pastoral care, even if this is not always acknowledged.

The word 'seminal' is used rather too often of books, but in the case of *Pastoral Care*, I think it entirely appropriate. In what follows, I seek to make an appraisal of this book and its importance for the theory and practice of pastoral care. In so doing, I don't pretend to provide a thorough analysis of the development (or otherwise) of pastoral care in the last forty years.[i] Nor do I do justice to the whole body of Marland's published work, while a full assessment of his contribution to educational thought and practice would be a book in itself[ii]. That said, it should be clear by the end of this article that *Pastoral Care* and the later books and articles he wrote on this subject are a very considerable part of his educational legacy.

The Book in its Times.

In his Introduction to *Pastoral Care*, Marland notes the unprecedented rates of social and cultural change, economic development and educational reorganization going on, into which the adolescent has to fit and within which s/he has to forge an identity (Marland, 1974, pp.1-4). While it is easy to forget the countervailing forces of conservatism, and simplistic to ignore the great many people whose lives went on pretty much as ever, the years immediately preceding the publication of *Pastoral Care* are usually characterized as ones in which established values were challenged, attitudes to a range of personal preferences (music, literature, clothing, sex and drugs among them) relaxed, and the power of established institutions such as the Church and the school in the moderation of behaviour seen to be waning. There was a 'hangover' of the 'swinging sixties' into and through the 'seventies, with a libertarian bent and a degree of hedonism which the Establishment found difficult to accept. This was the decade when the Women's Liberation Movement was at its height, and a time of challenge to the policy of governments across many countries, with the Anti-Apartheid Movement, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and anti-Vietnam War demonstrations among them.

It was also a period of industrial turmoil. To watch the 'Nine O'clock News' was routinely to see a statement about labour disputes by the Prime Minister and/or the Leader of the Opposition, followed by representatives of the trades union and the employers' organization (the Confederation of British Industry) slugging it out, with the hapless presenter trying desperately to referee. Although the 'Winter of Discontent' of 1978 when matters reach a head was some way off, the years between 1970 and 1974 (the 'gestation period' for *Pastoral Care*), were years of strikes, most seriously that of the coal miners which so affected power supplies that the Conservative Government went so far as to declare a 'three-day week' in order to reduce power consumption.

In education, things were changing, too. In the primary sector, the acceptance and implementation of much of the Plowden Report (Plowden, 1969) legitimized and encouraged a less-authoritarian regime in classrooms, with mixed-ability teaching, group work, a thematic or topic-focused curriculum, 'discovery' methods and other aspects of a progressive, child-centred pedagogy. In the secondary sector, comparable curricular and pedagogical reforms were in train, not least the many and varied initiatives of the Schools Council which included enquiries, working papers and projects in many curriculum areas, among them: science, history, the humanities and language across the curriculum. The Nuffield Foundation was active in promoting action-research in the curriculum and in the organization of schools, with initiatives such as the Educational Priority Area (EPA) Project (Halsey, 1972), and the idea of the 'community school' was taking hold (Midwinter, 1973). These various initiatives may be seen as progressive, inclusive and egalitarian, or as the conservative

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'backlash' typified by the *Black Papers* had it, retrograde, unrealistic, hopelessly romantic, or downright dangerous. (Cox and Dyson, 1969).

This was also a peak time in the comprehensive re-organization of schooling in England and Wales. The failure of the tripartite system of secondary-grammar, technical and 'modern' schools established after the 1944 Education Act, to deliver equality of opportunity for children of all ages and abilities, the (then) Labour Government required all local education authorities (LEAs) to submit plans for comprehensive reorganization of the school in their locality (DES, 1965). Although LEAs were never forced to 'go comprehensive', non-selective schools (both single-sex and mixed), with a remnant of grammar and modern schools in some LEAs, became the norm. In this context, the Government also set about raising the school leaving age (ROSLA) to 16 in 1972.
In teacher-training colleges and university departments of education, students were reading Illich, Friere, Holt and other other 'new romantics' who advocated the dis-establishment or radicalization of schools as institutions.

It was into this heady mix of social change and political debate that *Pastoral Care* was launched.

So, what of the book itself?

It is not that there were no books dealing with aspects of pastoral care before Marland's, but they were not visibly or explicitly so. Either they focused on one aspect only - counselling - and said little (Jones, 1970) or nothing (Holden, 1969) about the pastoral system into which the counsellor would have to fit, or they spoke of 'guidance' (Rowe, 1971; Moore, 1970) rather than 'pastoral care'. So there was a clear gap to be filled, and it was Marland, from the perspective of a headteacher responsible for the organization of a school, who stepped in to fill it:

> "This book, as the title page makes clear, is one of a series devoted to exploring against a theoretical background the practical responsibilities of organization in the secondary school, and especially the comprehensive secondary school" (Marland, 1974, pxi).

So begins the Preface. The reference to the title page is to the sub-title: "*organizing the care and guidance of the individual in a comprehensive school*" (ibid), and the book is one of the earliest in the Heinemann Organization in Schools Series which Marland edited from the mid-1970s into the 1980s. These books were clearly aimed at enhancing school organization and administration and these days would probably be labelled 'management and leadership'. Important also in this first sentence is the reference to a 'theoretical background', for this establishes that the intention is not to produce merely a 'how-to-do-it' book - such books are often simplistic and devoid of either theoretical analysis or empirical evidence - but to properly ground his reflections and prescriptions in both.

Throughout the book (and elsewhere), Marland often identifies aspects of the work of schools as 'central'[iiii], or sometimes 'core'. Quoting Erickson, his starting point is the 'crisis of identity' of the adolescent: "What do I want to make of myself, and what do I have to work with?" which, he says, "is the core of the pastoral need" (Marland, 1974, p2). This image of the adolescent struggle for identity, and the social desirability of her/his developing 'responsible autonomy' (p.4), remain prominent throughout the book. The meeting of this 'core pastoral need' - which he comes to call the 'pastoral *task'* - is not to see pastoral care "merely as a way of supporting the academic work" [but] "looking after the total welfare of the pupil" (p.8-9). Since this involves assisting the adolescent in constructing the various 'selves' which W. D. Wall had proposed - the "social, sexual,

vocational and philosophic" (quoted in Marland, 1974, p.9) - and since the development of these 'selves' is contributed to by the school's academic work, any hard dividing line between the 'pastoral' and the 'academic' would be artificial. From an holistic view of education as concerned with the development of the adolescent as a 'whole person', in which good teaching, guidance and care are inextricable, it is the *pastoral* task of the school which Marland sees as "central" (p.10). In the performance of this task, relationships are fundamental.

However inextricable, or interdependent, the caring and teaching functions of the school may be, and however 'central' the pastoral task is, Marland identified a number of "complementary separate aims" for pastoral care which are distinct from curriculum delivery:

> "(i)   to assist the individual to enrich his personal life;
> (ii)   to help prepare the young person for educational choice;
> (iii)   to offer guidance and counselling, helping young people to make their own decisions...;
> (iv)   to support the 'subject' teaching;
> (v)   to assist the individual to develop his or her own life-style and to respect that of others;
> (vi)   to maintain the orderly atmosphere in which all this is possible." (p.10)

Having identified these aims, the challenge was how to organize a school in order that they are achieved as fully as possible. Marland's 'centrality' thesis for pastoral care is again in evidence: "Clearly, the pastoral focus is wide, and it is wider than mere learning. Thus, as I see it, the school *is* its pastoral organization" (p.11). This might be overstating the case, but it is healthy corrective to the view of the school as the structure devised for the teaching and learning of the curriculum, with a pastoral structure somehow 'within' or 'beside' it, which, he says "ultimately proves unsatisfactory, because it is not the main structure and there is a 'dis-location' between the teaching and the caring"(p.11). And the school's pastoral provision must be planned and structured:

> "It really is a truism in educational planning that what you want to happen must be institutionalized. It is not enough to to rely on goodwill, dedication, hard work, personality and so on" (p.11).

It is the consideration of how best to institutionalize the performance of the school's pastoral task that is the agenda for the rest of the book and especially Chapters 4-6 and 11 which deal particularly with the management of pastoral care. This agenda is heralded by the last paragraph of Chapter 1:

> "[the school must] help the individual pupil to find himself, and find meaning for his studies and his life. To do this, the central task of the school, its pastoral work, must be sensitive, warm, human, efficient, realistic, and thorough. The core of a school's work is the disciplinary, educational, vocational, and personal guidance; and the pupils' real situation must contribute to the formulation of school policy. That is the pastoral need" (p.12).

It is not my purpose here to review all the nine remaining chapters of the book, but rather, to note some of the ideas which run through them, particularly where the thesis of the opening chapter is developed and elaborated, and to note some of the influences at work in the writers' thinking.

We saw in the preceding section, how *Pastoral Care* came in the wake of what is popularly regarded as a decade of sweeping social change   - the 'swinging 'sixties' - and in a climate of what were seen as progressive developments in education and the conservative' or 'reactionary'

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backlashes against them. In both Charles Stuart-Jarvis's chapter ('The Teacher and the Task of the School'), and in the chapter by Marland which follows it ('The Pupils in their Times'), social and cultural change are stressed. In both, the 'decline of deference' - a phrase attributed to the sociologist Frank Musgrove (Marland, 1974, p.29) - is noted, and seen as a challenge not just for the teachers (to whom it is inferred children and parents formerly deferred) but also for the adolescent for whom this decline has added to the difficulties of challenging authority in the search for identity.

Economic change, immigration, the accelerating pace of cultural change and diversity, the decline of religion and the considerable changes in the institution of the family are all discussed in terms of meeting the needs of the individual pupil. There is also an explicit nod towards the child-centredness of the Plowden Report in Marland's preface to Patrick McGeeney's chapter on home-school contact, with the recognition of the importance of "a good relationship with parents" (Chapter 8, p.135). He operationalizes this in respect to report-writing in his own chapter 9, called 'Keeping in Touch', which he tells us is based upon his own "personal survey of the ground, based on my own experience ..., my observation of other schools, and some sampling of parents and children", as well as scrutinizing the results of a survey undertaken by the Home and School Council (p.148).

For Marland, we live in an "age of eclecticism" (p. 25), and the need to support young people in making their choices among the alternative life-styles and values available is a pressing pastoral need. The approach here is in the spirit of progressive child-centredness of 'starting where the child is': "The starting-point must be the pupils in their times", but arguing for a balance between accepting the culture of the pupil and "compensating for society, creating a complementary environment"(p.24). While some of the material in these chapters may now seem dated or at least, demanding further evidence - for example, the depiction of the family and claims made for family strength (see p.32) - the effort to position pastoral care in terms of social and cultural change was surely to be applauded.

It is in chapters 4, 5 (by Marland), 6 (a description of a tutor's role by a young practitioner: Bob Grove), and 11, that the *organizational/management* perspective of the book is most clearly to be seen. Here, attention is given to various schemes for grouping of pupils into forms (or, more generically, "base units"), the pro's and con's of grouping by age and ability are considered, the relative merits of vertical ('house') and horizontal ('year') systems are examined, and the role of the pastoral middle-manager (or, in Marland's term at that time: the "intermediate pastoral head") - including the contentious role of the female pastoral 'deputy' in mixed-sex schools - is explored.

Three things strike me on reading these chapters: (a) Marland's view that a school should design its pastoral structure 'from the bottom up'; that is to say, since the "first-level" tutor and the tutor-group are the foundation stones of the pastoral system, it is with this role that system design must begin; (b) the dangers of designing systems which invite a separation of pastoral work from teaching: the *pastoral-academic split* or, as Marland describes it in one place: "the yawning academic/pastoral chasm of many comprehensive schools" (p.100); (c) the empirical basis for the analysis of pastoral structures. As with his chapter on report-writing, the details of the data-base are missing - he does not say how many schools he visited and/or surveyed, nor the precise methods he used to amass the information - but his commentary on the varied and sometimes idiosyncratic systems he encountered suggests a substantial if not rigorous enquiry. Marland's own data are the basis for a further discussion of pastoral structures in Chapter 11, where the design and functioning of six very different pastoral systems is reported. These are, he says, "sketches from the outside, not thorough-going case-studies" (p.184), but they make the case for designing pastoral systems according to the

needs of a particular school in a particular setting and with its own unique culture. The challenge of creating systems which "unite" the pastoral and the academic (p.190) - a particular challenge for vertical ('house') systems - is again emphasised.

In the midst of all this, C. James Gill's chapter (Chapter 7) focuses on counselling. In Marland's preface to the chapter, he claims that "[s]chools that have appointed counsellors are most successful if they see the new appointment as supportive, an additional tool available for the pastoral system" (p.122), a perspective which, as noted above, was not much in evidence in the work of earlier writers (e.g. Holden, 1969; Jones, 1970). Gill reasserts the notion of the indivisibility of the pastoral and the academic in suggesting that "there is cause to regard every teacher as a counsellor" (p.122), before noting the potential for role-conflict between the (directive) teacher and the (non-directive) counsellor. The support with pastoral casework available outside the school is explored in Denis Ince's later chapter which is "concerned with outlining briefly the work of some of the main social-work agencies through which the teacher in the school can receive help with his pastoral duties" (Chapter 10, p.180).

The Conclusion is curious, for while it is, indeed, a re-statement and summarising of the thesis of the book, it also extends the discussion of a number of aspects of pastoral care and introduces considerable new material (especially regarding careers guidance and attendance). "The thesis of this book [he reminds us] is that what we have come to call pastoral care is the essence of a school, and that the structuring of the school is the key to its success" (p.204), but this is not to suggest that the design of systems is "inhuman" or that efficiency and interpersonal warmth are mutually exclusive. In one of many aphorisms (I might say 'sound-bites') which punctuate his work[iv], he says:

> "....all the procedures which we have surveyed are compatible with a warm personal atmosphere -- indeed the efficient procedures allow and foster warmth. *Even love must have method"* (p.205, my italics).

This may be a sound-bite, but it is none-the-less profound.

The Elaboration and Critique of the Pastoral Thesis

According to Peter Lang (Lang, 1983), the development of pastoral care can be seen as falling into a number of stages[v]. The early 'seventies comprised one stage when "structured pastoral systems spread until they became a virtually ubiquitous feature of comprehensive schools", and this was followed by "the final stage which takes us to the [then] present [characterized by] the emergence of two as yet mainly unrelated strands, one strand being that of *technique,* the other that of *critique*' (Lang, 1983, p.61, my italics).

In the years following the publication of *Pastoral Care*, Marland's thesis and the issues raised in his book were further worked out in a series of books, varying in their debt to *Pastoral Care*, but most clearly influenced by it. Books by a former colleague, Keith Blackburn, dealt with the roles of the form tutor (Blackburn, 1975) and the head of house/head of year (Blackburn, 1983), as did Marland's own book on the tutor (Marland, 1989), which appeared with revisions in two later versions (Marland & Rogers, 1997; 2004). A great many articles dealing with 'technique' appeared in the NAPCE journal *Pastoral Care in Education* which made reference to, or explicitly addressed such issues as the role of the form tutor, sometimes using Marland's typology of 'tutor-ascendant', 'tutor-neutral' and 'tutor-subordinate' (Marland, 1974, p.75), the relationship between the pastoral and the academic (the 'pastoral/academic split'), the efficacy of alternative pastoral structures

('vertical'; 'horizontal'; 'hybrid' or 'matrix'), and the role-specifications of pastoral middle-managers and pastoral deputies. Many of these were written from a 'whole-school' perspective of which Marland would approve, while others tacitly accepted a pastoral-academic distinction of which he would not. That said: it remains as true of Marland's own work as that of his followers, that the fact that we can plan for, deliver, and write about the 'pastoral task' and the structures set up to accommodate it, while maintaining that *everything* in school is somehow 'pastoral', is a paradox not easily resolved.

Not all writers in the field appear to have been explicitly influenced by *Pastoral Care.* For example, Douglas Hamblin whose influence in the field was comparable to that of Marland in the 1980s and whose book *The Teacher and Counselling* (Hamblin, 1974) was published in the same year, had his own well thought-out perspective on it all when he wrote *The Teacher and Pastoral Care* four years later (Hamblin, 1978). Interestingly, the first of these books has but three references to 'pastoral care', of which only one is indexed, and that in the very last section of the book (p.314), while the latter makes positive passing reference to Marland's book its approach is distinctively Hamblin's own. John McGuinness's book *Planned Pastoral Care: a Guide for Teachers* (McGuinness, 1982) makes no reference to Marland at all. While McGuinness shares Marland's commitment to *planning* for pastoral care, he is sceptical of schooling as it was at the time - "[the] 'warm rhetoric' about 'maximising individual potential' remains as empty today as it was in the 'thirties'" (p.6) - and more visibly critical of aspect of pastoral care such as the use made of form-tutor periods (pp.33-34). His is an example of the 'critique' to which Lang (1983) refers.

Nor does *Pastoral Care* appear to have much impact outside the secondary sector. As NAPCE discovered over many years of trying to recruit primary teachers, the idea of pastoral care as distinguishable from any other part of the primary teacher's role is an alien one to those working in this sector. In David and Charlton's book *Pastoral Care Matters in Primary and Middle Schools (*David & Charlton, 1996), except for quoting a passage about liaison between teachers and social workers (p.89), there is no mention of Marland's book at all, even in the chapter dealing with primary-secondary transfer.

The systematic critique of pastoral care seems to have begun with the publication of a paper by Best *et al* in the *British Journal of Educational Studies* (Best, Jarvis & Ribbins, 1977), and with it came, explicitly or implicitly, a questioning of the Marland thesis. Mounted from a critical sociological perspective brought to it by Best and Jarvis, and strengthened by Ribbins's analytical perspective on school organization and management, their critique of what they saw as a "conventional wisdom" of pastoral care - personified by *Pastoral Care* - rejected the account of pastoral systems as positive responses to the felt needs of pupils. Rather (they argued) pastoral care was both a pragmatic response to the tensions and challenges of comprehensive re-reorganization and a means of social control. This was a theme which ran through their subsequent publications such as *Perspectives on Pastoral Care* (Best *et* al, 1980), Ribbins's *Schooling and Welfare (*Ribbins, 1985), and their empirical study of 'Rivendell School' (Best, Ribbins, Jarvis & Oddy, 1983). [vi]

Marland's initial response to the critique of the 'conventional wisdom' was that it was unduly 'negative' (personal communication), but in the years following, he accepted the force of the argument, and was highly supportive of researching the field in order to provide a sounder base for the kinds of prescriptions made in his book. Although the data-sets upon which he drew in describing and evaluating pastoral systems and processes (such as report writing) are never adequately stated, his writing was often informed by his own surveys and observations, and he drew heavily on reports produced by Her Majesty's Inspectorate (HMI), DES documents and the research reports by psychologists and sociologists. While not all of these would satisfy the criteria for

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rigorous research, his work was more evidence-based than his critics might allow.[vii]

In 1984 he participated in an Economic & Social Research Council (ESRC)-funded invitation seminar convened by NAPCE at the University of Warwick, with the objective of reporting recent research and generating a research agenda. The seminar papers were brought together in *New Directions in Pastoral Care* which he co-edited the following year (Lang and Marland, 1985). In his own paper entitled "Our needs in schools", Marland lamented the paucity of research and publication in this field:

> "Ten years ago [in *Pastoral Care*] I declared that 'the pastoral need' is 'the central task of the school .... Clearly most of the rest of the educational community have not thought so - at least if published and public manifestations are any indication. Pastoral care remains a desperately under-considered aspect of education, whether one is thinking of colleges and departments of education, the DES, the HMI, in-service courses, writers and educational journalism, or the research community" (Marland, 1985a, p.67).

He identifies four areas of pastoral care where a research base was greatly needed: "the needs of the child...; the needs of the tutor; the structures of pastoral systems; and the key aspects of the pastoral curriculum" (Marland, 1985, p.67).

But things were changing and research and research-related publications were appearing in greater numbers. One major case study of a school and its pastoral organization had been published two years before (Best et al, 1983), although it was not until 1996 that another study of such substance was to appear (Power, 1996). However, a good many smaller studies, albeit unpublished and not always as rigorous as one might like, had been undertaken for Master's and Doctoral dissertations (Ribbins & Best, 1985, p.23), and a steady stream of publications followed, many in the NAPCE journal. [viii] Unsurprisingly, the vast majority addressed one or other of the fours areas Marland had specified in *New Directions,* or dealt with one or more of the issues raised in *Pastoral Care.*

Later Writings

Pastoral Care may well stand as Marland's major contribution to the literature of pastoral care, but it is not by any means his only one. His other book in the field was *The Tutor and the Tutor Group* (Marland, 1989a) which was written to accompany a set of tutorial resources published by Longman,   and subsequently revised with Rick Rodgers and republished on two occasions (Marland & Rodgers, 1997; 2004). Here the idea that the tutor's role is 'central' is re-stated, but this time in the context of the implementation of the (then new) National Curriculum:

> "...to write a text on tutoring is to write an analysis of secondary education; the Tutor's role is genuinely, and not merely theoretically 'central', and her task in consolidator .... of 'cross-curricular themes' in particular Personal, Social and Health Education (PSE or PS*H*E), takes the Tutor's concerns into all aspects of the curriculum and their inter-relationship" (pp.ix-x).

He contributed chapters to a number of books which fell under either or both the 'technique' and 'critique' headings in Lang's (1983) chronology. These include a chapter on "The Pastoral Curriculum" (Marland, 1980) in *Perspectives on Pastoral Care* (Best *et al,* 1980), and a chapter on "Parents, Schooling and the Welfare of Pupils" (Marland, 1985b) in Ribbins's *Schooling and Welfare* (Ribbins, 1985)

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As an account of what we have come to know as the 'pastoral curriculum', the 1980 paper was unprecedented. By the early 'eighties, the various curriculum developments associated *inter alia* with the Schools Council (to which reference has already been made), were well established, many in subjects with a 'pastoral flavour' (such as careers- and health-education), and an influential set of tutorial resources entitled *Active Tutorial Work* (Baldwin & Wells, 1979) had been widely adopted in secondary schools. But there was no, single, clear rationale for the relationship between these two aspects of the curriculum and how they might be articulated in schools. Arguing that there are concepts, facts and skills - he was later to add 'attitudes' (Marland, 1989b) - which pupils need to learn, and for which the subject matter is that which pertains to the pupil's growth and development as a person, he adopts an objectives-based approach to planning an integrated pastoral curriculum within which both specific subjects and the tutorial programme fit. This was a model which greatly influenced subsequent thinking not only about tutorial programmes, PSHE and cross-curricular themes and issues in curriculum planning, but also subsequent models of pastoral tasks and their relationships to each other (e.g. Best, 1989)

The educational issues emerging over the years, with which Marland was always ready to engage, can be seen in the numerous articles he published in *Pastoral Care in Education* over many years, the first being "Preparing for Promotion in Pastoral Care" in its Inaugural Issue (Marland, 1983). In "Shaping and Delivering Pastoral Care: the New Opportunities" (Marland 1989b), we find him characteristically optimistic in seeing a "window of opportunity" in the "range of central government legislation". Clearly, he has the 1988 Education Reform Act and the National Curriculum in his sights, but is also responding to the Elton Report on school discipline of that year (Elton, 1988). He sees the widespread negative reactions to legislation as based on "a mis-reading of the present situation" (pp. 14-15). He presents the first paragraph of the 1988 Act as "more pastorally oriented than the 1944 definition" (p.15), and re-produces quotes from associated DES publications which stated categorically that schools would be free to determine the time allocation and organization of teaching approaches (p.16).[ix] In 2001, he contributed a piece on "School Management and Pupil Care" (Marland, 2001) to a special issue on "Aspects of Care in Education" and in 2002, a paper entitled "From 'Form Teacher' to 'Tutor': the Development from the Fifties to the Seventies" in a special issue on "Tutors and Tutoring" (Marland 2002).

Impact and Influence

What can we say, then, of the contribution of *Pastoral Care* forty years on?

This is a natural question to ask in an age which demands measurable outcomes, as for example, when the state-funding of university research in England and Wales depends heavily on demonstrating, in a periodic assessment known as the 'Research Excellence Framework' (or 'REF'), the 'impact' of previous research to the professions and institutions to which it pertains. But as the experience of the REF attests, the demonstration of 'impact' in the social sciences and the humanities is extraordinarily difficult to measure. To trace the impact of *Pastoral Care* in terms of the changes it brought to practice in schools, colleges and universities would be a major empirical undertaking whose validity would remain dubious. A further complication is the fact that the contribution of *Pastoral Care* is heavily bound up with the contribution of its author as a headteacher and member of numerous committees and organizations, of the Association (NAPCE) which he was instrumental in founding, and of its journal and the other publications it promoted[x]. So we cannot know what part of the 'impact' is attributable to what, but we can speculate as to the collective impact, and this must have been very considerable.

For example, in the late 1970s, Marland was running an annual series of conferences at Churchill

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College, Cambridge, one of which was devoted to pastoral care. The foci were varied and topical - for example, on one occasion the event was devoted to sex differentiation, feminism and education - and they frequently led to another book in the *Organization in Schools* series. NAPCE members figured prominently amongst the speakers, workshop leaders and delegates, and the conceptual framework for the event was inevitably related to *Pastoral Care.* To what extent delegates returned to their schools, followed up the literature encountered at the conference, and applied the insights they had gained to their professional work, is impossible to say, but I believe it was not insignificant. For those involved in the in-service training of teachers, their courses were clearly influenced by both the book and the conferences, with modules in pastoral care, guidance, counselling and PSHE, day workshops and regional conferences being among the outcomes.

As for research, I believe I have shown that a great deal of research and publication followed from *Pastoral Care,* and anyone who reads the NAPCE journal (*Pastoral Care in Education*) will see that this impact is not restricted to the UK. The thesis advanced in *Pastoral Care* - that pastoral care in secondary schools is about facilitating the adolescent's search for identity in a changing world, and is therefore central to, if not co-terminate with, the school's entire mission; that it must be planned and institutionalised in systems which begin with the needs and lives of the pupils, and which have at their core the role of the tutor, supported and facilitated by a rational structure of senior and middle-management; that it must never lose sight of the essential unity of the 'pastoral' and the 'academic', and that it has a curriculum dimension (the 'pastoral curriculum') without which the school's pastoral task cannot be fully accomplished; and that at its heart is love of the child, a commitment to the well-being of the pupil and the effective functioning of the teacher - de-lineated the field for the research community as much as for those who organize and manage schools. And I have shown that the development and elaboration of his thesis through Marland's own later writings, always informed by, and responsive to, the social, cultural and legislative changes going on around him, was a significant part of this process.

But it was a book of its time: a book written for a national system of schooling locally administered through democratically-elected bodies, aiming through comprehensive re-organization for parity of esteem and equality of opportunity, racial and cultural inclusion and mutual respect. It was a book written for a time when the professional integrity and autonomy of teachers enjoyed a greater respect but was properly moderated through a generally effective system of checks and balances (the power of the LEA, the DES, and HMI). I believe this was an environment consonant with Marland's values and within which his work could flourish. When all that changed in the 1980s and 1990s, and all seemed to some of us to be lost, he sought to take advantage of the opportunities to be found within legislation rather than simply acquiesce or throw in the towel.

Change has continued and at an increased pace. To what extent the insights and prescriptions of *Pastoral Care* apply in today's fragmented and incoherent 'system' of academies, specialist 'colleges', 'free' schools and so on we do not know. What Marland would make of it all we cannot know for certain, but I suspect he would be appalled by recent developments: the concentration of power in the hands of the Secretary of State; the promotion of a 'market' for education and the decline in the comprehensive school - derided as 'bog-standard' - in which he believed so strongly.

But whatever Michael Marland may have thought about such developments, the values embodied in *Pastoral Care* are as relevant today as they were on the day it was published.

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i   An analysis of the growth and fortunes of pastoral care in education since 1970 would make an excellent Doctoral thesis.

ii Another Doctoral thesis in waiting! A full-blooded biography of this talented and colourful man would also make for fascinating reading.

iii I haven't checked, but I suspect this is true not only of when he is writing about pastoral care, but of other issues such as language across the curriculum. Whether more than one thing can be 'central' at the same time, is an interesting conundrum to explore for someone with more time at their disposal than I have. It would also be interesting to gather together all Marland's various claims of 'centrality' and examine their relationships and compatibility.

iv Other examples include:
    "The school *is* its pastoral organization" (Marland, 1974, p.11);
    "The tutor is a teacher whose subject is the pupil herself" (Marland, 1989, p.iii);
    "...the art of the pastoral system is to help all the individuals without always giving individual help" (Marland, 1980, p.153);
    "[T]he tutor room [is] 'the laboratory of pastoral care'..." (Marland, 1989b).

v   For other versions of the 'stages' of pastoral care in education, see Ribbins & Best (1985), pp.16-21.

vi Marland was not as uncritical as was sometimes alleged. He was not unaware of the shortcomings of existing pastoral systems, and had actually anticipated some of our criticisms. For example: "Too often the house or year system is seen purely as a useful administrative unit within the large school" (Marland, 1974, p.20); "In some schools and even certain areas the intermediate-pastoral-head roles are seen as the special niche for the non-graduate getting on in years who is known to be 'strong' in his own classroom" (op.cit. p.90).

vii I take the criteria for a piece of work to qualify for the title 'research' to be that (a) it seeks to establish a truth or truths; (b) it is undertaken rigorously and systematically; (c) its methodology is transparent and is open to public scrutiny; (d) its findings are made public, at least to some audience; (e) it is undertaken with the intention that it satisfy criteria (a) to (d).

viii In a systematic review undertaken for the British Educational Research Association (BERA) in 2002, I identified as 'research', albeit not all empirical, 309 articles out of a total of 519 published in *Pastoral Care in Education*. See R. Best (2002): *Pastoral Care & Personal-Social Education. A review of UK research undertaken for the British Educational Research Association*. Southwell (Notts): NERA.

ix When confronted by someone decrying the loss of teacher autonomy under the 1988 Act, he was wont to produce a copy of these sections from his wallet to prove otherwise!

x   I was not the only NAPCE member who researched, published, lectured or otherwise advocated pastoral care over many years, and who were directly influenced by Marland and *Pastoral Care.* Others included Keith Blackburn, Peter Lang; Caroline Lodge, Peter Maher; Colleen McLaughlin; Peter Ribbins and Chris Watkins.