



King's Research Portal

Document Version
Peer reviewed version

[Link to publication record in King's Research Portal](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Maynard, E. (2022). "We are so lucky, here": emotional labour and safeguarding in school. *Psychology of Education Review*. <https://shop.bps.org.uk/the-psychology-of-education-review-vol-46-no-2-autumn-2022>

Citing this paper

Please note that where the full-text provided on King's Research Portal is the Author Accepted Manuscript or Post-Print version this may differ from the final Published version. If citing, it is advised that you check and use the publisher's definitive version for pagination, volume/issue, and date of publication details. And where the final published version is provided on the Research Portal, if citing you are again advised to check the publisher's website for any subsequent corrections.

General rights

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the Research Portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognize and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the Research Portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the Research Portal

Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact librarypure@kcl.ac.uk providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

We are so lucky here; emotional labour and safeguarding in school

Emma Maynard

This paper was first presented at the Psychology of Education Section conference in 2021. It has resulted from a collection of works under the moniker Family Stories, which investigates lived experiences of, and support for, families with complex social care and health needs. This specific piece of work looked at school responses to those families using reflexive thematic analysis to investigate the perspectives of school leaders and pastoral staff, through an inductive approach leading to the interpretation of data into themes. At focus here are the three themes which relate specifically to the emotional labour of school staff in engaging with safeguarding issues: We are so lucky here; School never closes a case; and Your life, consumed. Amid a very strong finding that participants reflected a strong, mutually supportive environment on which they indicated their co-dependence, there also appears to be a distinct lack of reflective support for headteachers, in particular, in managing safeguarding decisions and supporting staff with the emotional impact of that work.

Keywords: *Qualitative; Thematic Analysis; Multi-agency; Safeguarding.*

THIS ARTICLE reports on one part of the Family Stories project, carried out with schools during the Covid-19 pandemic with headteachers, senior teachers, and pastoral leads across schools and early years settings in England. The inquiry focused on the typical experience of senior teachers and school leaders in early years, primary, and secondary in managing safeguarding risks and expectations (see Cramphorn & Maynard, 2021) and, as a subsidiary question, how the Covid-19 pandemic had impacted schools, children, and families, as perceived by our participants (Maynard et al., 2022). This was first presented at the Psychology of Education Section conference in 2021, and here I report on three key themes regarding the emotional labour of participants in their roles beyond teaching. The consistency within and between cases represent these themes as a distinct narrative of school identity and practice, the nature of which have been explored in Maynard et al. (2022). These are: We are so lucky here;

School never closes a case; and Your life, consumed.

The data clearly reflects the place of schools within a multi-agency context (Maynard et al., 2016) and the increased expectations on schools regarding safeguarding since the Children Act 2004, positioning schools ever closer to an all-round hub of community support across the realm of safeguarding, from promoting wellbeing to child protection with partner agencies (Reid, 2005). The safeguarding agenda has become ever more complex in recent times, now encompassing peer on peer abuse, child sexual exploitation, county lines, female genital mutilation, extremism, and child trafficking in addition to more familiar signs of abuse or neglect (Acik et al., 2018; Keeping Children Safe in Education, 2022). This plays out in a context of mutual dependency, albeit with social services rationed via thresholds for intervention and severely compromised following a decade of austerity (Delvaney, 2019). The role of

Table 1: Details of participants in this study

	Early Years Leader	Primary HT/SLT	Primary TA	Primary Pastoral	Secondary HT/SLT	Secondary pastoral	Senior teacher	Secondary SENDCO
Interviews	2	6	1	1	1	1	4	1
Focus groups (participants per occasion)				5	1	2	2	1
Total	2	6	1	6	2	3	6	2
Sector Total	2	13			13			

schools and settings within this context is very particular. The teaching role extends beyond teaching the curriculum and developing skills in students, to care, sensitivity, and responsiveness to children, and to help those children develop prosocial responses to the school and social environments. However, definitions of care imply relational bonds and reciprocity, whereas the care given by a teacher requires purposeful work, or, *emotional labour* to understand and empathise with students (Isenbarger and Zembylas, 2006), which is seen as an important aspect of the professional role (Mikuska & Fairchild, 2020), and which may extend over many years with the same child and family. This typifies the specific and special daily contact between schools and families often only ending with the child’s progression from early years to primary to secondary and beyond.

Method

The study adopted a qualitative, interpretative approach involving 15 semi structured interviews and 3 focus groups of 4–8 participants, totalling 28 participants from 14 schools in England (see Table 1). Extensive discussion about safeguarding decisions, were given by those is key safeguarding roles within schools, such as headteachers, senior pastoral and SENDCO staff who have a Designated Safeguarding Lead role (Keeping Children Safe in Education, 2022), or who work closely with those colleagues.

Data were collected over Zoom or face to face in participants’ own school. Initial contact was made with the Headteacher who either volunteered themselves or shared the invitation to participate with the staff team and information and consent sheets were sent by email. Ethical approval was granted by the relevant University and all names have been changed to protect anonymity. Data analysis followed Braun and Clarke’s (2021) reflexive thematic analysis to locate narratives (Adler et al., 2017) and narrative ecologies (Maynard et al., 2022) in how schools appear to co-construct their position in whole-family approaches. For note later on, this project had been preceded by another *Family Stories* project, which investigated the lived experience of parents receiving social care support. A key finding from that study was repeated comments by parents that they had received up to twenty texts a day from their child’s school regarding various misdemeanours. The parents commented that these texts led to overwhelming negative feelings and a reluctance to go to the school gates for fear of reprisal.

The data reflects a snapshot of participants’ perspectives at a given moment in time. Data were analysed through a reflexive process which probed each case before bringing initial themes together and creating themes at a superordinate level to represent the whole set of findings (Braun & Clarke, 2021). The whole set of themes are illustrated in Table 2; those related to safeguarding (in bold) are those discussed here,

Table 2: Superordinate and sub themes

Superordinate themes	Sub themes
We are so lucky here	Support for decision making Team identity
School never closes a case	Longevity of relationship Lack of external support Representation of school as the constant during covid Emotional labour and investment in children
Your life, consumed	Unable to switch off Worry
Schools and Families in a Covid Community	Schools in the community Withdrawal of families from view
Impact of Covid on Children	Unexpected children struggling Academic Impact Missing building blocks
Things got worse, things got better	Things just got worse for families (services) Covid made things better (practice)

with others, related specifically to Covid-19, discussed in Maynard et al (2022).

Both interview and focus group participants frequently attended to their experience in connection and comparison with in-school/setting colleagues, and sector colleagues including social services and health. Our analysis resulted in themes which appeared like narratives; constructed stories by which given phenomena have come to be understood and reinforced by one another (Adler et al, 2017), denoting the position, importance and complexity of schools, and evidenced by the tight reinforcement of ideas between participants.

Analysis and discussion

We are so lucky here

Our data indicated a very firm belief among participants that they were ‘lucky’ in their immediate teams and school ethos. In fact, every participant referred to ‘luck’, (see also Cramphorn & Maynard, 2021). This appeared to frame the rest of the data with repeated emphasis on the camaraderie of the

team, a secure ethos and identity and refrain that *we always do the best for our students/families*. However, this paints a remarkably perfect picture of a sector acknowledged as being under incredible strain and criticism (Kim & Asbury, 2020).

As mentioned above, a lead-in to this project was a previous study with parents whose children also had challenging behaviour, and many parents had reported receiving up to 20 texts a day from school reporting poor behaviour, leading to overwhelmingly negative feelings. Curious to understand more, a question about this was included in this study. Participants were told about the finding, reassured this did not regard their own school, and were asked what they thought about this. As with the repeated belief in their *luck*, our participants were remarkably consistent in their conclusions, *I can imagine that happens, but not here*.

However, despite this somewhat idealised picture, headteachers, as a specific subset within our participant group, acknowledged a distinct lack of support for managing safeguarding concerns. While they reported

attempts and intentions to provide supervision for staff, they themselves did not have dependable support for processing the emotional labour involved in long term work with concerns for risk. Some participants referred to joint discussions with their senior leadership team, and one participant discussed mutual support with another local headteacher – but generally appeared sparse.

I give peer supervision to my SENCO, to my learning mentor, and to my assistant head, and then obviously we're trying to do that for staff as well... but I haven't, as a Head, I don't have any [formal], supervision. Informally, the Head [neighbouring school] and I use each other.

Esther, Primary Headteacher

The lack of clarity around support for headteachers is reflected somewhat in current safeguarding policy. As noted by Baginsky et al. (2019), the position of schools is as a 'relevant agency' despite some wishing to see education as forth safeguarding partner alongside Social Services, the Police and the National Health Service. Furthermore, the position of schools in relation to local authorities is less clear in the advent of academisation, especially when Multi Academy Trusts cross local authority borders. Despite this, schools remain pivotal in the protection of children and are often the first agency to notice signs of need and so they have been encouraged to work closely with local authority partners (Baginsky et al., 2019; Keeping Children Safe in Education, 2022). Our participants made reference to 'friendly social workers who know us', who are perceived as more trusting and more likely to accept referrals, pitched against scepticism from less familiar colleagues. Added to this was a gamification of referral making with several participants recounting specific training about useful trigger words and trigger concerns, with which to make successful referrals and manage perceived inconsistencies.

We get a very, very different response every time we phone... so we look at the threshold documents. We're getting better at getting staff... to relate it to the threshold document and use the language of the threshold document.

Sarah, Headteacher

However, this was countered by other participants identifying positive changes in communication and joined up practice.

Since we've had [electronic system], that's just made everything so much better in terms of communication... And [there is] a strategy where we... we see things in school, and they say, 'Well, actually... We're going to step it down.' And we're like, 'Okay, we're not happy about that.' So it might be that the early help's extended or they actually say, 'Okay, ... we'll step down, but we'll still do a couple of visits.' So, they're listening.

Madeline, Headteacher

School never closes a case

Participants were asked; 'What would you do, given the budget of your dreams? Would you fund external agencies and reduce the focus on schools? Or would you fund the school to do more of this work?'. All but one of the participants replied that they would resource the school to provide full social care support. In particular, primary schools talked about bringing parents into school more often, using community activities to create a Hub environment where local services could be accessed. This was further indicated by headteachers' reports that they spent 'the vast majority', or '70 per cent' of their time working with family and social issues, arguing this enabled class teachers to focus on teaching. Headteachers also referred to dedicated pastoral teams as *essential* in the work now required. However, this did not indicate a reduced focus on learning; participants generally positioned their family work as 'an ulterior motive' as getting parents into school

to support them with social issues was seen as a conduit for engaging them with their children's learning and the school ethos overall.

Headteacher Sarah summed up the range of experience in supporting local families:

There never seem to be anything we haven't dealt with.... So, we've had to deal with ones dealing with FGM [female genital mutilation]. We've had trafficking. You know, obviously domestic violence, drug use, alcohol misuse and serious mental health issues, you know. We've had to speak to children when their parents have committed suicide and social care suddenly says, the best person to tell the child is school. Thank you very much [sarcastic inflection].

Sarah, Primary Headteacher

The longevity of school-home relationships was clearly evident in the data, with older siblings as previous students, or even parents themselves. This longevity is key when outside agencies cease casework, explained here:

Now the problem here is that, you can feel ..from outside agencies' point of view if they're in school, there's not a problem. And even though the school is trying to say, there's a problem, there's a problem, there isn't a problem as long as they're in school.

Sally, Secondary pastoral lead

So, where do we go next when you've got Early Help refusing, Social Care refusing, CAMHS ..refusing, it's just, we're literally on our own.

Anna, Pastoral support worker,
Primary Focus group

Strikingly the comments above stand in contrast to the placement of schools as a vital part of the multi-agency system – they appear to represent themselves as isolated,

frequently left to cope when others determine their role is over. In this context, school appears to be the agency unable to define, or ration their support (Delvaney, 2019), yet are also continuing in this role with limited or non-existing support, according to our sample.

Your life, consumed

The personal, emotional impact of supporting vulnerable children and families was striking, reflecting the professional love for children (Page, 2018; Ransom, 2019), and the weight of responsibility on their shoulders. Two senior teachers from a secondary focus group clearly conveyed a sense of the impact on her, stretching into her home life and reflecting the co-dependency on supportive colleagues, echoing *We are so lucky here*, above.

When you've got heavy teaching loads as well... you've got, you know, everything, bad behaviour to deal with perhaps and then you have incidents like that [suicide threat] your whole life becomes consumed. ...My office buddy, the other head of year, she stayed with me. Thank goodness, because I couldn't have done that on my own. ...And I had to keep going through have I done this, [have I] done that. Have I spoken to those people, you know, ...And I think we do take the worry home, that's the biggest thing for me is, you know, worrying about what's going to happen at the weekend. Whereas it should be the parents [but] we are their parents at times, aren't we?

Samantha, Senior teacher,
Secondary Focus group

We have so many issues and we care so much about our children... And so their issues become our issues, and I have to be really careful and make sure I detach but it's very difficult to do it, and you go home every day and you feel thankful..., because you know there's a child you look after who doesn't have what you have, and that sits really heavily on my shoulders.

Yeah, very heavily, makes me very sad...it comes back to us being a very tight team.

Georgia, Senior Teacher,
Secondary focus group

Conclusions

These themes portray a narrative of schools in their work with families encountering deeply complex social needs, amid a sector which rations higher level support (Delvaney, 2019). All three themes appear to come back to a shared belief in the centrality of the school itself in supporting children and families, from within their own walls. While this study has not attempted to locate fact, and a full exploration would require voices from other parts of the sector, there is a very tight reinforcement between cases about the essential role of schools beyond learning and teaching. It therefore seems ironic that they have not been considered as a fourth key service (Baginsky et al., 2019). Above all, the finding that our participants

reflected a belief in *luck* seems important to explore further. While this is reported in overwhelmingly positive ways, denoting an authentic camaraderie and shared values, it is also concerning that headteachers in particular appear to have few places to call on for their own support. Further work is planned to scrutinise this further, and not least, investigate the presence of critical friends to support an evolution of practice in such a complex landscape.

The author

Dr Emma Maynard

Lecturer in Child & Family Health
Florence Nightingale Faculty of Nursing,
Midwifery and Palliative Care
Department of Child & Family Health

Correspondence

Dr Emma Maynard

James Clark Maxwell Building
57 Waterloo Rd, London, SE1 8WA
emma.l.maynard@kcl.ac.uk

References

- Acik, N, Deakin, J & Hindlle, R. (2018). Safeguarding, surveillance and control: school policy and practice responses to the Prevent Duty and the 'War on Terror' in the UK. In: J. Deaking, E. Taylor & Kupchik, A. (eds) *The Palgrave International Handbook of School Discipline, Surveillance, and Social Control*. pp. 467–489. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Adler, J., Dunlop, W.L., Fivush, R. et al. (2017). Research methods for studying narrative identity: a primer. *Social psychological and personality science*. 8(5) 519–527. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550617698202>.
- Baginsky, M., Driscoll, J., Manthorpe, J. et al. (2019). Perspectives on safeguarding and child protection in English Schools: the new education landscape explored. *Educational Research*, 61(4), 496–481. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00131881.2019.1677167>
- Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2021). One size fits all? What counts as quality practice in (reflexive) thematic analysis? *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 18(3), 328–352. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14780887.2020.1769238>
- Cramphorn, K. & Maynard, E. (2021). *The professional in 'professional curiosity': exploring the experiences of school-based pastoral staff and their use of curiosity with and about parents*. An interpretative phenomenological analysis. Pastoral care in education. Ahead online. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02643944.2021.1977989>
- Department for Education (2022). Keeping children safe in education https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/1080047/KCSIE_2022_revised.pdf
- Devaney, J. (2019). The trouble with thresholds: Rationing as a rational choice in child and family social work. *Child & Family Social Work*, 24, 458–466. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cfs.12625>
- Isenbarger, L., Zembylas, M. (2006). The emotional labour of caring in teaching. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 22(1), 120–134 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2005.07.002>.
- Kim, L.E. & Asbury, K. (2020). 'like a rug had been pulled from under you': The impact of the Covid-19 on teachers in England during the first six weeks of the UK lockdown. *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 90(4), 1062–1083.

- Maynard, E., Strittrich-Lyons, H. & Emory, C. (2016) 'You share a coffee, you share cases; The professional experience of safeguarding in universal praxis. In W. Sims-Schouten and S. Horton Rethinking (Eds), *Social issues for the 21st century; UK perspectives on International Concerns*. pp. 2–25. Cambridge Scholars.
- Maynard, E., Warhurst, A. & Fairchild, N. (2022). Covid-19 and the lost hidden curriculum: locating an evolving narrative ecology of Schools-in-Covid. *Pastoral care in education*. Ahead online. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02643944.2022.2093953>
- Mikuska, E. & Fairchild, N. (2020). Working with (post) theories to explore embodied and unrecognised emotional labour in English Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC). *Global Education Review*, 7(2), 75–89.
- Page, J. (2018). Characterising the principles of Professional Love in early childhood care and education. *International Journal of Early Years Education*, 26(2), 125–141, DOI: 10.1080/09669760.2018.1459508
- Ransom, J. (2019). Love, Trust, and Camaraderie: Teachers' Perspectives of Care in an Urban High School. *Education and Urban Society*, 52(6), 904–926 <https://doi.org/10.1177/0013124519894973>
- Reid, K. (2005). The Implications of Every Child Matters and the Children Act for Schools. *Pastoral Care in Education*, 23(1), 12–18. DOI: 10.1111/j.0264-3944.2005.00317.x