Home and belonging: Mapping what matters when moving on

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Abstract

Senses of home and belonging are closely linked to feelings of security, connection and positive identity for young people in residential childcare. Following the delivery of a number of workshops by the authors with residential care staff and care experienced young people, this article presents our reflections on the concepts of home and belonging. We explore what home and belonging mean to young people and how residential child care can provide the conditions for the experience of home and a sense of belonging through care worker-young person relationships, grounded in everyday activities and exchanges. We reflect on some of the consequences for the sector if we take these ideas seriously. The findings of the Independent Care Review in Scotland provides some hope for a broader consensus around the centrality of relationships in Scottish care, though there are significant systemic challenges to translating these into practice, not least the ways in which historically risk-averse practice cultures can accommodate a shift towards the more autonomous professional identity required to enable residential care workers to foreground relationships in their practice.

Keywords

Home, belonging, relationships, relational practice, professional identity, residential child care in Scotland

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> This is my home. When I come here on a Wednesday I come home. I've got my own home, but when I come here, I come home (26-year old woman speaking about the weekly visits she makes, along with her daughter, to the residential care home where she'd lived from ages 14-17).

Introduction

This paper explores ideas and concepts regarding how young people who have experienced living in residential child care in Scotland may be better supported to experience a sense of home and belonging in the care setting and when they move on. These reflections follow a series of workshops facilitated by the authors, involving a variety of professionals and care experienced adults from across the residential child care community in Scotland. Drawing on research that foregrounds the voice of those with care experience and professionals working in residential child care, contributions from workshop participants and current doctoral research of the first author (RDC), an exploration of key themes and issues that arise was undertaken. From this a more nuanced understanding of young people's constructions of home and belonging emerges. It is noted that young person–care worker relationships, grounded in everyday interactions, are central to the endeavour to engender a sense of home and belonging and that, in these moments, young people *experience* care.

More broadly, we aim to highlight the ameliorative potential of residential care for children who have experienced profound family and social breakdown, providing an intentional contrast to the often-negative discourses associated with the history of the sector (Smith, Fulcher & Doran, 2013).

This article comprises three sections. Firstly, we provide an overview of the workshop content — what home and belonging means to young people in residential child care. We then present a summary of workshop participant responses to these messages in diagrammatic form. We then conclude with a reflection on the possible implications of this for policy and practice in the residential child care sector.

The Workshops

From March through to June 2019, we facilitated four workshops, exploring the themes of home and belonging in residential child care. Two were run at the Scottish Care Leavers' Covenant conference in Glasgow in March, a third was conducted with a community of managers who work in residential child care and another at the Scottish Institute of Residential Child Care (SIRCC) conference in Glasgow in June. In total around 120 people from a range of roles and identities participated in these workshops, including practitioners, care experienced adults, care centre managers, field social workers, local authority workers, and academics. Individuals self-selected the three conference workshops, whilst the session ran with the community of residential care managers formed part of an organisational training day.

Our aims for the workshops were two-fold. Firstly, we hoped to shed some light on how young people — whose lives are more often characterised by disconnection from both people and place — *experience* connection and a sense of belonging and how these may contribute to the feelings of security associated with being at 'home'. Secondly, we planned to seek the views of workshop participants as to what this might imply for residential child care policy and practice.

Workshops were in two parts. In the first part, to 'set the scene', delegates were introduced to the testimony of young adults from the Why Not? Trust community of care experienced young adults, reflecting on their experiences related to the concepts 'home' and 'belonging', before moving to the second part, an exercise in group reflections. To complement and contextualise this, participants were given a brief overview of some of the research conducted with care experienced children and those that work with them, studies that address or touch on these and related themes (Clark, Cameron, & Kleipoedszus, 2014; Coady, 2014; Duncalf, 2010; Wilson & Milne, 2012).

Workshop part 1

A number of themes from the care experienced young adults and research literature converged and were presented to the delegates in the form of slides and a video of testimonies from member of the Why Not? Trust Community:

Young people's perceptions of home and belonging

Intriguingly, young people with experience of residential child care reported a sense of belonging to people and places not conventionally associated with home or family (Wilson & Milne, 2012). Bedrooms provide privacy, security and the opportunity to express identities through the selection of furnishings, decorations and the placing of significant items (Clark, Cameron, & Kleipoedszus, 2014). Personal items such as clocks, teddies and computers were transitional objects invested with significant meaning — a reminder of a special event or relationship, providing emotional connection and a continued sense of self across spaces (Emond, 2016; Gorenstein, 1996; Holligan, Hanson, Henderson & Adams, 2014). 'Secret' spaces within buildings provide young people with the security and comfort to work through difficult emotions. Home, as Milligan (2003, 2005) observes, 'is as much a social and emotional concept as a physical one' (Clark, Cameron, & Kleipoedszus, 2014).

Relationships in the everyday

The centrality of relationships for young people within and leaving care is well documented (Baker, 2017; Happer, McCreadie & Aldgate, 2006; The Care Enquiry, 2013; Independent Care Review Scotland, 2020; Stein, 2019) and emerges as the 'golden thread' (The Care Inquiry, 2013) within the testimony of the young people we worked with. However, the nature of these relationships is perhaps less considered. Here, we see that relationships, and relational moments are grounded in, and evolve through the everyday. Through hanging out together; eating together; kicking a football in the garden; in authentic exchanges where we give something of ourselves; through spontaneous hugs; by 'going the extra mile', perhaps checking in outside of a shift — perceived as a demonstration of genuine care and of going beyond the job description (Coady, 2014; Cree & Davis, 2006; Doel & Best, 2008; Happer, McCreadie & Aldgate, 2006; Richmond, 2010). It is felt through rhythms and rituals — the high fives in

the morning or the weekly pizza night. It is hanging in there with the relationship when things get tough (Garfat & Fulcher, 2012). These relationships provide not only vital connections within the residential care home but also anchors to places and their people when the time comes to leaving the care home. As one residential care worker observes: 'The house is just a house, the big thing is the relationship…people you know and trust, they are continuing care that you really need' (residential child care practitioner quoted in McGhee, 2017).

Going home is as much, and often more a reconnection with people as it is with a physical space. As Gharabaghi and Stuart (2013, p. 2) suggest, 'Relationships travel with young people as they move between physical dimensions of their life-space, and they serve to connect places….Relationships transcend not only place but time'.

I was in secure with kids who were from the care system in England they were like, 'they still come and see you'? And I was like, yeah that's where I live, that's my home, they're responsible for me. They were like, 'wow as soon as we get kicked out there's no contact'… And I was like, 'wow, I couldn't imagine [her residential care home] would be just like, 'bye!' They wouldn't do that, ever (Janine, 27 – quoted from the doctoral research of the first author).

Other features reported about the nature of relationships between young people and workers included themes of consistency, fairness and that they offer predictability. Other than the moral imperative of these features, relationships may be conceived here as providing emotional and sometimes physical containment (Bion, 1962; Emond, Steckley, & Roesch-Marsh, 2016; Smith, Fulcher, & Doran, 2013; Ward, 1995). From the perspective of young people and their workers these are best couched in strong young person–worker relationships, with particular respect afforded to those workers that demonstrate consistent care and commitment (Macleod, Fyfe, Nicol, Sangster, & Obeng, 2018).

Workshop part 2

Participants were asked to reflect on these themes in small groups of between four and six and make suggestions as to what must or should be done do to engender a sense of home, connection and belonging in children and young people living in, and moving on from, residential child care and what factors might detract from this aim. They recorded their responses on 'post-it' notes.

Although the delegates had eclectic roles and identities, common themes developed across all four workshops; details of the suggested must or should actions, and the must-not prohibitions, recurred throughout the engagement. Following the workshops, the authors collated participant responses and grouped them within three categories; a) carer/young person relationships, b) residential care management, c) policy and implementation.

Workshop Outputs

The following two diagrams capture this feedback. In each, the 'aim' at the top of the diagram sets out our shared aim, 'to support young people leaving care to develop a sense of belonging, a sense of being cared for'. In the first diagram, delegate responses can be read stemming from each of the above three categories (marked in yellow boxes). The second diagram collates comments about what we must not do to detract from this aim.

Reflection

While the majority of workshop participants agreed that the development of relational practice was a worthy pursuit, this was not universal. Some participants were reluctant to embrace the ideas of mutuality and reciprocity as components of practice in residential child care, for whom transactional, objective interactions were definitively professional. For some, keeping a safe distance to avoid emotional entanglements with the children they look after is essential to supporting role clarity, rational decision-making and behaviour.

It is important to honour the good intentions and acknowledge the systemic and cultural drivers that promote such an approach. However, the danger is that it valorises emotional neutrality and is likely to lead to a suppression of the inherent moral impulse to act with congruence in response to need (Steckley &

Smith, 2011). This seems counter-productive both to the professional intent to care and to the young person's experience of feeling cared for.

This perspective may also be an implication of residential child care being subsumed within the professional realm of social work. Within this, the policy agenda and practice has been influenced by inquiry reports that followed high profile abuse scandals and invoked a move from child welfare to child protection (Coady, 2014, Smith, & Cree, 2012; Smith, 2003). The contention being that the pre-eminence of child protection has contributed to a risk averse culture within which the potential that exists to support the development of children and young people through relationships has largely been neglected. This, in itself, risks creating sterile cultures of care within which the pre-occupation about preventing abuse gives rise to defensive practice at the expense of a caring approach that supports development (Corby, Doig, & Roberts, 2001). Such an approach reduces the opportunities that exist for young people, living in residential child care, to construct meaning through their interactions with trusted adults to create their own identity (Parton, 2006; Smith, 2003).

The dominant discourse around residential child care often reflects a negative perspective and can focus on what it is regarded as failing to do in terms of the poor health, educational and employment outcomes associated with care experience. These narratives, developed from an outcome focused policy and research agenda that accentuates deficiencies, veil the broader social and economic issues surrounding a child's entrance into care and fail to address what could better benefit children (Smith, 2003). Rendering a like for like comparison with their peers outside of care is of little worth if we ignore the contribution that care can make to welfare across the life course (Duncalf, 2010). Rather than being the perpetuator, care can ameliorate the impact of profound social and family breakdown (Forrester, Goodman, Cocker, Binnie, & Jensch, 2009). Nevertheless, a negative narrative often prevails, conflating complex issues that can reduce opportunities for young people and imposes pressure to address these on the professionals offering day to day care. The privileging of family care arrangements over residential child care has consolidated the perception of residential child care as the placement of last resort, despite high profile policy initiatives that have attempted to counter this (Connelly & Milligan, 2012;

McPheat, Milligan, & Hunter, 2006; Smith, 2003). This diminutive status is extended to those who work in residential child care services, who are, or are perceived to be, less qualified and less expert (Smith & Carroll, 2015), thus creating confusion about the purpose of these services and the professional identity of practitioners.

One purpose that may lend clarity to the function of residential child care and its professional identity is to support young people to establish roots of belonging and a sense of security through enabling compassionate, trusting, caring relationships (Henderson, 2020). Relationships that are built around an emotional connection, that embrace complexity, developing reciprocity and power sharing (Li & Julian, 2012; Pekel, Roehlkepartain, Syvertsen, Scales, Sullivan, & Sethi, 2018). This requires emotionally intelligent people working in emotionally literate cultures, where interactions are informed by the disciplined intuition of those who find joy in the dance of attunement, who know how to contain, when to hold off, how to hold on, set limits, surface tensions and stretch expectations.

Some care experienced adults reported that plans and activities that focused on 'independent' living skills such as cooking, housekeeping and budgeting were experienced as tokenistic. For Why Not? Community members, the overt focus on preparing to leave care also served as a prompt to the impending losses they were about to incur in terms of relationships, familiarity and safety. Practising independent living skills was at least frustrating for them and compounded their fears about moving on. It may also be an indication of how professional interactions derived from policy, procedures and outcomes focused plans and tasks to address perceived deficits, can be experienced as uncaring. On the other-hand, one young person gave significance to the way a staff member mopped the kitchen floor as a revelation of the culture of care in his former home. The staff member quite simply explained what she was doing and how she did it, during an impromptu interaction. That he remembered something as apparently trivial as this was a revelation in itself about the kind of experiences that young people hang onto. Other young people recounted similar stories of unguarded, unplanned and natural encounters in the context of mundane

domestic routines, affecting moments of connection in the everyday and ordinary. If these are the memories, then this may be what matters.

It seems important to help young people to establish trust in a world where they can belong, a world not entirely benevolent but manageable within the range of their adaptive capacities, skills and resources nurtured through their relationships with caring adults. Rather than 'training for independence', those that had recently moved on from care issued a plea for the professionals in their lives to help them build resilience. Or in their words, to help them build 'the will to survive', an existential exhortation, perhaps another way of saying make sure I matter and that I know I matter, a riposte to any notion that resilience is a wholly inherent personal characteristic. Here, it is nested in relationships and contingent upon social, emotional, moral experiences and resources, within and out-with self.

It is the meaning created in these interactions, in the co-created spaces between individuals that register as the most significant and become the foundations of a relational approach (Garfat, Gharabaghi, & Fulcher, 2018). If relationships are founded on negotiated iterative exchanges, with the capacity to sustain and strengthen across the spectrum of shared lived experiences, then they can provide the optimal conditions for development and for engendering a sense of belonging. It is not surprising that young people desire at least the possibility that the feeling of being cared for will endure beyond their care experience.

If we are serious about foregrounding trusting, meaningful relationships in how we care for young people, it is absurd to expect that this can be achieved if we are planning to end the relationships necessary to develop this, before they are formed. The hope and possibility, if not the promise, of continued relationships beyond care experience (in the formal sense) is a necessity. These relationships extend the opportunities for reciprocation. Nothing says 'you matter' like an invitation to contribute to our lives. Some misapprehensions about this may relate to concerns about extending the burden of professional responsibilities and obligations into personal lives. In practice, ongoing relationships may be less of a burden to the worker than unrequited compassion and the damage caused by insensitive disruptions to established relationships, with and between carers,

young people, services and organisations. When we engage in continued relationships, our worlds interface, expand and enrich, and are interwoven into respective communities, forming part of a wider pattern of interdependences - a design for life.

Reason for hope?

In February 2020 the report of the 'root and branch' review of the care system for children in Scotland was published. The Independent Care Review was described as a 'review like no other' in that it privileged and amplified the voices of people with care experience. The primary message delivered in 'The Promise' (Independent Care Review, 2020), the report on the findings of the review, was that loving stable relationships, within care and beyond, should be central to policy and practice. Consequently, recommendations included a reassessment of what it means to be professional in a caring role and the development of guidelines to support this. Loving behaviour is to be established as the norm.

The workforce must be supported to bring their whole selves to work so that their interaction with children is natural and relational (Independent Care Review, 2020, p.22).

Too many times, notions of professionalism have got in the way of the development and maintenance of relationships (Independent Care Review, 2020, p.23).

These themes will resonate with many of the professional and care experienced participants in our workshops, and perhaps also received as vindication of some of the activities and practices already established. The report provides some hope for a broader consensus around these important enduring issues. There are of course many questions outstanding as to how these 'promises' can be kept and translated into practice, particularly how the cultural conditions will be created to enable professionals to act with disciplined intuition in response to need and the perceived risks this may entail. Though as the report concludes, and others have said before, conceptions of risk must be broadened to incorporate the risk of children *not* having an experience of loving and stable

relationships (Independent Care Review, 2020 p.104; Smith, Fulcher, & Doran, 2013).

Nonetheless the task of translating these promises, in creating a culture of care that enables professional autonomy to flourish within existing managerial structures, presents a huge challenge. This means in practice that reciprocal interactions need to be valued as integral to growth and development, in contrast with an approach where need is framed as deficiency rather than a universal human characteristic. This is not to say that some issues, the behavioural manifestations of social, emotional and psychological need, may not require remedial intervention, but rather that this should not be the basis upon which professional relationships are formed. Sensitive to the adversities our young people may have experienced, but not at the expense of valuing our common humanity – I am because we are (Ubuntu proverb).

Concluding comments

It seems obvious to state, but important to reiterate that systems cannot care, only people can. The contention here, and borne out through the workshops, is that the existing care system restricts residential care staff by prioritising compliance with policies and procedures to mitigate risk and obviate complexity (Stevens & Cox, 2008). This can diminish the potential that exists within residential child care for authentic, meaningful and meaning-making relational moments to take place.

The stories that we have heard from some young people about how they mattered and how they constructed meaning, in and through the relationships with professionals who went the extra mile, offers hope and a sense of direction. Within these relationships, they were able to develop a rootedness based on the feelings of security and connection these relationships engendered, evocative of a sense of home and belonging. For them, home is an emotional experience that is carried when they move on from care. This was particularly resonant for those that were able to continue relationships with their carers at least into early adulthood.

The maps to home and belonging, developed through the workshops are remarkable in their simplicity but we acknowledge the complexity of their applicability. This does not however diminish their importance. They give insight into a real-world perspective on how change may be implemented, in the everyday and ordinary, to ensure that the residential child care sector reveres and values relationships and is foregrounded in relational practice.

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Danny Henderson has worked with Care Visions since April 2002, and in a residential environment with children and young people since 1994, in various roles. He is also an enthusiastic member of The Why Not Trust community and an advocate of continuing relationships between young people who have moved on from care settings and former professional carers.

NB Nicki McLaughlin, Manager at the Why Not? Trust co-presented all workshops with the authors.

Mapping Diagrams

Aim: To support young people leaving care to develop a sense of belonging, a sense of being cared for.

What **must** we do?

What **should** we do?

Policy and policy implementation

- Problems in the system/culture in demonstrating love to a young person
- Stop unplanned moves
- Fund continuing care
- Establish consistency across local authorities
- Establish permanence in residential child care
- Professional rivalry needs to be put to one side (through-care staff not be annoyed children's house staff welcoming young people back)
- Provide 24-7 support
- Eradicate staff burnout
- Reduce staff turnover
- Local authorities need to get their interpretation of 'continuing care' right and all agree a set policy. Currently different interpretations of 'moving on'.
- Agenda should always be about building a sense of belonging from as young age as possible in care services
- Not needing to measure love. Use the word 'human' instead of love, building humanity
- Transitions must be improved
- Make sure staff are supported to stay involved with YP post care. Financial - should staff be paid for this? Staff time is tighter, often committed.
- Recognise the change from professional to friendship

(Residential) Care management

- Belonging and being cared for, what do young people say?
- Engender a sense of belonging in your organisation
- Make changes to data/GDPR etc. to support relationships
- Include young people in the life of the service community
- Put up pictures of your young people!
- Clear expectations on the role of the worker
- Young people making the decision to leave care rather than services. Conversations with young people about when they want to leave
- Creation of spaces to enable relationships, develop community
- Improve the recruitment process
- Organisation needs to value 'connection'
- Children can decorate space and learn skills while at home
- Ensure the wellbeing of staff
- Anticipate and plan for crisis
- Consider the quality of relationships in the community young people are returning to
- Services and providers have a responsibility to maintain archives of photographs and memories for young people who have moved on, through a web-page that they can access: a lasting account of their story.
- Contact point to facilitate long term contacts
- Engage ex-residents as volunteers. Shows current residents that they want to be there
- Welcome your young people/ex-residents back to your services
- Celebrate key dates e.g. 21st birthdays, religious festivals, milestones etc.
- Keep connections with service open. Allow young people to return to the care placement

Carer/young person relationships

- Professional identity based on values and the foregrounding of relational approaches to working with children and young people.
- Be committed
- Show affection - touch, hugs etc.
- Be consistent and honest
- Be creative
- Make memories
- Respect privacy
- Would this be right for my own child?
- Be person centred
- Be flexible - recognise shifts in relationships
- Provide boundaries
- Involve young people in considering who is important to them and how relationships could be improved
- Continue relationships on their terms, not ours
- Plan less, more informal approach
- Establish safe, authentic relationships
- Clarity. Can you keep relationships (beyond care)?

Aim: To support young people leaving care to develop a sense of belonging, a sense of being cared for.

What must we **not** do?

- Make assumptions without checking with young people
- Use jargon
- Exclude e.g. cooks, handy folk (in RCC homes)
- Keep reminding young people that they will be moving on. May be intended to motivate but often felt as impending loss.
- Punish people for maintaining relationships
- Let money be taken into consideration (be the driving force)
- Dismiss view of young people
- Change contact details of the RCC homes
- Be pre-occupied with cost
- Make false promises
- Assume everything we are doing is right
- De-skill carers/practitioners