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Making meaning of volunteering in the child abuse services sector in South Africa.

Alexander, Kerri Ann

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UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND
FACULTY OF HUMANITES
DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY
SCHOOL OF HUMAN AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

MASTERS IN COMMUNITY-BASED COUNSELLING PSYCHOLOGY (MACC)
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TITLE: MAKING MEANING OF VOLUNTEERING IN THE CHILD ABUSE SERVICES SECTOR IN SOUTH AFRICA

NAME: KERRI ANN ALEXANDER (517096)
SUPERVISOR: PROFESSOR BRETT BOWMAN

A research report submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master's by coursework and research report in the field of Community-Based Counselling (MACC) Psychology; in the faculty of Humanities, the School of Human and Community Development, The University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

TITLE PAGE……..……..... 1
TABLE OF CONTENTS……..……..... 2
DECLARATION……..……..... 5
ABSTRACT……..…… 6
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS……..……..... 7
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION……..…….. 8
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW……..……..... 13
2.1. THEORIES OF PROSOCIAL BEHAVIOUR……... 13
2.2. GOVERNMENTALITY AND BIOPOLITICS…… 16
2.3. FORMAL VOLUNTEERING……..……..... 21
2.3.1. First approach to understanding volunteering……..... 22
2.3.2. Second approach to understanding volunteering……..... 24
2.4. TARGET SPECIFIC VOLUNTEERING……..... 26
2.5. THE SOCIAL PRIORITISATION OF THE CHILD……..... 26
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY……..... 32
3.1. RESEARCH QUESTIONS……..... 32
3.2. RESEARCH DESIGN……..... 32
3.3. PARTICIPANTS...……. 34
3.4. DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES……..... 37
3.5. METHODS OF DATA ANALYSIS……..... 38
3.6. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS……..... 40
CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION……..... 43
4.1. TRANSFORMATION: VOLUNTEERING PLAYS AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE TRANSFORMATION PROCESS OF SOUTH AFRICA……... 45
4.1.1. Human capital: Volunteering assists in the development of the country through resource and service provision……..... 47
4.1.2. Social capital: Volunteering unifies the country through the creation of community sentiment……..... 51
4.2. PRIORITISATION OF CHILDREN: CHILDREN ARE PERCEIVED AS A MORE VALUABLE TARGET FOR VOLUNTEERING INTERVENTION THAN ADULTS……..... 54

4.2.1. A greater need: Children are perceived as being in greater need for volunteer services than adults……..... 56
4.2.2. A greater impact: Volunteering with children is perceived as being more profitable in the long term than volunteering amongst adults……. 59
4.2.2.1. The making of adults: Volunteering with children influences the future adult……..... 60
4.2.2.2. The making of society: Volunteering with children influences future society……..... 62
4.3. PRIORITISATION OF SEXUAL ABUSE: VOLUNTEERING IN THE CHILD ABUSE SECTOR IS MORE ESSENTIAL THAN VOLUNTEERING IN OTHER SECTORS……..... 64
4.3.1. The greatest need: The abused child is in greater need than other children…….. 65
4.3.1.1. Greatest harm: Abused children are more damaged than other children…… 67
4.3.1.2. Greatest injustice: Abused children experience greater amounts of injustice than other children……..... 70
4.3.2. Prevention: Volunteering in the child sexual abuse field is a way of preventing future abuse in society…… 73
4.3.3. A field in need: The child abuse sector is in greater need than other sectors……..... 76
4.3.3.1. Perceived as the worst: Child sexual abuse is the worst social problem……..... 76
4.3.3.2. A neglected field: The field of child sexual abuse is the most neglected……... 78
4.4. VOCATION: VOLUNTEERING WITH ABUSED CHILDREN IS CONSIDERED A CALLING…… 80
4.4.1. Purpose: Volunteers have always known that they were meant to work with children……. 80
4.4.2. Career: Volunteering has been central to career choices……..... 82
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS…….. 86
REFERENCES……..... 91

APPENDICES…….. 104
7.1. APPENDIX A: PERMISSION FROM THE TEDDY BEAR CLINIC FOR ABUSED CHILDREN……... 104
7.2. APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW AGENDA……..... 105
7.3. APPENDIX C: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET…….**.....** 106
7.4. APPENDIX D: INFORMED CONSENT FORM…….. 108
7.5. APPENDIX E: CONSTENT FORM (RECORDING)……..... 109
7.6. APPENDIX F: CONSENT TO USE QUOTATIONS……..... 110
7.7. APPENDIX G: ETHICAL CLEARANCE FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND…… 111

DECLARATION

I, **Kerri Ann Alexander**, declare that this research report is my own, unaided work. It has not been submitted before any other degree or examination at this or any other university. I, **Kerri Ann Alexander**, know and accept that plagiarism (i.e., to use another's work and to pretend that it is one's own) is wrong. Consequently I declare that:

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- I have not allowed, and will not allow, anyone to copy my work with the intention of passing it off as his or her own work.
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Kerri Ann Alexander

ABSTRACT

Child abuse in South Africa is considered one of the foremost challenges the country is currently facing, and is believed to hold long-term consequences for adults if not adequately addressed in the childhood years. In order to meet the needs of abused children in the country, various Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) have targeted abused children as the primary beneficiaries for services, and these NGOs rely a great deal on the contributions from formal volunteers. While there is an expansive body of literature on formal volunteering in general, limited research explores target-specific volunteering, especially among children or abused children in particular. Furthermore, the literature on volunteering has not extensively examined the meaning-making process volunteers engage in when seeking an organisation or cause for their target-specific volunteering. The process of making meaning of volunteering is additionally influenced by a complex set of negotiations between individual and broader socio-political factors. In order to expand the current literature on volunteering, this research aimed to explore the meanings volunteers make of their target-specific volunteering in the child abuse services sector in Johannesburg, and to explore how those meanings could potentially be influenced by the dynamics of socio-political realms. This research was located within the interpretive paradigm, and data collection comprised of qualitative semi-structured interviews conducted with six volunteers from the Teddy Bear Clinic for Abused Children. The interview transcripts were analysed using Thematic Analysis (TA), where four primary themes emerged. The four primary themes, namely transformation, prioritisation of children, prioritisation of sexual abuse and vocation, were examined for their resonance with critical theories of governing ‘healthy’ populations. The limitations of this research related primarily to issues of scope and sample, both of which guided the recommendations for future research in this area.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

As a developing state South Africa is in the process of transformation, and while the country has accomplished much since the formal dismantling of Apartheid, it is still grappling with major challenges. One of the foremost challenges South Africa is currently facing is the alarming degree of child abuse in the country. Child abuse is broadly defined as "the maltreatment of children by parents, guardians or other care-givers" (Van As, Diederics, Wallis, Naidoo & Schaaf, 2006, p. 45), and may include physical abuse, sexual abuse, verbal or emotional abuse, and neglect. For the purpose of this research, however, 'abused children' will refer specifically to those who have been sexually abused. Child sexual abuse includes any sexual activity with a child "that the child is not prepared for, not able to fully comprehend or consent to, or that violates societal laws" (Swart, 2007, p. 199). In the period 2004 to 2005, 40.8% of all reported rape cases were child rapes, and this figure represented a 4% increase from the previous year (RAPCAN, 2010, p.1). The child rape figures continued to increase, where in the period 2005 to 2006 child rape represented 42.7% of all reported rape cases; and in the period 2007 to 2008, 52% of all reported rapes represented cases where children were raped (RAPCAN, 2010, p. 1). These figures are largely under-representative of actual child rape figures, as many incidents go unreported, or are reported to other social bodies and therefore not included in the above figures.

The levels of child abuse in the country present government with a noteworthy concern, especially when one considers the potential long-term effects of childhood abuse on adults. Adults who were abused as children have been shown to experience psychological, behavioural and somatic consequences years after their abuse. Psychological consequences, such as the possible onset of severe psychopathology, have the potential to seriously diminish daily functioning (Andrews, Corry, Slade, Issakidis & Swanston, 2004; Carey, Walker, Rossouw, Seedat, & Stein, 2008; Felitti, Anda, Nordenberg, Williamson, Spitz, Edwards, Koss & Marks, 1998). Reduced daily functioning may subsequently mean that adults with a history of abuse might find it difficult to secure employment, ultimately bearing possible consequences for economic growth and poverty levels within the country. Potential behavioural consequences, such as the adoption of high-risk health and sexual behaviour, or the greater propensity toward violent and illegal activity (Springer, Sheridan, Kuo & Carnes, 2003), may facilitate the spread of HIV or AIDS and may increase crime in the country,

respectively. Somatic consequences of childhood abuse may relate to a plethora of conditions in adulthood, with chronic pain syndrome, fibromyalgia, chronic fatigue syndrome, irritable bowel syndrome, severe headaches, and abnormalities in brain functioning comprising merely a few (Springer et al., 2003). Not only do these symptoms make it difficult for adults to be productive members of society, but they are "burdensome to both the patient and the health care system" (Springer et al., 2003, p. 864).

The abovementioned negative consequences associated with a failure to attend to child abuse in the childhood years are starkly contrasted to the positive outcomes of early intervention with abused children. Intervening with abused children may improve cognitive skills, social skills, health and family support for children (Anderson, Shinn, Fullilove, Scrimshaw, Fielding, Normand & Carande-Kulis, 2003). Improved cognitive skills may increase the possibility for children to experience school success; enhancing their employability and likelihood of becoming productive members of South African society. Improving social skills and family support systems will enhance the likelihood of developing strong social support networks, which may help mediate the intensity of psychological or somatic problems, as well as reduce the adoption of risky behaviours later in life (Anderson et al., 2003). Health improvements may decrease the burden placed on the health-care system. It has additionally been shown that intervening in the childhood years has a reducing effect on adult criminality and violence (Dekovic, Slagt, Asscher, Boendermaker, Eichelsheim & Prinzie, 2011). Therefore, it stands to reason that focusing on child abuse and intervening with abused children provides a means of alleviating some of the burden placed on the South African government. Moreover, intervening amongst abused children appears to have greater utilitarian value for South African society as a whole, as through a focus on this single subset of the population, broader societal problems may be addressed.

In recognition of this, government has prioritised the South African child, and invested substantial amounts into early childhood interventions (The Presidency, 2009). Government has also requested the assistance of a number of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), supposing that the expansion of the NGO sector will become a visible reminder to South African society that government on its own is unable to address the multiple challenges facing the new South Africa (Gillwald, 2002). Non-profit organisations, such as Childline, Resources Aimed at the Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect (RAPCAN), Child Welfare South Africa (CWSA), South African Society for the Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect

(SASPCAN) and the Teddy Bear Clinic for Abused Children focus exclusively on meeting the varying needs of abused South African children; assisting in this way by reducing the amount of pressure placed on the South African government through additional service provision and human capital.

For any NGO to consistently provide adequate services and interventions for abused children in South Africa, the availability of resources is constantly needed, and "the most important resource these organisations have is the volunteers and the effort they put forth" (Chinman & Wandersman, 1999, p. 46). Thus, the ability for organisations to adequately intervene in social problems is directly related to individuals who engage in formal volunteering. Formal volunteering is a planned, well thought-out, non-obligatory helping behaviour; involving a long-term commitment to the aid of relative strangers, and occurring within an organisational context (Penner, 2004; Wilson & Musick, 1997). It is the structured and planned nature of formal volunteering that makes it a viable topic for investigation, and because formal volunteering behaviours occur within organisational contexts, the findings from research in this area add practical value to organisations themselves and the communities they serve. In particular, gaining an understanding of volunteers through investigation may go some way to assist NGOs in the future recruitment of volunteers or to reduce volunteer turnover within organisations, ultimately extending the sustainability of service provision to communities.

To this end, much research has been conducted on volunteering in general. While researchers have examined the processes and potential factors underlying the initial decision to volunteer, as well as the potential consequences of volunteering, very little exploration has focussed on the personal meanings volunteers make of their overall volunteering behaviour. It is apparent that not all volunteers in the country target children as the primary beneficiaries of volunteer services. Moreover, child abuse is not the only challenge that South African children are facing, and not all volunteers who select children as their primary beneficiaries for volunteer services will target child abuse as the primary cause for their volunteer activity. This merely serves to highlight that volunteering can become incredibly target-specific in nature, yet very little has been researched on target-specific volunteering. Researchers who have focussed on target-specific volunteering have done so in a manner that has predominantly highlighted individual motivational factors, yet have not examined the way in which volunteers construct meaning out of their specific choice of volunteer organisation or population. Knowing the extent of child prioritisation in South Africa, it is uncertain why so little has been researched

with regard to volunteer work, and the socially-constructed meanings volunteers make of their work with children in the country.

Conventional approaches to the examination of subjective meaning-making have often focused solely on the micro-individual level, assuming that the social world individuals inhabit is separated from them, and therefore from the meanings that individuals may make (Rogers, 2009). From a more critical position, however, the meanings that individuals make are believed to be created in negotiation with the socio-political and socio-historical contexts they exist within (Thomas, 2009). Thus, from a critical standpoint, individual meaning cannot be taken at face-value. Rather, gaining an in-depth understanding of the complexity of the subjective meanings individuals make requires one to look to broader sources of hidden meaning (Thomas, 2009). Considering the earlier point that volunteering has a role to play in alleviating social burdens; extending the activity of volunteering beyond the individual level only; it would therefore be useful to attempt to understand how formal volunteers' meaning-making process is influenced by broader socio-political and historical factors. In this way, the adoption of a more critical approach in this research means that one does not simply seek to explain or superficially describe the meanings that volunteers make of their volunteering, but explicate these meanings through an examination of how they might be influenced in their negotiation with broader contextual dynamics (Rogers, 2009).

As part of an attempt to better understand how volunteering is complexly influenced and shaped at the intersection of a number of individual and socio-political factors, this research aimed to explore the way in which volunteers in the child abuse services sector in Johannesburg, South Africa, made meaning of their volunteering. To meet the overall aim of this research, the following objectives were outlined:

1. To explore the way in which volunteers make meaning of volunteering in general.
2. To explore the way in which volunteers make meaning of their selection of one social priority over another.
3. To explore the way in which volunteers make meaning of their selection of children as the primary beneficiary of their volunteering.
4. To explore the way in which volunteers make meaning of their prioritisation of child abuse as the primary cause for which they volunteer.

A qualitative research design was chosen as the means to meet the above aim and objectives. Qualitative research, and particularly the interpretive paradigm, is aptly suited to the exploration of participants' subjective worlds and socially-constructed meanings (Nieuwenhuis, 2010a). Semi-structured face-to-face interviews were conducted with six volunteers from the Teddy Bear Clinic for Abused Children. The volunteers were primarily drawn from the 'Kids Court Support Programme' at the Teddy Bear Clinic for Abused Children. In this programme volunteers are asked to run monthly psycho-educational and emotional support groups for small groups of sexually abused children who are preparing to testify in court. Semi-structured interviews were deemed the most apposite form of data collection as they allowed for an in-depth exploration of volunteers' meaning-making of their target-specific volunteering with abused children. The interview transcripts were analysed using Thematic Analysis (TA); and the themes that emerged were examined for their resonance to Foucault's critical notions of governmentality and biopolitics.

This chapter has briefly introduced the primary focus, rationale and methodology adopted for the current research report. The second chapter of the report will provide an overview of theories of prosocial behaviour, the potential means by which intersections between individual and socio-political influences may be conceptualised, relevant literature related to volunteering and to the prioritisation of children. The third chapter will delineate the methodological procedures undertaken in the research process. The fourth chapter of this report will provide an account of the themes which emerged from data analysis, as well as a discussion on those themes. The fifth chapter will provide a summary of the research in a conclusion, as well as highlight the limitations of the current research and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. THEORIES OF PROSOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

Volunteerism is considered a form of prosocial behaviour. Prosocial behaviours consist of "a broad category of acts that are defined by some significant segment of society and/or one's social group as generally beneficial to other people" (Penner, Dovido, Piliavin & Schroeder, 2005, p. 366). The phenomenon of prosocial behaviour has been understood from varying theoretical positions, including the biological, cognitive, motivational and social-learning perspectives.

Biological perspectives explain prosocial behaviours as the result of evolutionary tendencies, neurobiological activities, or dispositions. Evolutionary models, specifically those of kin selection, group selection and reciprocal altruism, hold that prosocial behaviour is as a result of genetic predispositions that drive individuals to act in manners that benefit those around them (Penner et al., 2005). Neurobiologists seek to map the neurochemistry and neurobiology underlying prosocial behaviours; highlighting the potential ways in which brain structure, neurotransmitters, hormones and proteins may influence the desire to behave in socially advantageous ways (Penner et al., 2005). Furthermore, biological perspectives may explain prosocial behaviours in terms of stable dispositional traits or personality structures (Penner et al., 2005). Biological perspectives may go some way to provide explanations for the genesis or foundation of prosocial behaviours; however, they do not provide an explanation for the shifting popularity of certain kinds of prosocial behaviours over others, in certain socio-political contextual situations over others, at certain points in time over others.

Cognitive perspectives of prosocial behaviour focus on the way learning, cognitive development, moral development, attention, evaluation and self-representations regulate acts benefitting others (Capara & Steca, 2007). Within the cognitive perspective the concept of prosocial moral reasoning is centralised, which is understood as existing on a continuum of cognitive complexity ranging from concrete reasoning that is self-focussed, to complex abstract reasoning that is other-focused (McGrath & Brown, 2008). Individuals with higher levels of cognitive complexity are hypothesised to have a higher likelihood of prosocial reasoning, and thus, more likely to engage in prosocial behaviours. Cognitive complexity has,

however, been linked to levels of education, which has itself been linked to socioeconomic status (McGrath & Brown, 2008). In this way it can be seen that cognitive processes and the development of prosocial moral reasoning cannot be divorced from broader societal factors, such as access to education for example. These broad social, political or historical factors are often disregarded in cognitive explanations of prosocial behaviours like volunteering, such that "the consequence of the cognitivist perspective is to ignore or downplay the influence of situational or social structural factors in favour of a focus on individual perceptions" (Riger, 1993, p. 281). Moreover, cognitive perspectives assume that individuals engage in rational decision-making processes that are based on objective evaluations, however, they overlook the idea that individuals are emotional beings, and that emotions themselves are linked to subjective socio-political realities and subjective social meanings which influence the likelihood of engaging in prosocial behaviours, as well as the type of prosocial behaviours chosen.

Motivational perspectives of prosocial behaviour identify underlying mechanisms such as individual needs, goals, drives, emotional states or values that are believed to impel individuals to engage in prosocial activities. In particular, motivational perspectives have focussed on the examination of prosocial motivation, where individuals' internal states are responsible for energising action in the direction of increasing another person's welfare (Batson & Shaw, 1991). The drive to behave in a manner that benefits others may be egoistically based or altruistically based (Batson & Shaw, 1991). In addition, Carlo, Okun, Knight and de Guzman (2005) demonstrate that prosocial motivation mediationally affects personality traits and thus exerts both a direct and indirect influence on prosocial behaviours like formal volunteering. Gebauer, Riketta, Broemer and Maio (2008) postulate that prosocial motivation can itself be conceptualised as two separate motivations, namely pleasure-based prosocial motivation and pressure-based prosocial motivation, and that these two underpin the formation of the prosocial personality put forward by Penner, Fritszche, Craiger and Freifeld (1995). Even though motivational perspectives go some way to provide an explanation for the reasons people may become prosocially active, they do not acknowledge the ways in which these needs, goals, drives or values vary from individual to individual within specific contextual situations. Therefore, there is often a failure to acknowledge that individuals within particular socio-political milieus choose specific types of prosocial behaviours, or beneficiaries for prosocial acts, based on the negotiation of individual needs, goals, drives or values with those of broader contextual factors.

Social-learning perspectives place particular emphasis on the idea that prosocial behaviours are acquired through the processes of socialisation, observational learning and modelling (Gregory, Light-Hausermann, Rijsijk and Eley, 2009). Kelley (2006) presents a discussion on prosocial civic behaviours, like volunteering for community activities, by stating that these behaviours are fostered in the family or care-giving environment, and especially through parental modelling and exposure to prosocial acts. Thus, Kelley (2006) holds that prosocial behaviours are developed, shaped and reinforced through parental practices and the family situation. Similarly, Hastings, McShane, Parker and Ladha (2007) demonstrated that a slightly more authoritative parental style, positive parental attributions toward prosocial behaviours and positive parental behavioural responses to prosocial acts have a strong predictor effect on prosocial behaviours in young children. This study additionally showed that children were often socialized to engage in sex-typical prosocial behaviours, further suggesting that social-learning theories of prosocial behaviours could be linked to broader socio-cultural influences, like those of socio-cultural gender norms and gender-roles (Hastings, et al., 2007). While social learning perspectives may be able to account for some broader contextual relationships that seem to shape prosocial behaviour, they do not provide a convincing theoretical framework with which to understand how broader contexts intersect with individual meanings to produce an obviously complex manifestation of prosocial behaviour, such as type-specific formal volunteering.

The biological, cognitive and motivational perspectives all similarly locate the origin of prosocial behaviours within the individual. Although social-learning theories acknowledge broader influences on prosocial behaviours, these influences could be further broadened to extend beyond the family to include larger social structures, institutions, political or historical elements. Ultimately, these prosocial theories cannot account for the ways in which specific types of prosocial behaviours emerge within, and are shaped by, particular socio-historical contexts. More importantly, the theories cannot account for the way in which individuals draw on an array of meaning systems when seeking to provide their own prosocial behaviours with meaning. This limited theoretical elucidation of prosocial behaviour does not hold much promise when one considers particular types of prosocial behaviours, like that of volunteering. Exploring the meaning-making processes of individuals volunteering in specific sectors, as is the general aim of this research, may subsequently go some way to advance the understanding of the intersections between the ways in which volunteers make meaning of their type-specific prosocial behaviours within a broader socio-historical and socio-political

context. In particular, a potential implication of this research is that it may contribute to current theorising on the way that social and political systems embedded in particular historical contexts shape the individual meaning of volunteering behaviour.

It may be useful at this point to clarify what is implied by 'meaning-making'. Essentially, the exploration of meanings looks to examine and understand the ways in which individuals make personal sense of their lives, and how individuals ultimately come to interpret and react to the daily activities they engage in (Thompson & Janigan, 1988). Exploring meaning-making also looks to the way in which individuals understand their daily activities as forming a part of their broader life pictures, and thus, understanding meaning points to the way individuals find reason and purpose in their actions (Thompson & Janigan, 1988). Therefore, when looking to understand how volunteers make meaning of their volunteering within the child sexual abuse field in South Africa, the aim is essentially to come to a deeper understanding of the personal reasons volunteers have for engaging in this particular type of prosocial behaviour; how these individual volunteers have interpreted their actions in light of their broader life purposes, and how these volunteers have made sense of the role and function volunteering has played for them personally. Moreover, this particular research seeks to understand how volunteers have made sense of their selection of child abuse, children and sexually abused children in particular as the locus of their volunteering activity. The more critical perspectives hold that broader social spheres influence individual subjectivities (Thomas, 2009); and thus if one adopts this approach, exploring the meanings that underlie prosocial behaviour may assist in gaining an understanding of how broader contexts impact on individual meanings and later play themselves out in prosocial behaviours like volunteering. It is this aspect of meaning-making that has been largely under-researched and inadequately expounded through current theories of prosocial behaviour.

2.2. GOVERNMENTALITY AND BIOPOLITICS

In light of the limitations of the current modes of theorising about prosocial behaviour, and particularly that they do not adequately explore the way in which different types of prosocial behaviour are underpinned by individual meaning systems; alternative approaches to explaining, theorising and exploring prosocial behaviours are called for. Phenomenological or hermeneutical approaches might be considered suitable frameworks from which to examine the meaning-making process of volunteers in the child sexual abuse field, as these approaches

have as their purview the exposition of hidden meanings and how these meanings are made (Byrne, 1998). The terms 'phenomenology' and 'hermeneutics' have often been used interchangeably, but it is generally agreed that hermeneutics falls within an overall phenomenological framework (Dowling, n.d.).

Phenomenology, as a philosophy, is interested in understanding the world as it is experienced by individuals (Willig, 2008), such that shared meanings and commonalities can be obtained (Dowling, n.d.). As a research approach, phenomenology is generally divided into two branches; descriptive and interpretative phenomenology (Willig, 2008). Descriptive phenomenology, also referred to as objective hermeneutics (Dowling, n.d.), seeks to extract the essence of individual perception in order to come to a renewed understanding of the meaning of the phenomenon in question through the use of bracketing (Dowling, n.d.; Willig, 2008). Bracketing is the attempt to suspend all prejudgment, previous experience, wishes, attitudes and assumptions about phenomena such that one can perceive them in an unbiased manner (Byrne, 1998). In light of this latter point on bracketing, the descriptive phenomenological approach assumes that one can separate out the meaning-making process from previous knowledge and lived experiences (Byrne, 1998). A descriptive phenomenological approach therefore would not provide insights into the ways in which socio-cultural or historical contexts influence the meaning that volunteers make of their volunteering within the child sexual abuse field. Interpretative phenomenology on the other hand, which is also referred to as hermeneutic phenomenology (Dowling, n.d.), moves beyond simply describing the meanings, but additionally seeks to understand how the social world in which people live influences those meanings (Byrne, 1998; Dowling, n.d.; Willig, 2008). Interpretative phenomenology therefore seeks to examine and understand the embedded nature of meanings within historical and cultural traditions (Byrne, 1998). In this way interpretative phenomenology is more in line with the aim and desired implications of this research, however, this phenomenological approach seeks to examine meanings as they pertain to all times and places, and therefore does not adequately examine specific individual meanings that could emerge within a particular historical context, culture or society (Dreyfus, 1988).

One of the primary critiques of phenomenological and hermeneutical methods of meaning-making exploration is that while the approaches are able to highlight hidden meanings, they do not go further than this to examine how those meanings might perpetuate pervasive

practices that aim to order society (Dreyfus, 1988). Indeed, simply highlighting or explaining meanings may add to the proliferation of the messages intended to organize current cultural practices within societies (Dreyfus, 1988). This criticism implores one to adopt more critical approaches in understanding meanings such that power imbalances and messages aimed at legitimizing practices may also be exposed as primary influences in the meaning-making process. Foucault's critical work may be a useful framework to adopt in this regard. Firstly, it implores one to examine the relationship between current meanings and practices which are present within broader social spheres, and individual meanings (Willig, 2008). Secondly, Foucault's work directs one to examine how the relationship between individual meanings and broader meanings eventually regulate current societal practices as well as individual experiences within these practices, in a way that shapes and orders society (Willig, 2008).

In particular, the Foucaultian notions of governmentality and biopolitics may provide a means of explaining or understanding the complex intersection between individual meanings and the multiple influences present within broader socio-political contexts. In order to understand the value of these concepts as tools for exploring individual prosocial behaviour in relation to broader socio-political influences, the concept of governmentality must first be understood. For Foucault the word government referred broadly to any activity in which behaviour, emotions or choices were guided and shaped, such that certain ends could be achieved (Gordon, 1991; Lemke, 2001). In this way, Foucault understood that government did not refer to the sole activity of sovereign political bodies, but rather that government was a much broader concept constituting multiple manifestations and meanings, with the administration or ruling by the state merely representing a single form (Foucault, 1991, Lemke, 2001). Thus, government was understood primarily by Foucault as an activity, or as a particular art form, that could be engaged in numerous ways and by several players; such that the self could govern the self, relationships could govern the self, institutions could govern the self, and political bodies could govern the self (Gordon, 1991).

As a broad activity guiding, shaping and directing behaviour in multiple ways, government consists of a number of rationalities which undergird the specific technologies employed when governing. This is to say that in the process of governing, certain apparatuses and techniques are used, and these are based on a rationality of government. Governmentality specifically refers to the ability to examine and describe the apparatuses and the rationalities used by various forms of modern government (Gordon, 1991); as the ability to look at the

techniques of government and to understand the rationality that informs those techniques (Lemke, 2001). Governmentality in this way is simply a means of thinking about the way in which behaviour, choices, emotions and meanings could be guided, that is, who it is guided by (the self, others, institutions or sovereign bodies), how it is guided (the technologies and mechanisms that comprise government), and that which is being guided (behaviour, choices, emotions, or goals) (Gordon, 1991). To this end Foucault (1991, p. 87) summarised governmentality as the exploration of "how to be ruled, how strictly, by whom, to what end, [and] by what methods". Rose (1998, p. 29) explains that examining individual behaviour through the lens of governmentality is valuable because it offers:

> "a certain perspective from which one might make intelligible the diversity of attempts by authorities of different sorts to act upon the actions of others [or the self] in relation to objectives of relational prosperity, harmony, virtue, productivity, social order, discipline, emancipation, self-realization, and so forth".

In liberal states, governmentality finds its zenith in the exploration of the self-steering mechanisms by which government (in its various forms) shapes the conduct of free, autonomous and subjective individuals; which is to say, that it is the exploration of the means by which the "experience of ourselves as certain sorts of people – creatures of freedom, of liberty, of personal powers, of self-realization – is the outcome of a range of human technologies" (Rose, 1998, p. 26). To this end, Lemke (2001) held that sovereign bodies - that is the state as government – could develop specialised apparatuses for the indirect leading and controlling of individuals, and Foucault (1991, p. 100) explained in this regard that political government could "act either directly through large-scale campaigns, or indirectly through techniques that will make possible, without the full awareness of the people, the stimulation of birth rates, the directing of the flow of the population into certain regions or activities". While this governmentality appears to remove all notions of individualism from persons who may merely be seen as mouthpieces for political forms of government, Rose (1998) holds that rather than perceiving political government and political power as that which works against individuals, manipulating or negating their vitality; one should understand forms of political government as that which works through, rather than against human subjectivity, to result in individual behaviour that is personally negotiated and decided upon within the confines of political rule. The way in which forms of government are able to work through negotiating individuals is by replacing out-dated forms of governing with new forms centred on increasing the self-regulatory capacity of the population (Lemke, 2001).

Individuals are therefore provided with "the possibility of actively participating in the solution of specific matters and problems which had hitherto been the domain of the state agencies specifically empowered to undertake such tasks…[such that] individuals themselves have to assume responsibility for these activities and the possible failure thereof" (Lemke, 2001, p. 202).

Within liberal governmentality, the biological life and health of individuals and populations emerge as objects of political strategies, whereby the self-regulatory capacity of individuals guides individuals to work on themselves in the name of individual and population health (Lemke, 2011; Rainbow & Rose, 2006). This particular strategy, or art of government, concerned with governing the life and health of individuals and collectives is referred to as biopolitics (Lemke, 2011). Biopolitical strategies operate on two dimensions, namely, the regulation of the population where strategies intervene upon collective existence, life and health, and the regulation of individual bodies where strategies intervene upon individuals to work on their bodies in the name of their own or collective health (Lemke, 2011; Rainbow & Rose, 2006). Adopting a biopolitical perspective allows one to explore the connections between individual preferences, activities, interests, behaviours and choices as they relate to and are negotiated within broader bodies of constructed knowledge about the health of individuals and societies (Lemke, 2011). Lemke (2011, p. 177) continues to explain that through the adoption of a biopolitical perspective one is able to explore a number of complex questions, such as:

> "How are people called on, in the name of (individual and collective) life and health (one's own health and that of the family, nation, "race" and so forth), in view of defined goals (health improvement, life extension, higher quality of life, amelioration of the gene pool, population increase and so forth) to act in a certain way (in extreme cases even to die for such goals)?"

Thus, both governmentality and the related notion of biopolitics are able to provide explanatory frameworks by which individual behaviour, choices and emotions can be understood as continuously being guided by mechanisms of self-regulation, or self-government, in order to further the objectives and health of the state. Both notions assist in exploring the way in which individual behaviour, choices and emotions are shaped and influenced by broader socio-political factors. Theories of governmentality and biopolitics may therefore go some way to extend the current theorising of prosocial behaviours by examining

the ways in which individuals make meaning of their volunteering for specific groups by way of negotiating their personal subjectivities within a socio-political context. Moreover, theories of governmentality and biopolitics may go further than phenomenological and hermeneutical methods of meaning-making exploration by looking beyond simply highlighting the individual meanings derived from behaviour, but also to examining how these meanings serve to structure and maintain the broader social contexts in which the behaviour and meanings first emerged.

2.3. FORMAL VOLUNTEERING

Researchers have long sought to understand the complex phenomenon of volunteering; and have chosen to do so through the examination of either one of two predominant approaches. While these two approaches to understanding volunteering appear to be fairly separate, rarely do the effects of the findings of each exist in isolation from the other. In order for the current research to be positioned within a broader body of literature relating to volunteering, the literature relating to each of the two approaches will be discussed briefly. The diagram below is a visual representation of this broader body of literature, as well as the position of the current research in relation to it.

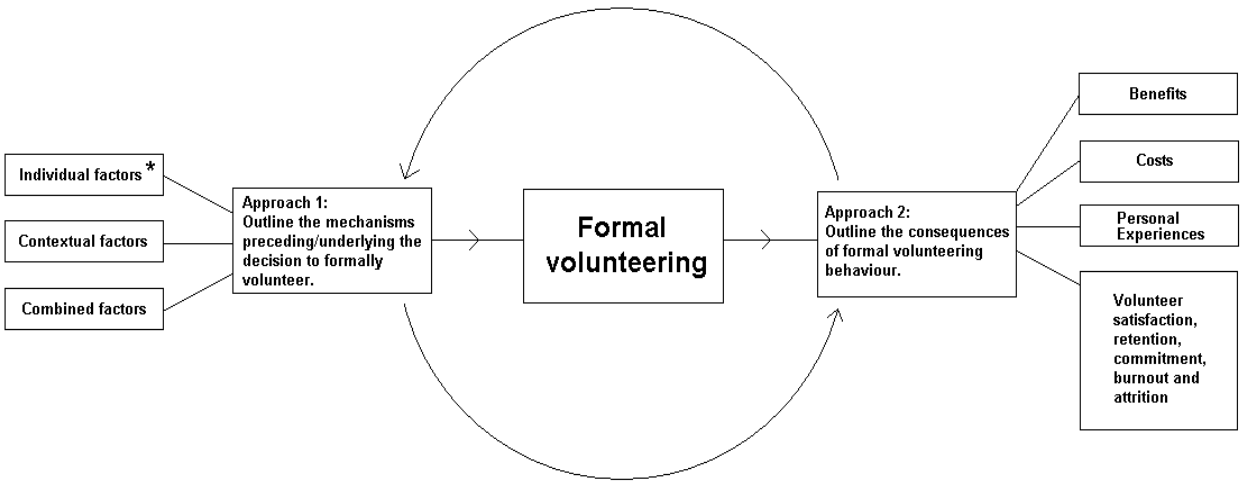


Diagram 1: Approaches to studying volunteering (in the broadest sense).
* Location of the current research within the broader literature on volunteering.

2.3.1. First approach to understanding volunteering

The first approach seeks to outline the mechanisms preceding or underlying the decision to formally volunteer. This exploration was initially dominated by a "situationist perspective" (Penner, Fritzsche, Craiger & Freifeld, 1995, p. 2), where the decision to engage in any prosocial behaviours, like volunteering, was believed to be largely situationally determined. The situationist tradition continued as more researchers examined contextual factors underlying volunteering, such as the social incentives present in the volunteer organisation (Bekkers, 2010), previous volunteer experiences (Choi & Chou, 2010), parenting (Bekkers, 2007), community integration, and culture (Eckstein, 2001; Jones, 2006). Haski-Leventhal and Cnaan (2009) combined a number of contextual factors, specifically related to social groups, to develop the volunteer group model, which could be used to explain the decision to volunteer. These contextually-focussed researchers place volunteering behaviours within a fairly narrow contextual understanding, and as such, have not acknowledged broader prioritised societal problems - be they poverty, crime, or disease - as contextual factors that hold potential influence over the decision to formally volunteer. Nor have these researchers explored the ways in which the personal meanings of volunteers influence volunteering behaviour. Moreover, a focus on contextual factors alone does not acknowledge that individuals themselves are actively engaging and negotiating their levels of agency in this socio-political matrix.

Other researchers have focused on placing greater emphasis on understanding individual factors underlying formal volunteering. An example of this is the research conducted by Penner, Fritzsche, Craiger and Freifeld (1995) who sought to examine the structure of the prosocial personality. They did so through an examination and analysis of all the intercorrelations between prosocial personality measures then in existence. They subsequently developed a prosocial personality measure of their own, which assessed the extent to which individuals would engage in prosocial behaviours, such as formal volunteering. While personality structure may predispose individuals to volunteer, it does not explain how individuals with similar personality structures will select different social problems and beneficiaries as the target of their volunteering behaviour. Other researchers examining individual factors underlying the decision to formally volunteer, have done so through an examination of individual characteristics of adolescent formal volunteers (Cemalcilar, 2009), the psychological incentives for formally volunteering (Bekkers, 2010), demographic

characteristics, such as age, gender and race (Musick, Wilson & Bynum Jr., 2000), religiosity (Gibson, 2008), and the role attachment plays on the decision to formally volunteer (Erez, Mikulincer, van Ijzendoorn & Kroonenberg, 2008).

In addition, researchers have focussed much attention on the motivations to formally volunteer. Motivational literature goes beyond merely profiling types of individuals most likely to volunteer, and begins to examine the reasons why individuals might volunteer. These researchers have attempted to identify and explain motivations linked to formal volunteering in general, almost as if to compile a list of the possible motivations likely to increase individuals' choice to formally volunteer. For example, Clary and Snyder (1999) used a functionalist approach to identify six personal and social motivational functions underlying the formal volunteering process. These motivational functions include values motives, understanding motives, enhancement motives, career motives, social motives and protective motives; and were later developed into the Volunteer Functions Inventory (VFI) which measured the varying motivations of formal volunteers (Clary & Snyder, 1999). Snyder and Omoto (1992) combined a number of individual factors, such as attitudes, values and motivations, in the development of the volunteer process model.

While the research on the individual factors underlying the decision to volunteer is useful, it only examines individual factors as they relate to volunteering behaviours in general, rather than exploring volunteering within a type-specific organisation or a particular subset of the population. In fact, this research does not explain how volunteers with similar underlying individual factors come to volunteer in varying organisations, for varying beneficiaries or varying social priorities. This variation in individual volunteering suggests that the content and choice of individual volunteering must be socially or contextually influenced.

Another school of thought has focused on incorporating both individual and contextual factors into their explanations of the mechanisms underlying or preceding the decision to formally volunteer: Wilson and Musick (1997) combine personality, personal resources, social connections and religiosity in the form of three distinct types of capital resources – human, social and cultural capital – that enable individuals to engage in formal volunteering. Their findings were later expounded on by Price (2002) and confirmed by Paarboteeah, Cullen and Lim (2004). Okun, Pugliese and Rook (2007) combined extraversion, a dispositional trait, with contextual factors such as organisational participation, church attendance and contact

with friends, to explore how these contextual factors influence the role individual factors play on formal volunteering. In another study, Penner (2004) combined demographic characteristics, personal attributes, social pressure and volunteer activators in a conceptual model used to explain the initial decision to formally volunteer. While the above-stated research is responsible for establishing a fairly comprehensive understanding of the factors underlying the initial decision to formally volunteer in general, it has not explicitly examined how volunteers personally make meaning of this decision, or how the meaning behind volunteering is related to a particular societal group, like children, or even a specific subset of that group, like abused children, for example.

2.3.2. Second approach to understanding volunteering

The second approach to examining formal volunteering seeks to understand the consequences of the decision to volunteer. Researchers adopting this second approach have focussed on one of four themes: Benefits, costs, experience and satisfaction of volunteering. Firstly, benefits are explored in terms of benefits for volunteers themselves, benefits for the organisations and benefits for communities. The benefits for volunteers include an increase in "personal health, psychological, emotional and mental health" (Konwerski & Nashman, 2008, p. 47), an increase in self-esteem and self-concept (Miller, Schleien, Rider, Hall et al., 2002), skills provision aiding employment potentiality (Haski-Leventhal, Ronel, York & Ben-David, 2008; Perold, Carapinha & Mohamed, 2006), a decrease in social alienation related to an increase in friendship (Haski-Leventhal et al., 2008; Miller et al., 2002; Palmer, 2002; Reitsma-Street, Maczewski & Neysmith, 2000), a reduction in problem behaviours (Wilson & Musick, 2000), the development of greater community sentiment (Haski-Leventhal et al., 2008; Miller et al., 2002), greater physical health and general well-being (Thoits & Hewitt, 2001), increased life-satisfaction, and overall, greater happiness (Borgonovi, 2008). The benefits of volunteering for volunteer organisations include an increase in organisations' ability to achieve organisational goals (Chinman & Wandersman, 1999), a greater opportunity to increase awareness of the organisation's cause; improved relationships between organisations and communities (Edwards, Mooney & Heald, 2001), and the ability to free up staff such that organisations can expand their services in a number of ways (Hiatt & Jones, 2000). Communities benefit financially (Ironmonger, 2000), and as volunteers' civic sentiment increases, so civic infrastructure is strengthened (Smith, 1999). One of the benefits not fully explored is the long term effects of volunteering for whole societies or nations, or how the

specific choice of volunteer organisation or beneficiary influences these long-term benefits experienced.

Secondly, researchers have reviewed the costs of volunteering. These researchers have highlighted a loss of free time, frustration with slow organisational progress (Chinman & Wandersman, 1999), rare opportunities to work alone, uncomfortable situations, or the burden of too many expectations (Palmer, 2002) as the primary costs of volunteering. Little is said, however, about the potential costs for broader social contexts, such as communities or societies, of not volunteering.

Thirdly is the research that focuses on volunteer experiences. Here researchers seek to gain an in-depth understanding of formal volunteers' subjective view of their participation (Kulik, 2010; Reitsma-Street et al., 2000). For example, Kulik (2010) examined the way that positive and negative responses to volunteering informed the experiences of a cross section of female Israeli volunteers aged 16 to 80 years. Experiential research has not looked at how the experiences of volunteers have translated into their personal meanings of their volunteering behaviour, nor has it examined the way that experiences are contextually determined.

Lastly is the research looking at volunteer satisfaction, which translates into an understanding of the longevity of volunteer service, volunteer burnout, retention and commitment (Finkelstein, 2007; Fuertes & Jimenez, 2000; Hidalgo & Moreno, 2009; Matsuba, Hart & Atkins, 2007; Moreno-Jimenez &Villodres, 2010; Van Vianen, Nijstad&Voskuijl, 2008). These studies essentially focus on the value that volunteering holds for individuals, yet still do little to demonstrate the way in which the value of volunteering is related to the meaning volunteering has for each individual. It is this specific meaning of volunteering that needs more exploration.

Thus, while there is much known about volunteering, there is little known about how individuals who are located within particular socio-political systems attribute meaning to their volunteering behaviour. Individuals make personal meaning by drawing on socially-constituted meanings; however, each individual will negotiate, contest and appropriate these socially-constituted meanings in order to come to a unique constellation of meanings that guide individualised behaviour. This is clear when one considers that individuals will volunteer for different voluntary causes or organisations, and for different reasons.

2.4. TARGET SPECIFIC VOLUNTEERING

A number of researchers sought to examine the initial decision to volunteer within very specific organisational contexts; however, they have chosen to do so through the examination of motivation. For example, Ockenden and Russell (2009) examined the motivations of environmental volunteers, Allen and Shaw (2009) looked at the motivations and motivational climate amongst sports volunteers, Hibbert, Piacentini and Dajani (2001) explored the motivations of volunteers working in community-based food initiatives, and Planalp and Trost (2009a; 2009b) sought to outline the motivations of those volunteering for Hospice. Most of the literature in this area attributes the difference in the selection of specific volunteer organisations and population groups to motivational factors; that is drives, needs or goals emanating from within individuals. The current research project, however, seeks to move beyond simple motivational understandings of the variation in volunteering behaviours, by considering how it is that motivations are actively constructed within the individual, who exists within broader social meaning systems, and who uses the broader social meaning system to negotiate their own drives, needs or goals when making meaning out of their choice of volunteer organisation. Thus, this research critically examines how volunteers make their volunteering behaviours meaningful by negotiating their target specific volunteering behaviours within a social meaning system.

Not only is the available research on the subjective meanings of volunteers' target-specific volunteering limited, very little research currently exists on the meanings credited to target-specific volunteering within organisations dealing with children. One article by Reitsma-Street, Maczewski and Neysmith (2000) examined the experiences of volunteers in multicultural child organisations, with a specific focus on the ways that the organisational conditions promoted or discouraged positive volunteer experiences. This article did not, however, examine the meanings these volunteers gave to their specific voluntary behaviours, or their choice to volunteer within a child-specific organisation.

2.5. THE SOCIAL PRIORITISATION OF THE CHILD

In modern Western society the concepts of 'children', 'the child' and 'childhood' are commonly understood as holding a special place and special meaning in society (Jackson & Scott, 1999), yet it has not always been that 'children', 'the child' or 'childhood' were as

socially prioritized as they are today (James & James, 2004). Indeed, these concepts have not been considered similarly throughout history or across different social contexts, which suggests that these terms are socially and contextually constructed (Jenks, 2009). The idea that these concepts have been socially constructed, and have changed dramatically throughout the course of history to result in the current position of the child in modern society, is considered responsible for the expansion of childhood studies in research today (Gittins, 2009; Kehily, 2009). To this end, "childhood has been historically constructed and needs to be understood in relation to ideas about what children should and have meant to adults over time" (Gittins, 2009, p. 37). Therefore, in order for the current social prioritization of the child to be understood, the historical constructions of childhood must be briefly explored.

The first social historian to draw attention to the idea that childhood was socially constructed was Phillipe Aries, who argued that it was not nature that afforded children a separate standing in society, but rather common societal attitude which was influenced by representations of children in art (Gittins, 2009). In Medieval society children had not yet been given a separate position in society, such that there was essentially no distinction between a child and an adult (James & James, 2004), which Aries had noted in the examination of medieval art, where children were simply portrayed as little adults (Gittins, 2009). To this end childhood, as it is conceived of today, did not exist, let alone become imbued with specialness (James & James, 2004).

The awareness that children may be different to adults only began to emerge in the fifteenth century (James & James, 2004). During this period children were increasingly represented in religious art, such that the child was the centre of religious iconography and eventually became associated with notions of sanctity (Gittins, 2009). At this time children were increasingly being compared to angels and scared beings that needed to be protected and nurtured (Gittins, 2009). It was here when ideas of childhood began to be premised on notions of innocence, and children in general were thought to be in need of safeguarding from a dangerous and unholy adult world (Kehily & Montgomery, 2009).

In the sixteenth century, changes in the economy brought new ideas about family values and specifically about the position that children hold in the family (Gittins, 2009). These changes were largely influenced by Puritan teachings at the time, which emphasised the importance of

child socialization and child-rearing based on Christian values (Gittins, 2009). This ultimately meant that children began to hold a distinct place within the family.

In the eighteenth century the idea that children were distinct from adults began to grow, and soon there was special line of clothing for children, specific literature and activities designated only for children, and children's education became a priority (Gittins, 2009). In the nineteenth century children began to be represented more in nature; and Aries noted that children were painted more in gardens or represented more with pets (Gittins, 2009). This meant that at this time children, the child and childhood was being constructed along with more sentimental values like that of mystery and purity (Gittins, 2009). By the twentieth century childhood was increasingly being constructed as a "precious realm under siege" (Jackson & Scott, 1999, p. 86), and the priority position of children, the child and childhood in general became entrenched in Western culture (Gittins, 2009).

Across the world today, children and the problems children face are placed in priority positions within various societies. This is evidenced when one examines the amount of countries that have signed the declaration of the Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC). The CRC is a set of legal mandates that are focused on securing the proper treatment and rights of children across the world. Countries' governments that sign the CRC are legally obligated to actively uphold the rights of their nation's children, and are also legally mandated to appear before the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child periodically, in order for their implementation of activities seeking to uphold children's rights to be evaluated (UNICEF, 2011, http://www.unicef.org/crc/). Currently, 194 governments have signed the declaration, including South Africa (UNICEF, 2011, http://www.unicef/crc/).

Moreover, it is clear in South Africa that issues surrounding South African children are prioritised. This prioritisation of children in South Africa is evidenced in two ways; firstly by the way in which children are perceived, and secondly by the amount of government investment into child initiatives in the country. There are two primary ways of conceptualising children in South Africa, both of which place children in the centre of nation-wide concern and effort. The first conceptualisation understands children as a vulnerable population, bringing to mind images of weak, innocent and helpless individuals, who must be protected and cared for in an almost instinctive manner. This idea that children are vulnerable is fuelled by comments such as "children are by nature more vulnerable than adults" (The

Presidency, 2009, p. 104). The second conceptualisation paradoxically places more power with children in the country, by proposing the idea that children are the future of South Africa. Here comments such as "children also have instrumental value as the parents and workforce of the future" (The Presidency, 2009, p. 49), or "government has in fact recognised and publicly committed itself to a position noting the fundamental importance of children to the effective and stable development of South Africa" (Lockhat & Van Niekerk, 2000, p. 296) are common. This conceptualisation creates the idea that the very fabric of South African society rests firmly with South African children, and therefore demands that the utmost effort be placed into ensuring their healthy development and subsequent well-being.

In addition to prioritising children through various conceptualisations or descriptors, children are the primary focus for a number of government investments and initiatives. Government has focussed on five main areas; namely, child poverty, child health, child education, early childhood development and child protection. Through a focus on child poverty government seeks to ensure improved living conditions of children, improved development, improved access to services and overall improved quality of life (The Presidency, 2009). The primary mode of reducing child poverty is through social grants for children, which include the Child Support Grant (CSG), the Foster Care Grant (FCG) and the Care Dependency Grant (CDG). Child grants constituted 38% of total grant expenditure in 2008, which approximated a value worth R24 million (The Presidency, 2009, Table 4, p. 42).

A focus on children's health in the country is closely related to the fourth, fifth and sixth Millennium Development Goals (MDG) which are to reduce child mortality, improve maternal health and address issues surrounding HIV, malaria and other diseases, respectively (The Presidency, 2009, Table 1, p.24). The South African government primarily addresses these goals through a number of policies and interventions. The most notable attempt included the initiation of the Primary Health Care approach. Within this framework new policies for free access to health care for pregnant women and children under 6 years, and new interventions by the Integrated Management of Childhood Illnesses (IMCI) have been developed (The Presidency, 2009). Approximately R24 million was allocated to the Maternal, Child and Women's Organisation in the year 2007 to 2008 (The Presidency, 2009, p. 69).

The focus on child education is linked to the first and second MDGs, which are to reduce the amount of underweight children and achieve universal primary education, respectively (The

Presidency, 2009, Table 1, p 24), and is also linked to Early Childhood Development. The National School Nutrition Programme aims to meet the first MDG, while the No-Fee School Policy, which enables children in low quintile groups to attend school for free, aims to meet the second MDG. In total, the South African government allocated R73 518 million to ordinary public schools in 2008 (The Presidency, 2009, Table 20, p. 101).

Related to this focus on child education is the focus on Early Childhood Development, which "encompasses all the processes that enable emotional, cognitive, sensory, spiritual, moral, physical, social and communication development of children from birth to school-going age" (The Presidency, 2009, p. 73). The primary plan related to this is the National Integration Plan for Early Childhood Development (NIPECD). The percentage of total education expenditure allocated toward Early Childhood Development is small (1%) totalling roughly R1201 million in 2008 to 2009 (The Presidency, 2009). The last focus is that of child protection, which is heavily steeped in South African legislation such as the Children's Act, Child Justice Bill, Basic Conditions of Employment Act of 1997 and the Integrated National Disability Strategy (The Presidency, 2009). The abovementioned policies and interventions for children in South Africa are a brief overview of only a few government initiatives, all of which demonstrate government's commitment to and prioritisation of the South African child.

With the extent of child prioritisation in the country, much focus has shifted to the challenges that children are facing. A prominent challenge currently facing South African children is the amount of child abuse in the country (RAPCAN, 2010). While government has invested much into the primary, secondary and tertiary prevention of child sexual abuse in the country (The Presidency, 2009); it is still overwhelmed by this burden, and as a result, has requested that non-profit and non-governmental organisations assist government initiatives with extra service provision and human capital:

> "Civil society and organisations within it, such as non-governmental organisations (NGOs), community based organisations (CBOs), faith based organisations (FBOs), private sector, etc. are channels, through which people participate in the political and social life of their society. They can demand and advocate for children's rights and engage in dialogue at local and national level with the Government, as well as provide effective and efficient services, extending government capacity through partnerships for implementation" (The Presidency, 2009, p. 22).

Moreover, volunteers are deemed necessary for the successful implementation of organisational initiatives (Chinman & Wandersman, 1999). Therefore, one can begin to become aware that broader socio-political prioritisation has an effect on the target-specific volunteering behaviour of individuals; however, the link between the broader socio-political contexts and individual volunteering behaviour has scantly been examined or made explicit. Thus, it would be useful to explore the way in which volunteers, who volunteer primarily within the child abuse services sector, come to make meaning of their volunteering behaviour with children, and their meaning behind the choice of children over another social group, as part of an attempt to better understand this intersection.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The primary research question for this research was: How do volunteers in Johannesburg, South Africa, make meaning of their volunteering in the child abuse services sector? The primary research question was deemed answerable through the investigation of the following subsidiary research questions:

1. How do volunteers make meaning of their volunteering behaviours in general?
2. How do volunteers make meaning of their selection of one social priority over another?
3. How do volunteers make meaning of their selection of children as the primary beneficiaries of their volunteering?
4. How do volunteers make meaning of their prioritisation of child abuse as the primary cause for which they volunteer?

3.2. RESEARCH DESIGN

A general qualitative research design was employed, therefore, the research focused on the exploration of participants' subjective perspectives, meaning-making processes and socio-cultural influences on behaviour within a naturalistic setting (Nieuwenhuis, 2010a). As a result of a considerable gap in the literature, researching volunteers' meaning-making processes within the child abuse services sector in South Africa represented a rich area for exploratory study. Thus a qualitative research design was considered appropriate, as it allowed for a complex exploration and in-depth understanding to be gained through the use of semi-structured individual interviews.

The research was primarily located within the interpretive paradigm, and the ontological, epistemological, axiological and methodological assumptions of this paradigm guided the research process in a particular direction. Ontologically, it was assumed that reality is the product of human construction such that "experience, including perception, is mediated historically, culturally and linguistically" (Willig, 2008, p. 7). From this position, the social world and reality is not believed to be an objective entity existing beyond individuals, instead, reality is held as that which is subjectively created by each social actor, with the "human mind

[as] the purposive source or origin of meaning" (Nieuwenhuis, 2010a, p. 54). In light of the idea that reality was regarded as a humanly constructed phenomenon, epistemologically then, the knowledge of this reality was assumed to involve interaction with the individuals who constructed it. That is to say, "the way of knowing reality is by exploring the experiences of others", and the way of understanding this reality is through the interpretation of the constructions of others (Nieuwenhuis, 2010a, p. 55). Axiologically, the assumption made was that the researcher's values could not be completely divorced from the research process, albeit bracketed (Ponterotto, 2005). Methodologically, an interpretive approach dictated methods that allowed for multiple realties to be fully explored through interaction. To this end, individual interviews were chosen as the means to best explore the subjective realities and meanings of the participants. Thus, the interpretive paradigm commits itself to gaining an in-depth understanding of the actual lived experience of research participants, whereby the researcher comes to perceive the meanings that participants give to their experiences through interactive methods, and offers an interpretation as a result.

Although the interpretive paradigm was considered most suitable to meet the aim of the research, given the critical persuasion of some elements in the theoretical framework, it was considered essential to additionally draw from more critical approaches toward understanding participants' meanings. Indeed, the interpretive paradigm did not foreclose the critical reading and interpretation of participants' meanings. There were, however, some paradigmatic implications inherent in attempting to incorporate both interpretive and the more critical proclivities.

Firstly, the interpretive paradigm ontologically holds that reality is the product of individual subjectivity, whereas critical research paradigms hold that reality is in fact historically created and recreated (Karatas-Ozkan & Murphy, 2010). Consequently, the world that individuals engage with in order to arrive at a subjective social construction has, to some extent, already been constructed by various historical power relations and ideologies (Nieuwenhuis, 2010a). To this end Fossey, Harvey, McDermott and Davidson stated that "while interpretive approaches emphasize meanings inherent in human experience and action, regardless of their individual or collective origin, critical approaches emphasize the social and historical origins and contexts of meaning, regardless of the individual or collective forms of embodiment and expression they may take" (2002, p. 720). This created somewhat of a tension between acknowledging the individual and individual agency in the creation of meanings, and

acknowledging that the place of the individual and individual agency has been diminished by longstanding dominant ideologies. This research attempted to balance the two seemingly opposing views by holding to the idea that individuals could exercise agency in the creation of subjective meanings within the confines of a historically-constructed reality. In fact, it was the adoption of this view that meant that an examination of individual meanings could be explored with the potential implication of drawing attention to broader influences on those individual meanings.

Secondly, in light of the critical paradigm's assumption that reality has to a degree already been constructed, knowledge of the reality is gained by examining the social-historical ideologies and power relations that have shaped it (Nieuwenhuis, 2010a). To this end, critical approaches differ to interpretive approaches in that they do not focus on the individual, rather, there is a focus on questioning the established social order of things, dominant practices, discourses, ideologies and institutions (Karatas-Ozkan & Murphy, 2010). In this way it places a greater emphasis on the social, historical and political construction of knowledge, not purely personal subjective constructions (Karatas-Ozkan & Murphy, 2010). Thus, knowledge is not merely gained through interaction and interpretation, but through a critique of social discourse and practice (Fossey et al., 2002), and it is the task of the researcher adopting this paradigm to highlight hidden ideologies and then to critique them (Nieuwenhuis, 2010a). In light of the aim of this research, the researcher primarily took the position of focusing on the individual as the primary source of knowledge, yet did attempt to understand how that individual knowledge could also be shared, created or influenced by broadly held social attitudes and beliefs.

3. 3. PARTICIPANTS

The research employed a purposive criterion sampling strategy. Participants were selected according to pre-set criteria, which aided in the selection of individuals who were believed to possess the insights and information essential to the research topic (Nieuwenhuis, 2010b). The sample selection criteria used to select the participants were as follows: Firstly, participants had be volunteers within the Teddy Bear Clinic for Abused Children. Selecting participants from this specific group of volunteers was important, as it narrowed the type of volunteering to work with abused children only, and was thus aligned with the aim of the research. Secondly, participants had to be volunteering on a non-obligatory basis, which is to say that

they were not to be fulfilling community or mandated court services. Thirdly, participants needed to identify themselves primarily as volunteers within the child protection sector, which meant that if participants volunteered in other organisations over and above the Teddy Bear Clinic for Abused Children, the other organisations also had to fall under the child protection sector. Fourthly, it was deemed essential for participants to be adequately proficient in English, such that they would not require the use of an interpreter in the interview situation; and finally, participants had to be over 18 years of age.

The Teddy Bear Clinic for Abused Children was chosen as the sampling site for this research. The Teddy Bear Clinic for Abused Children is a registered Non-Profit Organisation geared toward assisting children, families and communities in the Johannesburg, Krugersdorp and Soweto areas affected by child abuse (The Teddy Bear Clinic [TTBC], 2011). Although the clinic addresses all types of child abuse, they focus primarily on issues related to the sexual abuse of children (aged 3 to 18 years). The clinic is funded by private donors and a host of corporate sponsors, and is partnered with local police stations, hospitals, schools and courts (TTBC, 2011).

The Teddy Bear Clinic for Abused Children assists children who have been sexually abused through the provision of the following services: Forensic medical examinations, forensic assessments, personal counselling or play therapy, psychological assessments, and the Kids Court Support Programme (TTBC, 2011). The Kids Court Support Programme is run on a monthly basis by between ten and twenty individuals volunteering at the Teddy Bear Clinic for Abused Children. These volunteers work with small groups of sexually abused youth who have approaching court cases; educating them on the court process and on what can be expected when they are asked to testify; all in order to ensure that these children are competent witnesses. Most of the children seen in this programme are between the ages of 3 and 12 years old, and volunteers for this programme usually have a background in psychology, social work, law or general child-care (TTBC, 2011). In addition, the clinic has recently begun a diversion programme for child offenders. The Teddy Bear Clinic for Abused Children assists families with a parents' group run in conjunction with the Kids Court Support Programme. Parents who bring their children to the monthly Kids Court Support Programme are invited to join the parents' group which address family concerns surrounding the judicial process, but also leans more toward therapeutic support. Communities are assisted

with awareness and prevention programmes primarily centred on training in schools and within the corporate field (TTBC, 2011).

The Teddy Bear Clinic for Abused Children was selected as the sampling site for two primary reasons: Firstly, the Teddy Bear Clinic for Abused Children focuses primarily on assisting sexually abused children, and relies heavily on the participation of volunteers to do so, which made it the ideal site to answer the research question. Secondly, the Teddy Bear Clinic's head office is conveniently situated nearby the University of the Witwatersrand, which facilitated the pragmatic efficiency of participant recruitment and data collection.

Once permission from the organisation had been obtained (APPENDIX A), participants were verbally invited to participate in the research during a brief research presentation which took place at the Teddy Bear Clinic for Abused Children's head office in Braamfontein, Johannesburg, on Saturday 11 June 2011. The presentation took approximately 10 minutes, and outlined the researcher's name, the aim and purpose of the research, an explanation of what would be required of research participants, and an explanation of the voluntary and confidential nature of the research. After this brief presentation, the researcher invited volunteers to participate in the research if they were interested. Volunteers who expressed an interest to be involved provided the researcher with their names and contact details on a sign-up sheet. The names and contact details were used in the setting up of interview sessions, and were kept confidential. Seven volunteers expressed an interest and were contacted telephonically, whereby the locations and dates of the interviews were finalised.

Although seven volunteers had initially expressed an interest to partake in the research, ultimately only six of the volunteers became participants for this research. All the participants were White females, and the majority of the participants were trained or training psychologists. Below is a brief outline of the participants' information:

Participant information			
Participant	Gender	Race	Occupation
Participant 1	Female	White	Associate Attorney
Participant 2	Female	White	Honours Psychology student
Participant 3	Female	White	Counselling Psychologist and Psychology lecturer

Participant 4	Female	White	Counselling Psychologist and Psychology lecturer
Participant 5	Female	White	Counselling Psychologist and Psychology lecturer
Participant 6	Female	White	Clinical Psychologist

Table 1: Overview of participants' gender, race and occupation

3. 4. DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

Data was collected through the use of semi-structured, face-to-face interviews with six of the seven research participants (APPENDIX B). Only six of the volunteers who had expressed an interest to be involved in the research fully met the sampling criteria. Qualitative interviews are useful for the exploration of participants' subjective worlds, and through the use of open ended questioning and probing, are able to uncover the meanings that participants attach to each of their experiences. Semi-structured interviews were able to provide in-depth idiographic information on the experiences and meaning-making of volunteering in the child abuse services sector through open-ended questions and probing. Semi-structured interviews also allowed for some flexibility in the interview encounter. Data collection in this way elicited rich data for the exploration, interpretation and answering of the research question.

Semi-structured face-to-face interviews took place in July 2011. The locations of the interviews were decided by the research participants when the appointments were made. On the day of the interview, participants received a participant information sheet (APPENDIX C), an informed consent form to research participation overall (APPENDIX D), a consent form allowing the interview to be audio recorded (APPENDIX E), and a consent form allowing quotations to be taken from the interview and placed in the final research report (APPENDIX F). These forms were provided before the interview began. Participants needed to sign these forms as an indication of their consent, and participants had an opportunity to ask the researcher questions regarding these forms as a means to clarify any confusion.

Each interview lasted between one and one-and-a-half hours in length. The semi-structured interview agenda (APPENDIX B) was developed by the researcher. Each question was formulated in such a way that it was adequately open-ended, to ensure the opportunity for participants to fully explore their own experiences and make meaning of their volunteering. Open-ended questions allowed participants to respond elaborately, thus producing meaningful, culturally salient and unanticipated information. Open-ended questions also

allowed the researcher the opportunity to probe aspects that seemed related to the overall aim. The interview questions progressed from general questions regarding volunteering such as "What do you think it means to be a volunteer in South Africa?", to questions on the volunteers choice to work with children, such as "How did you decide that you wanted to volunteer in an organisation that works with children?", and then finally to questions regarding the choice to volunteer specifically among abused children, such as "Why do you think some people will volunteer with AIDS orphans and street children, but not with abused children?". The interviews were documented by way of audio recording, which were transcribed verbatim, and formed the data source for analysis.

3. 5. METHODS OF DATA ANALYSIS

The interview transcripts were analysed using Thematic Analysis (TA). TA is a qualitative method of analysis that identifies patterns and essential themes within data sets; and by doing so, organizes and describes data in detail (Braun & Clarke, 2006). TA is a fairly flexible method of analysis that is able to successfully summarize key features of data sets, offering thick descriptions, comparisons and unforeseen insights that all make provision for social and psychological interpretation, as well as being aptly suited to an interpretive paradigm (Braun & Clarke, 2006). It is important to note that in light of the theoretical framework of this research, the TA adopted could best be described as a critical TA, as the analysis was sensitive to areas within the transcripts which made appeals to particular forms of institutional thought. In this way, the analysis of the transcripts was receptive to various ideological features but not wholly committed to interrogating them beyond the way in which they intersected with the personal meaning systems of participants. In much a similar way to the emergence of challenges inherent in attempting to draw from both interpretive and critical paradigms, there were also challenges inherent in using critical TA in the analysis process.

Braun and Clarke (2006) outline six phases in the analysis process; all of which were adhered to in the analysis of the current research. The first phase involved becoming familiar with the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Here, the audio recordings from the interviews were transcribed verbatim, and these data sources were read and re-read continually. Alongside the continual reading and re-reading of the transcripts, was a process of informal note-taking or memoing. Memos encouraged analytic thought and reflection, and therefore helped in the later stages of analysis and interpretation. Progress through this initial phase resulted in a deep

understanding of the data at hand, thus, establishing a concrete foundation for subsequent phases.

The second phase involved the generation of initial codes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Coding is defined as the process of "marking the segments of data with symbols, descriptive words or unique identifying names" (Nieuwenhuis, 2010c, p. 105). The process of coding was ongoing, and was often returned to throughout the latter stages of analysis in order to reach theoretical saturation. Essentially, all transcripts were read line-by-line, and segments that appeared to be analytically significant, interesting, or central to the research question were coded. It is important to note that segments of text that did not seem to fit within the data were also coded in the process of negative case analysis (Willig, 2008). Once the transcripts had all been coded, the extracts for each code were collected together and grouped under the code.

In the third phase of analysis themes were developed (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Relationships between codes were explored such that codes were then grouped together at a higher level of abstraction to form themes. Once a number of themes had been identified, relationships between themes were examined such that they were then grouped into overarching themes and sub-themes. Themes for this research were identified at the latent level, that is to say, that the themes "identify or examine underlying ideas, assumptions, and conceptualizations – and ideologies – that are theorized as shaping or informing the semantic content of the data", and thus, the process of developing themes was itself an interpretive work (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 84). Central to this process of identifying relationships and the process of grouping codes and themes, was the formation of the thematic map. A thematic map is a diagram that summarizes the main themes of the data set, it presents a visual representation of the themes, it organises the analysis and the presentation of the report, as well as providing "a sensitive, insightful and rich exploration of a text's overt structures and underlying patterns" (Attride-Stirling, 2001, p. 386).

It was during the analytic phases of coding and establishing themes that a challenge of using critical TA emerged. While the initial codes that were generated sought to highlight salient aspects of individual participants' subjective meanings of volunteering, these codes also pointed toward possible taken-for-granted beliefs and assumptions that may have been historically constructed. This created some difficulty in maintaining the individual voices of participants while establishing themes. The challenge of using critical TA was that the themes

that were generated needed to highlight both the individual meanings of volunteering held by the participants, as well as the potential socio-political and socio-historical influences implicated in the creation of those meanings, in a way that did not foreground one over the other.

The fourth phase was the review of the themes, where each theme was examined for both internal homogeneity and external heterogeneity (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The examination of internal homogeneity and external heterogeneity involved ensuring that each theme had a central concept and that all related data excerpts were similarly linked in a fundamental way with a clear pattern; while also ensuring that themes were distinct enough to stand alone respectively (Braun & Clarke, 2006). As themes were reviewed, modified and refined, so too was the thematic map.

The fifth phase involved clearly naming and defining the identified themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The data excerpts grouped under each theme were analysed such that the essence of each theme was identified, and the theme went through a process of being further refined until ultimately defined (Braun & Clarke, 2006). After the themes had been finalised, the narrative account of the interpretation of the data was outlined. This account is provided in chapter four of this report.

3.6. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethical considerations had to be made at every stage of the research process. Before sampling or data collection procedures began, permission from the Teddy Bear Clinic for Abused Children was requested and obtained verbally at first, and later in writing (APPENDIX A). The research proposal was also submitted to ethical review by the University of the Witwatersrand, and ethical clearance was obtained (APPENDIX G).

At the sampling stage, the ethical issues surrounding the recruitment of participants, informed consent and the right to withdraw had to be considered: During participant recruitment at the Teddy Bear Clinic for Abused Children, an accurate description of the research was given both verbally and within a participant information sheet (APPENDIX C), such that benefits of participation were not emphasized, and individuals were not coerced to participate (Kimmel, 1988). With regard to informed consent, participants were provided with clear information

regarding the research, such as the purpose of the research, that which would be expected from participants, an explanation of potential risks or benefits of participation, an outline of the data collection procedures including an explanation of the interview process, the means by which anonymity and confidentiality would be protected or is limited, the dissemination of research results, and a contact number for the researcher and research supervisor. The volunteers who had expressed an interest in the research had additionally been informed that they could withdraw from the research process at any time.

Ethical considerations of informed consent were further handled during the data collection phase of the research. Each participant who had decided to take part in the research process received an informed consent form, which needed to be signed as an indication of the participant agreeing to take part in the overall research process (APPENDIX D). Participants also received a consent form regarding the audio-recording of the interview (APPENDIX E), as well as a consent form allowing the researcher to use quotations in the research report (APPENDIX F). These forms were signed before the interviews began, and all participants were given the opportunity to ask the researcher questions about the forms and about the research process, as a means to ensure the participants were fully informed.

Other ethical considerations made during the data collection procedures included the issues of privacy, confidentiality, anonymity, storing of data sources, and the protection of participants' well-being: Unobtrusive interviewing was used as a means to respect participants' privacy (Kimmel, 1988). Participants were made aware that any question they did not wish to answer did not need to be answered. With regard to confidentiality, participants were made aware that the information disclosed during the interviews would be kept private and that only the researcher and research supervisor would have access to data sources. Participants were informed of the likelihood that direct quotations may be used from the interview, however, they were also informed that there would be no linking markers attached to these quotations, and in this way their confidentiality was guaranteed. Anonymity, however, could not be guaranteed. This was as a result of the face-to-face nature of the interviews during data collection. All the identifying details of the participants have been omitted. Confidentiality and anonymity are both intricately linked to the storing of data. All the audio tapes and the transcripts were kept safely in a locked cabinet for the duration of the research process, and only the researcher had access to the cabinet. The protection of the participants' well-being was ensured through the researcher's continuous evaluation of the participants' emotional

state during the interview. While none of the participants appeared to experience emotional distress during the interview situation, participants were encouraged to consult the referral resources provided if they wished to do so.

The analysis and report write-up phases of the research were monitored in supervision sessions. After the report has been submitted, the audio-tapes from the interviews will be destroyed, however, the transcripts will be locked away in a safe location towards possible further publication. The research participants and the Teddy Bear Clinic for Abused Children will be able to access the final research report, should they wish to, through the university Electronic Thesis and Dissertation (ETD) website (http://www.wits.ac.za/library/electronicthesesdissertations.htm). Alternatively, the organisation and participants may contact the researcher who will send through a copy of the research report and findings. The research results may, at a later stage, be published in journal articles.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The analysis of the data provided an in-depth understanding of the various meanings that volunteers make of their volunteering with abused children in Johannesburg, South Africa. In an attempt to broaden current theorising about volunteering, this research sought to understand the way in which the personal meanings participants ascribed to their target-specific volunteering among abused children, were constructed and negotiated in relation to a host of socio-political factors. For this reason much of the interpretation of the data explored the ways in which participants' various meanings of their volunteering shared a resonance with critical understandings of governing the self and populations. Four primary themes emerged from the analysis of the transcripts, which answered the research question: "How do volunteers in Johannesburg, South Africa, make meaning of their volunteering in the child abuse services sector?". Each primary theme comprises of subthemes which explain the manner by which the primary themes came about. The overview of all the themes are depicted in the thematic map below, and discussed in the sections which follow.

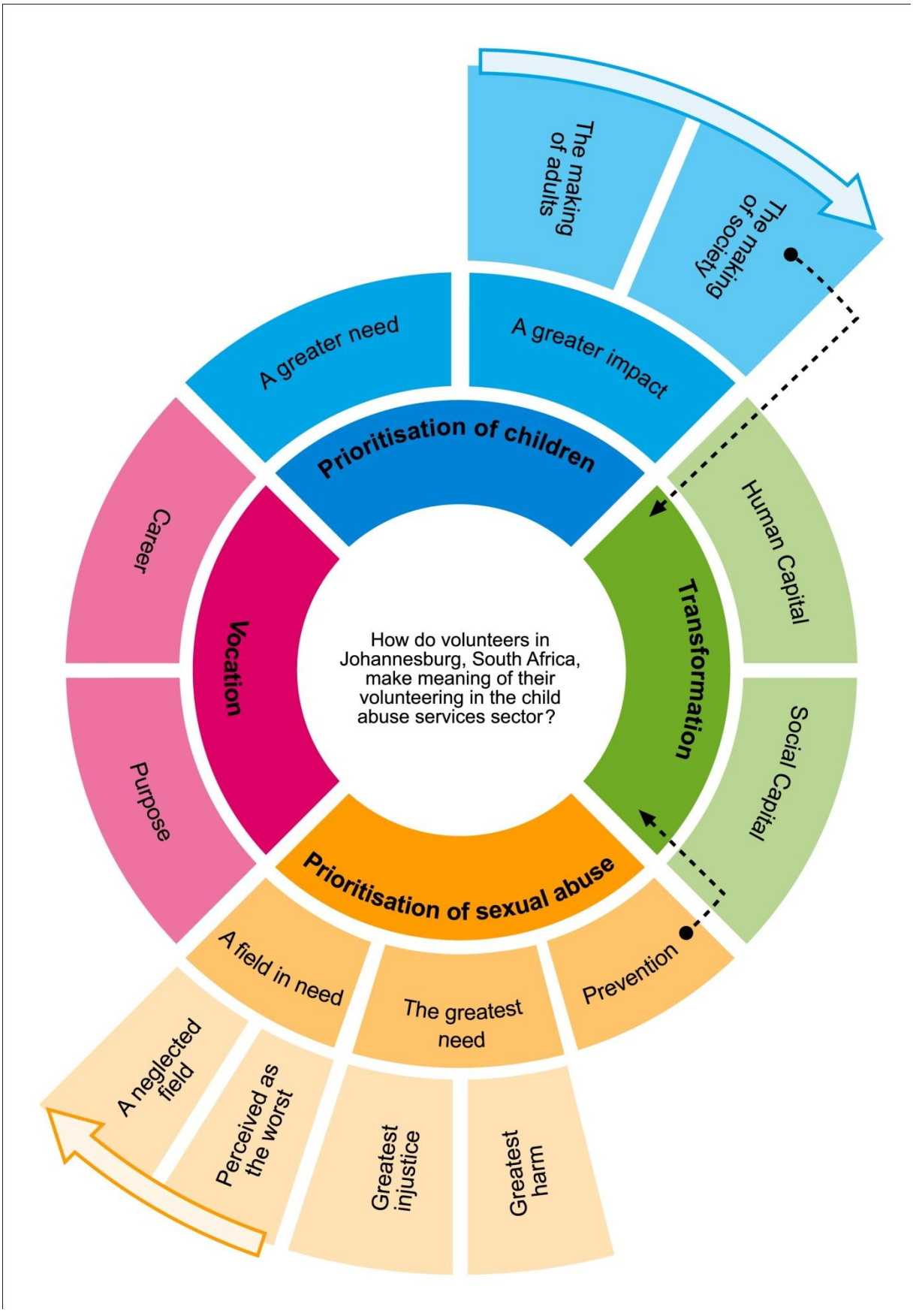


Diagram 2: Thematic map

4.1. TRANSFORMATION: VOLUNTEERING PLAYS AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE TRANSFORMATION PROCESS OF SOUTH AFRICA

The first theme that emerged from the data analysis process was that of transformation, where participants essentially made meaning of their volunteering, and of their roles as volunteers, as that which could contribute to the overall crafting of a more positive South African society. As participants spoke of their volunteering in South Africa, they appeared to adopt the role of concerned citizens, who all similarly shared a deep care for the country and a desire to see the country improve. Thus, for participants, volunteering seemed to represent one simple activity they felt could contribute to the overall transformation process underway in South Africa. Participants held that South Africa could be transformed through their volunteering in essentially two ways: Firstly, volunteering was believed to aid South Africa's transformation process by assisting in the development of the country by way of resource and service provision; that is, through the creation of human capital. Secondly, volunteering was believed to assist South Africa's transformation process through the creation of widespread community sentiment, or social capital.

The meanings participants have made of their volunteering and of their roles as volunteers, especially the way in which volunteering has been regarded as a central element in the building and sustaining of society, points one to consider the possibility that these individual meanings were formed through their negotiation with broader socio-political aspirations (Pick, Holmes & Brueckner, 2011). The meanings that participants have made of their volunteering will therefore be explored through the lens of governmentality, and in this way an understanding of the construction of meaning at the intersection of individual, organisational and governmental rationality can be gained (Pick et al., 2011). Of particular relevance here are the governmentality-related notions of 'self-government' and 'biopolitical citizenship', which will briefly be discussed before engaging more deeply with this first theme.

Foucault held that in modern liberal states individuals, groups and entire populations were no longer socially regulated primarily through the exertion of overt power by a unified and centralised sovereign body; rather, individuals, groups and populations were socially regulated by the dispersion of power in civil society through a number of technologies and institutions (Marinetto, 2003). This is what is meant by governmentality. The dispersion of

power through governmental technologies ultimately meant that individuals would engage in a process of self-regulation, or self-government.

Rose (1998) explains self-government as the process involving the transfer of responsibility from the state-as-government to the responsible citizen-as-government; whereby "through the proliferation of a complex and heterogeneous assemblage of technologies" (Rose, 1999, p. 217) individuals internalise the methods of political government, which consequently guide and shape personal behaviour, choice and emotions. Essentially, government in modern liberal societies occurs through the creation of responsible citizens who are "responsible for their destiny and for that of society as a whole" (Rose, 2000, p. 1400). Successful deployment of political technologies and strategies, which create self-governing and responsible citizens, ultimately results in the objectives of individual citizens to become aligned with the objectives of the state, where the state-as-government is able to meet its ends without directly conducting the population (Rose, 1998, 1999). Ultimately, through individuals' engagement with media, institutions, state initiatives and with other technologies and apparatuses which operate "as relays, bringing the varied ambitions of political, scientific, philanthropic, and professional authorities into alignment with the ideals and aspirations of individuals" (Rose, 1999, p. 217), individuals come to assume the role of responsible citizens who govern themselves toward furthering the objectives of the state through their individual behaviour and choices. In this way, the state is relieved of its obligation to meet all of society's needs from a central position, as the needs of society could be met through self-regulating organisations and individual citizens (Rose, 2000).

The responsibilization and creation of self-governing citizens must naturally be explored within a broader understanding of the concept of citizenship itself. The concept of citizenship is expansive and evolving, although in modern liberal states is increasingly being understood in terms of the moral duty to look after one's own and one's nation's health; which is to say that citizenship has progressively been framed in biopolitical terms (Rose & Novas, 2003). This biopolitical framing of citizenship has "shaped conceptions of what it means to be a citizen, and underpinned distinctions between actual, potential, troublesome and impossible citizens" (Rose & Novas, 2003, p. 2). Biopolitical citizenship is, however, based on a more fundamental distinction that must first be explored; namely, the distinction between formal and moral citizenship (Schinkel, 2010).

Formal citizenship refers to the *legal* inclusion of individuals into political nation-states, and denotes the "codified rights and duties of citizen-members of states" (Schinkel, 2010, p. 167). Moral citizenship, on the other hand, refers to beliefs around the *ideal* citizen. That is, moral citizenship is an extra-legal dimension of citizenship which defines 'good' citizens rather than merely 'lawful' citizens (Schinkel, 2010). Moral citizenship distinguishes between legal citizens who are active and passive, legal citizens who are helpful to the state or unhelpful to the state, legal citizens who are cooperative and those who are deemed impossible or bothersome. It is the moral citizens who are considered to hold a prized position and afforded full integration into society (Schinkel, 2010).

Biopolitical citizenship is based on moral citizenship and views citizenship as a privilege based on virtue rather than law (Schinkel, 2010). Biopolitical citizenship allows for further distinction to be made among formal citizens of nation-states, and can be considered as a governmental rationality in that it results in either inclusion or exclusion from 'real' citizenship (Schinkel, 2010). Thus, biopolitical citizenship distinguishes between "who is a 'member' of the nation-state but not of 'society'" (Schinkel, 2012, p. 168). To this end Schinkel (2010, p. 168) stated that "the differentiation between formal and moral citizenship allows the state-propagated biopolitical control of the life of the *bios* also within the confines of generalized citizenship". Thus, individuals will attempt to align themselves with moral or biopolitical notions of citizenship because it allows them the greatest inclusion and integration into society, primarily because a biopolitical notion of citizenship separates out the "true citizens from those whose citizenship is 'only' formal" (Schinkel, 2010, p. 168).

4.1.1. Human capital: Volunteering assists in the development of the country through resource and service provision

The first way participants understood their volunteering to be that which could contribute to the transformation process of South Africa, was through the idea that volunteering could assist in the development of the country, specifically through the provision of resources and services. Throughout the data analysis process it became clear that participants perceived South Africa as a developing, or "third world country" (Participant 3), and as such, South Africa was understood as having a host of social problems and unmet needs the country additionally lacked the resources to effectively address. Moreover, participants seemed to acknowledge that they could not depend solely on the South African government to address

all the social problems, or to meet all the social needs. To this end, participants held that their volunteering was fundamental to the continuous development of the country, through the provision of resources which would enable social problems and needs to be met.

> I think, you know, we are a developing country, and so the need for volunteers is just that much greater, because if there are people that have time or skills or an interest to sort of feed that back into the community instead of just their own sort of private sort of circle, um, there's a great need for that. Um, I think that's the only way the country will sort of continue developing, which is very unfortunate (Participant 4).

Thus, participants seemed to understand that their volunteering was the means by which resources could be provided to communities and that this was "the only way" South Africa could continue "developing". The data analysis revealed that participants specifically held that the resources offered through volunteering involved the provision of additional unpaid staff, or human capital to NGOs, who would subsequently relay those resources as services to community members. To this end, participants' provision of themselves as human resources to NGOs was deemed essential for the adequate functioning and continued existence of organisations purposed to meet the needs of a developing South Africa. For example, when asked what it meant to be a volunteer in South Africa, participant 3 and 5 made it explicit that volunteering, and volunteers, were central to ensuring the continued existence of NGOs overall:

> Okay, um, I think what it means, is that resources and skills are offered on a volunteer basis, where monetary value is never going to, um, you know, change hands. I mean, I don't see whether the Teddy Bear Clinic can afford to pay intake workers, um, so volunteer structure without monetary changing of hands, is essential, for both the organisations and the people, the victims, or the clients that you see (Participant 3).

> I think... what does it mean to be a volunteer? I think it's around just giving of your time and giving of your resources, and I don't know if... I don't know if this is just specific for South Africa but I think volunteering is essential in any context. I think that it's important to volunteer because, in truth, especially sort of in the NGO sector, they can't afford to have people on the staff […] and most of these organisations really can't run unless they have volunteers. So for me, volunteering is... I think it's... and I'm pretty sure it's applicable to most NGOs; it is the foundation of most NGOs. I know that for Teddy that to be true, but I'm pretty sure if you went to the SPCA, if you went to any sort of NGO, volunteering is almost core to the work that needs to be done (Participant 5).

Moreover, participants understood that the provision of themselves as resources to NGOs, which would aid the functioning and ensure the existence of NGOs, would therefore be central to the ability of NGOs to eventually provide services to broader community members

who would normally not have access to services. Furthermore, participants understood that their volunteering was not only able to provide valuable services to overlooked community members, but it was additionally considered as that which could reduce the burdens associated firstly with the lack of service provision in the country at large, and secondly to reduce the burden placed on the South African government to meet all of society's needs. For this reason, participant 5 spoke of the importance of volunteering stating:

> I feel strongly that volunteering should be encouraged in every school, in every home; um, I don't think it should be, oh, it would be nice if you did it. I think it should be, as a citizen, a part of our role. You know, I often think about it; every medical professional, whether it be doctors, physios, therapists or whatever, if everybody gave two hours free a week how that would ease our... ease the burden of our medical health problems (Participant 5).

This particular meaning that participants have made of their volunteering in South Africa, as that which is able to provide resources and services to assist in the development of the country, is closely aligned with government objectives, therefore suggesting that strategies of liberal governmentality may have been implicated in the meaning-making process. It is important to note that the South African government has often encouraged civil society and NGOs to assist governmental initiatives aimed at development (The Presidency, 2009), particularly emphasising that government alone cannot address the multitude of needs in the country (Gillwald, 2002). In this way, addressing social problems and meeting social needs has no longer been constructed as a task for government alone, rather, all South African citizens have been encouraged and implored to engage in activities that will further the development of the nation.

Tasks that would predominantly be considered as the responsibility of the South African government have evidently been understood by participants as their personal responsibility as South African citizens. The transfer of responsibility from the state to civil society relates back to Rose's (1998) explanation of liberal governmentalities, and particularly the production of self-governing citizens, who consider it their personal responsibility to direct their own behaviour and choices toward objectives which are also shared by the state. To this end, when Dennis (2010) speaks of civic engagement, he does so by referring to it as the manifestation of neo-liberal strategies of governmentality, particularly stating that the making of responsible self-governing citizens, who guide their behaviour and choices toward shared state objectives, occurs at important times when the state lacks the capacity to meet the needs

of the population such that the responsibility to look after the population then largely falls to the voluntary sectors:

> "The goal is to transfer the management of social risk to individuals and localities. In responsibilizing citizens as moral subjects and local social control agents in their communities, all sorts of state-private partnerships emerge, for the delivery of goods and services, and new governmentalities emerge, to create requisite notions of the 'responsible citizen' via the installation and use of concomitant surveillance/audit mechanisms" (Dennis, 2010, p. 157).

The creation of moral citizens who deem it their responsibility to care for the health and development of the nation-state is integrally related to biopolitical citizenship. In this theme participants appear to frame their own citizenship in biopolitical terms. To this end participants have constructed the role of model South African citizens as duty-bound to assist government in the developmental initiatives of South Africa, such that true South African citizens are seen as those who internalise the responsibility to assist government in meeting the needs of broader society. By adopting the biopolitical construction of citizenship, the duty to care for the population and for the development of the country is reframed as an ideal that should be pursued by all South African citizens. Indeed, if South African citizens do not consider this their own responsibility, their citizenship to the country may be compromised.

One particular aspect of biopolitical citizenship is the framing of the 'ideal' citizen as an 'active-citizen' (Schinkel, 2010). 'Active' citizens are those who are purposefully giving of themselves to assist in the development and growth of the nation-state. The promotion of the role of the active-citizen not only creates the image of what it means to be a South African citizen, but it additionally creates the image of what it means to be a 'good' citizen (Pick et al., 2011). Ultimately then, good, real, true and deserving citizens are perceived as those who engage in activities aimed at developing a country which is in dire need for development. The activities are, however, not explained by citizens as an obligation or duty; rather, the engagement in state-developing activities is understood to be that which is desirable and central to the identity of South Africans.

Participants' selection of the activity of volunteering, and the concomitant belief that the provision of themselves as resources will go some way toward the development and growth of South Africa as a nation-state, may have been influenced through their individual engagement

with governmental notions of biopolitical citizenship. Their embracing of the biopolitical notions of 'active-citizens' as 'good-citizens', may have been incorporated into the identities of participants who subsequently appear to believe that it is their role as true South African citizens to give of themselves in order to further the development and transformation of the country. This self-regulated and responsible behaviour is deemed essential for their citizenship into South Africa to be fully recognised, and is secured through their prosocial activities in the form of volunteering.

4.1.2. Social Capital: Volunteering unifies the country through the creation of community sentiment

The second way that the participants understood their volunteering as that which could play a role in the transformation process of South Africa, was through the idea that volunteering was able to generate community sentiment within the country. Throughout the data analysis phase it became clear that participants viewed their volunteering as that which was able to oppose the individualism of modern society, that which could make society more socially aware, and ultimately as that which was able to combat social apathy. Participants additionally held that as social apathy was challenged through volunteering, more people would begin to volunteer and contribute socially. Moreover, participants understood that increased social contribution would be central to the fostering of an improved perception of South Africa, and more specifically, of the people in South Africa:

> I also think it builds hope, volunteering […] I think when you're out in the community and you're volunteering you meet some amazing people that are doing incredible things for the country, incredible things for themselves. You get an understanding of people that perhaps you, who are different to yourself that you wouldn't have had before. For me, there's a little bit of the installation of hope, for me, in terms of volunteering; I think people kind of go, oh, it's not all that bad. There are good people out there (Participant 5).

Therefore, participants understood that volunteering in the country was able to foster a sense of community through the expansion of community action in South Africa. The generation of greater community involvement, or community sentiment, was perceived to be that which was able to consequently unify the country, redress the Apartheid legacy to some extent, and build a national identity. This was expressed by both participant 4 and 6:

> I think it [volunteering] sort of, at the very least, it highlights what kinds of, um, options there are for the future. You know, people then don't have to think within the box of their current situation. They can see that there are these other people in sort of all walks of life, um, sharing a similar interest, which I think just sort of, it creates a greater network, which, hopefully, will eventually have a positive spin-off and just create a little bit more, um, of a sense of community, which I think South Africa is actually quite fortunate that it does have a great sense of community. Um, but that community now just needs to extend further (Participant 4).

> **Interviewer:** Well, why do you think volunteering would be important in this country?
> **Participant 1:** Maybe because of our history, which everyone lives in every single day, but with it now almost being reversed; people are still fighting for themselves. Maybe doing a selfless act is one step forward. Thinking of other people and not of you. I think because we come with our history, we come from a society, or our society has become selfish […]. So we've got this "Us and You", this selfishness this, what-I-own type of thing. I don't know, I think volunteering, this selflessness, this stepping out of your comfort zone and saying "you know what, I'll walk on the other side of the bridge", like, I'll be a white person, in terms of the analogy, I'll walk onto the side the black people, I'll swim against the stream and I think volunteering, just setting the example of how to be selfless and then loving each other to care for someone who needs help. And that I believe will heal our country from the hurt that it had […] I think we have a very hurt country, and hurt people, hurt people. The only way to stop the hurt is to step out and love and so I think volunteering is love in action and in that is the healing of South Africa's wounds (Participant 1).

Thus, participants made meaning of their volunteering in South Africa as that which would aid in the transformation of the country through the idea that volunteering would unify South African citizens and create social capital. The way in which the country could become a unified nation was specifically understood to occur through the creation of widespread community action, where participants' own volunteering was understood as that which would encourage other people to volunteer. The alignment of the participants' objectives to unify the country through their personal decision to volunteer with the objectives of the South African government's nation-building projects, again points one to consider the notions of self-government as influential in the meaning-making process of participants. As previously mentioned, individuals become self-regulating citizens through their engagement with the particular strategy where the state and other institutions promote the construction of citizenship in biopolitical terms. In this way individuals come to believe that they are only really citizens if they are 'active' or 'good' (Pick et al., 2011). As participants engage with and negotiate these constructions, they come to understand that it is their role as South African citizens to assist the nation-building projects of the South African government through community involvement, and they select and make meaning of their volunteering through this negotiation and self-governance (Rose, 1998, 1999, 2000).

It has been argued that the promotion of the role of the 'active-citizen' as the 'good-citizen' is a biopolitical strategy of liberal governmentality which aims to produce self-governing citizens who consider it their personal choice and responsibility to behave in ways that further state objectives (Pick et al., 2011; Schinkel, 2010). Thus, participants seem to have chosen the activity of volunteering to fulfil their roles and responsibilities as good South African citizens, who desire to assist in building the national identity of the country. The participants' volunteering in this sense could be considered as a reaction to, or as a product of, governmental strategies. Participants held, however, that their volunteering could create more volunteers, and thus, volunteering may also be considered as a governmental strategy in and of itself. Volunteering is then not simply a product of the promotion of the active-citizen, but is the promotional activity itself; where participants are not only considered to be continuously engaging and negotiating with the promotion of biopolitical notions of the active-citizen, but are themselves the means by which the construction of citizenship in biopolitical terms could be promoted. This is in line with Marinetto's (2003) belief that community involvement is not simply in response to forms of government; community involvement is itself a form of government.

Given that the race of South African citizens has, in the past, determined whether or not citizens could be considered 'true' or 'worthy' citizens (Steyn, 2005); it may be useful to consider the race of participants as an aspect that may have impacted on the process of participants' meaning-making of their volunteering in the context of biopolitical citizenship and nation-building. All the participants were White South Africans, and while none of the participants explicitly addressed their own race as a factor in their understanding of what volunteering means to them; a possible reflection could still be made here. During the Apartheid era White South Africans had a citizenship that was never questioned. To this end, White South Africans never had to behave in ways that would secure their integration into society; they never had to be active citizens or good citizens. This was already assumed to be the case (Steyn, 2005). In the new democratic South Africa Steyn (2005, p. 122) has noted that there has been "a sudden and fairly decisive de-centering of whiteness within [South African] society", and even though White people in South Africa are not considered at all marginalised, their automatic moral or biopolitical citizenship is no longer a guarantee. This means that White South Africans have had to find new ways of gaining legitimate citizenship and integration into the new South African society (Steyn, 2005). This need to legitimize and secure a real, true or worthy citizenship status may lead White South Africans to become

more involved in activities that will build up the nation-state as a means to prove their worth as real, good, true active-citizens. Thus, the compromised citizenship of the participants, while never explicitly mentioned by any of the participants themselves, may be a possible additional reason they made meaning of their volunteering activities as that which could strengthen the transformation of South Africa.

Thus, in summary, participants made meaning of their volunteering as an activity which was believed to go some way to assist in the betterment and transformation of the entire country, firstly through the provision of resources and services enabling the further development of South Africa, and secondly through the unification of the people within South Africa through the generation of community sentiment. It is apparent from the excerpts that participants possessed a desire to contribute to the development and unification of a cherished country, and that they believed that their volunteering was central to their ability to do so. This particular meaning ascribed to volunteering by participants, while rooted in personal desires to contribute to the transformation of South Africa, also shares an affinity with activities that would normally be considered state responsibility; that is, that it would normally be considered the responsibility of the South African government to provide resources, to ensure that the poor or marginalised have access to services, and to build up a unified national identity. Thus, while weary of negating the personal desires of participants to make a substantial difference in the country, this theme does point one to consider the notions of governmentality, and particularly the framing of citizenship in biopolitical terms, which promotes the adoption of the role as an ‘active-citizen’ who is a self-governing ‘good-citizen’.

4.2. PRIORTISATION OF CHILDREN: CHILDREN ARE PERCEIVED AS A MORE VALUABLE TARGET FOR VOLUNTEERING INTERVENTION THAN ADULTS

The second theme that emerged from the data analysis process related to the prioritisation of children, where participants made meaning of their volunteering among children as a more valuable enterprise than volunteering among adults. Throughout the data analysis process a distinction was drawn between children as targets for volunteer intervention and adults as targets for volunteer intervention, and essentially revealed that participants perceived their volunteering with children to be more constructive when compared to volunteering amongst adults. In light of the previous theme, where participants expressed a desire to make a contribution to the transformation process of the country, volunteering among children was

deemed to be the area where volunteer work could make the most significant contribution; particularly as participants understood that volunteer work targeting children was able to meet a greater need, as well as able to bring about greater long-term outcomes.

It became apparent in this theme that the central element to participants' meaning-making process entailed the distinction between the child and the adult; and more specifically, the construction of childhood in comparison to the construction of adulthood. In light of the centrality of this distinction and the way in which it enthused the meaning expressed throughout this particular theme, a brief discussion of the construction of childhood, as it has predominantly emerged within Western societies, will be provided below. While there are numerous ways in which childhood has been constructed in various contexts throughout history, the discussion below will explicitly focus on the construction of children as innocent, because the notion of innocence was notably implicated in the participants' meanings. Participants appeared to depend upon the construction of children as innocent; however, if their meaning-making process had relied on other constructions of childhood, the meaning of their volunteering among this group would most likely have been altered.

The contemporary Western construction of childhood is rooted in early Romantic and Christian philosophical writings, which speak of the child as existing in the age of innocence (Robinson, 2008). To be a child then is to be inherently virtuous, pure, and uncorrupted (Meyer, 2007). These early conceptualisations of children have perpetuated a dominant ideology of childhood innocence, which is not only prevalent in modern society but resistant to being challenged (Meyer, 2007). The beliefs surrounding childhood innocence construct children as asexual beings; whereas adults, who have biologically reached sexual maturity, are no longer seen as existing within the age of innocence, and are therefore differentiated and considered distinct from children (Robinson, 2008). Thus, the defining boundary between the adult and the child, and the ultimate mark of childhood, is innocence, and Robinson (2008) states that it is the innocence of childhood which adults long for, cherish and desire to protect from corruption. Moreover, it is the innocence of the child which consequently becomes associated with a host of other connotations, such that childhood is not merely characterised by innocence, but also by vulnerability, meekness, fragility, feebleness and dependency (Meyer, 2007). Conversely, adulthood with its loss of innocence is associated with assertiveness, autonomy, capacity and robustness. In this way, adults are perceived as fitting guardians for the cherished innocence of children (Robinson, 2008). These widely held

constructions of childhood innocence coalesce with notions of moral panic and biopolitics. Both moral panic and biopolitics are related to broader governmentality frameworks because both concepts allow insights to be gleaned into the rationalities and mechanisms of government, and particularly how behaviour, emotions and choices may be shaped, guided and directed (Brockling, Krasman & Lemke, 2011). The resonance of the meanings that participants have attributed to their volunteering among children to those of political strategies in liberal governmentality, suggest that in the process of meaning-making participants were influenced by broader socio-political factors.

4.2.1. A greater need: Children are perceived as being in greater need for volunteer services than adults

The first way that participants understood that their volunteering among children was more valuable than volunteering among adults, was because they held that children were in greater need for volunteer services than adults. The idea that children would require more volunteering services than adults seemed to be rooted in participants' common perception of children as vulnerable, helpless, voiceless and powerless, and that it was this inherent nature of children which compelled participants toward targeting children in their volunteering. For example, when participant 2 was asked why she had chosen to volunteer specifically among children, she stated that at the time she initially started volunteering she thought it would be unusual to volunteer among adults. This subsequently led to an exploration of the difference between the two cohorts; highlighting the perception of children as more vulnerable, and thus requiring more volunteer intervention.

> **Interviewer:** And how do you think volunteering differs between the work with children and the work with adults?
> **Participant 2:** Um [...] I think, I think people are always, work more with children, volunteer more work with children because they're, like there's that feeling of like compassion and want to help because they're so vulnerable. I think adults aren't perceived as vulnerable as children, so that's why people, I'm not sure if people volunteer more with adults or more with children but it seems like they would do more with children because they're so vulnerable…
> **Interviewer:** It sounds like volunteers, like kind of what I'm getting, is the idea that volunteers work with children because they're seen as more helpless?
> **Participant 2:** Yes […] Well, like they don't have a voice or they can't like, you know, they're put in terrible circumstances like a terrible home life and then no-one can help them and they're just sort of stuck in the situation where we see adults as having more of a choice, having, like being able to make more decisions, being able to get out of the circumstance they're in.

Hence, children were perceived as vulnerable, helpless, passive, and without the means to escape from poor conditions; all of which appeared to highlight them as a valuable target for intervention. In comparison, adults were perceived as capable and self-sufficient. To this end, participant 6 had explained the reason there were more NGOs focused on targeting children compared to those targeting adults.

> The common belief is that an adult should be able to look after themselves and they should be resilient enough and they should have their own support system but kids are vulnerable. I'm not saying adults are not but the common belief is that they're not. But kids are vulnerable. They don't really have people looking after them because more often than not they've been abused where they were supposed to be safe, in their own homes, in their own complexes, in their own, you know, flat buildings and stuff like that (Participant 6).

Thus, participants seemed to make meaning of their volunteering specifically with children as more valuable than volunteering in other sectors, because children were perceived as being in greater need for volunteer intervention due to their perceived vulnerability. For participants then, it appeared to be more important to provide services and resources to areas and population groups who were believed to be in greater need, rather than to volunteer in areas or with populations perceived as being capable and self-sufficient to mobilise their own resources. Essentially, volunteering in the child sector gained greater significance for participants because it was seen as assisting a more vulnerable population group.

In their attempt to understand their selection of children as the target for their volunteering, it seems that participants have drawn on constructions of childhood vulnerability, which have been considered "a *key* feature of western conceptions of childhood" (Meyer, 2007, p. 89). Vulnerability is, however, closely tied to the constructions of childhood as existing within the age of innocence, as it is the innocent nature of children that results in their association with other constructs such as helplessness, naivety or dependency; which makes children appear vulnerable. Meyer (2007, p. 90) states that "the discourse of innocence is problematic because it conflates innocence and vulnerability and constructs both as innate characteristics" of children. The conflation of innocence and vulnerability as the defining feature of the innate nature of the child has the implication of constructing the child as 'at risk', and given that innocence and vulnerability are seen as the nature of the child, the child is furthermore constructed as being in a perpetual state of risk (Meyer, 2007). The 'at risk' status of children constructs them as members of the population in the most need for constant protection, which consequently results in widespread social action and surveillance directed at children. One

must ask, however, to what end? Why is it that the protection of children is so central to individuals, groups and entire populations; and how has it become a central feature in modern society? This points one to consider the notion of moral panic.

Moral panics refer to types of political strategies that aim to mobilise and organise society, groups and individuals in particular directions or toward particular aims (Robinson, 2008). Garland (2008) explains that moral panics occur when a particular social aspect or event is posed as a threat to social values or social interests through the media or through government initiatives, which consequently lead the population, groups or individuals to frantically engage in efforts to recover a sense of safety. Moral panic is a strategy that leads to social action, and for this reason moral panics have been considered highly productive political strategies because they "have repeatedly given rise to a form of reactive state-building that is of major importance" (Garland, 2008, p. 16).

Moral panics relating specifically to children are often legitimated through a focus on their innocence and vulnerability (Robinson, 2008), and tend to focus on the role that children play in "the destiny of the nation" (Rose, 1999, p. 123). Thus, when childhood is perceived as being threatened in any way, it evokes within adults a heightened sense of risk that something as cherished as innocence will be destroyed and that the future of the nation is placed in jeopardy (Garland, 2008; Rose, 1999). These moral panics regarding children, which are espoused in numerous ways, generate a fear within citizens that their own futures will be compromised; therefore compelling citizens to respond and take action as social guardians for children as a means to appease their own fears but also to contribute to nation-building (Garland, 2008). To this end, Rose (1999, p. 123) states that the moral panic surrounding childhood in liberal societies is the principal driver of "innumerable projects that purport to safeguard [children] from physical, sexual or moral danger, to ensure [children's] 'normal' development [and] to actively promote certain capacities".

The South African government has especially promoted initiatives related to children by stating as their rationale, that the future of the country depends on the protection of the welfare of the younger generation (The Presidency, 2009). Moreover, the grants and acts centred on childhood, and the commitment to the Convention on the Rights of the Child all draw on constructions of children as innocent and vulnerable, and present children as being in greater need than adults for protection and intervention. The warning for South African

citizens, advocated through these political strategies, is that if the welfare of children is not protected it will result in detrimental future outcomes for society at large. Thus, in the process of making meaning of their volunteering, it may be that participants engaged in negotiations with moral panics legitimated through the construction of the child as existing within a sacred age of innocence, which additionally portrays children as being in a constant state of threat and need for protection. Ultimately, participants believe that through the protection of the child, the protection of the self and of the future nation can also be achieved. This negotiation with broader socio-political constructions of children may go some way to explain how participants perceived their volunteering among children as more valuable than volunteering among adults; and more specifically, how children were seen as being in a greater need for volunteering intervention than adults.

It is interesting to note that when participants spoke of intervening among children, they did not differentiate the children according to race or gender. Instead, children were spoken of as a group in need of equal amounts of intervention regardless of the race or gender of the child. In this regard Gittins (2009) stated that even though children are not all considered equal; that is, that even though boy children and girl children, white children or black children do not all share the same rights in various contexts world over; the construction of childhood as something separate from adulthood has been a significant factor in unifying all children under the banner of childhood. Indeed, Gittins stated that the historical construction of childhood has meant that the term 'childhood' itself "suggests all childhoods are equal, universal and in some way fundamentally identical" (2009, p. 45). It seems then, that the widespread constructions of children as innocent, vulnerable and at-risk are so powerful that they prevent the disaggregation of children by race or gender; such that when making meaning of volunteering among children, participants do not create a hierarchy of needs according to the race or gender of the child. Rather, it appeared that participants viewed all children as equally crucial intervention points for the protection of the future of society.

4.2.2. A greater impact: Volunteering with children is perceived as being more profitable in the long term than volunteering amongst adults

Not only were children seen as more vulnerable, and therefore in greater need for assistance and protection from volunteers; participants additionally held that volunteering with children was able to have a greater impact on the future, when compared to volunteer work with

adults. Therefore, the second way participants understood their volunteering among children to be more profitable than volunteering among adults, was because participants held that volunteering among children would have a greater future impact on the children themselves, and also on society as a whole. The impact of volunteering with children was predominantly perceived as occurring in two ways; firstly through the facilitation of the healthy development of adults; and secondly through the creation of a healthier society in the long-run.

4.2.2.1. The making of adults: Volunteering with children influences the future adult

Participants seemed to understand that through their volunteering they could facilitate the healthy development of the child; that is to say, that participants held that their role as volunteers was central to the formation of healthy adults. To this end, volunteering in the childhood years was considered the most crucial time for intervention, specifically because it was able to be more profitable in the long-term compared volunteering among adults. For example, when participant 1 was asked why she had chosen to volunteer amongst children, she replied by stating:

> Um, children are just the most precious part of, I think, of society; and I think the child is so important. It's so important to invest in a child's life because that framework, that foundation of a child's life determines the rest of the child's life. And, the most, childhood is the most crucial time in a child's life, and so, um, I'd rather volunteer with a child than with an adult (Participant 1).

The idea that childhood was the most "crucial" point for intervention was seemingly supplemented with participants' additional perception that adults were less likely to change, and therefore less likely to benefit from volunteer intervention. In this way childhood was not only seen as the most crucial point of intervention in terms of development, it was also understood by participants as the *only* time when *any* change could occur. Volunteering among adults was seen as futile because participants held that they were not likely to produce any meaningful differences in the lives of those adults receiving the volunteer services; or in society as a whole.

> And that's one thing that I believe, um, is that adults you, you still… You can help them but they still want to live their own life. They want to make their own decisions. With a kid you can still mould them into believing that they can do this. For adults I think a lot of people think it's too late (Participant 6).

> I think with children there's like a, like a really important time that you can just get them and make it okay; do you know what I mean? Like […] Like a, sort of like a cut-off where if you could just get them now, if you could just be with them now, work through their therapy, give them skills, it would make their life better; whereas like sometimes with adults, it seems like it's a lost cause (Participant 2).

Similarly, when participant 5 had made known that she used to volunteer in a home for the elderly, this lead to an exploration of the difference in the volunteer work with adults and children. Through this exploration, participant 5 revealed that volunteering with children was more meaningful because there was still potential to alter the future of the child. Altering the future of the adult; or making any meaningful differences in the lives of adults; seemed less likely.

> Children are also willing to shift and change. You know, like you'll introduce things to children when you're working with them, and children will take it on board and go OK, we'll shift with that. The children are quite open to things in a way that older people aren't, so sort of working with old people is very different. They're at the end of their lives, some of them are quite jaded, um, there's not a lot of flexibly in their thinking, um, […] They're sort of at the point in their lives, I've seen it, I've done it, you know […] Um, in some ways maybe I chose children because I felt like I could do more with children than I could with the aged, um, so it felt like there was a lot more to accomplish. They still have their whole lives ahead of them, that if you could intervene at this point, um, you could create meaningful changes over their lifespan (Participant 5).

The reason that participants appeared to focus on childhood as the most crucial time for intervention; and ultimately the reason that participants seemed to have a sense of urgency in their focus on childhood, was because children represented a future ideal which adults did not seem to. If children were the target for intervention, there was greater potential to make a meaningful difference in their lives and their development, and additionally in that of the country as a whole. Focusing on children through volunteering was therefore understood to have a greater impact than a focus on adults, because children were seen as having more future potential.

> I just think, you know, I mean, they [children] are unbelievably vulnerable, um, but they do have potential. You know, kids, they've got their whole lives sort of ahead of them, and I think if they have good experiences, and good sort of moments, they really can go on to achieve fantastic things. Um, I mean, they really are our futures. As clichéd as that is. But they really are. And, I mean, they still sort of hold that key to their own destiny, um, which is why I like working with them, because I, I don't want to have that sense that somebody has sort of broken them to the degree that they feel that they don't have control of the futures that they want for themselves. So that if they can at least get the resources they need to sort of heal, at least enough that they can then reclaim the sort of future (Participant 4).

The focus on childhood as a crucial point for volunteer intervention, and the understanding that this was the only time in the lifespan where significant change was possible, meant that a focus on children was more profitable for the future than volunteering aimed at addressing the needs of adults. Here, participants held that their volunteering would be able to go some way toward the creation of healthy adults, such that childhood represented the target area of greater potential and worth. The making of healthy adults for participants, while important, gains greater significance in the exploration of the concomitant idea of children as future citizens and the health of future society; which is presented in the discussion below.

4.2.2.2. The making of society: Volunteering with children influences future society

While participants held that volunteering among children was able to have the long-term impact of creating healthy adults; the creation of healthy adults was not simply perceived as an end in itself; rather, the creation of healthy adults was a means to further the creation of a healthier South African society overall. A focus on children rather than adults thus meant that healthier adults could be produced; and that healthier adults, in turn, would go some way to secure the overall health of society. The health of children was therefore perceived by participants as central to the future of society in general; and in this way, a more valuable target for intervention than adults.

> I'd rather volunteer with a child than with an adult […] Um, I think there's such a great injustice to children because people don't listen to them. And you're creating a ripple effect, a cycle, you don't listen to children, and then children become this and then they start leaving families because they didn't have a good childhood. And it's just a ripple effect. So there has to be a stop, there has to be a setting of a new foundation. And people need to ride up, like myself, stand in the gap and help. I don't know, help stop the bad cycle because eventually how families start running is how society starts running, and how this whole nation starts running; and everything grows in the home (Participant 1).

> Well, I just think seeing as how they [children] are our future, you know, if we send broken people out there, our societies are only going to sort of break further, you know, if the social problems are going to sort of degenerate so much further, where if we can sort of work with kids, and we can try and heal them as far as possible, then obviously the potential for pathology is less, um, and we don't want that pathology to sort of like seep into our society too pervasively. So, ja, I think if kids can be given resources and the sense of empowerment that they need, society will improve, and hopefully one day we'll be able to break the cycle that is just spiralling out of control at the moment (Participant 4).

It has been argued that participants' understanding of their selection of children as a more important population to intervene with, compared to adults, may have been persuaded through strategies of moral panic, which frame innocent and vulnerable children as existing in a perpetual state of risk (Meyer, 2007), but also as the future of the nation (Rose, 1999). In response to the moral panics, citizens begin to engage in numerous interventions aimed at securing the protection of children as a means to secure the future of the state. While it is apparent here that participants have selected children as a means to secure the welfare of future society; they have specifically understood that the means of ensuring that welfare is obtained through the facilitation of the healthy development of adults. Improving the health of children is therefore a central feature in the meaning-making process of participants; and in this way, moral panics regarding children could be considered as condensed biopolitical strategies which prioritise the health of children.

Biopolitics is a process in which life and health become the objects of political strategies, and these strategies are generally referred to as a life-oriented (Lemke, 2011). Biopolitics has two dimensions (Lemke, 2011): The first dimension relates to the regulation of the individual body, and includes methods of subjectification whereby individuals work on themselves in the name of personal or collective life, vitality and health (Rainbow & Rose, 2006). The second dimension relates to the regulation of the entire population, and includes methods of intervening on collectives to ensure the life, vitality and health of entire societies (Rainbow & Rose, 2006). Biopolitical strategies always have a very clear political agenda; in that through biopolitical strategies, institutions, groups and individuals direct and shape their behaviour and choices to maximise the continual development and longevity of the state through the optimisation of the health of citizens (Rainbow & Rose, 2006).

When children first began receiving social policies and specific child-rights in the nineteenth century, they increasingly began to be recognized by their future status as adult citizens (Rose, 1999). The recognition of children as future citizens meant that their health would need to be considered equally along with the consideration of the health of the rest of the population (Rose, 1999). The maintenance of the health of children, however, represented a future dimension; such that ensuring the health of the child would not only constitute a biopolitical strategy for the current status of society, but also for the future. Thus, the most effective biopolitical targets in the population were those that could protect the health of children, as this would be a means of ensuring both present health, but also the health for

future generations. The most logical end-point of biopolitical strategies would therefore be focused more on children than they would on adults. Therefore, participants' understanding that their volunteering was a means to secure the health of children and of society, suggests that the second dimension of biopolitical strategies may have been implicated; that is, that participants engaged in intervening on a collective as a means to ensure the health of the collective and of society at large (Rainbow & Rose, 2006). The engagement with biopolitical strategies aimed at increasing the health of children is, however, fuelled by moral panics regarding childhood innocence, vulnerability and the status of the future quality of life for all.

Thus, in summary of this theme, participants prioritised children as the target of their volunteering over adults for two reasons; firstly, the perceived fragility and vulnerability of children which meant that children were perceived as needing more volunteering intervention than adults; and secondly, the belief that volunteering intervention among children would have long-term effects for the healthy adult development of the child and for society as a whole. Volunteering among children was therefore perceived by participants as the most commonsense means of making a significant contribution to society; and in this way is related to the first theme of transformation. While the meanings that participants have ascribed to their volunteering among children reveal that participants genuinely desire to protect children, help children, improve the quality-of-life of children, and contribute significantly to society through targeting children; their meanings of volunteering in this group can be linked to the South African government's prioritisation of children, which could be considered strategies of biopolitical prioritisation which are condensed in the form of moral panics.

4.3. PRIORITSATION OF SEXUAL ABUSE: VOLUNTEERING IN THE CHILD ABUSE SECTOR IS MORE ESSENTIAL THAN VOLUNTEERING IN OTHER SECTORS

The third theme that emerged from the data analysis process related to participants' prioritisation of sexual abuse as the target for their volunteering. This primary theme is comprised of three subthemes, which all revealed that participants perceived their volunteering among sexually abused children, and within the child sexual abuse sector, as more essential than volunteering among other groups of children or in other voluntary sectors. The first subtheme highlighted participants' perception of sexually abused children as the group which required greater amounts of volunteer intervention than other groups of children. The second subtheme related to participants' convictions that their volunteering for child

sexual abuse would go some way toward the prevention of future sexual abuse in South Africa. The third subtheme revealed that participants held that the child sexual abuse sector was a field in greater need for assistance from volunteers than other voluntary sectors. These subthemes are explained and discussed in the sections to follow.

4.3.1. The greatest need: The abused child is in greater need than other children

> But if I had to put a priority of needs, I don't think anything comes close to the needs of a child who's been abused. I think his need is way greater (Participant 1).

It was seen in the previous theme that participants considered children (in general) to be a more valuable target for volunteering intervention than adults. In this subtheme, however, sexually abused children have been separated out from children (in general) and treated as a distinctly different population for volunteering. While participants held that children (in general) were vulnerable and destitute members of society, they additionally held that out of this population the abused child appeared worse off than other children, and therefore out of all other target groups.

> I hadn't put much thought into child abuse. I hadn't been exposed to it, um, very much, except in, kind of, reading articles, you know, and it touched a vulnerability side, that... This is, kind of, like, the most vulnerable of the vulnerable. You know, and if I was going to give of myself, or my time, or away from my family a bit... I don't know, I think that's what appealed to me. It was just such an absolute vulnerable, sort of, people that were in dire need (Participant3).

Participants prioritised sexual abuse as the target for their volunteering because they perceived sexually abused children as "the most vulnerable of the vulnerable" (Participant 3), and this perception was subsequently linked to the idea that sexually abused children required greater voluntary efforts than other children. For example, participant 1 had at one point in the interview stated: "But if I had to put a priority of needs, I don't think anything comes close to the needs of a child who's been abused. I think his need is way greater". Thus, in attempting to make meaning of their volunteering with sexually abused children, participants differentiated the sexually abused child from other children, where the defining distinction for the sexually abused child was the exposure to sexual activity.

As mentioned, one of the dominant constructions of childhood, in contemporary Western societies, is that of innocence (Kehily & Montgomery, 2009). Innocence, with its association

to other constructs such as purity and virtue, is subsequently equated with a lack of sexual knowledge, which itself becomes a key characteristic in the definition of childhood (Meyer, 2007; Robinson, 2008). Even though childhood sexuality is acknowledged, the type of sexuality of the child that is deemed acceptable is primarily non-contact sexuality (Burman, 2008). The innocence of children, and therefore the definition of what it is to be considered a child, is premised on the notions of the absence of sexual activity involving contact with others (Burman, 2008). The lack of this adult form of sexuality, that is sexual activity involving contact with others, often results in the construction of children by adults as 'asexual', albeit not in the strictest sense of the word. Thus, in order to be considered truly a child; to belong to the group of children; and to possess a childhood there must be a lack of contact sexual activity.

The meanings that individuals make of child sexual abuse and the perceptions held of child sexual abuse in Western societies depend largely on the way in which childhood has been constructed (Kehily & Montgomery, 2009). When children and childhood are constructed as predominantly innocent 'asexual' beings, and additionally idealised as such, any sexual activity involving the child is couched in ideas of danger, prohibition, and the potential destruction of childhood (Burman, 2008). Indeed, when children have been exposed to sex or know about sex adults immediately assume that something is wrong (Kehily & Montgomery, 2009). In this way, children must be protected from any and all sexual activity, where Kehily and Montgomery (2009, p. 94) state that "the notion of childhood innocence is closely associated with sexual ignorance and this in itself becomes a rationale for keeping sex away from children". Children who have been exposed to sexual activity have quintessentially lost their innocence and therefore can no longer be considered strictly as children (Burman, 2008). To this end it is clear that "children's sexuality therefore has rarely been seen as unproblematic or uncomplicated and has been regularly policed and controlled by adults" (Kehily & Montgomery, 2009, p. 75).

Exposure to sexual activity in the form of abuse is however different, where Meyer (2007, p. 95) notes that "sexual abuse of children is, on the one hand, interpreted as the end of childhood [y]et on the other hand, sexually abused children continue to be represented as innocent". In this way, sexually abused children are not considered to be children in the idealised form, because they have gained prohibited knowledge associated with adult sexual activity (Burman, 2008), but sexually abused children are also not considered to be adults

because they are still portrayed as vulnerable, dependent, helpless, and somewhat innocent in this sense. Engaging with the construction of children as innocent and asexual, combined with the construction of sexual abuse as that which removes childhood from the child may go some way to explain participants' perception of sexually abused children as a distinct group when compared to other children (in general) and adults. Sexually abused children inhabit a place that is clearly neither for a child nor for an adult, and this may explain why it is that participants' distinguished between the child and the sexually abused child, or other child-related fields and the child sexual abuse sector.

The remainder of this subtheme expands on these introductory ideas surrounding the distinction between the child and the sexually abused child, constructions of innocence, and the 'danger' or 'damage' caused by contact sexual activity. In particular, this subtheme explores how it is that these introductory ideas influenced participants' meaning of sexually abused children as existing within a greater state of need than other children. Participants appeared to see the sexually abused child as being in greater need than other children because they had incurred more harm and injustice than other children.

4.3.1.1. Greatest harm: Abused children are more damaged than other children

The first way that participants viewed sexually abused children as having a greater need for voluntary services than other children was because participants appeared to see the sexually abused child as having incurred greater amounts of harm and damage than other children who may need or receive voluntary services. Particularly, participants saw child sexual abuse as more damaging to children than other kinds of child-related social problems. In this way, the sexually abused child was considered as a part of a distinct group, with a distinct need that volunteers considered more essential to address. This was revealed when participants compared volunteering in other child-related sectors (working with children with AIDS, street-children, abandoned children and so forth), to volunteering in the child sexual abuse sector.

> Um, I think, in your mind, as a volunteer, an AIDS orphan, or a, um, an abandoned baby, is quite an easier concept to put together, than a child who's been sexually violated, because it's... It's something so against everything that humans accept as okay. It's sexually harming a child. You know, even physical abuse on a child is, it's more manageable on your mind […] And I think those [sexually abused children]... They will be more damaged for life, for longer

> term than you would imagine. There'd be more pain inside for them, than there would be for perhaps an abandoned baby, or an AIDS baby (Participant 3).

> And like the child who's abandoned, you know, like, and they're now in a home and being taken care of, it's like a nice story; do you know what I mean? Like, you know, they were abandoned, their mother is terrible, but here they are and it's, the child is smiling and happy and he's really chubby and like, you know, it's a nice story, whereas like at Teddy Bear, there's this child who's been sexually abused and […]it's not like a happy ending. You know, the child has so much to live with now because of this (Participant 2).

In essence, participants perceived the sexually abused child as suffering to a greater extent than other children who may need or be receiving volunteer services, and thus, the sexually abused child was thought to require greater amounts of volunteer services than other children. Participants, who all demonstrated a deep concern for sexually abused children throughout the interview process, truly felt that it was logical for them to give of themselves in the service of sexually abused children, who represented the area of greatest need. In making this meaning it could be that participants had drawn on the construction of children as innocent, which additionally comes to define children as 'asexual' (Meyer, 2007). This innocence, which is now equated with sexual immaturity (Robinson, 2008), has however been conflated with vulnerability (Meyer, 2007), such that children are not only seen as existing in a general state of risk, it creates the added perception that children are at the greatest risk in the face of the threat of sexual danger (Burman, 2008). This is because contact sexual experiences in childhood are considered to remove the innocence from the child, or to remove the very thing which has come to make the child the child; where the "rhetoric of the loss or destruction of childhood is a powerful one, suggesting irreparable damage" (Meyer, 2007, p. 94). Children thus need to be protected from sexual experiences at all cost or the child will be "damaged for life" (Participant 3). This would go some way to explain why it is that participants may perceive the sexually abused child as having "more pain inside" (Participant 3), or being more "damaged" than other children, because other children, although suffering and in need, still have their childhood intact, which is not considered the case for the sexually abused child.

Participants' engagement with the constructions of children as innocent, vulnerable and asexual, coupled with the belief that all sexual activity involving children was dangerous and damaging, may go some way to explain how participants eventually came to perceive the sexually abused child as incurring more harm than other children. One must ask, however, how this particular perception of sexually abused children (as more damaged than other children), shaped participants' meaning-making in such a way that they viewed volunteering

among this distinct group of children as *more* essential. This points one to again consider the notions of moral panic. As previously mentioned, moral panics focusing on children will highlight the potential risks to their innocence, and result in social action aimed at protecting children from harm as a means to secure the safety of future society (Robinson, 2008). If innocence was threatened in any way, it would call forth any and all social intervention as a means to ensure that the ideal childhood and the future of society remain protected (Brown, 2004). While this explains the reason children are often considered a more important focus for interventions when compared to adults, it is also able to explain why the sexually abused child is highlighted as a more important point of intervention when compared to other children.

If innocence is the hallmark of childhood, and is itself related to non-contact sexuality, then moral panics regarding children will often consider the greatest threat to children to be that of *possible* sexual abuse; that is to say that *all* children are considered vulnerable to being potentially abused (Robinson, 2008). Sexual abuse presents as the greatest threat to children because nothing else could remove innocence from a child the way that abusive sexual activity could (Meyer, 2007). Moreover, it has already been shown in the previous theme that children were considered essential targets for intervention because they were believed to impact on the future development of adults that ultimately make up the future society. Therefore, children who have already been sexually abused come to represent the realisation of the greatest threat, not merely the presence of a potential threat. The awareness that the loss of innocence, and of childhood, is no longer merely a potential threat but is an actuality, heightens the sense of social insecurity and risk in general society, more so than other child-related problems, and results in numerous social efforts to regain a sense of safety for the future (Garland, 2008). Sexually abused children, who are seen as the source of the threat, subsequently become the site for the greatest amount of social intervention, because this group of children are seen as holding the greatest leverage over the future of society (Robinson, 2008). Indeed, it may be that the sexually abused child is in no greater need than other children facing other social problems; yet the threat to society posed by the sexually abused child may make the child appear to be a more crucial point of intervention compared to other children.

Thus, in making meaning of their volunteering, it may be that participants negotiated their personal concern for the sexually abused child with moral panics related to childhood innocence and threats of sexual exposure, resulting in the perception that sexually abused

children possessed greater risk for adult development and the healthy development of society. They would therefore require more volunteering intervention than other children. In addition, sexually abused children represent the group of children who have had the protective attempts aimed at them fail. Thus, when compared to other children, sexually abused children represent the group who have incurred the harm they were meant to be protected from, and therefore are seen as being in greater need for further protection. This too would result in greater intervention efforts aimed at sexually abused children over other children, and may go some way to explain how participants negotiated the meaning they made that sexually abused children were in greater need than other children.

4.3.1.2. Greatest injustice: Abused children experience greater amounts of injustice than other children

The second way that participants seemed to understand the sexually abused child as having a greater need for volunteer services, compared to other children, was through their perception that the sexually abused child experienced the most injustice. Justice is generally considered as the means of ensuring that wrongdoing is acknowledged, that wrongdoers are identified, and that consequences ensue for wrongdoers; and in this way injustice is seen as the inadequate handling of wrongdoing and wrongdoers (Green, 2006). Throughout the interview process it appeared that participants become highly frustrated when speaking of the child justice system in relation to their volunteering at the Teddy Bear Clinic for Abused Children, and that their frustration was rooted in desires to see retribution for the sexually abused child. Participants additionally held that as a result of the greater amounts of injustice, sexually abused children were not seeing their rights realised.

> And also, you know, I think working with the legal system so strongly, you know, you constantly sort of feel the frustration of, this guy shouldn't be walking, and he is, because of [a] stupid little technicality. And that, you know, so often it feels like the law works against us […] Why is this not in favour of the children? So there is just that sort of frustration (Participant 4).

> [T]here is a gap between theory and reality, in like a child abuse case. The law says that they have these rights blah blah blah, but then, um, the law is not enforced and there's this huge gap between theory and reality (Participant 1).

In light of participants desires to see justice realised for sexually abused children, volunteering represented the means by which abused children could be empowered and child

justice could be promoted. Volunteers believed that their volunteering could fill "the huge gap between theory and reality" (Participant1) regarding justice for sexually abused children. This was perceived as particularly possible at the Teddy Bear Clinic for Abused Children, as one of the programmes at the organisation deals specifically with court preparation for sexually abused children (The Kids Court Support Programme). All the participants within this research were drawn from the Kids Court Support Programme, and thus all had some knowledge and experiences of helping sexually abused children prepare for the court process. Ultimately, because participants held that they could advocate on behalf of the most disempowered group, they assumed that their volunteering among this particular group of children was more useful than volunteering among other groups of children:

> It's one thing to help out a different institution but you can't really do much for them except support whereas here [at the Teddy Bear Clinic] we could do something. You know, you could be hands-on, you could prepare and you could empower them and there could be a positive outcome […] Court is intimidating, you know, and if you could prepare them for the court that they can be confident the day they've been to the courtroom, I mean, that's a huge, huge step in the right direction, even if there is not a conviction […] I knew that I wanted to do something to help them, which at other institutions, you can help out at an orphanage but you can't adopt a kid […] But if you go to the Teddy Bear Clinic, you can't take away that they've been raped or molested or anything but you can help them get through it and help them for court so there's a little bit more of an outcome (Participant 6).

Green (2006) states that when people speak of the concept of justice in relation to the sexually abused child, they tend to draw on constructions of childhood innocence, vulnerability and damage when making meaning of what should happen to wrongdoers, what consequences there should be for wrongdoing, and what should happen to those who have been wronged. In particular, the beliefs in childhood innocence and the "misconceptions about child asexuality have resulted in abused children or 'sexual' children being seen as 'damaged goods' and no longer as children" (Green, 2006, p. 83). The loss of cherished childhood, and the irreparable damage associated with it (Meyer, 2007) often result in sexual crimes against children to be constructed as the most atrocious crimes. In this regard, Meyer (2007, p. 97) notes:

> "But child sexual abuse becomes 'worse' than, say, child physical abuse or sexual abuse of adults because it additionally violates children in a metaphysical way. It 'destroys' their childhood, their beings as a child, by affecting the essence of childhood, asexuality".

Parallel to this construction of sexual crimes as the worst sorts of crimes on children, is the idea that those children who have been sexually violated have incurred the most injustice, and

that greater efforts at securing their future justice are required (Green, 2006). To this end, Green (2006) states that the concept of justice is often extended when considered in the context of child sexual abuse, such that the term no longer simply refers to the reactive, ameliorative and investigative forms of legal justice, but that "justice should involve trying to prevent sexual abuse initially occurring, by society using any effective strategies it has to address the problem" (p. 79). It is clear from the excerpts that participants desired more to be done for the sexually abused children they engaged with through their volunteering, and were frustrated at the lack of justice sexually abused children were experiencing. Thus, in coming to the understanding that sexually abused children were experiencing greater amounts of injustice, participants' views of justice may have been shaped by the constructions of children and childhood in modern Western society.

The reason participants held that greater amounts of injustice would leave sexually abused children in greater need for intervention, may again relate to notions of moral panic. Here, however, in a discussion on justice, it is not only the sexual abuse of children which creates the widespread fears for the future of society, but the response to the sexual abuse of children is also implicated: What would it say about society if the worst crime was not adequately dealt with? What would this lack of care for the retribution of children mean for the future of the country? What would failures in the justice system mean for one's own retribution if they themselves were wronged? These are some of the questions which may be aroused in society when contemplating issues of justice and child sexual abuse; and especially because "modern society sees the treatment of children, its vulnerable members, as symbolic of the social order and indicative of its moral state" (Meyer, 2007, p. 100). When sexually abused children are perceived as receiving less justice than they are thought to deserve, this heightens the sense of panic, and results in reactive interventions and strategies to reduce the feelings of threat (Garland, 2008). This may go some way to explain the extension of the concept of justice to include preventative efforts when spoken of in the context of childhood sexual abuse, and may additionally explain why participants perceive their volunteering as a form of social justice; or why participants perceive the sexually abused child as being in greater need for voluntary services because of their perceived lack of justice.

Thus in summary of this first subtheme, sexually abused children have been set apart from all other children, and considered by participants to be in greater need for voluntary services than other children. Participants held that sexually abused children would be in greater need when

compared to other children for two primary reasons: Firstly, participants appeared to understand that the sexually abused child needed more voluntary services because the sexually abused child would be more damaged and harmed than other children. The constructions of children as innocent and vulnerable combined with the construction of sexual activity involving children to be that which removes the state of innocence from the child, means that children are believed to be in a perpetual state of risk against sexual harm. Sexually abused children additionally pose a threat to the health of the future of South African society. In this way, constructions of children, sexuality and sexually abused children intersect with biopolitical moral panics which result in beliefs that sexually abused children need more focus or intervention than other children. Secondly, sexually abused children are believed to need more volunteering because they have been exposed to what is constructed as the worst of all crimes (sexual acts against children), and therefore have experienced greater amounts of injustice compared to other children.

4.3.2. Prevention: Volunteering in the child sexual abuse field is a way of preventing future abuse in society

The second reason that participants held that the sexually abused child and child sexual abuse should be prioritised above other children and sectors was because participants held that their volunteering among sexually abused children, and in the child sexual abuse field, would go some way to prevent future sexual abuse in broader society. Preventing future abuse in society through volunteering links back to the first major theme, whereby volunteering was perceived to be able to assist in the transformation of the future of South Africa. Indeed, this theme also relates back to the second theme whereby participants believed that volunteering among children would have a greater impact because of the effect it would have on the developing adult, and subsequently a developing nation. To this end participants held that volunteering among sexually abused children would impact on the healthy sexual practices of the adult, and in turn the health of future South African society.

It is important to note here that majority of the participants (5 out of 6) were trained or training psychologists, and thus had been exposed to much psychological literature regarding the future consequences of child sexual abuse. This literature is important in that it implicates the framing and construction of the child, childhood, childhood sexuality and the

consequences of childhood sexual activity. Participants' psychological knowledge therefore informed much of the meaning they made of their volunteering in this regard.

> Well, I just think, you know, in terms of the theory, if we look at that sort of broken trust, and how that then plays out in relationships and patterns of relationships and how often the abused becomes the abuser, um, you know, working with them, if we can stop them from potentially abusing somebody else in future, already, um, a more positive future. So just to sort of break that, that cycle (Participant 4).

> I suppose that the statistics actually do show that if you have been abused, there's a very, very good possibility that you can become an abuser, that you can become a perpetrator […]Um, or you become promiscuous and that often leads to STD's and pregnancies, early pregnancies, you know, or you, um, become an abuser. So, the possibility is there […] Um, you know, if you yourself have gone through the process, even if you're a little older maybe even, you can deal with it but then you've got to have to work through it. I think if you… if you do, then the impact on society is one less perpetrator. If you do go through it, I mean, the, the process, you… as well as the perpetrator it's one more functioning adult with a healthy relationship and that, of course, will have huge benefits for society. If you don't, then there's a possibility that you can become a perpetrator (Participant 6).

It seems therefore that participants target and prioritise sexually abused children and the child sexual abuse field because there is a desire to ensure that sexual abuse does not occur in the future, and in this way secure the sexual health of both individual children and of collective societies; where volunteering targeting sexual abuse is able to generate "one more functioning adult with a healthy relationship" (Participant 6). This meaning resonates with biopolitical strategies, which as explained, refer to state strategies targeting the "life, growth and flourishing of their populations" (Lee & Motzkau, 2011, p. 9). With regard to biopolitics, it has already been argued that children in general are considered the most logical end point for biopolitical strategies, primarily because a focus on children is able to ensure the health of the present and of the future society (Rose, 1999). Biopolitical strategies have two domains, the individual and the collective, and sexuality represents the intersection of these two domains, as it concerns both individual health, but also population growth and vitality (Lemke, 2011).

If children are the most logical end point for biopolitical strategies, and biopolitical strategies focused on sexuality are able to address both the individual and the collective domains; it stands to reason then that biopolitical strategies aimed at increasing the sexual health of children is the ultimate aim for increasing and protecting the health of both the present and future society. The psychological literature regarding the health consequences of childhood sexual abuse, for both children and for societies, may be constituted as biopolitical rhetoric.

Through engagement with this particular literature, participants may have been personally guided to target the child who has been sexually abused in order to most effectively secure the health of society at large. Thus, the specific meanings made in relation to targeting children who have been sexually abused, may have been negotiated with a host of biopolitical strategies, in the form of psychological literature, and essentially result in the idea that sexually abused children should be prioritised as a means to contribute to and protect the health of South Africa in the future.

This theme additionally highlights the way in which biopolitical moral panics draw on the construction of children as innocent and vulnerable, as well as the construction of childhood sexuality as dangerous and damaging, to legitimize extensive surveillance over children, childhood and sexual practices. As mentioned, although childhood sexuality is not completely denied, it is for the most part considered to be something dormant and benign existing with innocent children. Egan and Hawkes (2008) state, however, that there is a related construction of childhood sexuality among the modern Western world that dictates that once children's innate and benign sexuality has been ignited, this childhood sexuality is constructed as something dangerous, pathological and seriously risky for the remainder of society. To this end, any early childhood sexuality that ignites a dormant and harmless sexuality within an innocent child is framed as an epidemic that once activated will hold serious threats for the health of adult sexuality and that of society as a whole. Any sexual act involving children therefore becomes "emblematic of the anxieties surrounding larger social instabilities and the need to bring them under control" (Egan & Hawkes, 2008, p. 359).

The particular construction of childhood sexuality as something pathological and dangerous to the health of adults and future society legitimates state-wide intervention and surveillance for children 'at risk'. In this way, any activity that is aimed at controlling or regulating childhood sexuality, such that it is prevented from becoming something dangerous in adulthood or threatening to society, is condoned as something not only important but morally essential (Egan & Hawkes, 2008). Participants appeared to agree with the construction that childhood sexuality prematurely ignited would inevitably lead to something dangerous when they speak of the possibility of sexually abused children becoming adult perpetrators or sexually promiscuous adults. Participants would therefore also believe that childhood sexuality should be carefully regulated and controlled such that the health of future adults and society are protected. Framing volunteering among sexually abused children as an act of

prevention might be considered as a legitimate form of surveillance over childhood sexuality based on biopolitical moral panics.

4.3.3. A field in need: The child abuse sector is in greater need than other sectors

In the two subthemes above, participants prioritised the sexually abused *child* as the target for volunteer services. In this final subtheme, participants prioritised the *field* of child sexual abuse, considering it more important to volunteer in the sexual abuse sector than in other sectors because participants perceived the entire field of child sexual abuse as in need of greater volunteer services than other fields. Participants explained the greater need in the child abuse sector in two interrelated ways; firstly, by stating that the child sexual abuse field was perceived as the worst field, and secondly by stating that as a result of the perception of the field as the worst field, it was largely avoided resulting in the field's neglect. Both these ideas are explored further below.

4.3.3.1. Perceived as the worst: Child sexual abuse is the worst social problem

The way in which participants spoke of childhood sexual abuse revealed that they perceived it as the worst kind of social problem currently in existence. A number of participants had mentioned that in their minds child sexual abuse was so utterly terrible that it had rendered it inconceivable. Thus, when these participants first began to volunteer at the Teddy Bear Clinic for Abused Children, they had expressed that they were shocked by the reality of the abuse.

> And, I mean, some things you hear where, um, parents have done certain things to their children, and you think, never, never, it can't be true. What you think, oh no way, not in this world; and then, meeting the real people, a bit, like, slams you right back, and it's not just one person, it's five, you know…(Participant 3).

Moreover, the perception that the child sexual abuse sector was the worst, most uncomfortable or challenging sector was revealed when participants spoke of why they thought other people chose to volunteer in different areas and not the child sexual abuse field. The perception of the horrific nature of child sexual abuse meant that people were perceived as not wanting to enter into that field of volunteer work, as explained by both participant 2 and 4:

> Like no-one wants to go near it or touch it or speak about it because it's such an "uh" area […] I think because it scares them and I think because it's really hard, like you don't want those kinds of thoughts in your head, those kinds of, I think it's really hard to sit with that. It's so uncomfortable (Participant 2).

> I think just, that comes down to not wanting to fully grapple with the concept of child abuse, and how these sort of vulnerable kids […] could be so brutally violated. I think being a little child, and knowing that they're no longer innocent and that they're no longer able to sort of play as free and, um, and have fun with maybe their sort of little… other friends, I think it's hard for people to see. I think it's so in your face that this is what society is like. That society would harm something like that that is that precious. Um, I think it's really hard to actually look at that, and go, well, this is the kind of society I'm living in (Participant 4).

Evidence does indeed suggest that the sexual abuse of children has dramatic negative outcomes that are long-lasting (Andrews et al., 2004; Carey et al., 2008; Springer et al., 2003), and to this end there is no doubt that the sexual violation of a child against their will is objectively appalling. It is, however, only under certain historical conditions, and in light of certain dominant constructions of children and childhood, that childhood sexual abuse would be privileged above other social ills. The meanings that participants make of the child sexual abuse field will largely depend on the perception of child sexual abuse, which is itself dependent on the construction of children (Kehily & Montgomery, 2009). Alongside the dominant construction of children as innately innocent, vulnerable, and 'asexual' (Burman, 2008; Robinson, 2008), Meyer (2007) additionally states that there has been a move toward the sacralisation of the child, where children are frequently considered as sacrosanct and imbued with "religious and sentimental meanings" (p. 96). It is the sacralisation of the child which results in sexual abuse of the child to be considered the worst or most morally reprehensible action (Meyer, 2007). The field of child sexual abuse then becomes associated with a host of negative meanings and social representations orbiting the perceptions of child sexual abuse; ultimately generating a perception that the child sexual abuse sector is the worst, most damaging or dangerous field to be volunteering within.

Therefore, when making meaning of their volunteering in the child sexual abuse field participants may have drawn on dominant social constructions of innocent sacred children, ultimately resulting in a perception of child sexual abuse as the worst crime. This perception of child sexual abuse may go some way to explain how participants understood the child sexual abuse field as the worst field. The negative perception of the child sexual abuse field is directly related to the following subtheme, where participants held that people often avoided volunteering within the child sexual abuse field.

4.3.3.2. A neglected field: The field of child sexual abuse is the most neglected

> **Interviewer:** Mm-hm and why do you think they don't [volunteer]?
> **Participant 3:** […] Where do you go to volunteer that's not going to hurt you or touch you? […] I don't know if it's a self-protective thing, a little? Volunteering, I think, there's few industries where you can go in, that aren't a bit hectic, or offer some kind of trauma, you know.

The majority of the participants had stated that volunteering in any field was difficult, precarious, "a bit hectic, or offer[ed] some kind of trauma"; and that for this reason most people would choose not to volunteer at all. Participants then added that because child sexual abuse was considered the worst social problem, the field itself was considered the worst field. As a result, not was only volunteering in general avoided, but more so in the child sexual abuse sector. One of the primary reasons that participants stated that the field of sexual abuse was avoided was because they perceived it as being the most emotionally threatening field; that is, people who volunteered within the field were at greater risk for incurring their own emotional pain and harm than if they were to volunteer in other areas.

> I think the emotional outlet is hard. I think working with child abuse […]Um, I remember a friend of mine who was like, oh, she just wants to come and do registration, so all she was doing was putting name tags on the kids and registering them and giving them their sandwiches - so she wasn't actually doing any of the other work. And then she said to me I can't come any more because every child I see here has been raped, she said I just can't deal with that. I was like, what do you mean, you can't deal with that, that's what the work is. So um... so definitely it's emotionally challenging and sometimes in ways I didn't realise (Participant 5).

> People are scared, not of vulnerability, but are scared of being with something they feel they can't handle. Sometimes it touches on something that they've been in. A lot of people say well "why do I want to do child abuse?" and they're like "yoh, that's such a difficult field, why would you want to". But if there's not us doing it, who will? Um, it's safer if you do it in other areas. Um, I say emotionally safer (Participant 1).

It has previously been mentioned that child sexual abuse is often spoken of as a great threat to innocent children, and in this way is closely associated with ideas surrounding danger, trauma, physical and emotional risk (Burman, 2008). When building a perception of the *field* of child sexual abuse, the perception of child sexual abuse in general is implicated; such that, if child sexual abuse is viewed as emotionally dangerous, so too is the field, and if sexual abuse should be avoided, so too should the field be avoided. Making these associations may explain why participants understood people to avoid the field, or why the field was seen as the

most neglected field out of all the voluntary sectors. Participants then additionally felt that the neglect of the child sexual abuse field meant that the field was in greater need for volunteers.

The idea that the child sexual abuse field would require more volunteers than other fields relates back to the two previous subthemes; that is, that sexually abused children require more voluntary assistance than other children, and that addressing sexual abuse would go some way to prevent future abuse in the country. To this end, when making the meaning that the child sexual abuse field would require more voluntary assistance, participants may be drawing on both moral panics regarding the sexually abused child and biopolitical rhetoric relating to the health consequences of not addressing child sexual abuse, respectively. Participants, who perceive the field as neglected, may then come to see the sexually abused child as not receiving the assistance they need, which may consequently lead participants to wonder about the future of the nation and the nation's health. Ultimately, through the negotiation biopolitical moral panics, participants may come to view the child sexual abuse field as one of the most important fields for volunteering for the future of South Africa, and thus, one of the fields in most need for volunteers.

Thus, overall, participants held that volunteering among sexually abused children and within the child sexual abuse field was more important, and therefore prioritised, over volunteering among other children or in other fields. The prioritisation of child sexual abuse was based on participants' perception that abused children were in the greatest need compared to other children; that a focus on child sexual abuse would go some way to prevent future sexual abuse, and that the field of child abuse was in the greatest need compared to all other voluntary sectors. It was apparent in this theme that the defining feature which differentiated other children and other voluntary sectors from the sexually abused child and the field of child sexual abuse, respectively, was the aspect of sexuality. With regard to the construction of children as innately innocent and vulnerable (Meyer, 2007), the concept of sexuality takes on a host of negative associations and perceived consequences for children and for the future of South Africa, especially if there is a failure to address sexual abuse in the childhood years (Burman, 2008). Biopolitical moral panics highlight the importance of childhood sexuality for the future of society, such that when childhood innocence is compromised in any way, it results in intensified efforts and surveillance from civil society aimed at sexually abused children as a means to further the safety and health of future society (Robinson, 2008). Thus, as participants engaged in a process of meaning-making, they may have done so by

negotiating their personal meanings within a matrix of political strategies and constructions; ultimately to make meaning of their volunteering among sexually abused children, and within the sexual abuse field, as more important than other target-specific volunteering.

4.4. VOCATION: VOLUNTEERING WITH ABUSED CHILDREN IS CONSIDERED A CALLING

The final way in which participants seemed to be making meaning of their volunteering was through the opinion that volunteering was a means by which a life-long desire for a particular career could be realised. This theme is understood as consisting firstly of participants' beliefs that they had always known that they wished to, or had been interested in, work involving children, and secondly, that volunteering was central to their chosen career paths. These two understandings will be further explored below.

4.4.1. Purpose: Volunteers have always known that they were meant to work with children

Throughout the data analysis process it was apparent that participants perceived themselves as suitable for work involving children. In effect, participants held that they were capable of working with children, that they had always been good at working with children in the past, and that they had always enjoyed interacting with children in a variety of contexts. Essentially, work involving children had appeared to be a part of participants' self-concept and identity to some degree.

> I think I've always known I wanted to work with kids, um, ever since a kid myself […] I think from a very young age I could meet them; and the connection that I felt with kids, always with a huge protection towards children. Huge. I've never… I could never walk past a child in need. I could never… I was always the one who would go to a new kid in class and introduce myself and make friends[…] I was the kid's kid selected purposely by the teachers because that's just how I am (Participant 6).

In light of the understanding that participants felt that their identity was in some way defined by being skilled at working with children, they had subsequently revealed that they had always thought that they were likely to go into fields where this skill could be utilized. To this end participants stated that they had always known that they wanted to work with children in their professional capacity in the future. What is more, participants did not merely state that

they had known that they *wanted* to work with children in the future, but had implied that they were always *meant* to work with children in the future.

> I knew, going into studying, I wanted to sort of work with, with kids. Um, so then it was sort of natural for me to sort of just gravitate towards the kind of volunteering opportunities that they may access to, um, sort of like the childhood traumas, the different kinds of issues that kids would be facing. Um... The idea was that when I sort of qualified, when I had my practice up and running, I would focus on working with kids[…]So that's why I particularly chose kiddies (Participant 4).

The meaning that participants have made here, regarding their long-standing desire to work with children, may be related to the idealisation of the child in contemporary Western society. The dominant construction of children as innocent, vulnerable and subsequently in a constant state of risk is argued by Meyer (2007) to result in the sacralisation of the child, where the child is given special status and value. Robinson (2008) notes in this regard, that adults are often portrayed as longing after childhood as a means to regain the value they lost when they became adults. The notions of a cherished childhood, which is sacred and in need of constant protection, is notably related to biopolitical moral panics. These, as explained, are political strategies resulting in the self-governance of the population which focus almost exclusively on children through a number of interventions, such that the future health of society may be guaranteed (Rose, 1999). Here, participants may have come to unknowingly accept it as their personal responsibility to care for the future of the nation, such that they selected children when making decisions regarding both their community and occupational activity.

In the process of the creation of self-governing individuals, through the deployment of strategies like moral panics and biopolitical rhetoric, individual objectives align themselves with those of the state (Rose, 1999). Rose (1999, p. 103) additionally explains that the self-governing, responsible, successful individual in modern society has been created to represent "an individual in search of meaning, responsibility, [and] a sense of personal achievement"; such that the very goals and desires of individuals become aligned with those of the state. Here, the subjectively perceived personal goals and desires of individuals, which are believed to be ways in which personal meaning can be achieved, purposes fulfilled and potential reached; merely represent the product of negotiations with political strategies that have successfully resulted in self-governing individuals. In seeking to fulfil their own goals, and their own meanings for their lives individuals are in a process of fulfilling state objectives and performing state functions. In this way, the selection of a vocation, which is understood as a

personal meaning, would simply be another means by which the state is able to govern individual behaviour and populations without direct control (Rose, 1999). Thus, participants' volunteering with children, and their selection of children as the ideal career, may have been informed through negotiations with biopolitical moral panics, where participants have taken on the responsibility of caring for the health of the future of society through their work (both volunteering and career) with children; although, participants understand this not as a response to a political strategy, they understand it to be a means by which their purpose in life can be reached in totality.

4.4.2. Career: Volunteering has been central to career choices

The second way in which participants appeared to make meaning of their volunteering as that which had an impact on their vocational decisions was through the understanding that engaging in volunteering had substantially influenced their careers. The influence of volunteering on the careers of participants could be understood in one of three ways. The first way that volunteering was seen as impacting on the careers of participants was through the provision of a career entry-point; or rather, volunteering represented the means to begin doing the work participants desired to do professionally.

> I think I was just so excited about the process [of becoming a psychologist] and it wasn't going fast enough for me so that's why I started volunteering because, like I wasn't qualified yet and I couldn't help so that was the only thing that I could do, was to volunteer (Participant 2)

> Um, I knew that I wanted to get into Master's [in psychology]. I knew that I wanted certain skills developed, and volunteering offered that (Participant 4).

The second way in which volunteering was described by participants as impacting on their careers, was through the idea that volunteering could enhance their current careers. In particular, participants stated that volunteering had offered participants practical skills acquisition or training. Moreover, participants spoke of volunteering as an activity which had provided them opportunities to grow and continue developing in their own personal professional capacities.

> And I suppose when you're in school there's always stuff to push you, and when you're studying, um […] but once you're sort of working there's not always a lot that does that, whereas my volunteering does that, it makes sure that I'm still reading, I'm still looking, I'm still questioning, I'm still pushing forward (Participant 5).

Not only was volunteering seen as that which was able to provide participants with the opportunity to enter into their chosen career fields, or to enhance their current careers, but the third reason volunteering was understood to impact on career was because it was also seen as the catalyst for the selection of a specific career path. For example, after her first day at the Teddy Bear Clinic for Abused Children, participant 2 had made the comment: "But that's when I decided like I'm, I'm going to, this is what I want to do, like I want to work with people who have been sexually abused". Participants, who had worked in other areas, neither within child-related fields, nor within the psychological field, had decided to change career paths after having begun volunteering.

> **Interviewer:** Mm-hm and how do you think your working with the Teddy Bear Clinic changed you?
> **Participant 3:** Well, I mean, for me completely, it changed my whole career path, completely and utterly. Um, I had worked in, um, in the emergency sector for six years, as well, and I mean, it was just... It just changed me completely. I then started studying at quite a late stage, and started psychology, and ja, I mean it changed me immensely.

It is clear from this theme that participants understood that their volunteering was central to their careers, and majority of the participants had located themselves within the psychological sciences. It would therefore be valuable to understand how psychological careers relate to concepts of governmental strategies and how these and other careers may guide and shape individual behaviour. Rose (1996) essentially states that in the process of governing (where governing refers to any broad activity aimed at shaping and guiding behaviour), there is always a quantum of knowledge, and the knowledge is required in order to make the 'conduct of conduct' intelligible. The existence of bodies of knowledge at hand when governing, result in the formation of expertise, as certain groups or disciplines claim to possess the knowledge seen as valuable for the understanding, predicting and explaining of conduct (Rose, 1996). The formation of expertise is then directly linked to the ability to govern adequately, simply because it allows conduct to be predicted, developed, understood, prevented and explained, and expertise additionally offers the authority to do so (Rose, 1996). To this end, Blackman, Cromby, Hook, Papadopoulous and Walkerdine (2008) state that the emergence of the psychological sciences represented merely another strategy for population management,

where the conduct of the self and of groups could be actively achieved without the full involvement of the state.

In particular, the rise of the mental health movement and the vocations associated with it (such as Psychology), are often considered to be a set of strategies specifically related to acting on the health of populations in order to prevent or reduce social danger (Rose, 1996). This means that managing health risks of people and of broader society has become the responsibility of a set of professionals, rather than that of the state (Rose, 1996). Here, the individuals who select vocations relating to the psychological sciences could potentially be considered as both products of biopolitical strategies, but also producers of biopolitical strategies. That is to say, that when individuals select the vocation of psychology they may have done so in response to a host of biopolitical strategies seeking to ensure the health of individuals and collectives, and through their selection of the vocation of psychology, these individuals become the means by which other biopolitical strategies are espoused. This may go some way to explain why psychology was the vocation of choice for the majority of the participants. This may additionally go some way to explain why it is that through volunteering in a child-related sector, alongside a number of mental health-care workers, that participants would potentially alter their career choices in the direction of the psychological sciences.

It is, however, important to note that not all individuals who volunteer at the Teddy Bear Clinic for Abused Children have a career in psychology. Although psychologists represent the majority, some volunteers are lawyers and police officers by trade. All the vocations of the volunteers are therefore somewhat related to assisting community members, and could be considered as community responses. This relates back to the earlier point made about biopolitical citizenship and the selection of certain activities as a means to become a responsible, active and good citizen of South Africa (Pick et al., 2011). Here, the selection of various vocations aimed at responding to community needs may simply represent that volunteers become community agents who take on government roles both formally and informally. That is to say, that participants have selected volunteering, psychological careers and a career in the legal field as a means to become good active-citizens within South Africa; both through their formal engagement in activities as professionals, and through their informal community involvement at the Teddy Bear Clinic for Abused Children.

Therefore, in summary, participants made meaning of their volunteering as that which was fuelled by a long-standing desire to work with children, and as that which guided career choices predominantly in the direction of psychology. This particular meaning that participants have made of their volunteering among children, and specifically among sexually abused children may have been negotiated with particular biopolitical moral panics which highlight children as the most essential target for any intervention, including in this case vocational intervention. Moreover, vocational choices may simply be the result of the construction of citizenship in biopolitical terms, such that vocational choice may represent the formal means of fulfilling the role of self-governing, responsible and good South African citizens.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION, LIMITATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This research aimed to explore the way in which volunteers in the child abuse services sector in Johannesburg, South Africa, made meaning of their volunteering. Six participants from the Teddy Bear Clinic for Abused Children were interviewed using qualitative semi-structured interviews in order to explore the idiosyncratic ways in which they understood their volunteering in general, their selection of one social priority over others, their selection of children in general, and their selection of the abused child specifically. Thematic Analysis (TA) was used to analyse the verbatim transcripts and four primary themes emerged. The critical inclination of the TA meant that themes were interpreted by examining their synchrony with critical theories of governmentality and biopolitics, in order to explore how the meanings of volunteering may have be influenced by broader socio-political contexts.

The first theme revealed that participants made meaning of their volunteering as that which was able to aid in the transformation process of South Africa. In this regard, participants held that their volunteering was a means of resource and service provision that would go some way toward assisting the development of the country, and that through volunteering in general community sentiment in the country could be fostered. This particular meaning participants have made of their volunteering is notably aligned with the nation-building projects of the South African government, therefore suggesting that socio-political factors may have been implicated in the process of meaning-making. One particular socio-political factor which may have been involved in making meaning in this way is the framing of citizenship in biopolitical terms. Biopolitical citizenship is responsible for the widespread promotion of the active-citizen, which is additionally equated with the good-citizen, and encourages all South Africans to partake in activities aimed at nation-building and the development of the country. Through participants' engagement with these promotional socio-political strategies, which may have resulted in their responsibilzation, participants subsequently engage in a process of self-government and come to select volunteering as an activity and hold that volunteering is a desirable part of their role as good, responsible South African citizens. Moreover, through their responsibilzation and self-regulation, participants not only believe that it is their role as South African citizens to volunteer, but perceive their volunteering to be central to contributory efforts aimed at the betterment of South Africa.

The second theme revealed that the participants felt that volunteering among children was more important than volunteering among adults, specifically because children were seen as having a greater need for volunteering services than adults, and because volunteering among children was deemed to have a greater impact on children by making them into healthier adults and securing the general health of future South Africa. In contemporary Western societies childhood has been constructed on the basis of innocence and vulnerability, and in the process of differentiating children from adults, participants appeared to draw from these dominant constructions of childhood. These constructions of childhood have, however often been used as legitimising tools for other political strategies aimed at assuring that the future health of society is secured. In particular, the construction of children as innocent and vulnerable frames them as existing in a constant state of risk, which additionally threatens the perceived health of the future South Africa. Thus, in the process of making meaning of their selection of children as the general area for their volunteering, participants may have had to negotiate with biopolitical moral panics, which may have consequently influenced them to perceive the child as a more valuable target for volunteering intervention primarily through the acceptance that a focus on children would go some way toward securing the future health of children and therefore of South Africa. It is important to note here that the rhetoric relating to children, and the concomitant biopolitical moral panics, do not seem to disaggregate according to gender and race; which is to say that when seeking to secure the health and surety of the future of South Africa all children are considered equally important targets for intervention.

The third theme revealed that participants prioritised volunteering in the area of sexual abuse. Participants made meaning of their volunteering with sexually abused children as more important than volunteering among other groups of children who may need or receive volunteer services; whereby participants felt that sexually abused children were experiencing the greatest amount of harm and injustice, and for this reason needed volunteer services more than other groups of children. Participants additionally felt that volunteering for child sexual abuse, and among sexually abused children, was more important than volunteering for other sectors or groups of children because they held that through their volunteering they may be able to prevent future abuse in the country. Not only did participants prioritise the sexually abused child, but they also felt that the child sexual abuse sector was in greater need when compared to other voluntary sectors because it was understood to be the most neglected and avoided field, primarily because child sexual abuse was perceived as the most uncomfortable

and dangerous social problem to have to address through volunteering. Here again the contemporary Western construction of children as innocent and vulnerable seemed to be implicated in the meaning-making process of participants, and particularly the way in which the construction of childhood innocence flags childhood non-contact sexuality as central to the definition of what it means to be a child. The construction of children in this way, coupled with the notion that children exist in a perpetual state of risk because of their innocent and vulnerable 'nature', highlights childhood sexual activity involving contact with others as the greatest risk to children, and to society in the long run. Through their engagement with biopolitical moral panics, particularly those biopolitical discourses within psychological literature regarding the future consequences of childhood sexual abuse, participants may have come to perceive the sexual abuse of children as the most dangerous and threatening to the future health of children and to society as a whole. Negotiating these biopolitical moral panics regarding the immense threat of childhood sexual abuse in the process of making meaning of their volunteering among sexually abused children, may go some way to account for participants' selection of the sexually abused child and of the sexual abuse field as more important than other children and other fields as the target of their volunteering. Moreover, it would explain why participants held that volunteering for the prevention of sexual abuse would be important for the optimisation of the future health and functioning of society.

The final theme which emerged from the data revealed that participants made meaning of their volunteering as being central to their vocation, specifically by stating that working with children was something they each had always known they had wanted to do, and that their actual volunteer work had shaped their career paths. The construction of children as innocent and vulnerable is said to result in the sacralisation of children in contemporary modern society, such that children are given a special place and status in modern Western populations. As mentioned, it is the construction of children, and their special status, which is implicated in the legitimization of biopolitical moral panics regarding the central role that children are said to play in the destiny of South Africa. The idealisation of children in broader society and, the moral panics derived from this idealisation, may have influenced the participants' meaning-making of both their selection of children as the target for their volunteering, but also of their belief that they were always meant to work with children in their professional capacity. Moreover, the selection of vocations within the health sciences, which may be understood as merely another form of biopolitical strategies, may further suggest that in the process of

making meaning of their volunteering, participants were influenced by a host of governmentalities.

Thus, participants have made a number of meanings related to their volunteering among abused children in Johannesburg, South Africa, and while these meanings appear to be highly personal, one cannot deny that they are also strongly political. Framing citizenship in biopolitical terms and through government's promotion of the active-citizen as the good-citizen who assists in the nation-building projects within South Africa, participants may have come to accept it as their personal responsibility to engage in volunteering activities, and to understand that their volunteering is central to the transformation of the country. Although this meaning reflects that participants desire to make a meaningful contribution, and believe that their volunteering is one way of achieving this desired goal; it also reflects a process of self-government, where participants have come to internalise the objectives of the South African government such that government is able to achieve these objectives without directly leading or controlling individual behaviour.

Furthermore, through biopolitical moral panics, specifically those relating to government policies which highlight children as the most important member of the population for the future of the country, and psychological literature relating to the health risks regarding the failure to address sexual abuse in the childhood years, seem to be implicated in participants' meanings related to the selection of the child sexual abuse sector. Participants essentially made meaning of their volunteering in the child sexual abuse sector as that which was targeting the most important member of modern society - that is, the child and specifically the sexually abused child - who was perceived as facing the greatest threat - that of sexual danger and the loss of cherished childhood innocence - which was additionally perceived as holding the greatest impact for the future health of South African society. In this way, participants' meanings related to their selection of the child sexual abuse sector as the target of their volunteering, while demonstrating a desire to meet what they perceived as the greatest need through their volunteering, also mirrors biopolitical injunctions to defend a society, as good responsible citizens, in order to optimise the future of South Africa. Therefore, one of the most important synoptic insights offered by this research is that volunteering for the sexually abused child and within the child sexual abuse sector in South Africa could be thought of as the logical outcome of a contemporary intersection between childhood and sexuality, as key biopolitical intervention targets in South Africa.

While this research has gone some way to add to the current modes of theorizing about target-specific volunteering among abused children, there were a number of methodological limitations. Firstly, there were limitations with the sample. The participants for this research were all White females, and majority of them (five out of six) were trained, or training, psychologists. Thus, the sample represented a highly homogenous group and this affected the type of data that was collected. Specifically, the sample homogeneity meant that comparisons between the meaning-making processes at the intersection with race or gender were not fully able to be made, which would have proved highly valuable in a research project such as this. This is because both race and gender represent areas that are both individual while simultaneously socially and politically constructed and would therefore be ideal targets for the exploration of the way in which personal meanings are influenced by socio-political contexts. Secondly, there were limitations in the method of analysis. The data that was collected was analysed by using TA, and while this method of analysis was able to adequately organise the meanings of participants' volunteering into themes, these themes were so well aligned to the emergent social policies and priorities of the South African state that they gravitated to more discourse oriented modes of analysis. In this way the analysis constantly sought to move between understanding the personal meanings of volunteering against governmental biopolitical injunctions to volunteer in the first place. The resultant analysis may therefore read more as a critical thematic analysis; that is sensitive to the discursive matrices in which the participants anchor their own personal meaning systems.

In light of the limitations above, a number of recommendations could be made. Firstly, a project such as this could be extended and broadened in scope. To this end, it may be useful to select different groups of children and volunteers, and to compare the meanings that are made between the variations of target-specific volunteering among children. It might also be useful to select participants who are employed by Non-governmental organisations targeting children and to examine meanings in this way. Secondly, future research projects aiming to extend the current study, could use a stronger discourse analytic frame to analyse the 'talk' of a sample that is sufficiently heterogeneous such that other social characteristics, such as race and gender, and particularly the constructions of childhood, which affect the meaning-making process of volunteers in the child sexual abuse prevention, management and treatment sectors, can be further explored.

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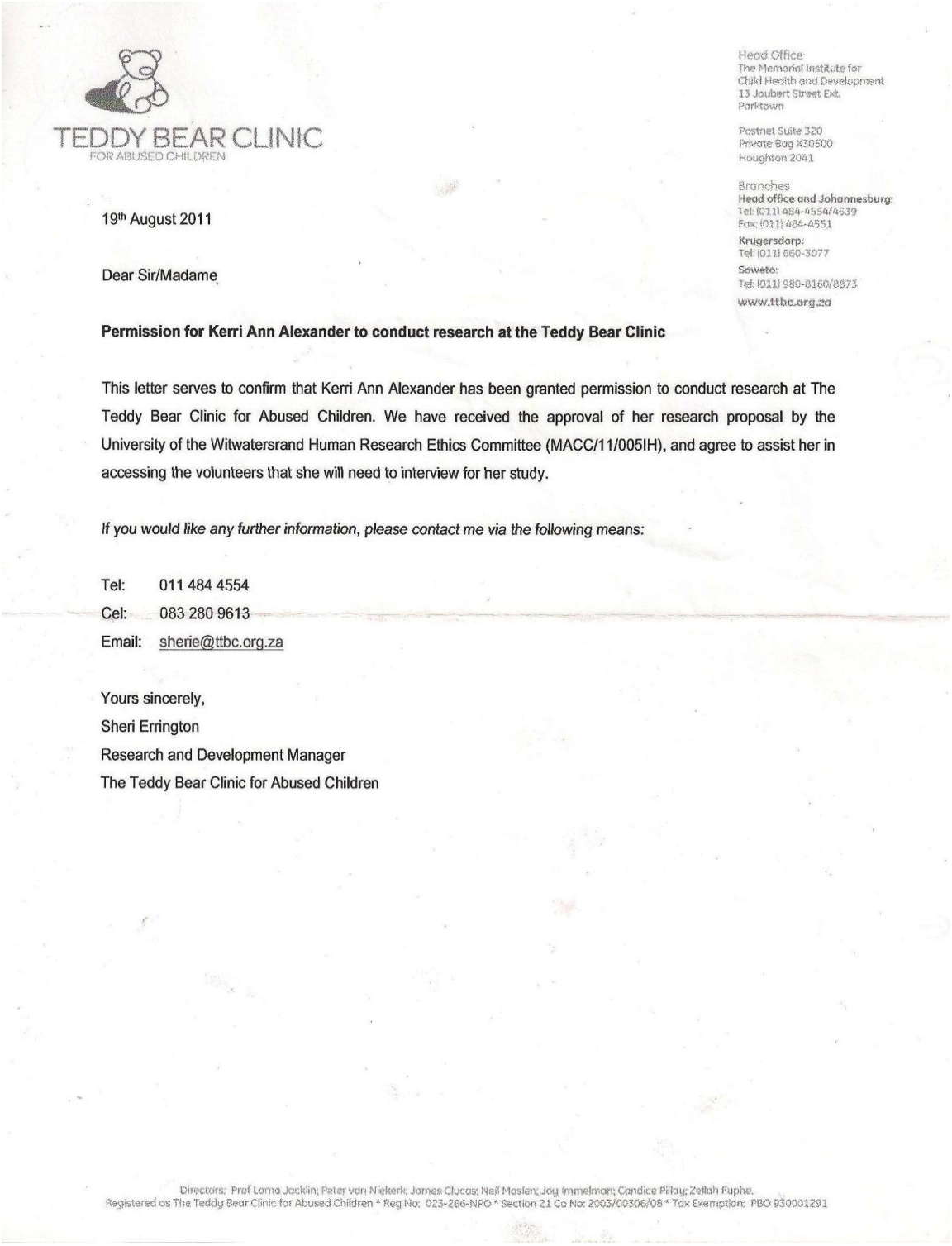
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APPENDICES

7.1. APPENDIX A: PERMISSION FROM THE TEDDY BEAR CLINIC FOR ABUSED CHILDREN



TEDDY BEAR CLINIC
FOR ABUSED CHILDREN

Head Office
The Memorial Institute for
Child Health and Development
13 Joubert Street Ext,
Parktown

Postnet Suite 320
Private Bag X30500
Houghton 2041

Branches
Head office and Johannesburg:
Tel: (011) 484-4554/4539
Fax: (011) 484-4551
Krugersdorp:
Tel: (011) 660-3077
Soweto:
Tel: (011) 980-8160/8873
www.ttbc.org.za

19th August 2011

Dear Sir/Madame

Permission for Kerri Ann Alexander to conduct research at the Teddy Bear Clinic

This letter serves to confirm that Kerri Ann Alexander has been granted permission to conduct research at The Teddy Bear Clinic for Abused Children. We have received the approval of her research proposal by the University of the Witwatersrand Human Research Ethics Committee (MACC/11/005IH), and agree to assist her in accessing the volunteers that she will need to interview for her study.

If you would like any further information, please contact me via the following means:

Tel: 011 484 4554
Cel: 083 280 9613
Email: sherie@ttbc.org.za

Yours sincerely,
Sheri Errington
Research and Development Manager
The Teddy Bear Clinic for Abused Children

Directors: Prof Lorna Jacklin; Peter van Niekerk; James Clucas; Neil Masten; Joy Immelman; Candice Pillay; Zellah Fuphe.
Registered as The Teddy Bear Clinic for Abused Children * Reg No: 023-286-NPO * Section 21 Co No: 2003/00306/08 * Tax Exemption: PBO 930001291

7.2. APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW AGENDA

1. What do you think it means to be a volunteer in South Africa?
2. What was it that first led you to become a volunteer?
3. Why do you think some people have never volunteered?
4. What has the experience of volunteering been for you thus far?
5. What are some of the major social problems that volunteers and volunteer organisations are addressing across the country?
6. How did you decide that you wanted to volunteer in an organisation that works with children?
7. Why do you think some people will volunteer for other social problems but will never work with children?
8. Volunteer work that is done with children is quite varied. Working with abused children is a very specific group of children. How do you think you came to volunteer specifically for abused children in South Africa?
9. Why do you think some people will volunteer with AIDS orphans or street children, but not with abused children?

7.3. APPENDIX C: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET



UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

School of Human and Community Development
Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, Johannesburg, South Africa
Tel: (+27) – 11-717-1000
Email: http://www.wits.ac.za

Hello.

My name is Kerri Ann Alexander, and I am carrying out research as part of my Master's degree in Community-Based Counselling Psychology, at the University of the Witwatersrand.

I am interested in the way that volunteers come to personally understand and make a meaning out of their volunteering behaviour; and specifically how volunteers come to make a meaning out of their volunteer work with abused children. Very little research like this has been done in South Africa, which means that there is still much to be learned within this area. This research is important because organisations may be able to use this information to understand their own volunteers more, and this research will help to understand the way that volunteers' individual factors and social factors combine in a unique way to influence volunteer work.

I would like to invite you to participate in this research. Participation in this research is voluntary, and no volunteer will be advantaged or disadvantaged in any way should you choose to, or choose not to, participate. If you choose to participate in this research, the following is an explanation of what is involved and what might be expected from you:

1. We would decide on a day and time that you would be able to be interviewed.
2. Before the interview you would receive consent forms, which you would sign if you agree.
3. You would then be individually interviewed by me. The list below is some important information for the interviews:
    - The interviews will most probably take place at The Teddy Bear Clinic, unless you request otherwise (The interview date and time will be set up at a later stage).
    - The interviews will last between 1 and 2 hours.
    - I will have set open-ended questions that I will ask you; however, the interview will seem more like a conversation. The questions will be about volunteering in general, volunteering with children, and volunteering with abused children.
    - You can refuse to answer any question you are not comfortable with.
    - If the interview becomes too difficult, we will stop the interview and you will be able to take a break, reschedule the interview or withdraw from the research, without penalty. You will also receive a list of counselling resources.

- If you consent, the interview will be voice recorded. These tapes will be written down word for word. No-one else will have access to these tapes, which will be kept locked away in a cabinet that only I will have access to.
- If you consent, some quotations may be taken from the interview and included in the research report. These quotations will not be able to be linked back to any individual.
- The information from the interviews will remain confidential.
- The interviews are face to face, and therefore there can be no anonymity; however, your name and identifying details will NOT be included in the research report. Each participant will be given a false name.

4. Confidentiality can be guaranteed. All the information from the interview will be kept confidential as it will be locked away in a safe cabinet, and only I will have access to the cabinet. Only my research supervisor and I will see the information. No-one in the Teddy Bear Clinic will have access to the information. Some exact words may be used from the interviews, but these will not be able to be linked back to any one participant. Anonymity cannot be guaranteed, but all personal and identifying details will NOT be used, and your identity will not be revealed.
5. You will have the right to leave the research at any time without penalisation.
6. There are no benefits or risks involved in this research, but if you feel you need counselling a referral list has been provided at the end of this information letter.
7. After the interviews have been studied, the results will be written up in a research report. You will be able to access the report through the University of Witwatersrand's website (http://www.wits.ac.za/library/electronicthesesdissertations.htm), or you could contact me and I will be able to give you a copy of the report.

Your participation in this study would be greatly appreciated. Should you have any questions please feel free to contact me on 083-397-8716 or at kerria@mweb.co.za. You may contact my research supervisor, Prof. Brett Bowman on 011-717-8335 or at brett.bowman@wits.ac.za.

Kind regards

Kerri Ann Alexander

Resource list:

If you feel that the interview left you with worrying thoughts or emotions, please feel free to seek counselling from the following:

1. You may contact the Counselling and Careers developmental Unit (CCDU) on (011) 717-9140/32
2. You may contact Lifeline for free telephonic counselling on 011-728-1347
3. You may contact the South African Depression and Anxiety Group (SADAG) on 0800-12-13-14/0800-70-80-90

7.4. APPENDIX D: INFORMED CONSENT FORM



UNIVERSITY
OF THE
WITWATERSRAND,
JOHANNESBURG

School of Human and Community Development
Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, Johannesburg, South Africa
Tel: (+27) – 11-717-1000
Email: http://www.wits.ac.za

Dear participant

This form is to secure consent to being interviewed for the current research project on the way that volunteers make meaning of their volunteering behaviour. If you agree to take part in this research, please sign the section below:

I, _____, consent to being interviewed by Kerri Ann Alexander for her research project on the meaning making processes of volunteering. I understand that:

- Participation is voluntary
- That I may refuse to answer questions I would prefer not to
- The interview may be stopped and rescheduled if I find it too difficult/uncomfortable to continue
- I may withdraw from the study at any time
- No information that may identify me will be included in the research report, and my responses will remain confidential
- Referral resources have been provided should I feel I need counselling

Signed:_____

7.5. APPENDIX E: CONSENT FORM (RECORDING)



UNIVERSITY
OF THE
WITWATERSRAND,
JOHANNESBURG

School of Human and Community Development
Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, Johannesburg, South Africa
Tel: (+27) – 11-717-1000
Email: http://www.wits.ac.za

Dear participant

This form is to secure consent to the interviews for the current research project on the way that volunteers make meaning of their volunteering to be audio recorded. If you agree to the interviews being audio-recorded, please sign the section below:

I, _____, consent to my interview with Kerri Ann Alexander to be audio-recorded, for her research project on the meaning making processes of volunteering. I understand that:

- The tapes and transcripts will not be seen by any person in this organisation at any time, and will only be processed by the researcher and her supervisor.
- All tape recordings will be destroyed after the research is complete.
- No identifying information will be used in the transcripts or the research report.
- The transcripts may be kept toward further publication of the report, yet will be kept in a locked cabinet that only the research has access to.

Signed:_____

7.6. APPENDIX F: CONSENT TO USE QUOTATIONS



UNIVERSITY
OF THE
WITWATERSRAND,
JOHANNESBURG

School of Human and Community Development
Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, Johannesburg, South Africa
Tel: (+27) – 11-717-1000
Email: http://www.wits.ac.za

Dear participant

This form is to secure consent for the use of direct words/quotations taken from the interview to be used in the research report on the way that volunteers make meaning of their volunteering. If you agree, please sign below:

I, _____, consent to the use of quotations being taken from the interview with Kerri Ann Alexander and placed in her research project on the meaning making processes of volunteering. I understand that:

- These quotations will be used in the final research report
- The quotations will not include any of my identifying information
- The quotations will not be able to be linked back to me personally

Signed: _____

7.7. APPENDIX G: ETHICAL CLEARANCE FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (SCHOOL OF HUMAN & COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER: MACC/11/005 IH**
PROJECT TITLE:	Making meaning out of volunteering in the child abuse services sector in South Africa.
INVESTIGATORS	Alexander Kerri Ann
DEPARTMENT	Psychology
DATE CONSIDERED	23/03/11
DECISION OF COMMITTEE*	Approved

This ethical clearance is valid for 2 years and may be renewed upon application

DATE: 19 May 2011

CHAIRPERSON
(Professor M. Lucas)

cc Supervisor: Prof Brett Bowman
Psychology

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR (S)

To be completed in duplicate and **one copy** returned to the Secretary, Room 100015, 10th floor, Senate House, University.

I/we fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure be contemplated from the research procedure, as approved, I/we undertake to submit a revised protocol to the Committee.

This ethical clearance will expire on 31 December 2013

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER IN ALL ENQUIRIES