

https://dspace.org/

A phenomenological study of the experience of lay counsellors working with victims of abuse

Brodie, John

2016-08-29
http://hdl.handle.net/10539/20962

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

A Phenomenological Study of the Experience of Lay Counsellors Working with Victims of Abuse.

by

John Brodie

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts (Clinical Psychology)

at the

Faculty of Arts

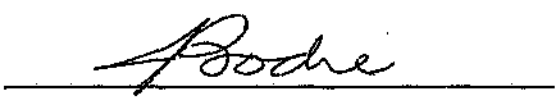
of the

University of the Witwatersrand

Supervisor : Ms Lesley Weiner

Declaration

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. It is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of M A (Clinical Psychology) at the University of the Witwatersrand. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination at any other University.



John Brodie

Date: 16 November 1998

Abstract

This research explored the experience of lay counselors that live in a township and work with victims of abuse from the same township. It sought to gain an understanding of how this context impacts on their work with victims of trauma. It used a phenomenological methodology to structure the interviews and the analysis of the experiences described in the interviews. The research found, in the descriptions the counselors gave of their experiences, that they had extreme difficulty working with victims of trauma. Their difficulty appeared to be particularly related to dealing with the graphic content of the descriptions the victims gave of their experiences and the related intense emotions. A major factor related to the particular context that seemed to impact negatively on their ability to work with victims of trauma was their own feelings of vulnerability to criminal violence. Another factor that was seen as impacting negatively on their ability to function was the lack of access to supervision and ongoing professional support, as few professionals choose to work within this context. It appeared, however, that they generally were coping with the other aspects of their role as counselors, and saw the work as having benefited them personally, by empowering them. Furthermore they saw the work as having a certain existential significance for them, as they saw themselves working for a better future in South Africa. These two factors appeared to counter some of their negative perceptions around the difficulty of the work. The research was able to identify certain problem areas specific to the context and make certain recommendations for further research into lay counselors working within this context.

Acknowledgments

Many thanks to Kona Makhoere of People Against Human Abuse (PAHA) for her assistance in making this research possible and to the counselors of PAHA for their keen participation.

Thank you to Corinne Oosthuizen for her introduction to the community and her continued support.

Thank you to Stan Lifschitz for his unique and fresh insight.

Thanks to Lesley Weiner for her encouragement and guidance.

A big thank you to Jill Brodie for her last minute editing and encouragement.

Thank you to Nichi Casati for her vigorous nudging to get the work started.

Thank you to the Human Science Research Council (HSRC) for their financial support. (The views expressed in this research are those of the researcher and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Council.)

Contents:

1.Introduction p.1

2.Literature Review..... p.3
2.1.Burnout..... p.3
2.1.1.Cognitive behavioral explanations..... p.4
2.1.1.1.Learned Helplessness Theory..... p.5
2.1.1.2.Socially Learnt Submissiveness..... p.6
2.1.2.Environmental Factors..... p.7
2.1.3.Organizational Factors..... p.8
2.1.4.Existential Explanations..... p.9
2.1.5.Indvidual Characteristics in the Development of Burnout..... p.10
2.1.6.Burnout's Impact on the Ability to Work as a Caregiver..... p.13
2.2.Lay Counselors..... p.14
2.2.1.The Gap in the Mental Health Services in South Africa..... p.14
2.2.1.1.The Activist Role of Volunteer Organizations..... p.15
2.2.1.2.Empowering Clients..... p.16
2.2.1.3.Treating Multiple Problems..... p.16
2.2.2.Professionalism v.s. Non-Professionalism..... p.17
2.2.3.Motivations to Work as a Volunteer Counselor..... p.18
2.2.4.Non-Profit Organizations and Lay Counselors..... p.19
2.3.Working with Victims of Abuse..... p.21
2.3.1.The Effect of Working with Victims..... p.22
2.3.1.1.Vicarious Traumatization..... p.22
2.3.2.Countertransference..... p.23
2.3.2.1.The Traditional View of Countertransference..... p.23
2.3.2.2.The Contemporary View of Countertransference..... p.24
2.3.2.3.Klein's Primitive Defences..... p.25
2.3.2.4.Countertransference in a South African Context..... p.26
2.3.4.An Ecosystemic View..... p.31
2.4.Summary of the Literature..... p.33

3.Methodology..... p.35
3.1.Rationale for a Phenomenological Research Methodology..... p.35
3.2.Phenomenological Research..... p.36
3.3.Steps in the Phenomenological Method..... p.37
3.4.Aim..... p.39
3.5.The Sample..... p.39
3.5.1.The Context of the Research..... p.39
3.5.2.Collection of Data..... p.41
3.5.3.The Subjects..... p.42
3.6.Method of Analysis..... p.43

4.Analysis..... p.45
4.1.Interview 1..... p.46
4.2.Interview 2..... p.46
4.3.Organizing the Themes into Common Themes of the Experience..... p.47
4.3.1.Common Themes.....p.47
5.Discussion..... p.52
5.1.The Subjects Experience of Burnout.....p.53
5.2.The Difficulty of Working with Victims of Trauma in the Township.p.59
5.3.Problems Faced by Lay Counselors..... p.64

6.Conclusion..... p.66

7.Limitations of the Study..... p.68

8.Implications for Further Research..... p.69

References..... p.70

Appendix 1..... p.77
Appendix 2..... p.87
Appendix 3..... p.116

1. INTRODUCTION

This research is a phenomenological analysis of the experience of lay counsellors working in an abuse centre within a South African township. It is exploratory and seeks to gain some understanding of working with abuse in a context that has not received much attention in the literature. Within South Africa's present state of transition from a segregated society to a more integrated society, it is of great relevance as it explores a previously neglected context in which the majority of South Africans live. It aims to investigate the experience of working with victims of trauma where the counsellors find themselves living in the same environment and therefore are often vulnerable to the same high levels of criminal violence as their clients. The counsellors in this context are not only vulnerable but also do not receive the same degree of support that many counsellors receive in centres situated in more affluent areas. This research therefore seeks to highlight many of the difficulties that exist for counsellors working within this context.

The research question overlaps several specific areas of research in the literature. When looking at understanding the experience of lay counsellors working in an abuse center in a South African township one has take three main areas of literature into account. Firstly, the literature on **burnout**, a concept that initially evolved out of an attempt to understand the difficulties experienced by volunteers working in a care giving capacity not necessarily in the mental health sphere. This literature is covered in greater depth in relation to the other areas as it highlights many of the difficulties faced by volunteer caregivers, in that it bridges the gap that exists in studies on working with victims of trauma. The literature on trauma tends not to differentiate between professional and non–professional counsellors. The literature on burnout does allow for this differentiation and therefore is of great relevance to this particular study. It gives an understanding of the different pressures faced by volunteer caregivers as opposed to professional caregivers, it also allows for a more general understanding of why counsellors may or may not be able to cope with their role as counsellors for a sustained period of time. The

study aims to gain a full understanding of the factors that may influence the counsellors' experience of working with abuse, rather than attempting to understand why they may not have coped with an isolated incident. The literature on working with victims of trauma tends to emphasize the difficulties faced in dealing with a more acute and intense experience, as opposed to a long term experience of working as a counsellor. Secondly, one has to look at the literature that has focused specifically on **lay counsellors** and **non-professional volunteers** that have come to play a more prevalent and vital role in many care giving organizations in recent years. Thirdly, one has to look at the literature on **working with victims of trauma** broadly and within a South African context. As has already been stated the literature on lay counsellors who specifically work with victims of trauma is limited, and therefore this study seeks to pull out the salient factors which are relevant to the research question from the above three distinctive research categories.

The discussion of the literature is followed by a detailed description of the methodology, which is necessary due to the rather broad range of approaches to phenomenological methodology. The analysis of the interviews is then discussed and more detailed accounts of the analysis are contained in the appendices. The discussion section brings together the analysis of the interviews and the literature study, to compare the experiences of counsellors in the context of a township with those in other contexts. This is followed by the conclusion and a discussion of the limitations of this research. Finally, implications for further research are discussed.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1.Burnout

The term "Burnout" has come to cover a broad range of symptomatology and contexts. For the purposes of this research the focus will be on literature related to burnout amongst caregivers and, more specifically, volunteers working as caregivers. The term "Burnout" was coined by Freudenberger (1974, 1975) when describing a phenomenon he observed amongst the volunteers working as caregivers in an alternative health care clinic (cited in Maslach.& Schaufeli, 1993). As it was originally a term used to describe a phenomenon occurring amongst volunteer caregivers the concept is particularly relevant for this study. He observed that they slowly became emotionally depleted, unmotivated and less committed (cited in Maslach et al., 1993). A broad definition of burnout amongst caregivers refers to a "syndrome of emotional exhaustion, depersonalisation, of others, and perceptions of reduced personal accomplishment, resulting from the intense involvement with people in a caregiving environment..." (Garden, 1989; Maslach & Jackson, 1986; Pines & Aronson, 1981, cited in Turnispeed, 1994, p.782). This definition covers all caregivers, both professional and non-professional, and points to the particular difficulties faced by those who act as caregivers. Other symptoms related to burnout are "chronic fatigue, weariness, depression, feelings of hopelessness, negative attitudes towards self, work, and others...." (Turnispeed, 1994, p.782). It also can lead to somatic complaints and an overall decline in physical health (Maslach, 1986).

An important factor to be noted in relation to this research, is that previous research has shown a strong relationship between high levels of commitment commonly associated with caregivers, and burnout (Reilly, 1994). The more highly committed the caregiver is to their role as caregiver the more vulnerable they are to becoming burntout. The relationship between high levels of commitment and a greater risk of burnout has been more strongly shown when one makes a distinction between

professional and non-professional caregivers. Non-professional volunteers in non-profit organizations are seen as being more vulnerable to burnout as they are often extremely idealistic and passionate when they begin working as volunteers (Corrigan, 1993; Kessler, 1991). Corrigan's (1993) definition of burnout is perhaps more relevant to the study as it is aimed at the experience of burnout amongst volunteers. It also describes the aetiology of the psychological phenomena of burnout in volunteers. She described it as "a state of fatigue or frustration brought about by devotion to a cause, way of life, or relationship that failed to produce an expected reward." (p.24). The latter definition highlights the specific problem faced by volunteer caregivers who tend to take part in their work as caregivers due to an ideal, and therefore tend to be more devoted to their work. In this, volunteer counsellors show a strong tendency to get caught in a vicious cycle, where they "sublimate" their own need to be cared for by caring or looking after others (Vineyard, 1987). Rather than taking time to look after themselves they end up putting more time into taking care of others and ultimately become burntout. As they are not professionals, they generally do not receive concrete remuneration for their work as caregivers. They are therefore far more reliant on direct feedback from the care giving work that they do. When they develop a perception that they are not receiving the same amount back that they may put into their work as caregivers, they become extremely vulnerable to burnout, due to their high levels of devotion. Several further explanations for the development of burnout will be discussed in greater detail below.

2.1.1. Cognitive Behavioural Explanations

When describing the problem from a cognitive behavioural perspective, burnout develops out of the experience of being in a situation where one develops the perception that one's efforts are not being rewarded. Research has found that the factor that most strongly contributes to burnout is the "perceived imbalance" between what is being put into the work, and what is being gained (Schaufeli & Janczur, 1994 p.95). This may be brought about by many different experiences,

where caregivers feel that their efforts are not making a significant or noticeable difference, or that they are not receiving acknowledgement for their work. Furthermore, burnout is understood to result from "chronic everyday stress" related to one's work, rather than isolated stressful incidents within the workplace (Maslach, 1982, p. 11). The continual experience, over a relatively long period of time, of being exposed to a situation where one feels that one's efforts are not having a noticeable impact, can create the perception that one has lost mastery over one's environment. The perception that one's mastery over one's work environment is undermined leads to the above state of fatigue and reduced ability to function effectively within the work environment. The experience of continual failure in one area then becomes globalized to one's overall perception of oneself, which can affect one's overall functioning. The negative impact on one's overall functioning then results in the symptoms listed in the previous section. Closely linked to the cognitive behavioural explanations of burnout is Seligman's (Klein, Fencil-Morse & Seligman, 1976) learned helplessness theory, which links in with the work of social psychologists.

2.1.1.1. Learned Helplessness Theory

Learned helplessness theory seeks to explain how negative feedback from the environment in one sphere of the individual's life can lead to an overall reduction in functioning. Seligman's (Klein et al, 1976) learned helplessness theory describes the process whereby individuals exposed continually to situations that are either uncontrollable, or which they perceive as uncontrollable, showed a marked decrease in functioning, and manifested symptoms related to depression (Klein et al, 1976, p.508). Particularly relevant to this study was Seligman's (Klein et al, 1976) finding that failure in itself does not necessarily bring about a feeling of helplessness, but failure that leads to decreased belief in one's personal competence results in feelings of helplessness.

Also of great significance in the findings of Seligman and his colleagues is that those subjects that blamed external factors for their failure showed a marked improvement in their performance, in relation to those that blamed themselves (Klein et al., 1976). Burnout therefore results from individuals developing the perception that they have no control over situations, which becomes globalized to situations where they may indeed be able to exert control. For the above to occur the individual has to blame him/herself for the failure, whereby the feeling of helplessness in one situation can then result in an overall lowered self esteem (Capner & Caltabiano, 1993). The work of Seligman (1975, 1976) pointed strongly to the role that the environment can play in decreasing one's overall perception of oneself, and ultimately leading to a marked reduction in one's level of functioning. The work falls under the realm of social psychology, which seeks to understand the role that the greater social context can have on an individual's functioning.

2.1.1.2. Socially Learnt Submissiveness

The concept of learned helplessness has certain relevance within a South African context, where many South Africans who have grown up and lived in the townships through the last three decades have been exposed directly and indirectly to a highly oppressive political system. It is not possible to generalize what effect this prolonged experience would have on an individual's perception of mastery over his/her environment. It is, however, a factor that must be taken into account when attempting to understand the different factors that might influence the counsellors' overall perception of themselves. Siff (1990), McKendrick and Hoffmann (1990) argue that most violent behaviour and submissive behavior is socially learnt. The previous government sanctioned violence with its racist and sexist ideologies and so created a society that prescribed violence as a legitimate means to achieve ones ends (McKendrick & Hoffmann, 1990). They argue that there is a link between "early exposure to the submissive role of women, and subsequent acts of rape and wife abuse...." (McKendrick & Hoffmann, 1990,

p.469). Counsellors growing up in the context of a South African township have grown up with this ideology, which may have an impact on their overall perception of being able to gain mastery over situations where there is violent abuse.

2.1.2. Environmental Factors

The above explanations are particularly relevant to the work on burnout, as the research into the causes of burnout has moved beyond focusing on the specific stresses in the workplace, to an emphasis on total life experiences and environmental pressures (Freudenberger, 1974; Maslach, 1986, cited in Etzion & Pines, 1986, p.192). The history of the counsellors, and the ongoing stressors of their specific context all have to be taken into account when assessing what factors may impact on their performance, be it negatively or positively. This factor is of extreme relevance to this study, which looks at counsellors living in similar conditions, and having to face similar problems to those of their clients. Ross, Altmaier & Russel (1989) found that it was the number of stressors that individuals working in a counselling centre experienced that was the best predictor of burnout. Their study also found that counsellors with greater experience reported less stressful events, and therefore had less chance of becoming burntout, as they found less factors in their work to be stressful.

Another factor that is of importance when considering the larger context is social support. Social support has been seen to play a major role in protecting individuals from burnout (Capner & Caltabiano, 1993; Maslach, 1982). Research into social support as a buffer against burnout has pointed strongly to the type of social support, and that not all social support can alleviate burnout (Ross et al, 1989). Generally, individuals with families experience less burnout, i.e., married and with children (Maslach, 1982). The findings of Ross et al., (1989) research was that just having a good social support network did not necessarily mean that individuals did not become burntout. Rather their findings contradicted the above

findings, where they found that the married people in their study showed higher levels of burnout than unmarried counsellors. The contradictions in the above findings emphasize the need to consider the differences in social support. It also emphasises the need to examine all the variables in and outside of the context, and how they can have a unique effect on the individual's overall perception of themselves. The greater context that individuals live in plays a major role in exacerbating, or alleviating burnout, and has to be considered when attempting to understand what may contribute to an individual becoming burntout. The latter study also points to the role of stress in other contexts, and how multiple roles that volunteer counsellors often have to take on, can impact negatively on their ability to do the work as counsellors.

2.1.3. Organizational Factors

The literature on burnout has traditionally focused on individual characteristics in the development of burnout, but now research has begun to include the impact of the organization. Research has shown that organizational characteristics can play a greater role in the development of burnout than individual characteristics (Kessler, 1991). Organizational structures have been seen to play a major role in the turnover of volunteers, where the organization has tended to take a "blame the victim approach" when dealing with burnout amongst volunteers (Kessler, 1991, p.15). In these organizations, the individuals suffering from burnout have been viewed as the ones with the problem and the organization and organizational structures have not been adjusted to help in assisting individuals with burnout, or acting to prevent burnout. This is particularly problematic as research has shown that individuals suffering from burnout particularly volunteer workers, have a tendency to blame themselves first for their sense of failure before they blame the organization (Maslach, 1982; Kessler, 1991). This misperception can result from an organizational environment where others doing the same work do not, or are not encouraged to acknowledge the difficulties that they are experiencing, and how their feelings and symptoms could be normalised (Maslach, 1982). This

factor makes volunteer counsellors doubly vulnerable to developing burnout as they often do not have, or have access to, the professional knowledge to understand or mediate their responses.

Research has also pointed to a supervisor as playing a primary role in preventing burnout, a role which cannot easily be substituted by other social support (Ross et al., 1986). Skillingstad (1989) emphasised that in supervising volunteers the following three factors were required for good supervision; "1.] Maintain and enhance self esteem, 2.] Listen and respond with empathy", and "3.] The volunteer needs to "ask for help in solving the problem" (p.31). Supervision therefore attempts to counter the negative perceptions that the volu...eer counsellor may develop. It also helps him/her to develop more appropriate coping skills where the volunteer counsellor is encouraged to acknowledge difficulty and seek help rather than further isolating him/herself. The type of feedback and support that an organization gives to individuals can, therefore, have a major impact on the individual's overall functioning, and act to intensify or alleviate the negative perceptions that individuals develop of themselves due to the often negative feedback they receive from their clients and their work (Yallen, 1987). The way in which an organization is structured to support its lay counsellors is therefore of great importance in preventing burnout.

2.1.4. Existential Explanations

Some theorists have begun to focus on the existential aspects in individuals that lead to the development of burnout, and therefore place greater emphasis on the personal meaning that individuals attach to their work (Pines, 1994; Etzion & Pines, 1986). Pines (1994), in her research into burnout amongst various groups involved dire:tly or indirectly with the Palestinian Intifada, found that people did not show symptoms of burnout even under extremely stressful conditions if they were able to find "existential significance" in their actions. In all the groups surveyed in the study, which included Palestinians, right wing Israelis, the

military, left wing Israelis, and Orthodox Jews, the left wing Israelis showed the highest levels of burnout. Qualitative analysis of the different group's perceptions showed all the groups, except those associated with the left wing group, found existential significance in the struggle (Pines, 1994). This study has some relevance to the South African situation, as the individuals that make up the sample of this study have undergone similar experiences by being directly or indirectly involved in the struggle against Apartheid. Added to this they presently live in a context where violent crime is rife and they therefore live with the constant real possibility of becoming victims. The centre from which the sample was taken was founded by an ex-political activist after the violent criminal murder of a relative as an attempt to work towards ending abuse in South Africa.

Turnispeed (1994) argues that religious beliefs, or quasi-religious beliefs, such as a belief in a higher calling, helped protect people from emotional exhaustion. "Religious beliefs may help to interpret the meaning of threatening events, as well as to formulate effective strategies for response..." (Hammer, 1988, cited in Turnispeed, 1994, p. 795). Turnispeed (1994) in his study found that religious belief was the only factor to protect against depersonalisation, which he found to be consistent with Pines, and Aronson's (1981, cited in Turnispeed, 1994) findings. The belief that one should take care of others overrides one's personal feelings, and enables individuals to continue to care for others. The meaning that people attach to their experience is extremely important as it can act as a strong mediating factor against burnout, or make them more prone to burnout.

2.1.5. Individual Characteristics in the Development of Burnout

As has been discussed above, the context can play an important role in the development of burnout, however, the variables that decide how the individual will respond to a particular context are ultimately contained within the individual (Maslach, 1982; Turnispeed, 1994). In other words, how certain individuals respond to their context ultimately will affect whether or not they become

burntout or not, and at what rate they become burntout. Turnispeed (1994) identifies three areas that one has to take into consideration. Firstly the individual's "cognitive appraisal of environmental stimuli", secondly the "utilisation of specific coping strategies", and finally the "needs and coping abilities" of the individual (p. 784). The external factors already discussed all influence these three areas, but ultimately each individual will develop his or her unique response to a situation.

Certain demographic factors can have an influence on burnout, and one of the strongest predictors of burnout is age. Younger people have a greater tendency to become burntout than older people (Maslach, 1982; Ross et al., 1989) Maslach (1982) found that there was no difference in rates of burnout between the sexes, although women tended to show greater levels of emotional exhaustion and men higher levels of depersonalisation. These different responses point strongly to the different coping styles in men and women. Further research into the impact of sex and culture on burnout in American and Israeli human service professionals showed that cross-cultural differences were a stronger factor in predicting burnout than cross-sexual differences (Etzion & Pines, 1986). Americans taking part in the study were more burntout than the Israelis were and women tended to be more susceptible to burnout than men, which contradicts the findings of Maslach (1982). The research looked at cultural differences, and discovered that Americans tended to take a more indirect (feminine) approach to coping with their difficulties while Israelis tended to take a more direct (masculine) approach (p.204). The gender differences point to different coping strategies in men and women which can ultimately lead to a different experience of burnout, or different symptoms of burnout being manifested.

In Maslach's (1982) study education was shown to act as both an exacerbating and mediating factor where individuals with a basic four year degree showed the highest levels of burnout which reduced as people moved onto postgraduate level (Maslach, 1982). People with some tertiary education, but who had not completed

their courses showed the lowest levels of burnout. This phenomenon was related to high levels of idealism shown in college graduates which reduced as people continued with their studies. Individuals who had not completed their courses were seen to be the least idealistic of those in the sample. The demographic factors above indicate how the different meaning that people would attach to their situation would influence their perception of a situation and this would ultimately determine how they responded to a situation.

In the discussion thus far it appears clear that all individuals placed under enough stress would probably show symptoms of burnout, however certain individuals may have a tendency to be more prone to burnout than others. Gann and Heckman (1982, cited in Maslach, 1982) in their research have identified the existence of more passive traits within an individual's personality makeup that would make them more vulnerable to burnout. Such an individual, in the helping relationship and in their lives generally, is likely to be "weak and unassertive in dealing with people...submissive, anxious, and fearful of setting limits...impatient, and intolerant...lacks self-confidence, has little ambition, and is more reserved and conventional..." (Maslach, 1982, p. 63). These traits tend to tie in with the research into the role of existential significance in burnout (Pines, 1994; Etzion & Pines, 1986). They found that individuals who adapted a more passive coping style tended to show higher levels of burnout.

An individual's personal makeup therefore plays a major role in the development of burnout. As has been shown in the discussion of the literature thus far, it is the individual's perception and resultant response to the situation which ultimately determines whether they become burntout or not. What has also been indicated is that the meaning which individuals attach to their work as volunteer counsellors is influenced by many factors inside and outside of the counselling organization. The ultimate perception that the individual has is therefore created through a complex interaction between the external environment and his/her internal world. Environmental factors can, therefore, act as exacerbating factors or mediating

factors in the development of burnout in any given individual, as can individual personality traits. It is not possible to isolate particular factors as causing burnout, but it is rather more important to understand the process whereby burnout can develop.

2.1.6. Burnout's Impact on the Ability to Work as a Caregiver

Burnout does not only affect the individual, but can also negatively affect the individual's perception of others and, therefore, the way in which they interact with those for whom they are supposed to be providing a caring service. In the counselling situation burnout has been associated with inhumane and aggressive counselling practices and a greater amount of disciplinary action being taken by supervisors (Maslach, 1986). Individuals that are burntout begin to show lowered levels of motivation, higher levels of frustration, and begin to develop a generally unsympathetic and uncaring attitude towards others (Maslach, 1982). A prime indicator of burnout in those working as caregivers is the shift in attitude from "positive and caring to negative and uncaring" (Maslach, 1982. p.17).

Maslach (1986) describes two factors of burnout that have a major impact on the individual's ability to provide a caring service, namely, emotional exhaustion and depersonalisation. The emotional exhaustion leads to "compassion fatigue", and the depersonalisation points to a "callous and unfeeling response" to clients (p.61.). A big feature of burnout is also the tendency to withdraw from situations where they have to make contact with clients (Maslach, 1986) There is also a strong spillover effect into one's personal life, and other areas outside of the work context (Maslach, 1982, 1986). Burnout therefore has an extremely negative effect not only on the individual's ability to provide a caring service, but also on their relationships and overall functioning outside of the work context.

2.2. Lay Counsellors

2.2.1. The Gap in the Mental Health Services in South Africa

Volunteer lay counsellors play a vital role in filling the gap left by insufficient government facilities to provide mental health services in South Africa. The gap has been caused either by the attempted reduction in financial expenditure, restructuring of existing institutions and services, or the institutions slow or lack of response to newly defined problem areas in mental health. The treatment of victims of abuse in South Africa is a prime example and incorporates all of the above difficulties. The government lacks the financial resources to provide adequate treatment centres, staff and shelters for the rapidly burgeoning problem and has a history of responding slowly to acknowledging and attempting to treat new problems. The first medical discussion in South Africa on childhood sexual abuse only took place in 1974, and it was only in the early 1980's that the first multidisciplinary teams to treat rape victims were established in certain provincial hospitals (Winship, 1990).

The governmental organizations within South Africa are also dealing with a legacy of institutionalized violence and overcoming an abusive ideology, which, in the unequal delivery of it's services, contributed to the continued marginalization and disempowerment of certain groups of individuals (Seedat & Nell, 1992). The official institutional facilities to treat victims of abuse are still grossly understaffed and inadequate. It is because of this that numerous non-governmental organizations have been established to provide a wide range of assistance to the rapidly growing number of victims of abuse. These grassroots organizations rely heavily on non-professional staff and volunteers to provide the counselling that is so vitally needed. They generally receive no financial support from the government and are therefore reliant on the private sector for support (Flisher & Isaacs, 1987). The need to provide services at grassroots level is further supported by the fact that psychologists in South Africa are only employed by the

government in psychiatric hospitals, or psychiatric departments in tertiary hospitals (Seedat et al., 1992).

2.2.1.1. The Activist Role of Volunteer Organizations

South Africa finds itself in a similar situation to the United States of America in the 1960s and early 1970s, where, although people were guaranteed certain rights in the constitution, these values and the awareness of abuse and its impact had not filtered down to a grassroots level. In response to this volunteer organizations were established to fill the gap left by those caring professions which have created "limitations of inclusion" (Ghio, 1988, p.58). Many of the formal caring institutions, in the way that their services have been structured, have often excluded certain groups of individuals from obtaining services. It is often people that are marginalized due to political or socio-economic reasons and have the greatest need and multiple problems, who are unable to access professional help (Ghio, 1988). Victims of abuse often tend to fall into this category. It is ironically often their marginalization and disenfranchisement within the existing status quo that makes them vulnerable to abuse (McKendrick & Hoffmann, 1990). The existing status quo that governs the conduct of the professions therefore often contributes to perpetuating the abusive circumstances. Volunteer organizations have tended to go for a greater degree of "inclusiveness", and moved away from the professional "exclusivity" (Ghio, 1988, p.58). It is the non-governmental volunteer organizations that have often sought to challenge the status quo and to provide services for those individuals that have been marginalized by the greater system. The drive to challenge the status quo is an important factor that governs organizations that choose to deal with victims of abuse and has a profound significance for those lay counsellors that work within these organizations.

The use of lay counsellors to treat victims of abuse has strong roots in the feminist activist movements that sought to challenge the pre-existing status quo. They began to provide counselling services and shelter to women and children who

were victims of abuse prior to it being recognised as a problem area by the formal institutions (Worell & Remer, 1987). Due to the pre-existing status quo that lay counsellors face in South Africa when working with victims of abuse, they often have to take an activist approach. Out of necessity they not only provide counselling, but also address the more concrete needs of their clients by providing communal and material assistance, as well as tackling community outreach and education (Leghorn, 1986, cited in Schillinger, 1988). This factor provides an important distinction between many other counselling services and those that specifically choose to work with abuse.

2.2.1.2. Empowering Clients

The focus of such organizations is the empowerment of individuals that they work with, which often places them in a position where they have to oppose members of the community and government departments (Golden, 1991; Worell & Remer, 1987; Ochberg, 1991). In addressing the need to empower their clients, counsellors in these organizations face a greater difficulty in having to address the imbalance in power that exists in society (Walker, 1991, 1984; Coley & Beckett, 1988; Schillinger, 1988), which places them under greater pressure. The pressure that the counsellors face is often to address the concrete needs of their clients, which in many cases literally means having to try and make them more self sufficient so that they can move away from their abusive circumstances (Davis & Hagen, 1988).

2.2.1.3. Treating Multiple Problems

As has already been discussed, counsellors that work with abuse are often having to treat those members of society that are marginalized and, for various reasons, do not have equal access to many of the formal institutions. The counsellors are therefore often faced with having to treat many of the clients basic needs, prior to addressing traditional counselling needs. In attempting to provide for the concrete

needs of their clients there is often a great overlap between what other agencies provide and what the counsellors attempt to provide. This is perhaps most apparent in the overlap between the counsellors attempting to go beyond their role as counsellors and do the work of social workers (Golden, 1991). The lay counsellors are, however, often faced not only with not having the resources that are afforded to professionals working in government agencies, but they often also have to deal with clients that have been through the official channels and agencies with multiple problems, with little success (Golden, 1991). Lay counsellors therefore often deal with the worst cases that have confronted the conventional agencies. They are faced with dealing with the not only presenting problem, but also having to address numerous socio-economic factors that are exacerbating the clients problem. Counsellors in these organizations find themselves having to counter the institutionalized violence and numerous other socio-economic factors that exist within a given society and particularly South African society. The lay counsellors working with abuse are therefore often far more exposed to other external environmental pressures than lay counsellors working within other care giving contexts.

2.2.2. Professionalism v.s. Non – Professionalism

A further problem faced by lay counsellors working in the mental health field with regard to professional exclusivity is that professionals fear that their profession will be directly threatened, and that they may loose clients as a direct result of the often overlapping services provided by lay counsellors (Golden, 1991). This can lead to a certain degree of animosity and lack of cooperation from health professionals, which ultimately impacts negatively on the overall services that can be provided by lay counsellors. Lay counsellors therefore have to operate under often trying conditions with a lack of acknowledgement and support from professionals and their associated institutions. The lack of professional support and infrastructure, as has been discussed already, plays a major role in the development of burnout. The support and infrastructure often enables

professionals to be able to attribute failure to external factors rather than internal factors, which protects their psychological well being and enables them to cope more effectively with the stresses involved in the caring professions (Kessler, 1991). Lay counsellors therefore generally attribute failure to themselves rather than blaming external factors such as the organization, or the clients, which makes them more vulnerable to adopting poor coping strategies (Kessler, 1991).

A general trend has emerged to give lay counsellors more official acknowledgement for the vital role that they play in the non-profit organizations and to give them an official identity. It has been argued that lay counsellors be given job descriptions, training, acknowledgement for the roles that they play, and most importantly supervision (Danoff & Koppel, 1991). The development of lay counsellors due to the training, supervision and vital role that they play in many non-governmental organizations, has already begun to resemble many of the established professions (Ghio, 1988). Recently, the professional board in South Africa has taken major steps to acknowledge the role that lay counsellors play in providing services to the community, and attempts to legislate and control the training and ongoing supervision have been put into place. For the first time, in 1998, lay counsellors and organizations that make use of lay counsellors have been expected to register with the South African Health Professions Council (SAHPC).

2.2.3. Motivations to Work as a Volunteer Counselor

A second factor, which has been identified as a major difference between professional caregivers and volunteer lay counsellors, is the lack of concrete remuneration, or reward. Since lay counsellors are not paid, or receive a minimal amount of remuneration, they rely mostly on the more "intrinsic rewards" such as a personal need to help people, or a need to self-actualise (Danoff & Koppel, 1991). Volunteers generally will not get involved unless they feel that they are helping themselves in some way, even when those needs are intangible, such as

those mentioned above (Danoff & Koppel, 1991). It is the perception that individuals are not receiving what they put into their work, which has been identified and discussed as a major contributing factor in the development of burnout. Understanding an individual's personal motivations for choosing to work as a lay counsellor is therefore of vital importance if one is to promote and sustain volunteerism (Clary, Snyder, Ridge, Miene & Haugen, 1994).

Unfortunately it appears that there is limited literature on what promotes volunteerism in people living within the context of a South African township. The research has focused on individuals from wealthier backgrounds where their basic concrete needs are being met. The research into what motivates volunteerism in an American sample has to be applied with caution to the South African context. Jenner (1982) has identified three basic reasons why individuals choose to work as volunteers, (1) consciously chosen primary work, (2) supplement to other primary work, and (3) as a vehicle for entry or return to employment (cited in, Danoff et al., 1991). Lay counsellors cannot be boxed into a single category when attempting to understand what motivates them to do the work. Danoff and Koppel (1991) in their research using the Motivation by Maslow (1986) scale found that volunteers fell into the following categories when looking at what motivated them. They found that the majority of volunteers were supplementary volunteers and did so out of a need to self-actualise. Others did so out of a need for safety and security, where they sought to make contacts for future business, and improve their standing in the community.

2.2.4. Non – Profit Organizations and Lay Counsellors

Of great importance when looking at the issue of volunteer lay counsellors is to recognise the reciprocal relationship between the organization and the lay counsellors (Danoff & Koppel, 1991). Commitment to the organization is of primary importance to organizations that rely on volunteers and is very different to the experience in profit based organizations (Keyton, Wilson & Geiger, 1990).

As has already been pointed out, volunteer lay counsellors do not receive concrete remuneration, and therefore they have to feel that the intrinsic rewards that they are receiving are, in fact, giving them something. The organization therefore has to appeal to their inner motivational needs in order for them to feel that they will receive something back for the effort that they put into working for the organization (Clary et al., 1994). It is therefore of vital importance for organi ations that make use of volunteers to acknowledge the inner needs of their volunteers, and to take steps to make sure that these needs are in some way met if they wish to retain the commitment of their volunteers. This is very different from organizations that employ professional staff, or pay their staff salaries, and therefore do not have to be as mindful of their employee's personal inner needs and motivations.

In the research done by Keyton et al. (1990) into commitment in volunteer organizations, they found several factors that were vital to retaining high levels of commitment. They found that organizations need to maintain an attitude of cooperation with the volunteers, where they are open to the suggestions made by volunteers and that volunteers are actively encouraged and included in the decision making and running of the organization. They found that in organizations that allowed volunteers to take part in the creative process of developing and running the organization there were increased levels of commitment. Keyton et al. (1994) argue that "being able to develop creative ways of reaching and serving others is at the heart of volunteerism" (p. 133). The research emphasises the need for organizations that make use of volunteers to acknowledge their volunteer's personal motivations and to make the intrinsic rewards, such as acknowledgement, an integral part of the running of the organization. It also points to the overall need of these organizations which, as it has been argued, often operate externally with a greater deal of inclusiveness, to retain this principle within the organization (Ghio, 1988). In this the organizations need to avoid structures which exclude their counsellors, and in that way perpetuate the experience of the counsellors with the outside world, in order for them to retain

high levels of commitment. This factor highlights a vital difference between the profit based "professional", and non-professional, non-profit based organizations, which rely on volunteer organizations.

2.3. Working with Victims of Abuse

Working with victims of abuse provides its own unique set of difficulties, and the literature is extensive. The most notable point of concern is that those who work with victims begin to develop symptoms that mirror those of the victims they have set out to help, which impacts, often negatively, on their ability to work effectively with victims, and on their overall functioning outside of the workplace (Talbot, Manton & Dunn, 1992; McCann & Pearlman, 1990). Health workers exposed to dealing with victims often begin to show symptoms parallel to those of Post - Traumatic Stress Disorder, which include being shocked, confused, saddened, tired, feeling helpless, having psychosomatic symptoms, depression, feeling isolated, exhausted, burdened with responsibility, overwhelmed, becoming emotionally demanding of family and friends, and showing increased sensitivity to violence (Kaplan, Sadock & Grebb, 1994; Talbot et al., 1992; McCann & Pearlman, 1990). In their work counsellors tend to develop the following defences to cope. They report a tendency to overidentify with their clients, to intellectualise, and have an increased rigidity in their thinking, as well as becoming resistant to change, and appearing to be unaware of how their work is affecting them, and generally are in a state of denial (Talbot et al., 1992). Counsellors also reported becoming frightened of going to places that they related to their client's traumatic experiences, such as banks if they had recently treated people involved in a bank hold-up (Talbot et al., 1992). The effect that working with victims can have on the individual is profound and can be extremely detrimental to both the counsellor and the client.

2.3.1. The Effect of Working with Victims

The literature has focused on two areas when attempting to understand why individuals working with victims develop symptoms generally related to the effects of trauma. The bulk of the literature has focused on the countertransference that is evoked in individuals who work with victims, and how this impacts on an individual's ability to work effectively with victims (Moosa, 1992; McCann & Pearlman, 1990; Talbot et al., 1992). Recently the literature has begun to explore the element of "vicarious traumatization" that is inherent in the work with victims, and how this not only impacts on the individual's ability to work effectively with their victims of trauma, but also impacts on the individual's overall functioning (McCann & Pearlman, 1990). The concepts of countertransference and vicarious traumatization will be discussed in detail below.

2.3.1.1. Vicarious Traumatization

One is unable merely to focus on the past experiences of the counsellor in order to understand what may influence his/her ability to operate effectively in and outside of the counselling situation. The shift in the literature has been to look at the experience of working with victims as being traumatic and how this can in essence traumatise the counsellor to the degree that they are not able to function effectively in and outside of the counselling situation. The counsellor can begin to feel traumatized by the experience of working with victims and begin to manifest the symptoms usually related to the direct exposure to trauma.

The concept of vicarious traumatization and its effects has many factors that relate very closely to the work on burnout, however, the literature has not focused on burnout in those counsellors that work with victims of trauma (McCann & Pearlman, 1990). The link between burnout and vicarious traumatization is an important factor to keep in mind in understanding the extreme difficulty of working with victims of traumatic experiences. As has already been discussed in

the section on burnout, working in the role as a caregiver can lead to one feeling overwhelmed and ultimately developing the perception that one is unable to help others, which becomes globalized to one's overall perception of oneself, and can negatively impact on one's overall functioning. In the work with trauma victims the traumatic content of the material presented by the clients in itself is able to create the feelings of helplessness and hopelessness (McCann & Pearlman, 1990). There is a major conceptual difference in the literature on burnout and vicarious traumatization. Burnout is seen as a more chronic state where the individual is exposed over a relatively longer period of time to experiences that undermines his/her sense of mastery (Maslach, 1986). Vicarious traumatization is seen as evolving from a more acute state, where the individual is exposed to a more extreme experience which undermines his/her perception of mastery over the environment (McCann & Pearlman, 1990; Talbot et al., 1992). The trauma counsellor is therefore faced with not only having to work in the difficult role as caregiver, where there is a high risk of burnout, he/she also has to deal with traumatic content of the material presented which, generally, is about being in a helpless and powerless position.

2.3.2. Countertransference

2.3.2.1. The Traditional View of Countertransference

The work on countertransference in relation to those that work with abuse has focused on how this can negatively impact on the counsellor's ability to remain empathic towards the client, and provide a safe and containing environment in which the therapeutic process can occur (Moosa, 1992; Straker & Moosa, 1994, Talbot et al., 1992). There are two definitions of countertransference. The more traditional definition as described by Arlow (1970) refers to "the emotional response of the therapist that relates to an unresolved aspect of his/her past causing misinterpretation or misresponding to the client in terms of the therapists own difficulties..." (cited in Talbot et al., 1992). This definition focuses on the

past experiences that the counsellor brings into the counselling situation, and how they may impact on the counsellor's ability to react appropriately and empathically. The counsellor's own experiences around feeling unsafe or powerless are therefore very important to understand, because due to the intensity of the work, they are very likely to be evoked. Countertransference as it relates to the past experiences of the therapist are of particular importance to this study due to South Africa's violent history and given that the sample is drawn from a township setting. This will be discussed in greater detail in a later section.

2.3.2.2. The Contemporary View of Countertransference

The second and more contemporary definition of countertransference refers to "the therapist's own spontaneous feelings and emotions, as his unconscious tunes in to that of the patient," which "may provide the key to understanding what is at first incomprehensible...." (Brown & Pedder 1991, p.62.). The countertransference that is elicited when working with victims of a traumatic experience is generally of a very primal nature. It tends to evoke feelings around "violence, abandonment, death, helplessness, degradation, ... maiming", and "one's own aggression, rage, grief, horror, loss of control," and "vulnerability..." (Talbot et al., 1992, p. 135; Scurfield, 1985, cited in McCann & Pearlman, 1990). The countertransference can be very powerful where one's very existence can feel threatened and therefore the psychological defences evoked can be equally powerful and primitive in nature.

These primal feelings are often elicited due to the regressed state of the victims when they first present themselves. Victims therefore require very basic empathy and containment, which requires a great deal of energy from the therapist (Talbot et al., 1992). Interventions with trauma victims therefore focus a great deal on containment, where the counsellor is expected to take a far more active role due to the clients reduced ego functioning. The counsellor is expected to take an extremely nurturing role to assist individuals to come to terms with what is often

an extremely intense and terrifying experience. The counsellor's experience can be equally intense while he/she is expected to remain calm and not to be overwhelmed by the accounts of what often was an extremely overwhelming experience. Trauma has the ability to break down basic defences and leave the victims feeling defenceless and powerless, and similarly it can have the same effect on those that work with victims (Straker & Moosa, 1994; Talbot et al., 1992; Moosa, 1992). It is useful to have a theoretical framework whereby one can understand the mechanisms by which certain defences are elicited, to better understand the possible negative impact that countertransference can have on the therapeutic relationship. Melanie Klein's (1936, 1946) developmental theory is a useful framework to understand the primitive defences and mechanisms that are elicited.

2.3.2.3. Klein's Primitive Defences

Klein's (1935, 1946) theory on development describes similar anxieties occurring in the paranoid-schizoid position to those described by counsellors working with victims of abuse. This position is related to the earliest stages of human development, and relates to the infant's experience of feeling powerless in the world. Klein describes how the infant, in response to feeling powerless and threatened in the world, often develops extreme aggressive feelings as a defence (Mitchell, 1991). Other basic defences related to this stage of development are projection and splitting, which often parallel the reactions of therapists working with trauma victims as described in the literature (Klein, 1935, 1946). The use of these defences would explain reactions such as blaming the client, or denial of one's own feelings of vulnerability, excessive intellectualisation, extreme rage towards an undifferentiated group of perpetrators, as well as at times becoming abusive to the victim. The therapist may therefore find him/herself responding to very primitive and deep seated unconscious fears, which lead him/her to use their most primitive defences to protect him/herself. The work requires the therapist to take on the very difficult task of facing his/her own primal feelings of

vulnerability, mortality, possible survivor guilt, and at the same time deal with the same feelings in the client (Raphael, 1981, cited in Talbot et al., 1992). The above understanding of the nature of the feelings evoked in the here and now, in working with victims of trauma, further illustrates the difficult nature of the work. Added to this is the specific context, which has a history of abuse, and violence to which many South Africans were exposed.

2.3.2.4. Countertransference in a South African Context

The majority of the literature on trauma work within a South African context ends where the new dispensation began in 1994. Much of what was written still has some relevance as all of the counsellors in the sample grew up with, and were exposed in varying degrees, to the dehumanising and violent Apartheid system. Furthermore the violent legacy of the Apartheid system undeniably still persists today. The idea of countertransference in the South African context therefore spans both the traditional and contemporary view. The counsellors past experiences and the ongoing violent situation all have an impact on their relationship with their clients in the here and now.

A great deal of the research into survivors of a prolonged dehumanising experience has focused on holocaust survivors (Whiteman, 1993; Auerhahn, Laub, & Peskin, 1993). The research into holocaust survivors has pointed to the loss of empathy in survivors, which "is singular and specific to victims of massive trauma..." (Auerhahn et al., 1993, p.434). The impact of a massive trauma on one's ability to be empathic is of great importance when looking at counsellors who have themselves been exposed to long and sustained abuse, as empathy is an extremely important element in the treatment of victims of abuse (Ochberg, 1991; Flisher et al., 1987). Counsellors who have been exposed to prolonged abuse may therefore have great difficulty in being empathic to victims of abuse. The individuals who participated in this research have not been through as severe massive psychic trauma, but the long sustained experience of dehumanisation, as

described in the research into holocaust survivors, has certain parallels in this context.

Pillay (1984) described South African trauma counsellors as being "traumatized simply by virtue of living and working in a society antithetical to mental health" (cited in Moosa, 1992). The South African situation has changed considerably, however the legacy of abuse that was inherited from the previous system still persists, and is particularly relevant for those counsellors presently living and working in a township setting. Biesheuvel (1991) argued that although the system may change, the legacy of Apartheid would likely impact on all South Africans, and particularly black South Africans for generations to come. Supportive of Biesheuvel's (1991) contention is the fact that although much of the political violence has come to an end extremely high levels of criminal violence have replaced it. On average, 20453 people die violently every year, which is one sixth of the rate in the United States (Nel, 1995). Counsellors working with victims of abuse living in a South African township therefore find themselves in a very difficult position, as the effects of living in a violent and abusive society impacts negatively on the counsellor's ability to work effectively, and generally cope (Straker & Moosa, 1994). Straker & Moosa (1994) highlighted three factors that made it extremely difficult to work with victims of trauma within the South African context in the Apartheid era. Firstly, they pointed to the continuous traumatic stress to which victims are exposed; secondly, the difficulty of the therapist not being able to evoke the law to protect their clients, and thirdly, the fact that the therapists themselves were in danger.

The above is particularly true of black counsellors that have grown up and live in townships. They have generally had a greater degree of direct experience of the abusive system and violence, as opposed to those counsellors who have lived in the traditionally white suburbs. As has been discussed, there have been shifts and a reduction of the general unrest and overall violence. Counselors still have extreme difficulty in getting the law to protect their clients, due to the high levels

of corruption, inefficiency, and general second rate legal services and protection which were provided to blacks, which still exist to a large degree in all branches of the judicial system as a result of the apartheid system (Cock, 1990; Sloth–Nielsen, 1990). They also still find themselves in danger of being victimised by an extremely dangerous and largely unchecked criminal element. The counsellor's personal lack of safety is an important and distinctive factor to be considered when seeking to understand what influences the counsellor's responses to victims.

Straker (1987) pointed to the extreme difficulties of living in and working with victims who live in South African townships, when she argued that the term Post Traumatic Stress Syndrome was a misnomer in this context, and that one should rather refer to Continuous Traumatic Stress Syndrome. People living in a township are often not afforded the luxury of feeling safe, and therefore creating a safe place to do the work is very difficult. Counsellors working within this context are therefore faced with a great dilemma in that they are often unable to protect their clients from being exposed to further trauma, due to the high levels of criminal violence that still persist (Straker, 1987). Secondly the counsellor's own real feelings of vulnerability, due to the ongoing criminal violence, can also make it very difficult for them to lower their own psychological defences, when dealing with victims of violent abuse.

Due to some of the circumstances that prevail in townships, such as poverty and a lack of infrastructure, as well as the nature of the abuse and levels of disempowerment of their clients, counsellors are often faced with the reality that they will only see their client for a single session (Straker, 1987). Although some minor changes may have occurred, many of the clients that are seen within the context of this research still find themselves facing many of the above mentioned difficulties, and therefore the tendency of seeing a client for only one session still persists. In light of the energy required to contain a client that has been exposed to a traumatic event, this creates further pressure for the counsellor, as he/she has to perform in the knowledge that he/she has to provide a once off intervention that

will hopefully have an impact (Straker, 1987). This pressure is a further exacerbating factor, which is likely to intensify countertransferential feelings.

Trauma counsellors dealing with clients from a township setting are also faced with the reality that they are often not able to provide for their client's more basic safety and material needs (M .sa, 1992, p.130). The very real neediness of the clients often seen in a township setting, which extends beyond the trauma to things such as food and shelter, is a further distinctive exacerbating factor facing counsellors that work within this context. In this context, trauma counsellors reported feeling hopeless, helpless, inadequate, and a high percentage indicated that they felt that the intervention that they provided was futile in the light of the more concrete difficulties faced by their clients (Moosa, 1992). Counsellors in this context therefore appear to manifest their own strong feelings of disempowerment, which is likely to impact negatively on their ability to empower their clients, which has already been identified as an important aspect of the work with victims. The counsellors are faced with not only having to deal with their client's difficulties, but also having to face their own parallel difficulties within their shared context. Both counsellor and client therefore find themselves in an extremely precarious position, which often makes it difficult to provide assurance of the safe physical and emotional space that is required for trauma work (Rozynko & Donde shine, 1991). As has already been discussed, typical feelings evoked in the countertransference relate to the counsellor's own feelings of vulnerability and mortality, these are therefore likely to be exacerbated when the counsellor is faced continually with a reality that often confirms his/her unconscious feelings that are evoked when working with victims.

Another typical countertransferential issue is the anger that is evoked in the counsellor, where their own feelings of anger towards the system is exacerbated by hearing the outrageous and extremely abusive stories that their clients bring (Straker & Moosa, 1994, Moosa, 1992). This anger can negatively impact on the counsellor's ability to remain empathic, where the counsellor's own feelings and

needs are likely to spill into the therapy. This can not only lead to the counsellor failing to respond empathically, but also to the potential abuse of the client, where the client is not seen to be reacting in the appropriate manner (Talbot et al., 1992). The potential to abuse the client points to the great need for the counsellor to understand his/her countertransference and related reactions to the clients, and him/herself, particularly in a South African context where liberation has not yet brought about much of the promised change. The potential for frustration and anger at the system is very much a factor that has to be taken into consideration.

The literature has tended to emphasize the negative effects of countertransference on the therapeutic process. The counsellor having undergone an experience of abuse, however, may have the opposite effect, in that it may give the him/her increased insight, and make him/her more sensitive to the clients "covert feelings" (Moosa, 1992, p.129). In this it may increase the counsellor's ability to be empathic, and provide a safe and containing space. Counsellors working under trying conditions, where their own safety is threatened, may initially be able to cope more effectively with trauma than those counsellors that are more removed from the direct danger, as certain adaptive coping mechanisms are mobilized. Research into Israeli psychotherapist's reactions during the Gulf War, found that those that were under the greatest direct threat from Scud Missile attacks showed a more positive mood than those that were not under direct threat (Guttfreund, Cohen & Yerushalmi, 1992). The authors speculated that in those therapists that showed a more positive mood, a degree of "optimal denial", was operating as a defence against the therapist's own feelings of vulnerability, and allowing them to focus on the client's difficulties. The experience of the Israeli therapists in the Gulf War is somewhat different to the experience of South African therapists in that the War was of a much shorter duration than the conflict in South Africa. Crisis theory points to the mobilization of all resources at the onset of a crisis, but for how long these resources can remain mobilized is uncertain (Miller & Iscoe, 1963, cited in Guttfreund et al., 1992). Counsellors may initially be able to cope

very effectively, but may, after prolonged exposure to traumatic circumstances, find that their personal ego strength is worn down.

Counsellors in South Africa are therefore faced, not only with having to deal with their past experiences of abuse, but also having to cope with the continuing experience of living within a community which continues to manifest the legacy of abuse. Moosa (1992) argues that the lack of alternative interventions and the general demoralized reactions by professionals dealing with victims in these trying circumstances in itself can be seen as a result of countertransference. The therapist's helplessness reflects the feelings of helplessness experienced by victims they set out to help, which often left them feeling inadequate (Moosa, 1992). In attempting to understand the factors that influence the countertransference in counsellors in South Africa, one cannot take the traditional view of looking only at the past experiences of the counsellor, but one also has to take the ongoing elements of abuse into account, which continue to have a profound impact.

2.3.4. An Ecosystemic View

A common thread running through all the literature is the important role that the individual's perception of the situation plays in determining their response, and ultimately their ability to cope with a given situation. One's perception of a situation is strongly determined by the meaning one derives from a given role in a given context. It is the meaning that the individual makes of these experiences that will play a major role in determining how he/she responds to the traumatic situation that the client brings.

The individual's perception is a result of the various contexts in which he/she finds him/herself. What has become most apparent in the review of the literature is that it is extremely difficult to isolate one factor, and that a more inclusive approach has to be taken in attempting to understand what is impacting on the

counsellor's ability to function effectively. Harvey (1996) argues that when looking at the treatment of victims of trauma the "extent and duration of traumatic exposure, characteristics of traumatising events, the ways in which victims interpret these events, and the qualities of the larger environment are equally important..." in determining the ultimate outcome of an individual's recovery (p.4). It is therefore very important to take into account all the factors that influence the individual and not to view the individual in isolation, but to attempt to understand the impact of the overall context in creating the individual's meaning, which will ultimately influence their perception of a given situation.

Bronfenbrenner (1977, 1979) in his research used the term ecology as an organising principle to describe the development of children in their natural setting. He developed a model of the ecology of human development that seeks to view development within a broader context. This model has four inclusive concentric systemic rings with the individual at the centre, where each ring represents a larger section of the environment. The outermost ring he termed the macrosystem, which includes factors such as racial diversity, belief systems and ideologies. The second ring is the exosystem that includes contexts with which the individual does not have direct contact; these include major institutions, the media, government agencies and informal social networks. The third ring is the mesosystem, which includes the interrelations between subsystems such as the individual's place of work, their local section and their home. The final ring is the microsystem, which refers to the individual's immediate environment, such as in the case of this research, the abuse centre. Bronfenbrenner's (1977, 1979) model attempts to take into account the numerous factors that could have an influence on an individual's development at the same time and not to view each of these factors in isolation. The need to gain an understanding of the various factors that influence the meaning that counsellors attach to working with victims of abuse is an important factor that guides this present research.

The literature review has sought to give an overview of the literature that relates to volunteer counsellors that work with victims of trauma. As was noted in the introduction there is a lack of literature that relates specifically to counsellors working with victims of trauma and living within the context of a South African township. The literature that exists on working with victims of trauma in a township relates to working with victims of trauma pre-1994 under the Apartheid government and does not relate to working within those contexts under the new dispensation. Although much has changed, counsellors living within this context still find themselves in a precarious position by being themselves exposed directly or indirectly to high levels of ongoing criminal violence, and having to cope with a burgeoning number of victims of this violence.

2.4. Summary of the Literature

The literature on burnout, lay counsellors, and working with victims of trauma all emphasised the important role that the counsellor's perceptions of their work has on their ability to work, and more importantly, to continue working effectively. The literature on these three areas pointed to how the greater context, past experiences, the nature of the work and the structure and approach of the counselling organization, all play a major role in influencing this perception. The need to gain an understanding of the various factors that influence how the counsellors perceive their work is therefore emphasised.

Another important factor to be noted is that there is a great overlap in the literature on the work on burnout and working with victims of trauma. The literature on working with victims of trauma, however, tends to focus on the impact of the work on the counsellor and does not emphasize the impact of the greater contexts surrounding the counsellors. Some of the literature on countertransference related to working with victims of trauma points to the influence of past experiences on the counsellor's ability to do the work effectively. It does not focus on present contexts and their ongoing influence. Literature related to burnout has expanded

to include an extensive understanding of the impact of the various contexts that influence a counsellor's perception, as described in Bronfenbrenner's (1977, 1979) ecosystemic model. The literature on burnout therefore provides a good understanding of the many factors that may influence a volunteer counsellor's performance and how these may impact on their performance. Burnout literature also overlaps to a large degree with much of the understanding that is found in the literature on volunteer counsellors. The literature on volunteer counsellors tends to place greater emphasis on organizational factors and the volunteer's role within these organizations.

An overall understanding that emerges from the survey of the literature is that whether or not an individual copes with the stresses related to working with victims of trauma is largely related to how he/she responds to the given situation. The individual's response is strongly related to how he/she perceives the situation and an individual's perception is influenced by the various contexts described above. An organization that makes use of volunteer counsellors can play a large role in anticipating and mediating the counsellor's response to the specific stresses related to working with victims of trauma. This can include the type of organizational structure and most importantly the type and amount of support the organization gives to the volunteer counsellor.

3.METHODOLOGY

3.1. Rationale for a Phenomenological Research Methodology

In order to tap into the various factors that influence the counsellor's perception of the work he/she does a phenomenological methodology was chosen for this research. The first reason for choosing a phenomenological approach was owing to the emphasis in the literature on the subjective experience of the counsellor in determining his/her ability to function effectively (Whiteman, 1993; McCann & Pearlman, 1990; Moosa, 1992; Pines, 1994). The research therefore seeks to gain an understanding of the meaning that counsellors attach to working with victims of abuse within the context of a South African township. In this the research seeks to understand how the meaning that is attached in this context may differ from that which is generally described in the literature, and how it may or may not contribute to the counsellor's ability to cope.

Secondly, the majority of the research into counsellors working with abuse and other difficulties faced by lay counsellors, is based on Western contexts and their related perceptions of the problems. This research seeks to gain an understanding of the problem based on the perceptions of those living and working within the context of a South African township in the post-Apartheid era. The need to move away from Western orientated value systems and develop interventions more appropriate to the South African context has been stressed by several authors (Gobodo, 1990; Biesheuvel, 1987; Hickson & Christie, 1989.) The need is to gain a better understanding of the different values and meanings attributed to a given problem by different groups before attempting to address it.

A phenomenological approach was chosen as it was felt that it would allow the researcher the opportunity to suspend preconceptions and gain a fresh understanding of the problem area. The research is seen as exploratory and therefore a methodology that allowed for the problem area to be in part defined by

those working within the context, which differs greatly from the researcher's context, was thought to be most appropriate.

3.2. Phenomenological Research

Phenomenological psychology fundamentally attempts to understand how each individual comes to a unique interpretation "of our experience by means of both innate invariants, or limitations, imposed by our biology and experientially derived social constructs and frameworks...." (Spinelli, 1989, p. xiv.). The understanding is that each individual constructs his/her meaning in the interaction between internal and external factors. That is, meaning is constructed in the complex interaction between the internal world of the individual interacting with the external environment. In order for the researcher to attempt to understand the subjective experience of another individual within a certain context, the researcher, according to phenomenological theory, needs to suspend his/her preconceptions of the problem. Moustakas (1994) explains that the challenge of phenomenological research is to,

> "silence the directing voices and sounds, internally and externally, to remove from myself manipulating and predisposing influences and to become completely and solely attuned to just what appears, to encounter the phenomenon, as such, with a pure state of mind...." (p 88).

Phenomenological research seeks to move away from the biases of the researcher using a traditional positivistic or naturalistic research paradigm and move towards a more inclusive understanding of the subjective experience of individuals and how that may influence a given problem (Giorgi, 1994). It fundamentally differs from the traditional positivistic methodology in that it attempts to allow the subject to define the problem being researched by being allowed to describe how he/she experiences the situation described by the researcher (Kruger, 1979). The research epistemology attempts to make the researcher's values and preconceptions more apparent in an attempt to move away from research

methodologies which are largely based on the researcher's existing preconceptions of a given problem (Kruger, 1979; Giorgi, 1994.) It therefore does not deny that the research will not be influenced by the researcher's pre-existing values, but attempts to incorporate them into the understanding of the given problem. The research methodology does not start off from the positivistic premise of attempting to create a research context where the researcher attempts to control all the variables in order for him/her to claim objectivity. Rather it attempts to observe the phenomenon in its natural context and gain an understanding of the subjective experience within that context (Giorgi, 1994).

3.3. Steps in the Phenomenological Method

True to the theory underlying the phenomenological methodology, detailed descriptions of how to approach the problem in a specific and fixed step-by-step method are limited, and those that exist vary in the specific steps to which they ascribe. Rather it is understood that it is a methodology in the process of development and therefore the specific procedures to be followed have not yet been fully defined (Giorgi, 1994). It is also important owing to the need to understand the subjective experience of the individual in different contexts that one has to be flexible in one's approach to the given problem. It is for this reason that the exact steps taken vary from one piece of research to another. Giorgi (1994) describes three basic steps in the phenomenological method: 1. **Description**, 2.**Phenomenological reduction**, and 3. **Search for essences**. In this he outlines a broad process of investigation rather than specific parameters and guidelines.

The first step, **Description**, "is the linguistic articulation of the intentional objects of experience...." (Mohanty, 1989, cited in Giorgi, 1994). The researcher, in this step, states what experience between two objects he/she chooses to describe, as in this research, where the researcher chooses to describe the experience of counsellors working within an abuse centre in a township. Giorgi (1994) argues

that due to phenomenology's more exact definition of description it is easier to "differentiate it from other expressive modes, especially interpretation" (p.212). In this the researcher does not define a problem area, but rather describes an area of curiosity of which he/she wishes to gain a better understanding of the experience.

In the second step, **Phenomenological reduction**, "the task is that of describing in textural language just what one sees, not only in terms of the external object but also the internal act of consciousness, the experience as such, the rhythm and relationship between phenomenon and self...." (Moustakas, p.90). The researcher attempts to describe what is seen taking both the internal and external world of experience into account. Another important factor in this step is that the researcher has to be aware of his/her own preconceptions of the experience being described. Kruger (1979) argues that description is the essence of phenomenological research where the researcher aims to describe the phenomena as they appear rather than as he/she thinks they should appear. In describing the phenomena the researcher is expected to acknowledge his/her prejudgements and write them out of the description (Moustakas, 1994). The researcher has to "take the phenomenon precisely as it presents itself without saying it exists precisely as it presents itself" (Giorgi, 1994). The researcher therefore attempts to describe the phenomena as they occur in their natural context without using his/her pre-existing values to label what he/she observes. It is an attempt to view the phenomena in as neutral a manner as possible so that new understandings of the phenomenon can emerge (Giorgi, 1994).

In the third step, **the search for essences**, is the "search for an invariance that will render a host of variables more intelligible in the realm of meaning" (Giorgi, 1994, p.214). In this step the researcher attempts to bring together the various components of the experience being described and create unified statements that reflect the essences of the "experience as a whole" (Moustakas, 1994, p. 100). In drawing out the essences the researcher is attempting to describe subjective meaning of the experience that was described. What is important to note is that

essences that emerge are not finite, but merely one of many possible variations that emerge at a given time (Giorgi, 1994; Moustakas, 1994). The research methodology therefore leaves the door open for further development of the understanding that emerges, and acknowledges that the reality created at that moment was based on an interaction between the researcher and that, which was being researched.

3.4. Aim

The study seeks to gain an understanding of counsellors working with abuse within the context of a South African township. The research is explorative and aims to describe the various phenomena that occur in the experiences of counsellors working within this context. In describing the different phenomena it aims to understand and describe the subjective experiences of lay counsellors that would possibly contribute to a greater understanding of the experience of working with abuse, and highlight certain areas for further research. The research attempts to open up an area of research into a specific context that has thus far been neglected in the literature.

3.5. The Sample

3.5.1. The Context of the Research

Due to the phenomenological basis of the research, it is very important to provide a description of the context from which the sample is drawn. Context is seen as playing a vital role in influencing the meaning that is attached to any given experience. The sample is drawn from counsellors working in an abuse centre in the township of Mamelodi which is situated to the east of Pretoria. The abuse centre was founded by a woman who returned from exile after the violent criminal murder of her sister in South Africa. The founder was in exile, due to her participation in the armed struggle against Apartheid. Her motivation for returning

to South Africa was to establish an abuse centre to assist the victims of violent crime, which was largely motivated by the death of her own sister. The centre was established in 1994 and has been staffed by volunteer counsellors who have found their way to the centre for various reasons. The majority of the volunteers are women who either have come to the centre as clients and then themselves become involved in the centre, people that have a shared history of participating in the struggle against Apartheid, students from the local university seeking experience, or unemployed people who would like to contribute to the community. The researcher's contact with the centre came from working as a volunteer counsellor while doing a research Masters degree looking at a possible intervention to assist counsellors to cope with burnout. The researcher spent a year working at the centre where he was exposed to the workings of the centre and the broader community.

The centre has not targeted one particular group of victims of abuse, but has rather attempted to open its doors to all victims of abuse. The philosophy of the centre is that South Africa is an abused society and that everybody is a victim of the abuse. This is a shift from the general trend in the country, where other similar abuse centres tend to focus on women and children and do not provide services aimed at men. Apart from providing counselling for victims the centre has also recently acquired a shelter, and participates in organising several employment schemes to help empower many of the people that come through the centre.

The centre has changed and adapted its approach to fit the context and several of the practices differ greatly from other organizations situated within traditionally white areas. One of the main differences is the very active involvement the centre has in schemes to provide employment. Many of the victims, due to the lack of finances, often find themselves trapped in abusive situations. The need to develop schemes to provide employment came out of the very real needs of the clients seen at the centre who live in poverty. Also of significance in this counselling situation, the centre often chooses to work with the perpetrators of the abuse. The

need to work with the husband in domestic violence cases arose out of the lack of shelters for women and children. The option to remove the women and children therefore did not exist and the centre became involved in attempting to negotiate with the perpetrator to make the home circumstances safer for the women and children. Similarly, in child maintenance cases, the centre was flooded with complaints of men who had defaulted on their payments. The centre's initial attempts to work through the court system proved frustrating and ultimately fruitless. The court system did not have the resources to follow up on the many men who were defaulting and therefore in contempt of court. This prompted the centre to begin to approach the men directly and begin to work with them in an attempt to get them to start their payments again. The need to take a more activist approach came out of the different context where the clients have limited access to many of the institutionalized resources, and those that exist are often inadequate to deal with the numerous problems presented to them.

3.5.2. Collection of Data

The researcher discussed the research with the director who agreed to allow the volunteer counsellors to participate in the research. The director then informed the counsellors that research would be conducted and that they could participate if they so wished. Initially the researcher approached one of the counsellors and conducted a pilot interview that was then transcribed. The interview was discussed with the supervisor and a few changes were recommended in order to make the interviews truer to a phenomenological methodology. The researcher then returned to the centre where he informed the counsellors that he wished to conduct interviews for a research project and that their participation would be voluntary. The counsellors were also informed that their interviews would be treated confidentially and anonymity was assured. They were also told that the research was not an attempt to evaluate their performance or ability as counsellors. Six of the counsellors in the centre offered to participate, and over a

period of two days, six int views were conducted. Four female and two male counsellors were interviewed.

The interviews were unstructured, conducted by the researcher and recorded on audiotape. The researcher, prior to switching on the audiotape, reiterated that the aim of the research was not to evaluate their ability and that the interviews were confidential. The researcher asked the initial question which was:

> **"Could you tell me about an experience you had when you were working with somebody who had been abused?"**

The researcher during the interview repeated in other words what had been said by the interviewee to gain clarification and used phrases such as "Could you tell me more about that," or "Could you tell me what sort of things you mean?" When it was noted during the interview that the interviewee talked about one aspect of the experience, such as them feeling they were successful, they were asked if they had ever had an opposite experience to the one being described. In this, the researcher was trying to gain an understanding of the full range of experiences of the counsellors working with individuals that had been abused. In the interviews the researcher attempted not to introduce his own ideas when asking the interviewee to describe whether they had had an opposite experience, but tried to stay with the terminology used by the interviewee. For example, if the interviewee stated several times that they felt very successful with a case, the interviewer asked, "Have you felt their were times when a case was not successful?" Whether the interviewee chose to respond to the statement, and what experience they chose and how they chose to describe it, was still pre-determined by them.

3.5.3. The Subjects

Of the six interviews conducted it was decided to use two and the decision was based primarily on the quality of the interviews. The interviews that were felt to

have elicited the most information after having read the transcriptions were selected for more detailed analysis. A second criterion for exclusion at this point was the decision to exclude the two interviews of the male counsellors. It was decided that bringing in the experience of both male and female counsellors would constitute bringing in a further research subject, which would be a comparison of male and female experiences within the given context. Both the counsellors therefore are female and live in Mamelodi. At the time the interviews were conducted both had worked at the centre for longer than six months and were volunteering on a full time basis. Volunteering on a full time basis at the centre means Monday to Friday, nine to five and certain Saturdays without any pay for their services. Both were unemployed and had been seeking employment while they had begun working at the centre.

3.6. Method of Analysis

The interviews were analysed according to the method set out by Kruger (1979), that includes six steps. The first step is gaining **"an intuitive holistic grasp of the data"**. The researcher is expected to bracket his/her preconceptions and read and reread the data in order to gain a holistic sense of the data which he/she can hold onto when the data is broken up into smaller pieces during the later phases of analysis (Kruger, 1979, p.128).

The second step is the **"Spontaneous emergence of Natural Meaning Units"** (NMUs). The "data is broken down into naturally occurring units" where each unit conveys a particular meaning (Kruger, 1979, p.128). After the protocol has been broken down into NMUs these are rewritten into a "reduced form as concisely and accurately as possible" (Kruger, 1979, p.128).

The third step **"Constituent Profile Description"** is where the researcher eliminates all those NMUs that are repetitive or irrelevant to the research question

(Kruger, 1979). What should be left after this phase is a more condensed version of the original data (Kruger, 1979, p.129).

The fourth step **"Second Order Profile"** is a repetition of the first three steps on the reduced data that remains after the constituent profile description (Kruger, 1979, p.129). This stage should finally remove any data that is not relevant to the research question.

In the fifth step **"Hierarchical Categorisation"** the researcher places those statements with similar meaning in categories, which are then arranged hierarchically (Kruger, 1979, p.130).

In the sixth stage **"Extended Description"**, using the first few categories the researcher "writes an extended description", which includes the themes that have emerged (Kruger, p.130). He/she then includes the next category in the description, which should either expand or alter the description. The procedure is repeated until the essence of the data is described in the description. The thematic elements that emerge out of the other categories need to be described or their insignificance to the research question need to be explained (Kruger, 1979, p.131).

4. ANALYSIS

As the analysis is extremely lengthy, it is not possible to include a full account of it in this chapter. A fuller account of the analysis is listed in the three Appendices. Appendix 1 contains segments of both interviews and the conversion of the interviews into natural meaning units (NMUs). Only segments of the interviews have been included in this section to protect the confidentiality and the anonymity of the participants. Appendix 1 therefore contains step 1 and 2 of the analysis as described in Kruger's (1979) methodology, "an intuitive holistic grasp of the data" and a "spontaneous emergence of Natural Meaning Units".

Appendix 2 contains the next part of the analysis which is Kruger's (1979) steps 3 "Constituent Profile Description", 4 "Second Order Profile" and the first phase of step 5 "Hierarchical Categorisation". The final phase in the 5th step "Hierarchical Categorisation" which gives the distinctive categories that emerged in both interviews is listed below.

Appendix 3 contains the first phase in Kruger's (1979) step 6 where the themes that emerged in both interviews are initially arranged into common and unique themes before being worked into the extended description. The final stage of step 6 where the themes that emerged for both counsellors are organized into common themes of the experience is included in this chapter.

4.1. Interview 1 (Counselor N)

A.Working with abuse is hard.

B.The work affects her personally.

C.Her ability to work as a counsellor is affected.

D.Being a counsellor has improved her life.

E.Knowledge helps you deal with abuse.

F.Cope by focusing on the positive.

G.Counsellors need certain abilities.

H.Extra support is needed to cope.

I.She is working for a better future.

J.Women have to be more responsible than men are, because men are abusive.

K.There are other causes of abuse.

L. You cannot be emotional when working with abuse.

4.2. Interview 2 (Counsellor P)

A.Victims have to stand up to abuse.

B.She can't help those that are not willing to take responsibility.

C.Victims blame themselves.

D.Her personal experience of rape affects her working with rape.

E.Counselling has helped her deal more effectively with her personal life.

F.She feels responsible for helping people who have been abused.

G.Child victims must talk.

H.Children need to be given priority.

I.The environment influences people's behavior.

J.She helps people.

K.Sometimes she feels she can't help people.

L.She is concerned that criminals do not pay for their crimes.

M.Sometimes the work has a negative emotional impact on her.

4.3. Organizing the Themes into Common Themes of the Experience

The above themes that emerged out of the analysis of the two interviews were organized into several themes common and unique to the experience of both the counsellors in their descriptions of working with victims of abuse in a township. The interim working phase is included in Appendix 3 where the unique and common themes are given. It is difficult to find exact matches in relation to the common and unique themes that emerged in both interviews, and certain themes overlap with other themes. An attempt was made to integrate the themes so as to describe the common themes that emerged in the analysis of the description of both counsellor's experiences. In essence, by following Kruger's (1979) methodology for step 6 "Extended Description", one adds the different statements to the original statement and so modifies one's understanding of the experience. When the themes from the original protocols are combined it can alter the themes accordingly and allow for new themes to emerge. Below, in the final phase of step 6, the unique and common themes are organized into common themes and the extended description for each theme is given.

4.3.1. Common Themes

(i)The perception of the victim

(f) They will not work with certain types of cases.
(i) Abused women are unreliable.
(k) You cannot help those that to not want to be helped.
(o) Child victims must talk.
(r) Victims blame themselves.

Three aspects of how the counsellors perceive the victims emerged from the descriptions in the interviews. The first aspect is that they find certain types of cases difficult to work with, and they would therefore choose not to see those clients, and refer them to other people outside, or inside their organization. A

second aspect and strong factor for both counsellors was that they place a great deal of responsibility on the victim to get out of their abusive relationships. This was a common factor in both of the cases that the counsellors chose to describe. They both described feeling frustrated by the women in their cases that had not followed their advice, which was to either get out of the abusive relationships, or press charges against the partners. In this they both pointed to the victims in these cases as being unreliable. A third aspect was the feeling that victims blame themselves, and that an important aspect in their treatment of victims was to get them to stop blaming themselves.

(ii) How they experience the work

(a)Working with abuse is difficult.
(b)Sometimes they question their ability as counsellors.
(j)They help people.

Both counsellors pointed to the difficulty of working with abuse, and that this difficulty has lead to them at times having questioned their ability to work as counsellors. This struggle with the work appears to be overshadowed by their overall feeling that they are helpful in what they do, and that they, in fact, are more often than not successful in helping victims of abuse. The first cases that they described are good examples of this where they expressed having struggled enormously with the cases, but conclude by saying that in the end they were successful. Overall it appears that they feel that the work benefits them both directly and indirectly, by helping them to cope more effectively with their own lives, and by giving them a greater sense of purpose. The positive aspects of the work they do as counsellors seemed to be a dominant theme for both counsellors, even if it did not necessarily dominate the content of the interviews.

(iii) How they experience themselves

(g) The work sometimes has a negative impact on one's emotions.
(h) They feel vulnerable outside of the centre.
(q) She feels responsible for helping people that have been abused.

Both counsellors indicated that the work sometimes has a negative impact on their emotions, and that they end up going home worrying about difficult cases. This negative impact on them was not a prominent theme in the interviews, and was mentioned more in passing. They were not really willing to elaborate on their experience of not coping when the interviewer attempted to gain a deeper understanding by probing. Also alluded to was that they were aware of their own vulnerability within the township, and that they themselves could become victims of abuse either directly or indirectly. Counsellor P had already been the indirect victim of abuse with her sister's rape. Counsellor N indicated that when working with victims of child abuse she worried about her own child.

(iv) How they cope

(l) Extra support is needed to cope.
(n) You cannot be emotional when working with abuse.
(s) Cope by focusing on the positive.
(t) Counsellors need certain abilities.

Counsellor P did not directly comment on how she coped with working with abuse, but did indicate that she felt that she was coping as a counsellor. Trying to elaborate on how she coped would be subject to too much interpretation on the part of the researcher. Both pointed to the fact that working with victims of abuse had the ability to make them overemotional or cry and that at times they had to be careful not to become too emotional. Counsellor N, on the other hand, was quite concerned with coping. She pointed to her own feeling that abuse victims should

not become too emotional, and that the counsellor should not become too emotional when working with victims of abuse. She emphasised the need to remain rational, and focus on the positive by looking for solutions, rather than indulging in the more negative emotional aspects such as the graphic accounts of abuse. Counsellor P also pointed to referring individuals who needed more intense counselling, for example rape victims. The need for their own counselling, extra support and ongoing training to develop their skills and help them cope, was also indicated by counsellor N.

(v) What the work means to them

(c) Working as a counsellor has benefited them.
(e) They are working for a better future.
(m) Working with abuse can help to heal one's own experience of abuse.

The work as counsellors having benefited them was a strong theme, which they linked to feeling empowered by the experience they had gained working with abuse at the centre. They both felt that they had learnt a lot about abuse since dealing with their first case. They felt that they were not only more capable of dealing with abuse inside the centre, but also outside of the centre. For both of them they had a sense that they were helping to create a better future for those people with whom they worked, and that generally the work that they did was important to prevent abuse continuing in the future.

(vi) What causes abuse

(d)The environment plays an important role in the development of abuse.
(p) Women must be more responsible than men, because men are abusive.

Both counsellors had the idea that the prevailing circumstances that existed within the context of the township contributed to the ongoing abuse. Men were seen as

being the abusers, and women and children were described as the victims, which was common to both counsellors. Also the idea that women have to take responsibility for dealing with and preventing abuse was strong. Concern about the lack of law enforcement was voiced and the general failure of the legal system was also indicated. The state of the economy was also pointed to as being a prime cause of the high levels of abuse It appeared, particularly for counsellor P, that they were resigned to the fact that due to the poor legal system pursuing, certain cases was pointless, for example as maintenance cases.

5. DISCUSSION

It would appear from the analysis of the interviews that many of the difficulties highlighted in the literature are present in the experiences described by the counsellors. Analysis of the interviews showed that the counsellors felt that they had both received very positive benefits from doing the work, as well as having been negatively affected. The subjects gave an understanding of the greater context and the socio-economic values that exist. Furthermore, they gave insight into the organization for which they work, and the way that clients and counsellors are perceived by the organization. The research also highlighted the counsellor's experiences outside of the centre and how they influence the counsellor's perceptions of themselves, their clients and their work. A great deal of insight into the difficulty of working with victims of trauma within the context also emerged. Finally, the research gave some understanding of the meaning that the counsellors attach to their experience of working with victims of abuse within their specific context. The meaning that was attached to their experiences was clearly influenced by many factors, and not only from the experience of working with victims of abuse in the centre. The ecosystemic model of development put forward by Bronfenbrenner (1977, 1979) is extremely useful with regard to this research as it makes one aware of how the different contexts influence an individual's perception of themselves. The findings of the research will be discussed according to the three areas of research discussed in the literature review namely, **burnout, lay counsellors** and **working with victims of trauma,** as each area highlights a different aspect of the experience. This discussion looks at all aspects of the experience in an attempt to understand how these together contribute to the meaning that the counsellors attach to their work, which ultimately relates to their perception of working with victims of trauma within a township.

6.1. The Subjects Experience of Burnout

The literature on burnout is extremely useful in giving an understanding of the mechanisms that would lead to the counsellors feeling that they could not cope with their work. What is particularly useful with regard to the work on burnout was Maslach's (1986) move to look at the caregiver within a broader context. It gives the researcher a model whereby one can begin to move beyond blaming the counsellors, where the previous literature tended to look at the counsellor's struggle in isolation. It highlights the need to look at the counsellor's experiences outside of the organization, within the organisation, and finally to attempt to understand how the counsellor reacts to the aforementioned contexts. The counsellor's feelings of helplessness in this study were not only related to the client's apparent non-cooperation, or to the counsellor's lack of experience but also to the social context and the organization. The counsellors indicated that they were concerned with social factors beyond their control, such as the feeling that the perpetrators of abuse are able to get away with their crimes, and a patriarchal system that discriminates against women. Also of concern is the lack of resources, unemployment and general poverty, which they felt forced certain victims to have to return to highly dangerous circumstances.

An example of the above given by Counsellor P, who in reference to a woman that would not leave an abusive relationship remarked, "Again maybe it had to do with the environment where they grew up, it says a lot, it says a lot ...". In an earlier refcrence to the same case she explained that the woman did not want to leave because,

> "this thing in our tradition when you get married in the rural areas these old ladies they tell you something like a code of marriage. You must stay in the marriage even if he beats you, the woman's grave is in the marriage"

Also of concern for her was that criminals seem to get away with their crimes, which she felt makes them feel that they can carry on doing it because they are not

punished. Counsellor P, who had experienced the rape of her sister whilst growing up, showed great concern that criminals were not presently being punished for their crimes,

> "I am worried about these people that keep on going free, because they think that it is the way it should be, and they don't know how much harm they are causing, not only to the person, but to the family of the person, because it b comes heavy, you cannot do anything you see...".

Counsellor N pointed strongly to the socio-economic factors in describing what she feels is the abusive cycle created by maintenance not being paid. In reference to a mother that was abusive to her daughter, she said that,

> "when she (The mother) has a lack of money or whatever she used to take out the stress on K, she used to beat up K very badly...She (The daughter) eventually devised the style of sleeping with other people for money, and that thing really abused her. It was at the age of 15...".

In reference to men who sexually abuse she said,

> "He is a little bit frustrated, what causes the frustration is money, you know money is the source of everything. If you don't have money you will not survive...So he is going to relieve that stress on top of the poor child. That's what causes the sexual abuse to young children".

Both of these statements point to an awareness of how their context contributes to the development of abuse and their frustration with those aspects of the context. All of the above factors contributed to the experience of feeling helpless, not only with regards to the work with their clients, but at times within their own lives.

One of the ways that the counsellors responded to this helplessness was choosing not to work with certain clients. Counsellor N said that she would not work with cases where the child w. s being abused and the mother would not cooperate with

the counsellor, by withdrawing the charges against the perpetrator who is the father,

> "So it is quite frustrating, if you see that kind of case you won't say you will work with that kind of case. You ... did not succeed one hasn't reached his goal. Instead you destroyed somebody's life...".

A large part of what is frustrating for the counsellor in the above case is the legal system which is seen as being ineffectual and allowing perpetrators to get away with their crimes. Having grown up in a black township the counsellors have experienced a legal system that is seen not only to discriminate against blacks, but furthermore, to be abusive. As was discussed in the literature review, most violent behaviour and submissive behaviour is socially learnt (Siff, 1990). The counsellors are countering years of socially learnt submissive behaviour, not only in their clients but often in themselves, as was well illustrated in the example given above. The counsellors are therefore faced with the difficult task of overcoming years of what in essence amounts to what Seligman (1975) referred to as learned helplessness, particularly in their clients; added to this is their own experience of being women in a patriarchal society. The experience of working with a client that feels helpless can therefore exacerbate the counsellors' own feelings of helplessness, thereby creating a vicious cycle. The more helpless the client feels, the more helpless the counsellor feels, which impacts on the client and in return impacts again on the counsellor. It would explain some of the counsellors' remarks that they choose outright not to work with certain cases as they feel there is no way to help the people, because the problem is too overwhelming, or they are not able to enforce the law themselves. In essence, they are pointing to what they feel is beyond their control and their feelings of helplessness in this situation.

The literature on burnout and learned helplessness also explains the counsellor's emphasis on gaining knowledge about abuse. They emphasised the need to understand abuse so that they could gain a sense of mastery over abuse. The

reason they gave for feeling overwhelmed in their first cases was that they did not then have the knowledge about working with abuse, that they have now. Counsellor P, in reference to her first case said, "It left me feeling that I was powerless...". In response to further probing into her experience of her first case she said, "No it was that case only, maybe it was my first case, maybe I have learnt from practice...". The need to feel empowered was strong for both the counsellors, to have the feeling that they have mastery over their environment was emphasised. With regard to this, counsellor N said that on her first case "So I was very much hurt, but I kept telling myself that is my work, that is where I belong. If I made it at first then I will make it...".

They also pointed to how their knowledge of abuse had not only helped them work with victims of abuse, but also had helped them become more effective in dealing with their lives outside of the centre. This point is linked to the counsellor's feelings that at times they have felt vulnerable in situations outside of the centre and that they have felt a need to gain a greater sense of control. Counsellor N said that when she was working with a young girl that had been abused she,

> "was feeling was that if I had a baby girl, I wouldn't be happy if she was going to be abused like that, I even said thanks God I don't have a baby girl, I have a baby boy...".

In the example already given Counsellor P explained how she feels concerned about criminals getting away with their crimes, and them developing the perception that they can get away with crime. She related this to her earlier experience of rape and how she still feels vulnerable, because her sister's rapist was not apprehended.

They see the work as having helped them to gain greater control over their lives and therefore having benefited them, which is an extremely positive aspect for the

counsellors. Counsellor N, in reference to how her work has helped her personally, said,

> "can be controlled to any kind of situation, and even out of it,...you can accommodate different types of people ...once you start talking to somebody, you can tell she is this type of person, ... and I will have to handle him that way. . I have learnt a lot, because now I can easily recognise a problem, or a place whereby it doesn't suit me ...".

Counsellor P explained how it had helped her to deal more effectively with her relationships with her family,

> "Here after I attended a certain enrichment course, and counselling course at Lifeline I found it more easy to talk about myself ... I would only express what I feel when I am angry, and then I found that it is more important to talk, than talk when you are angry ... So at least I can express myself more easily, communicate with my family, let them know what I want. Unlike if I didn't want to do that thing I would just walk out, I would just shut up and don't do it, and they would interpret it as if you are stubborn... ".

The positive benefits to their personal lives may also explain in relation to burnout theory, how cognitively the counsellors' perception of their work is enhanced and has enabled them to continue working at the centre and not to have given up thus far. It would also explain to some degree why symptoms specifically related to burnout were not reported in the interviews. This ties in with Schaufeli and Janczur's (1994) hypothesis that one of the main factors that contributes to burnout is a "perceived imbalance" between what is being put in to the work and what is being received in return. It would appear from the interviews that the counsellors do not perceive an imbalance between what they are putting into the work and what they are receiving from the work. Furthermore, the counsellors both described feeling in control of their situations in and outside of the workplace because they had a good understanding of abuse. Cognitively, the counsellor's perception of the work appears to be that it benefits them directly, and that they

are helpful to people even though there are those that they choose not to help. In the interviews the counsellors did not once indicate that they felt they were presently incompetent as counsellors, rather they seemed to isolate their feelings of incompetence to their first cases only. The counsellors therefore appear to deny any feelings of incompetence and tend to blame external factors, such as their clients or the environment, rather than themselves. Blaming external factors was clearly identified by Seligman and his colleagues as a strong mediating factor against learned helplessness (Klein et al., 1976). It is perhaps these cognitive processes that help the counsellors counter their feelings of helplessness and the loss of mastery over their environment, and thereby has protected them from developing, or reporting, the symptoms related to burnout. Also by avoiding cases that frustrate them they are able to limit to some extent situations where they feel helpless, which could contribute to them becoming burntout.

A further aspect of the counsellor's descriptions of their experience which may enable them to work is also described in the literature on burnout, where individuals that find an existential significance in their work are seen as being less prone to developing burnout (Etzion et al., 1986; Pines, 1994). This is another important factor that may also contribute to the counsellors continuing to do the work in a situation where their own safety is threatened and against such great odds. For the counsellors it appeared that they had a greater existential meaning which was to work for a better future in South Africa. They both saw themselves as playing a role in preventing abuse from continuing in the future, and therefore placed great emphasis on the need to protect children, as they represent the future. Counsellor N, in reference to working with an abused child said that ,

> "No it did not make it difficult in fact it encourages me that I must work, I must try to get more children that have been abused you know, because destroying a child's life it is a very bad thing. It is like destroying our tomorrow, because the other one's that are coming have a better future you see...".

Counsellor P described a case where a woman did not want to leave her husband,

> "we tried to show her, you have kids what is going to happen if this man kills you, don't you even think about their wellbeing, it is even affecting the kids, and if you cannot do it for yourself, do it for the children, because they are growing in an abnormal and unfavourable situation...".

Even though the situation for these counsellors in South Africa is still wrought with difficulty, it appeared that for both counsellors there was a sense that their situation had improved, and that there was hope for a better future. The need to deal with abuse now so that there could be an improved future for the next generation was an important factor for the counsellors, and provides them with some existential significance in their work.

6.2. The Difficulty of Working with Victims of Trauma in a Township

The work on burnout, however, is only applicable to certain aspects of the experiences described by the counsellors. The overlap between the symptomatology described in the literature on burnout and that described in the literature on working with victims of trauma is problematic. As has already been discussed they are two distinctive areas of research. Although the aetiology is similar, the onset of the negative symptoms when working with abuse are seen as more acute, owing to the content of the material presented in working with victims of trauma. The counsellors both, had worked for a period of longer than six months which is long enough for the onset of burnout. Some of the symptoms that were described and defences that were evoked, can be related to burnout., but seem to be more closely related to those described in the work on victims of trauma. The overlapping symptoms that were described in the interview are those that relate to the depersonalisation of others and a pervasive sense of denial. Both these sets of symptoms are described as occurring in both counsellors that work with trauma, and counsellors that are burntout (Talbot et al., 1992; Turnispeed, 1994). The counsellors did not report a sense of reduced accomplishment in their

work generally, which is one of the primary determinants of burnout, as has been discussed. The element of denial that was thought to be present in both the interviews that were analysed may, however, indicate that there was a degree of underreporting of symptoms during the interview. This may be as a result of the methodology, where due to the unstructured nature of the interviews, the interviewer could not ask questions directly related to burnout, or may be related to the subjects possibly feeling unsafe with the interviewer.

The research methodology does not enable the researcher to determine whether or not the counsellors are burntout. Rather the primary nature of some of the defences evoked and the strong reactions to certain clients, point more to working with trauma, as being the aspect of the work they find particularly overwhelming. Particularly the response of the counsellors to their first cases, where they both indicated that at that point they decided they could not work, or would choose not to work with those types of trauma cases in future. Furthermore, both counsellors indicated that they had great difficulty working with the intense emotions that victims of trauma experienced when describing what had happened to them. The counsellors also both indicated that they were aware that it was important for victims of trauma to talk about what happened to them and to have a space to express their feelings. In the interviews both counsellors indicated how when clients described certain traumatic events they both found it difficult to listen to such accounts. Counsellor P said that she chose to refer cases due to their intensity.

> "Ja, like to Agape (Psychology Clinic) for intense counselling, mainly in rape cases where we got to the police station, and they are hearing them...Like rape cases they need intense counselling. I don't say we are not qualified, we are, but Agape students are more advanced than we are, so they can deal with the problem more intensely than we can...It is very difficult, because sometimes they are crying, so you have to console yourself not to join them."

Counsellor N indicated the need for the counsellor not to be emotional when working with victims and also the need of the victim to not become too emotional. When referring to a case that she worked on with a child that had been sexually abused she said,

> "But you have to keep cool, for you to work with her, you have to keep cool, because she has got to understand you. She has got to be very down (not be emotional), she has got to be able to tell you what happened...".

They also related some of the experience, described to them by their clients, to their own lives and experiences, as has already been discussed above. In this the counsellors acknowledged their own feelings of vulnerability which relates strongly to an understanding of the effects that working with victims of trauma has on individuals. As was discussed in the literature review, counsellors who work with victims sometimes show a tendency to overidentify with their clients, intellectualise, become more rigid in their thinking, resistant to change, and are generally in denial as to how the work is affecting them (Talbot et al., 1992). It appears from the interviews that all these factors were present in varying degrees.

The literature on countertransference in working with victims of trauma seems to provide insight into the reactions evoked in the counsellors in relation to working with victims of trauma. Beyond their experiences of feeling helpless in their role as counsellors, they also indicated that they feel vulnerable outside of the centre. This was shown in counsellor P's concern that criminals were not being punished for their crimes and counsellor N expressing her apparent relief at her child being a boy instead of a girl. The counsellors find themselves in a very vulnerable position as has been discussed in the section on burnout, which increases the potential for a strong negative countertransference related to their own feelings of being unsafe. It seems that the counsellors have extreme difficulty in dealing with the primal emotions that are associated with working with victims of trauma (Talbot et al., 1992). This seems to be related to an extreme need to defend against their feelings of vulnerability. It appears that the counsellors have acknowledged,

and have some insight into, their countertransferential feelings, and for this reason refer, or avoid particular cases where they would have to deal with graphic material and the intense emotions that the client may bring. The counsellors in doing this, showed some insight by making the link between the need to refer to others, due to their own feelings about those particular cases.

With regard to countertransference related to past experiences, a clear example of how this can impact on the counsellor's ability to work with victims of abuse was given. Counsellors P's experience of the rape of her sister, in the example given earlier, informed how she chose not to work with rape victims but chose to refer them to others outside of the centre for counselling. Once again there was a tendency to rationalise the need to refer and she struggled in the interview to acknowledge her feelings around the issue of the rape. It is clear from this example how past experiences, particularly unresolved issues, can have a profound influence on the ability to work with abuse and therefore need to be taken into consideration. It also points to the difficulty that exists for counsellors in this context where many individuals have been directly or indirectly exposed to abuse in their pasts.

A strong theme that emerged was the tendency of the counsellors to blame the victims. The counsellors' need to blame the victims seemed to be related to a need to defend against their own feelings of helplessness that were evoked when working with the victims. It appeared that when they became angry or frustrated with their clients, they were projecting out their own feelings of helplessness onto the victims, by emphasising that the victims were responsible for dealing with their abuse. The counsellors describing that they felt the client was stupid when she did not take their advice is a good example of the above; counsellor P in reference to a woman who did not want to leave her abusive husband said:

> "So it was very frustrating to me, ...she was in an awful position...because the man had kicked her in the stomach and she was expecting at that time, and she didn't want to go to the hospital...,because at the hospital they would convince her to press charges against her husband, and she didn't want that. So it was so frustrating for me how come she could be so stupid..., it was my first case, and then you learn women always stay with abusive husbands...".

The projection and the need to defend against the feelings of helplessness were carried to an extreme, where forcing a child client to talk, was rationalised. Counsellor P explained how, when a child is brought in by the parents who complain that she won't talk, one needs to make the child talk in order for the counsellor to be able to help.

> "Ja, they don't want to talk, and you will find the parent, she was doing the same thing at home, when they are asking the children they don't talk, and when they come here they are doing the same thing. Then they say you see they don't want to talk to us. You can go home and she will remain here until she decides to talk, and then eventually he will...Ja it is very important for them to talk, because communication is the basis of everything,... So if you don't talk how is it going to be, that is the only way we are going to get through to each other...".

The irritation and anger that appeared to be present points to the extreme need for the counsellor to defend against feelings of helplessness by forcing a client to "take her help". The counsellor was able to rationalise continuing the abusive cycle, and following the parent's agenda, by defining herself as helping someone who needs help. It points to a general lack of awareness of the effect that the work is having on them, which is one of the symptoms described in the work with victims of trauma. These actions tie in with Klein's (1935, 1946) description of the primitive defences that can be evoked when individuals feel extremely vulnerable. The individual projects their feelings of vulnerability onto the client, and through the process of projective identification, sees their own feelings of helplessness in the client, and are unable to differentiate between their own

feelings and those of the client. In order to defend against their feelings of helplessness, the client has to be blamed, or forced to take the help. The client is likely to introject the projection because they may already have their own similar feelings. The potential for the counsellor to get hooked into the abusive cycle points to the great difficulty faced by those that work with victims of abuse and the need for an outsider to monitor one's work.

6.3. Problems Faced by Lay Counsellors

All of the above points to the strong need for supervision and ongoing training for volunteer counsellors, as indicated in the literature (Danoff & Koppel, 1991). The lack of formalised supervision appears to be one of the main exacerbating factors in some of the difficulties and mistakes made by the counsellors. A concern that was voiced by counsellor N,

> "To help us cope, and not to get tired, we need a lot of workshops, a lot of seminars, and sometimes we need to refresh ourselves, once after three months..., just cool down without discussing anything that concerns our lives, just to relax. Have peace of mind...".

This was the only direct acknowledgement, in both interviews, of the need for support to help the counsellors to cope with the work that they do. Not having sufficient organizational support, particularly supervision, can lead to the counsellors blaming themselves for their failure, rather than the organization, which has been identified in the literature on volunteer workers as a formula for failure in the long-term (Kessler, 1991).

It appears that the counsellors have obtained a great deal of intellectual understanding about victims of abuse, and what causes abuse. This, however, does not appear to be adequate in enabling them always to be able to adapt this understanding into working with victims. More importantly, it certainly does not appear to be adequate in helping them deal with the emotional demands of the

work. Their interventions appear to remain on a more practical level, namely, referring clients to appropriate agencies such as the police and magistrate. The struggle for these counsellors is to be able to deal with the graphic content and intense emotions, which they seem to avoid, due to the intense feelings it evokes in them. The feelings of being overwhelmed can be countered by more formalised support structures within the organization, such as supervision, ongoing training, and formal debriefing sessions.

Linked to the above is the present lack of professional support for such organizations in South Africa, which could provide some of the above. It points to the continuing marginalization of certain sectors of the community and the lack of access to professional agencies. The professional resources within this community are limited and finding professionals that are willing to give of their time and effort to work within the context of a township, is difficult. The centre therefore finds itself providing a vital service, but unable to provide certain aspects effectively, due to the continued marginalization of their community.

6. Conclusion

In essence the research confirmed many of the findings of other researchers in the fields of burnout, working with victims of trauma, and volunteer counsellors. What it appears to add to this understanding, is the difficulty of living and working with victims of abuse in a largely marginalized community, where one is vulnerable to the same high levels of criminal violence as one's clients. This differs from the majority of contexts described in the literature where the volunteer counsellors are generally from more privileged and secure backgrounds. It also pointed to the ongoing need for such centres to take an activist role and challenge the existing status quo, which continues to marginalise certain sectors of the community. The research focused on the experience of lay counsellors and pointed to the danger of the uninformed observer, falling into the trap of blaming the counsellors for their lack of expertise in working with victims of abuse.

The findings of this research, however, emphasise the need to take the context that the counsellors operate in, into account. Lay counsellors working in this context face an extremely difficult task, against great odds, which many highly skilled professionals choose not to work with in South Africa. Also of importance is that the counsellors are faced with multiple problems when dealing with clients in this context. The clients that they have to deal with do not have the infrastructure that many other clients who can afford to seek professional assistance, enjoy. This makes the feelings of helplessness more intense, and therefore counsellors feeling overwhelmed is understandable within this context. They face working under extremely difficult circumstances, and with clients in dire straits, without the professional training and infrastructure that supports many professionals.

The primary need that emerged in this study is not the lack of training, but the lack of ongoing support and supervision. This research clearly indicates that many of the inequalities in the mental health sphere that existed under the previous government, still exist today. It also pointed to the need for more mental health

professionals to provide services, even if not directly but as supervisors, to help develop the lay services within this community. It clearly illustrates that a single training programme is not sufficient to train lay counsellors to work with victims of trauma. What is required is a programme that allows for ongoing development and debriefing by more skilled professionals, which will enable the counsellors to do the work. A grave error, it would seem, is to provide training programmes without ensuring adequate ongoing support.

7. Limitations of the Study

Problematic aspects of the research relate firstly to the size of the sample and that the sample was drawn from one centre in one township. One has to take into account that the township of Mamelodi differs from many of the other townships, which may have higher levels of crime and therefore the counsellors may feel relatively safe or unsafe, compared to counsellors living in other areas. Secondly, it was problematic that the interviewer is not able to speak Northern Sotho, as this did seem to impact marginally on the counsellors' ability to express themselves. The interviewer being white is also a difficulty, in relation to this research as certain prejudices that exist on both sides may have influenced the underreporting of feelings around not coping. This may also be related to the counsellors' view of the researcher as being a professional and them viewing themselves as non-professionals, which may have been a further factor to explain their apparent need to understate their feelings around any difficulties they may have been experiencing. Although the researcher is familiar with the centre, and had worked there previously, he was not familiar with the counsellors. The counsellors had previously only been spoken to in a group context by the interviewer and the interview constituted the first private conversation that he had with the counsellors. The interviewer, having been introduced and given the go ahead by the centre director, may have in some way alleviated certain misgivings, but the interviewer still remained an outsider to most of the counsellors interviewed.

8. Implications for further Research

The research as stated is exploratory and therefore its aim was to gain some understanding of lay counsellors working with abuse in a South African township in order for it to guide further research in this much neglected area. The extreme difficulties of working in this context have been highlighted and also that counsellors working within this context struggled to deal with the traumatic content of the material, due to their own real feelings of vulnerability. A real need for more professional input into not only training, but ongoing supervision and debriefing, was indicated. It also pointed to the continued marginalization of this community, and that a lack of professional resources still exists, and therefore the need for such centres is likely to remain for the foreseeable future. Research into bridging the gap between professionals and non-professionals should continue. The steps taken to incorporate lay counsellors into the Health Professions Council will not necessarily remove the problem of their marginalization. The attempts to incorporate those marginalized groups should therefore be seen as an ongoing process, where the criteria for inclusion are continually adjusted to changing circumstances and demands, rather than establishing a fixed set of criteria which will lead to a further level of exclusivity. These counsellors are a good example as they are not likely to fit the criteria put forward by the Health Professions Council due to their lack of ongoing supervision. This will ultimately mean that, once again, they will be marginalized which will only exacerbate their difficulties. Criteria for the inclusion of lay counsellors needs to take the context into account and therefore more research into looking at specific contexts in order to determine the unique set of criteria is urged. It also emphasises the need to continue to research alternative methods of training and supervision to meet the need of many of our marginalized communities.

References:

Auerhahn, N. C., Laub, D. & Peskin, H. (1993) Psychotherapy with Holocaust Survivors. Psychotherapy, Volume 30, Number 3: 434-442.

Biesheuvel, S. (1987) Psychology : Science and Politics. Theoretical Developments and Applications in a Plural Society. South African Journal of Psychology, 17(1): 1-7.

Biesheuvel, S. (1991) Neutrality, Relevance and Accountability in Psychological Research Practice, in South Africa. South African Journal of Psychology. 21(3): 131-140.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1977) Toward and Experimental Ecology of Human Development. American Psychologist. : 513–531.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979) The Ecology of Human Development. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

Brown, D. & Pedder, J. (1991) Introduction to Psychotherapy. Routledge, London.

Capner, M. & Caltabiano, M.L. (1993) Factors Affecting the Progression Towards Burnout: A Comparison of Professional and Volunteer Counselors. Psychological Reports. 73: 555 –561.

Clary, E. G., Snyder, M., Ridge, R. D., Miene, P. K., & Haugen, J. A. (1994) Matching Messages to Motives in Persuasion: A Functional Approach to Promoting Volunteerism. Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 24, 13: 1129–1149.

Cock, J. (1990) Political Violence. In eds. McKendrick, B. & Hoffman, W. (1990) People and Violence in South Africa. Oxford University Press, Cape Town.

Coley, S. M. & Beckett, J. O. (1988) Black Battered Women Practice Issues. The Journal of contemporary Social Work. October: 483-489.

Corrigan, M. (1994) Burnout: How to Spot it and Protect Yourself Against it. 1993 International Conference on Volunteer Administration. The Journal of Volunteer Administration. Spring: 24-31.

Danoff, A. & Koppel, S. (1991) What Are the Motivational Needs Behind Volunteer Work. Journal of Volunteer Administration. Autumn: 39-45.

Davis, L. V. & Hagen, J.L. (1988) Services For Battered Women: The Public Policy Response. Social Service Review. December: 83-91.

Etzion, D. & Pines, A. (1986) Sex and Culture in Burnout and Coping Among Human Service Professionals. Journal of Cross - Cultural Psychology. Vol. 17, No. 2: 191-209.

Flisher, A. J. & Isaacs, G. M. (1987) The evaluation of a training programme in rape crisis intervention for lay therapists. South African Journal of Psychology. 17(2): 40-45.

Ghio, M. (1988) Thoughts On Our Profession. The Journal of Volunteer Administration. Spring: 58-60.

Giorgi, A. (1994) A Phenomenological Perspective on Certain Qualitative Research Methods. Journal of Phenomenological Psychology. 25, No. 2, p. 190 – 220.

Gobodo, P. (1990) Notions About Culture in Understanding Black Psychopathology : Are We Trying to Raise the Dead. South African Journal of Psychology. 20(2): 93-98.

Golden, G. K. (1991) Volunteer Counselors: An Innovative, Economic Response to Mental Health Services Gaps. Social Work. Vol. 36, No. 3: 230-232.

Guttfreund, D. G. Cohen, O. & Yerushalmi, H. (1992) Israeli Psychotherapists Reactions And Perceptions On The Process Of Psychotherapy During The Gulf War. Psychotherapy. Volume 29, Winter, Number 4: 635-638.

Harvey, M. R. (1996) An Ecological View of Psychological Trauma and Trauma Recovery. Journal of Traumatic Stress. Vol. 9, No. 1: 3-23.

Hickson, J. & Christie, G. M. (1989) Research on Cross Cultural Counselling and Psychotherapy : Implications for the South African Context. South African Journal of Psychology. 20(2): 162-170.

Kaplan, H. Sadock, B. J., & Grebb, J. A. (1994) Kaplan and Sadock's Synopsis of Psychiatry Behavioral Sciences Clinical Psychiatry. Williams and Wilkins, USA.

Kessler, M (1991) Preventing Burnout: Taking the Stress out of the Job. The Journal of Volunteer Administration. Spring: 15-20.

Keyton, J. Wilson, G. L. & Geiger, C. (1990) Improving Volunteer Commitment to Organizations. The Journal of Volunteer Administration. Summer: 7-14.

Klein, D. C., Fencil-Morse, E., & Seligman, E. P. (1976) Learned Helplessness, Depression, and the Attribution of Failure. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology., Vol.33, No,5: 508-516.

Klein, M. (1935) A Contribution to the Psychogenesis of Manic – Depressive States. In ed. Mitchell, J. (1991) The Selected Melanie Klein. Penguin Books, England.

Klein, M. (1946) Notes on Some Schizoid Mechanisms. In ed. Mitchell, J. (1991) The Selected Melanie Klein. Penguin Books, England.

Kruger, D. (1979) An Introduction to Phenomenological Psychology. JUTA & CO Ltd., Cape Town.

Maslach, C. (1982) The Price of Caring. Prentice Hall Limited. New Jersey.

Maslach, C. (1986) Stress, Burnout, and Workaholism. In eds. Kilburg, R., Nathan, P. E., & Thoreson, R.W., Professionals in Distress. Pergamon Press, New York.

Maslach, C. & Schaufeli, W.B. (1993) Historical and Conceptual Development of Burnout. In eds. Schaufeli, W.B., Maslach, C. & Marek, T. Professional Burnout: Recent Developments in Theory and Research. Taylor & Francis, Washington D.C.

McCann, L. & Pearlman, L. A. (1990) Vicarious Traumatization: A Framework for Understanding the Psychological Effects of Working with Victims. Journal of Traumatic Stress. Vol. 3, No. 1: 131-149.

McKendrick, B. W. & Hoffmann, W. C. (1990) Towards the Reduction of Violence. In. eds, McKendrick, B & Hoffmann, W. People and Violence in South Africa. Oxford University Press, Cape Town.

Mitchell, J. (ed.) (1991) The Selected Melanie Klein. Penguin Books, England.

Moosa, F. (1992) Countertransference in trauma work in South Africa: For better or worse. South African Journal of Psychology, 22(3): 126-133.

Moustakas, C. (1994) Phenomenological Research Methods. Sage, London.

Nel, V. (1995) Violence Prevention and ... Problem of Evil. UNISA Psychologia. Vol. 22, No. 2: 37-38.

Ochberg, F. (1991) Post – Traumatic Therapy. Psychotherapy. Volume 28, Spring, Number 1: 5-15.

Pines, A. M. (1994) The Palestinian Intifada and Israelis' Burnout. Journal of Cross Cultural Psychology. Vol. 25, No. 4: 438-451.

Reilly, N. P. (1994) Exploring a Paradox: Commitment as a Moderator of the Stressor-Burnout Relationship. Journal of Applied Social Psychology. 24, 5: 397–414.

Ross, R. R., Altmaier, E. M.,& Russell, D.W. (1989) Job Stress, Social Support, and Burnout Among Counseling Center Staff. Journal of Counseling Psychology. Vol. 36, No. 4: 464 – 470.

Rozynko, V. & Dondershine, H. E. (1991) Trauma Focus Group Therapy For Vietnam Veterans With PTSD. Psychotherapy. Volume 28, Spring, Number 1: 157-161.

Schaufeli, W.B. & Janczur, B. (1994) Burnout Among Nurses: A Polish-Dutch Comparison. Journal of Cross Cultural Psychology. Vol. 25, No. 1, March: 95-113.

Schillinger, E. (1988) Dependency, Control, Isolation. Battered Women and the Welfare System. Journal of Contemporary Ethnography. January: 119-128.

Seedat, M & Nell, V. (1992) Authoritarianism and Autonomy. 1.Conflicting Value Systems in The Introduction of Psychological Services in A South African Primary Health Care System. South African Journal of Psychology. 22(4): 185-193.

Siff, M. (1990) Violence in Sport. In eds. McKendrick B. & Hoffmann, W. (1990) People and Violence in South Africa. Oxford University Press, Cape Town.

Spinelli, E. (1989) The Interpreted World : An Introduction to Phenomenological Psychology. Sage, London.

Sloth – Nielsen, J. (1990) Legal Violence: Corporal and Capital Punishment. In eds. McKendrick, B. & Hoffman, W. (1990) People and Violence in South Africa. Oxford University Press, Cape Town.

Straker, G. (1987) The Continuous Traumatic Stress Syndrome – The Single Therapeutic Interview. Psychology in Society. September: 48 – 79.

Straker, G. & Moosa, F. (1994) Interacting with Trauma Survivors in Contexts of Continuing Trauma. Journal of Traumatic Stress. Vol. 7, No. 3: 1-9.

Talbot, A. Manton, M. & Dunn, P. J. (1992) Debriefing the Debriefers: An Intervention Strategy to Assist Psychologists After Crisis. Journal of Traumatic Stress. Vol. 5, No. 1: 45-62.

Turnispeed, D.L. (1994) An Analysis of the Influence of Work Environment Variables and Moderators on the Burnout Syndrome. Journal of Applied Social Psychology. 24, 9: 782–800.

Vineyard, S. (1987) How To Take Care of You. The Journal of Volunteer Administration. Spring: 45-47.

Walker, L. E. (1984) The Battered Women Syndrome. New York, Springer Publishing Company.

Walker, L.E. (1991) PostTraumatic Stress Disorder in Women: Diagnosis and Treatment of Battered Woman Syndrome. Psychotherapy. Vol. 28, No. 1: 56-68.

Whiteman, D. B. (1993) Holocaust Survivors and Escapees – Their Strengths. Psychotherapy. Volume 30, Fall, Number 3: 443-451.

Winship, W. (1990) Violence Against Children: Physical Abuse. In eds. McKendrick, B. & Hoffman, W. People And Violence in South Africa. Cape Town, Oxford University Press.

Worell, J. & Remer, P. (1987) An Empowerment Model for Women. John Wiley & Sons, New York.

Yallen, C. N. (1987) Effective Feedback Techniques For Training and Supervising Volunteers. The Journal of Volunteer Administration. Spring: 26-30.

Appendix 1

Interview 1 (Counselor N)

1.Working with somebody who has been abused is a very difficult thing, 2.because first you were never in that kind of a situation, so it is a bit difficult 3.because you must calm down,4.you must adjust yourself to these problems5.you don't have to be very much sympathetic,6because let's say for instance if it's a child who has been sexually abused.7.In that case there is a mother, and a father, you see, 8.so you must firstly get the child right,9.you must be very calm, very cool,10. take lots of time you know, 11.you have got to get yourself in, 12.so that particular child you will have to convince that child, 13.so he or she is supposed to trust you to rely on you, you see to trust you, and rely on you,14.and then after that, then you must go talk to the mother.15.If the mother don't understand you see, you have to explain to the mother, try to show the mother.16. If the child is abused she is supposed to do this, and this, and that, 17.maybe consult the police, 18.maybe take the child to the dist. t surgeon to check the child, 19.it is quite frustrating. 20.At the end of the day you just get yourself, 21.you have got headaches, 22. So it is challenging.

1.1.She finds it difficult working with somebody who has been abused.
1.2.She has never been in that kind of situation so she finds it difficult.
1.3.You have to calm down.
1.4.You need to adjust yourself to the problem.
1.5.You need to be sympathetic.
1.6.If for example it is a child who has been sexually abused.
1.7.In such a case there is a mother and a father.
1.8.You first need to get the child right.
1.9.She feels you have to be very calm and cool.
1.10.You need to take lots of time.
1.11.You need to get yourself in.
1.12.You will have to convince that particular child.
1.13.He or she needs to trust you and rely on you.
1.14.After that one needs to go and talk to the mother.
1.15.If the mother doesn't understand one must explain to the mother and show her.
1.16.If the child is abused one needs to tell her to do this, and that.
1.17.Perhaps cons lt the police.
1.18.Maybe the child has to be taken to the district surgeon to be examined.
1.19.She finds it frustrating.
1.20.She only has herself at the end of the day.
1.21.She gets headaches.
1.22.She finds it very challenging.

1.Okay my first case,2.it was the case of K she was age 15,3.yes, she was sexually abused,4. physically the mother at home used to beat her up,5. and then she was from a family of five children,6. and she was the eldest.7. So the mother was a little bit frustrated, because the father did not live with

2.1.Her first case.
2.2.It was the case of K who was age 15.
2.3.She was sexually abused.
2.4.She was physically abused, the mother at home used to beat her.
2.5.She was from a family of five children.

them,8. and then when she had a lack of money or whatever she used to take out the stress on K, 9.she used to beat up K very badly.

2.6.She was the eldest child.
2.7.She mother was frustrated, because the father did not live with them.
2.8.When there was a lack of money, she used to take out her stress on K.
2.9.She used to beat up K very badly.

1.The mother used to beat up K very badly. 2.She eventually devised the style of sleeping with other people to have money,3. And that thing really abused her. 4.It was at the age of 15 she was at standard one. Of which it is very distressing for that age.5.The standard was frustrating her very much, 6.so she had very bad wounds, she had very, very bad wound. 7.Then after I saw K here, we had to take her mother to court, okay, 8.then we took K to SOS, 9.it was one of my successful abuse cases. 10.One of the successful cases.

3.1.The mother used to beat up Khanisile very badly.
3.2.She eventually began sleeping with other people for money.
3.3.That really abused her.
3.4.She was 15 in standard one, which is very distressing for that age.
3.5.The standard was frustrating her a lot.
3.6.She had very bad wounds, she had a very bad wound.
3.7.After seeing K they had to take her mother to court.
3.8.Then they took K to SOS.
3.9.It was one of her successful abuse cases.
3.10.One of the successful cases.

1.Yes we were very successful with the cases.

4.1.She felt they were very successful with the case.

1.Yes it was a very difficult case for me, 2.She was physically abused, mentally, and sexually. 3.So we had to deal with each and every section of this abuse, 4.because we had to start with the sexual one, 5.after the sexual one, it was the physical one, 6.then the mental one, 7. And then we had to try our level best that K cope at school, 8. And try to talk with the principal, the teachers, 9. At least try to motivate her, push her forward. 10.So that she is not supposed to feel out of place, lonely 11. To feel that she is afraid, 12. Ja but we did make it.

5.1.It was a difficult case for her.
5.2.She was physically, mentally, and sexually abused.
5.3.They had to deal with each and every section of the abuse.
5.4.They had to start with the sexual one.
5.5.After the sexual abuse they had to deal with the physical abuse.
5.6.Then they had to deal with the mental abuse.
5.7.They they had to try their best to get K to cope at school.
5.8.They had to try and talk to the principal and teachers.
5.9.At least try to motivate her and push her forward.
5.10.So that she would not feel out of place or lonely.
5.11.Feel afraid.
5.12.Yes, but they did make it.

1.What I was feeling was that if I had a baby girl, I wouldn't be happy if she was going to be abused like that,2. I even said thanks God, I don't have a baby girl, I have a baby boy. 3.So it was quite frustrating, because when you look at that child, now we know that she is totally disturbed in life, you know. 4.She doesn't know where she is looking to ,5. where she is going to, 6.what she really wants, 7.why she is living you understand, 8.she is just living. 9.So she is very much disturbed at his age,10. it is a very difficult age, 15 years, where it is troublesome, you know.11. I was feeling very bad, very, very bad,12. but at the end of the day I got relieved when everything got ok, comes alright.

6.1.What she was feeling at that point was that if she had a baby girl she would be unhappy if she was abused in the same way.
6.2.She even thanked God that she had a baby boy and not a baby girl.
6.3.It was frustrating for her, because when she looked at that child she knew she was totally disturbed in her life.
6.4.The child didn't know where she was looking.
6.5.Where she was going.
6.6.What she really wanted.
6.7.Why she was living.
6.8.She is just living.
6.9.She felt the child was very disturbed for this age.
6.10.She thinks 15 is a very difficult and troublesome age.
6.11.She was feeling very, very bad.
6.12.At the end of the day she felt relieved when everything turned out alright.

1.Yes,

7.1.Yes.

1.No it did not make it difficult 2.in fact it encourages me that 3.I must work, I must try to get more children that have been abused you know, 4.because destroying a child's life it is a very bad thing. 5.It is like destroying our tomorrow, 6.because the other ones that are coming have a better future you see. 7.So I was very much hurt, 8.but i kept on telling myself that is my work, that is where I belong. 9.If I made it at first then I will make it.

8.1.Having a child of her own did not make it difficult for her.
8.2.She felt that if encourages her
8.3.She feels motivated by having a child to try and get to more children that have been abused.
8.4.She feels destroying a child's life is a very bad thing
8.5.She feels it is like destroying our tomorrow.
8.6.She feels that the children that are coming have a better future.
8.7.She felt hurt by the case.
8.8.She kept telling herself that, that is her work, this is where she belongs.
8.9.If she succeeds with the first case, then she will make it.

1.I keep pushing myself to carry on, until I cope with the situation. 2.That's why when I went to the college it was a bit easier for me, because, when I went to some schools, you know at the college (teachers training college).

9.1.She pushes herself to carry on until she copes with the situation
9.2.She found it easier when she went to (teachers training) college, when she was sent out to the schools.

1.For the first years you got four weeks for practical teaching, 2.so I was doing junior primary. 3.Then when I went out for the practicals I could easily identify those children who had been abused. 4.Those the teachers can't see that, 5.because I have been working with those kind of people. I could easily identify that, 6.then I would say to the teachers to look at a certain number of students in that class, they are being abused,7. please attend their problem, it is very much serious.

10.1.In her first year she got four weeks of practical training.
10.2.She did junior primary.
10.3.When she went out to do her practicals she could easily identify those children who had been abused.
10.4.Their teachers could not see that.
10.5.She had been working with those kind of people so she could easily identify it.
10.6.She would say to the teachers to look at a certain number of students in the class that were being abused.
10.7.She said they should attend to the problem as it was very serious.

1.Yes, and it was a very nice work for me. It is very nice,2. because it makes me happy now, 3.I am helping people, 4.I am helping the community you see.

11.1.She finds the work very nice.
11.2.It makes her happy now.
11.3.She is helping people.
11.4.She is helping the community.

1.Very positive, very, very positive, because it helps you,2. how can I put it, it upgrades your sympathetic,3. you happen to be sympathetic if somebody is hurt, 4.your life tends to be like a remote control, 5.when a man is being harassed by a women, lets say you are attending that kind of a case you put yourself in his boots, 6.when it is a child that's why I say your life tends to be removed ja, 7.can be controlled to any kind of situation, and even out of it, 8.what am I trying to say, you can accommodate different types of people, 9.because you meet with different kinds of people with their different ideas,10. their different ways of living, 11.and once you start talking to somebody, you can tell she is this type of a person,12. she has got this type of a problem,13. and I will have to handle him that way,14. so you explore in ideologies.

12.1.She feels very, very positive, because it helps her.
12.2.How can she put it, upgrades her sympathy.
12.3.She feels sympathetic if somebody is hurt.
12.4.She feels that her life tends to be on remote control.
12.5.When a man is being harassed by a women and she is attending that kind of case she puts herself in his boots.
12.6.When it is a child she tends to be removed.
12.7.She can feel controlled in any kind of situation, and out of those situations.
12.8.What she is trying to say is she can accommodate different types of people.
12.9.Because she meets different kinds of people with their different ideas.
12.10.Their different ways of living.
12.11.Once she starts talking to somebody she can tell she can tell she is this type of person.
12.12.She has this type of problem.
12.13.She will have to handle him in that way.
12.14.So she explores ideologies.

1.More sympathetic yes, 2.I can accommodate any kind of a person, any kind, 3.and I have learned a lot, working here I have learnt a lot. 4.Yes, how to handle somebody who has been hurt, 5.especially when you are not in that kind of a situation.6. So that kind of a person she needs encouragement, you have got to encourage her.7. She or he does not have to loose hope, it is not the end of the world, something of that sort ne, 8.then you have got to give some advice, some future advice for them to survive, 9.for you to overcome the problem, you have to do this, and this and that.10. and then again for you to avoid this kind of situation, you have to do this, and this and that. 11.You know there is something that I have learnt here, that some of the abusers we people we create them, you understand, 12.you brought yourself to that situation, or to that error. 13.So one has to be aware what causes abuse, so how can we avoid it, 14. as they say prevention, is better than cure.15. So one have to avoid the abuse, 16.how can you avoid it, 17.what can you keep yourself busy with, you know 18.and then what is it that is going to make your life more effective, you understand,19. and so I have learnt a lot here.20. I have learnt a lot, because now I can easily recognize a problem, or a place whereby it doesn't suit me, you understand, yes. 21.I can easily recognize that kind of a place.

13.1.Yes she is more sympathetic.
13.2.She can accommodate any kind of person.
13.3.She has learnt a lot working here.
13.4.She has learnt how to handle somebody who has been hurt.
13.5.Especially when she has not been in that kind of situation.
13.6.That kind of person needs encouragement, she has to encourage her.
13.7.She tells him or her they do not have to loose hope, it is not the end of the world or something of that sort.
13.8.Then she has to give them advice, some advice for the future.
13.9.For them to overcome the problem they have to do this, and that.
13.10.Then for them to avoid this kind of situation, they have to do this and that.
13.11.Something she has learnt here is that we people create some of the abusers.
13.12.You brought yourself to this situation or error.
13.13.Therefore one has to be aware of what causes abuse, so one can avoid it.
13.14.As they say prevention is better than cure.
13.15.So one has to avoid abuse.
13.16.How can one avoid abuse.
13.17.What can you keep yourself busy with.
13.18.What is going to make one's life more effective.
13.19.She has learnt a lot here.
13.20.She has learnt a lot, because she can easily recognize a place that does not suit her.
13.21.She can easily recognize that kind of place.

1.The abuses, okay there are different types of abuse, 2.sexual abuse, what I have learnt about it is that it is something that is made by men who doesn't work, 3.who stays at home, you understand.

14.1.There are different types of abuse.
14.2.What she has learnt about sexual abuse is that it is something made by men who don't work.
14.3.Who stay at home.

Interview 2 (Counselor P)

1.The first experience was I was working with a woman who was being beaten by her husband, 2.and it was a bit frustrating, because the woman did not want to leave, 3.or maybe press charges against the husband, because she thought it was her fault that her husband loose his temper, 4.maybe she thought she was not good enough, 5.because firstly when they started, they didn't even, she was a bit young when they started marrying her from the rural areas, 6.and this thing in our tradition when you get married in the rural areas these old ladies they tell something like a code of marriage. 7.You must stay in the marriage no matter what, even if he beats you, the woman's grave is in the marriage. 8.So she wanted to go according to the rules. So it was very frustrating to me, she was so, she was in an awful position. 9.She couldn't even walk properly, because the man had kicked her on the stomach and she was expecting at that time ne, and she didn't want to go to the hospital. 10.She was brought by a friend, 11.she didn't want to go, because at the hospital they would convince her to press charges against her husband, and she didn't want that. 12.So it was so frustrating for me, how come she could be so stupid. 13.Until you, it was my first case, and then you learn that woman always stay with abusive husbands, 14.maybe it is because they are still hanging on, the

1.1.Her first experience was working with a woman who was being beaten by her husband.
1.2.She found it frustrating because the woman did not want to leave.
1.3.The woman did not want to press charges against the husband because she thought it was her fault.
1.4.Maybe the woman thought she was not good enough.
1.5.She was a young when she was married off from the rural areas.
1.6.In her tradition when you get married the old ladies tell you that there is a code of marriage.
1.7.A woman must stay in the marriage even if her husband beat her. A woman's grave is in her marriage.
1.8.So the woman wanted to go according to those rules, which she found frustrating, because the woman was in an awful position.
1.9.The woman could not even walk properly because the man had kicked her in the stomach while she was expecting a baby and she did not want to go to hospital.
1.10.The woman was brought by a friend.
1.11.The woman didn't want to go to hospital, because she thought that at the hospital they would convince her to press charges against her husband, which she didn't want.
1.12.She found it frustrating, because the thought the woman was being so stupid.
1.13.It was her first case and then she learnt that woman always stay with abusive husbands.

good things that are still there. 15.They think he will change, and partly because they think it is their fault. 16.Then until they realize it is not their fault, the problem lies with the husband, he doesn't know how to deal with his anger correctly, 17.because it becomes a very difficult case, you even end up going home with it. 18.It effects you, uyabona, it effects you, and the way you look at other relationships, 19.but finally she realized that her husband was having a problem, and she decided to leave him, but it was a very long time, it was very slow, it was a bit hard for me.

1.14.Maybe they stay because they are hanging onto the good things that are still there.
1.15.They think the husbands will change, and partly they think it is their fault.
1.16.Until they realize it is not their fault, that the problem lies with the husband who does not know how to deal with his anger correctly.
1.17.She finds the case becomes very difficult, and she ends up taking it home.
1.18.It affects her and the way she looks at other relationships.
1.19.Finally the woman realized that her husband had the problem, and she decided to leave him. It was a slow process and she found it hard.

1.Ja, and she felt that she must just abide by them, she did not question them. Even if she had to give her life up for it, 2.we tried to show her, you have kids what is going to happen if this man kills you, don't you even think about the well being, it is even effecting the kids, 3.and if you cannot do it for yourself, do it for your children, 4.because they are growing in an abnormal, and unfavorable situation. 5.You have a boy, you have a girl, they think that it is a way of life, uyabona. 6.Presently she was having a problem with the boy, he was beating other boys at the crèche, so they have called her around several times, and they were telling her if he doesn't change they are going to chase him away. 7.And the lady didn't see it, she didn't see it that it was part of her husband's abusive behavior. She thought it is just a boy, and he will outgrow this thing of beating others.

2.1.The woman felt that she must abide by the rules and she did not question them, even if she had to give up her life for them.
2.2.They tried to show her that she had children, and what would happen if the man killed her, that she must think about the children's wellbeing and how they are being affected.
2.3.Even if the woman couldn't do it for herself, she should do it for her children.
2.4.The children are growing up in an abnormal and unfavorable situation.
2.5.They said to her that her boy and girl think that is a normal way of life.
2.6.The woman was having a problem with her boy who was beating other boys at creche, and they had called her several times, telling her if he doesn't change they are going to chase him away.
2.7.The lady did not see it was part of her husband's abusive behavior. She thought he is just a boy who will outgrow this behavior of beating others.

1.Yes, you cannot even make her see, 2.because you know this is not going to get better if she does not take a stand, or make him stop. 3.But she doesn't see it, or she doesn't know it. 4.It is a bit frustrating for you, because you know you can do something for her, but you cannot do it without her permission, 5.and you cannot do it for her, it must come out from herself that she wants to do it, that she wants to have an interdict or to do whatever suits her.

3.1.She could not even make her see.
3.2.She knows the situation is not going to get better if the woman does not take a stand and make him stop.
3.3.The woman doesn't see it, she doesn't know.
3.4.She finds it frustrating, because she knows she can do something about it, but you cannot do it without the woman's permission.
3.5.She cannot do it for the woman, it must come from the woman herself that she wants to do it, if she wants an interdict, or whatever else suits her.

1.Because I felt so powerless, 2.because I was just talking and not doing anything, 3.and the only thing I can do is just talk, 4.because maybe I thought I could do, I could make her see that her husband is not going to change, 5.he is not going to change because she doesn't take further steps to make him see that what he is doing is wrong. 6.Just going home when she feels better, and the whole thing continues, and she will be hit again, and maybe she can blame it on liquor, maybe he was drunk. 7.She didn't see the real problem that her husband had a problem and you need to fix that. 8.So I feel so powerless.

4.1.She felt so powerless.
4.2.She was just talking and not doing anything.
4.3.The only thing she can do is talk.
4.4.Maybe she felt she could make her see that her husband is not going to change.
4.5.The woman's husband is not going to change, because she doesn't take further steps to make him see that what he is doing is wrong.
4.6.The woman goes home, because she feels better and the whole thing continues, she will be hit again and blame it on liquor, that he was drunk.
4.7.She didn't see that the problem was that her husband has a problem and you need to fix that.
4.8.So she feels so powerless.

1.It left me with the feeling that I was powerless, 2.but I know that there was nothing that I could do, all I can do I did it, so it is up to her to take further steps or not.

5.1.It left her feeling that she was so powerless.
5.2.She knows that there is nothing that she can do, all she could do she did, and it is up to the woman to take further steps.

1.No it was that case only, maybe it was my first case, 2.maybe I have learnt from practice.

6.1.That was the only case where she experienced feeling powerless, maybe because it was her first case.
6.2.Maybe she has learnt from practice.

1.That the decision lies with the victim, 2.I cannot take the decision for her. She must come up with it, I must not do it for her, because she will not abide, 3.and I am here only to assist her to do the right thing, not to do it for her, 4.because it will not be something that she wanted. She will say okay I can do it later to please me, and when she goes out she will come back again with another problem. 5.So I had to make the victim make the decisions, and then assist her where I can.

7.1.The decision lies with the victim.
7.2.She cannot take the decision for the victim, she must come up with it, she must not do it for her, because she will not abide.
7.3.She is only there to assist her to do the right thing, not to do it for her.
7.4.It will not be something the victim wanted, she will say okay she will do it to please her, and when she leaves she will come back with another problem.
7.5.So she has to make the victim make the decisions and then assist her with them.

1.Then finally the parents got involved and they took her away.

8.1.Finally the woman's parents got involved and they took her away.

1.Ja from her husband.

9.1.They removed her from her husband.

1.Better, at least I was not alone her parents saw that something was very terrible, if they don't remove her from him, he may kill her.

10.1.She felt better because she was not alone the woman's parents also saw that something terrible was happening, and that if they did not remove her he may kill her.

1.Ja, there are times when I don't feel good, because sometimes I don't know some woman turn around on the way, 2.they don't want to press charges, or they have decided that they have talked it over, 3.and then they go back and then they come back again with another problem.

11.1.There are times when she doesn't feel good, because she doesn't know if some woman won't turn around on the way.
11.2.The woman decide not to press charges, or they have talked it over with their partners.
11.3.Then they go back to their relationships and then come back with another problem.

1.No, it is actually good for them, because I know that we are actually not going to change this man. 2.We are actually just talking it over now so that she can come back, 3.and when she goes back, she comes back with another problem, 4.then when she sees that what we were saying at first was true, he is not going to change, then we feel good about it.

12.1.It is actually good for them to come back, because she knows they are not going to change this man.
12.2.They are actually just talking it over now so that she can come back.
12.3.When the woman goes back, she returns with another problem.
12.4.The when the woman sees what they were saying at first was true, he is not going to change, then they feel good about it.

1.Ja, when they see they are going no where.

13.1.When the women see they are going no where.

1.Ja, mostly they see.

14.1.Mostly the women see.

1.Again maybe it has to do with the environment where they grew up, it says a lot. It says a lot.

15.1.Whether the women see or not maybe has to do with the environment, where they grew up, that says a lot.

1.Ja, eventually at the end, she was removed from the husband.

16.1.The case was successful, eventually she was removed from the husband.

1.No. Let me see. Like the maintenance case those things you cannot find a solution, and there is no way you can help that person. 2.He does not know where to get him in the first place, and we cannot go out tracking him. 3.If he doesn't have the physical address, or whatever connection you can make with that. It becomes a little bit difficult for us.

17.1.She has not felt successful in maintenance cases, in those you cannot find a solution, there is no way you can help the person.
17.2.The client does not know where to find him in the first place, and they cannot go out and track him.
17.3.If the client doesn't have the physical address, it is difficult for them.

1.Because others if we feel we cannot answer them more, were refer them to the police station, or to Agape (Psychological Clinic).

18.1.Other cases that they feel they cannot help, they refer to the police station or Agape (Psychological Clinic).

1.Ja, like to Agape for intense counseling 2.mainly in rape cases where we go to the police station, and they are helping them.

19.1.They refer other cases that they don't feel they can deal with to places like Agape for intense counseling.
19.2.With rape cases they mainly refer them to the police station where they are dealt with.

Appendix 2

Analysis : Interview 1 (Counselor N)

I. Working with abuse is difficult.

1.1.She finds it difficult working with somebody who has been abused.
1.2.She has never been in that kind of situation so she finds it difficult.
1.19.She finds it frustrating.
1.20.She only has herself at the end of the day.
1.21.She gets headaches.
5.1.It was a difficult case for her.
6.1.What she was feeling at that moment was if she had a baby girl she would be unhappy if she was abused in the same way.
6.3.It was frustrating for her, because when she looked at the child she knew she was totally disturbed in her life.
6.11.She was feeling very, very bad.
8.7.She felt hurt by the case.
15.1.It makes her feel very, very bad.
20.1.She finds it not always possible, and a very difficult task to learn to take the good with the bad.
23.1.She finds it very difficult.
24.1.She finds it difficult to see one person with a lot of problems.
30.10. At the end of the day she will be hurt, because the problem will not be solved.
26.1.She finds it difficult.
30.13.The future of the child is going to be destroyed and that frustrates her most.
32.10.She found it very frustrating, because she started to think that the mother was going to abuse and harass the child.
32.16.She finds that case quite frustrating.
33.1.She finds it frustrating because she keeps on thinking what happened to that child.
34.1.She finds it very, very hard and that is why she thinks that it is advisable while people are working with these kinds of problems to be counseled.
34.3.Because it frustrates her, and she does a lot of thinking, a lot of thinking which takes more of her time.
21.1.There are times when working her gets to her.
32.19.Instead she destroyed somebody's life, which she finds frustrating.
33.3.She thinks how is she now, how are things going, is she well, because she finds it very difficult.

II. Counselors have to have certain qualities.

1.5.You need to be sympathetic.
1.9.She feels you have to be very calm and cool.
9.1.She pushes herself to carry on until she copes with the situation.
12.8.What she is trying to say is she can accommodate different kinds of people.
13.1.Yes she is more sympathetic.
13.2.She can accommodate any kind of person.
13.13.Therefore one has to be aware what causes abuse so you can avoid it.

18.7.That is why she says one has to learn to take what comes, and leave what goes.
18.8.One has to live for the best.
19.1.Yes one has to learn to take the good with the bad, there you are quite right.
21.2.She says that one must take time to think and analyze.
12.7.She can feel controlled in any kind of situation, and out of those situations.
21.4.One must make the point that the decision you make is good, it must be the best.
21.5.One must be able to criticize all decisions.
25.8.Try to be cool and calm.
27.1.You have to keep cool for you to work with her, you have to keep cool.
37.2.One needs to know what causes abuse.
37.3.One has to have the mercury to stay away from it.
37.4.One has to stick to what you have.
37.1.It is important for her that people stay away from problems.
37.5.One needs to learn to cope with the ups and downs of life, because that is what causes problems.
37.6.If one is happy and things go wrong, one tends to be sad, so one has to learn to cope with this.
37.7.One has to know that one day things will go well, that is important for her.
17.10.You have to be cool and calm taking what comes, and leaving what goes.

III. Three different types of abus

If for example it is a child who has been sexually abused.
2.3.She was sexually abused.
2.4.She was physically abused, the mother at home used to beat her.
2.9.She used to beat up Khanisile very badly.
3.1.The mother used to beat up Khanisile very badly.
3.2.She eventually began sleeping with other people for money.
3.3.That really abused her.
3.6.She had very bad wounds, she had a very bad wound.
5.2.She was physically sexually, and mentally abused.
5.4.They had to start with the sexual one.
5.5.After the sexual abuse, they had to deal with the physical abuse.
5.6.Then they had to deal with the mental abuse.
14.1.There are different types of abuse.
14.2.For instance Khanisile had all sorts of abuse.
25.3.Physical and sexual abuse.

IV. Multiple Abuse is particularly difficult for her.

24.1.She finds if difficult to see one person with a lot of problems.
24.2.One has to attend to the one and then the other one comes, and you attend to that and the next one comes.
24.3.One doesn't know what to do, what is right, and what is wrong.
24.5.One must start by working with the problems step by step, which she finds difficult.
25.1.Today one must attend to one of the problems, tomorrow the other problems.
25.2.For instance Khanisile had all sorts of abuse.
25.3.Physical and sexual abuse.

25.4.If today one attends to the physical abuse, then tomorrow one has to attend the sexual abuse.
25.7.If today you attend to this, then tomorrow you must attend to something else for this kind of person.

V. Working with abuse has benefited her.

1.22.She finds it challenging.
10.3.When she was out to do her practicals she could easily identify those children who had been abused.
10.5.She had been working with those kind of people so she could easily identify it.
11.2.It makes her happy now.
11.3.She is helping people.
11.4.She is helping the community.
12.1.She feels very, very positive, because it helps her.
12.2.How can she put it, it upgrades her sympathy.
12.3.She feels sympathetic if somebody is hurt.
12.7.She can feel controlled in any kind of situation, and out of those situations.
12.8.What she is trying to say is she can accommodate different types of people.
12.9.Because she meets different kinds of people with different ideas.
12.11.Once she starts talking to somebody she can tell she is this type of person.
12.12.She has this type of problem.
12.13.She will have to handle him in that way.
13.1.Yes she is more sympathetic.
13.2.She can accommodate any kind of person.
13.3.She has learnt a lot working here.
13.4.She has learnt how to handle somebody who has been hurt.
13.5.Especially when she has not been in that kind of situation.
13.19.She has learnt a lot here.
13.20.She has learnt a lot, because she can easily recognize a place that does not suit her.
13.21.She can easily recognize that kind of place.

VI. One goal in therapy; success.

3.9.It was one of her successful abuse cases.
3.10.One of the successful cases.
4.1.She felt they were very successful with that case.
5.9.At least try to motivate her and push her forward.
5.12.Yes, but they did make it.
6.12.At the end of the day she felt relieved when everything turned out alright.
8.9.If she succeeds with the first case then she will make it.
24.4.What she does know is that one must move forward.
27.8.You have to know what you are doing know your goal.
27.9.You must work your way forward.
29.1.There is one goal, to help the person.
29.2.Help the person to be successful.
29.3.You wait for that goal to be achieved.
29.4.That is why she says you have to look for the way forward.

29.5.If one can keep in mind that your goal is success, success with this person, he or she will be okay.
29.7.Success is the main goal.

VII. You have to remain rational to work with abuse.

1.[illegible]You have to calm down.
[illegible]ou need to adjust yourself to the problem.
1.9.She feels you have to be very calm and cool.
1.10.You need to take lots of time.
12.7.She can feel controlled in any kind of situation, and out of those situations.
19.1.Yes one has to learn to take the good with the bad.
21.2.She says that one must take some time to think and analyze.
21.3.Make some decisions.
21.5.One must be able to criticize all the decisions.
27.1.You have to keep cool for you to work with her, you have to keep cool.
27.8.You have to know what you are doing, know your goal.
37.2.One needs to know what causes abuse.
25.8.Try to be cool and calm.

VIII. Working with abuse has a negative impact on her.

1.21.She gets headaches.
6.11.She was feeling very, very bad.
8.7.She felt hurt by the case.
15.1.It makes her feel very, very bad.
21.1.There are times when working here gets to her.
30.10.At the end of the day she will feel hurt because the problem will not be solved.
34.1.She finds it very, very hard, and that is why she thinks that it is advisable while people are working with these kinds of problems to be counseled.
35.1.To help them cope, and not get tired they need a lot of workshops and seminars.

IX. You have to know what causes abuse.

14.2.What she has learnt about sexual abuse is that it is something made by men who don't work.
14.3.Who stay at home.
14.5.He doesn't have anything to do in the course of the day so he gets bored.
14.7.Then he turns to sexual things with the child.
14.8.If he doesn't work he has nothing.
14.10.He has no friends.
14.12.He is a little frustrated.
14.13.What causes the frustration is money.
14.14.Money is the source of everything.
14.15.If you don't have money you will not survive.
14.18.So he is going to relieve his stress on top of the poor child.
14.19.That is what causes the sexual abuse of children.
14.22.To avoid abuse keep her away from the streets.
15.2.If she could she would make all men work knowing it would avoid a lot of abuse.

15.3.The main people who cause abuse are men.
15.6.When the mother abuses the children.
15.7.What causes the women to ab. is that maybe they are no longer in love with the father.
15.8.She has to maintain the children and does not have enough money.
15.9.When she needs to relieve her stress and tension the only people available are the children.
15.10.The main person who causes this is the father.
16.1.It is something she has always believed.
16.2.She does blame the father.
16.3.It depends on what kind of mother she is.
16.4.The main blame on the father is when he is not working.
16.5.For us blacks the father is the source of finance.
16.6.In the new South Africa the blame is no longer on the father, it is on both parents.
17.7.When one entertains pain then one gets frustrated.
17.8.Then one starts abusing children.

X. She is coping.

8.9.If she succeeds with her first case then she will make it.
9.1.She pushes herself to carry on until she copes with the situation.
11.1.She finds the work very nice.
11.2.It makes her happy now.
12.1.She feels very, very positive, because it helps her.
36.1.She says she is coping.

XI. When faced with a difficult case help clients move forward.

5.9.At least try to motivate her and push her forward.
13.8.Then she has to give them some advice, some advice for the future.
17.6.Find a way out you don't have to frustrate yourself.
24.4.What she does know is that one must move forward.
27.9.You must work your way forward.
29.4.That is why she says you have to look for the way forward.

XII. She finds the work frustrating.

1.19.She finds it frustrating.
6.3.It was frustrating for her, because when she looked at the child she knew she was totally disturbed in life.
30.13The future of the child is going to be destroyed, and that frustrates her the most.
32.10.She found it very frustrating, because she started to think that the mother was going to abuse and harass the child.
32.16.She finds that case quite frustrating.
32.19.Instead she destroyed somebody's life, which she finds frustrating.
33.1.She finds it frustrating, because she keeps on thinking about what happened to the child.
34.3.Because it frustrates her, and she does a lot of thinking which takes more of her time.

XIII. Working with cases of child sexual abuse are particularly stressful.

6.2.She even thanked God she had a baby boy and not a girl.
12.6.When it is a child she tends to be removed.
30.1.There are times when she has not been able to achieve her goal, especially when she is working with a case of a child that has been sexually abused.
30.2.A case when the child has been abused by the stepfather.
30.3.The mother does not want to work hand in hand, she does not want to cooperate.
30.4.Then she doesn't know, which way she is facing, which way is forward.
30.9.When she works with that kind of women she does not know which way is forward, or backward.
30.10.At the end of the day she will be hurt, because the problem will not be solved.
30.11.She sees the problem is not going to be solved.
30.12.The person who is going to be affected is the child.
30.13.The future of the child is going to be destroyed and that frustrates her the most.
32.10.She found it very frustrating, because she started to think the mother was going to abuse and harass the child.
32.16.She finds that case quite frustrating.
32.17.If she sees that kind of case she would say she won't work with it.
32.18.She didn't succeed with that case, she did not reach her goal.
32.19.Instead she destroyed somebody's life, which she finds frustrating.
32.20.When she sits alone she thinks that she did this, and she shouldn't have done that.
33.1.She finds it frustrating, because she keeps on thinking about what happened to the child.
33.2.She keeps on asking herself what happened to the child.
33.3.She thinks how is she now, how are things going, is she well, because she finds it very difficult.
34.1.She finds it very, very hard, and that is why she thinks that it is advisable while people are working with these kinds of problems to be counseled.

XIV. Men are responsible for most of the abuse.

14.2.What she has learnt about sexual abuse is that it is something made by men who don't work.
14.3.Who stay at home.
14.4.Maybe he is at home with his young children.
14.5.He doesn't have anything to do in the day and gets bored.
14.6.So he looks for something that will keep him busy.
14.7.Then he turns to sexual things with the child.
14.8.If he doesn't work he has nothing.
14.9.He doesn't read newspapers, and has no novels.
14.10.He has no friends.
14.11.All his friends are working.
14.12.He is a little frustrated.
14.13.What causes the frustration is money.
14.17.The only thing close to the person is the poor child.
14.18.So he is going to relieve his stress on top of that poor child.
14.20.That is why if the father is not working you have to put the child in creche.

14.21.If one comes home late at night you have to take the child to the granny to be safe.
14.24.The child can be abused by the biological father, stepfather, uncles, brothers, and cousins, those are the main people who abuse children
14.26.In most cases it is the uncles, fathers, and brothers.
15.2.If she could she would make all men work knowing it would avoid a lot of abuse.
15.3.The main people who cause abuse are men.
15.4.When a man doesn't work there are problems.
15.5.With blacks the man is the head of the family, and supposed to do a lot of things.
15.7.What causes the women to abuse is that maybe they are no longer in love with the father.
15.8.She has to maintain the children and does not have enough money.
15.9.When she needs to relieve her stress and tension the only people available are the children.
15.10.The mother then ends up abusing the children.
15.11.The main person who causes this is the father.
16.1.It is something she has always believed.
16.2.She does blame the father.
16.4.The main blame on the father is when he is not working.
16.5.For us blacks the father is the source of finance.
30.2.A case when the child was abused by the stepfather.
31.2The child was abused by the father, which was confirmed by the cousin.
31.4.When the mother was on nightshift the father used to have sex with the child.
31.5.When the child was tired he used to have sex with the cousin.
37.8.She hopes men stop abusing women some day.

XV. Women have to take a greater responsibility for caring for the family than men.

14.20.That is why if the father is not working you have to take the child to creche.
14.21.If one comes home late from work you have to take the child to the granny to be safe.
16.8.Women now say that the mother has to be strong.
16.9.The mother has to protect the child.
16.10.In the family even if the mother is with the father she has to be strong one way or the other.
16.11.Even if the man is to blame the women has to have the way out.
17.1.Yes women need to take care of the children irrespective of what comes or goes.
17.2.Women must take care of the children, even if there is not money they must understand.
18.1.Not only her, but fore each and every one of us, women have to work hard.
18.2.Women have to work hard now, because of things like single parenting.
18.3.One has to work hard to satisfy the needs.
18.4.One has to work hard, because the economy is down for each and every one of us.
37.9.Women have to take care of the children.

XVI. Even women abuse.

2.4.She was physically abused, the mother at home used to beat her.
2.7.The mother was frustrated, because the father did not live with them.
2.8.When there was a lack of money, she used to take out her stress on Khanisile.
2.9.She used to beat up K very badly.
3.1.The mother used to beat up K very badly.
15.6.When the mother abuses the children.
15.7.What causes women to abuse is that maybe they are no longer in love with the father.
15.8.She has to maintain the children and does not have enough money.
15.9.When she needs to relieve the stress and tension the only people available are the children.
15.10.The mother then ends up abusing the children.
15.21.If for instance the lady has got a very young child and it is late evening and the child starts crying, sometimes the just beat them.
15.22.When the child starts crying it irritates the mother.
16.3.It depends on what kind of mother she is.
30.3.The mother does not want to work hand in hand, she does not want to cooperate.
30.7.The mother who is the head, is against the whole thing.
30.9.When she works with that kind of women, she does not know which way is forward, or backward.
32.7.The mother went to the police and cancelled the case.
32.8.She said she can't live without the man.
32.9.She said the child was mad.
32.10.She found it very frustrating, because she thought the mother was going to abuse and harass the child.
32.11.The mother would say to the child why did she tell us not her, which makes the case difficult for her.
37.10.Even women at stages are abusing children.

XVII. Poverty causes abuse.

2.8.When there was a lack of money she used to take out her stress on K.
3.2.She eventually began sleeping with people for money.
3.3.That really abused her.
14.2.What she has learn about sexual abuse is that it is something made by men who don't work.
14.13.What causes the frustration is money.
14.14.Money is the source of everything.
14.15.If you don't have money you will not survive.
14.20.That is why if the father is not working you have to put the child in the creche.
15.2.If she could she would make all men work knowing it would avoid a lot of abuse.
15.4.When the man doesn't work there are lots of problems.
15.7.What causes women to abuse is that maybe they are no longer in love with the father.
15.8.She has to maintain the children and does not have enough money.
15.13.Even if they are married one needs to study the lifestyle of the husband, and analyze it to see if it is the right choice for them to have a child.

15.14.Will they be capable of maintaining the child.
16.4.The main blame is on the father when he is not working.
16.5.For us blacks the father is the source of finance.
18.1.Not only for her, but for each and every one of us, women have to work hard.
18.2.Women have to work hard now, because of things like single parenting.
18.3.One has to work hard to satisfy the needs.
18.4.One has to work hard, because the economy is down for each and every one of us.
18.5.Not everybody is going to work.
18.6.Not everyone is going to have enough money.

XVIII. Children are the future.

8.4.She feels destroying a child's life is a very bad thing.
8.5.She feels it is like destroying our tomorrow.
8.6.She feels that the children that are coming have a better future.
30.13.The future of the child is going to be destroyed and that frustrates her the most.

XIX .Counselors must be flexible, and adjust to their different clients and situations.

1.4.You need to adjust yourself to the problem.
1.11.You need to get yourself in.
12.5.When a man is being harassed by a women and she is attending that kind of case she puts herself in his boots.
12.8.What she is trying to say is she can accommodate different types of people.
12.9.Because she meets different kinds of people with their different ideas.
12.10.There different ways of living.
12.11.Once she starts talking to somebody she can tell she is this type of person.
12.12.She has this type of problem.
12.13.She will have to handle him in that way.
12.14.So she explores ideologies.
13.2.She can accommodate any kind of person.
13.4.She has learnt to handle somebody who has been hurt.
13.5.Especially when she has not been in that kind of situation.

XX. The client must trust you.

1.10.You need to take lots of time.
1.11.You need to get yourself in.
1.12.You will have to convince that particular child.
1.13.He or she needs to trust you and rely on you.

XXI. One must take action to avoid abuse.

8.3.She feels motivated by having a child to try and get to more children that have been abused.
11.1.She finds the work very, very nice.
11.2.It make her happy now.
11.3.She is helping people.
11.4.She is helping the community.

13.8.Then she has to give the advice, some advice for the future.
13.9.For them to overcome the problem, they have to do this, and this and that.
13.10.Then for them to avoid this kind of situation, they have to do this and this and that.
13.11.Something she has learnt her is that we people create some of the abusers.
13.12.You brought yourself to this situation or error.
13.13.Therefore one has to be aware of what causes abuse, so one can avoid it.
13.14.As they say prevention is better than cure.
13.15.So one has to avoid abuse.
13.16.How can one avoid abuse.
13.17.What can you keep yourself busy with.
13.18.What is going to make one's life more effective.
37.2.One needs to know what causes abuse.
37.3.One has to have the mercury to stay away from it.

XXII. Sometimes she doubts her abilities as a counselor.

21.1.There are times when working here gets to her.
30.1.There are times when she has not been able to achieve her goal, especially when she is working with a child that has been sexually abused.
30.4.Then she doesn't know which way is forward.
30.9.When she works with that kind of women, she does not know which way is forward, or backward.
30.10.At the end of the day she will be hurt, because the problem will not be solved.
32.16.She finds that case quite frustrating.
32.17.If she sees that kind of case she would say she won't work with it.
32.18.She didn't succeed with that case, she did not reach her goal.
32.19.Instead she destroyed somebody's life, which she finds frustrating.
32.20.When she sits alone she thinks that she did this, and she shouldn't have done that.
33.1.She finds it frustrating, because she keeps on thinking what happened to the child.
33.2.She keeps asking herself what happened to that child.
33.3.She thinks how is she now, how are things going, is she well, because she finds it very difficult.
34.1.She finds it very, very hard, and that is why she thinks it is advisable while people are working with these kinds of problems to be counseled.
34.2.They should be counseled once or twice a year.
34.3.Because it frustrates her , and she does a lot of thinking which takes more of her time.
34.4.So at that time they need to be counseled.
35.1.To help them cope, and not get tired they need a lot of workshops and seminars.
35.2.Sometimes they need to refresh themselves.
35.4.Just cool down and relax, without discussing anything that concerns them in their lives.
35.5.To have peace of mind, sleep if one needs to sleep, and if one needs just to go to the pool and cool down.

XXIII. Sometimes her work affects her emotionally.

1.20.She only has herself at the end of the day.
6.11.She was feeling very, very bad.
20.1.She finds it not always possible, and that it is very difficult task to learn to take the good with the bad.
21.1.There are times when working here gets to her.
30.10.At the end of the day she will be hurt, because the problem will not be solved.
32.10.She found it very frustrating, because she started to think that the mother was going to abuse and harass the child.
32.17.If she sees that kind of case she would say she won't work with it.
32.19.Instead she has destroyed somebody's life, which she finds frustrating.
32.20.Whn she sits alone she thinks that she did this, and she shouldn't have done that.
33.1.She finds it frustrating, because she keeps on thinking about what happened to the child.
33.2.She keeps on asking herself what happened to the child.
33.3.She thinks how is she now, how are things going, is she well, because she finds it very difficult.
34.1.She finds it very, very hard, and that is why she thinks that it is advisable while people are working with these kinds of problems to be counseled.
34.3.Because it frustrates her, and she does a lot of thinking, a lot of thinking which takes more of her time.
35.1.To help them cope, and not get tired they need a lot of workshops and seminars.

XXIV. To cope one must learn to deal with life's ups and downs.

15.16.Life has it's ups and downs.
15.19.Will she be able to handle the bad and sad days without abusing the child.
17.3.She used to say to people that came there that they must take what comes and leave what goes.
17.4.Adjust yourself to the situation.
17.7.When one entertains pain then one gets frustrated.
17.10.You have to be cool and calm taking what comes and leaving what goes.
18.7.That is why she says one has to learn to take what comes, and leave what goes.
19.1.Yes one has to learn to take the good with the bad, there you are quite right.
37.5.One has to learn to cope with the ups and downs of life, because that is what causes problems, of life, because those are the ones that cause the problems.

XXV. She cannot always achieve her goal in therapy.

24.3.One doesn't know what to do, what is right, and what is wrong.
30.1.There are times when she has not been able to achieve her goal, especially when she is working with a case of a child that has been sexually abused.30.3.The mother does not want to work hand in hand, she does not want to cooperate.
30.4.Then she doesn't know which way she is facing, which way is forward.
30.9.When she works with that kind of women, she does not know which way is forward, or backward.
30.10.At the end of the day she will be hurt, because the problem will not be solved.
30.11.She sees the problem is not going to be solved.

32.18.She didn't succeed with that case, she did not reach her goal.

XXVI. One has to focus on the positive.

5.9.At least try to motivate her and push her forward.
8.9.If she succeeds with the first case, then she will make it.
9.1.She pushes herself to carry on until she copes with the situation.
12.1.She feels very, very positive, because it helps her.
13.6.That kind of person needs encouragement.
13.7.She tells him or her they do not have to loose hope, it is not the end of the world or something of that sort.
13.17.What can you keep yourself busy with.
13.18.What is going to make one's life more effective.
18.8.One has to live for the best.
21.4.One must make the point that the decision you make is good, it must be the best.
27.9.You must work your way forward.
29.2.Help the person be successful.
29.5.If one can keep in mind that your goal is success, success with this person, he or she will be okay.
29.7.Success is the main goal.
37.1.It is important for her people stay away from problems.
37.3.One has to have the mercury to stay away from it.
37.4.One has to stick to what you have.
37.7.One has to know that one day things will go well for you, that is important for her.

XXVII. She sometimes worries about what happened to her clients.

1.20.She only has herself at the end of the day.
1.21.She gets headaches.
6.11.She was feeling very, very bad.
30.10.At the end of the day she will be hurt, because the problem will not be solved.
32.19.Instead she destroyed somebody's life, which she finds frustrating.
32.20.When she sits alone she thinks that she did this, and she shouldn't have done that.
33.1.She finds it frustrating, because she keeps on thinking about what happened to the child.
33.2.She keeps asking herself what happened to the child.
33.3.She thinks how is she now, how are things going, is she well, because she finds it difficult.
34.3.Because it frustrates her, and she does a lot of thinking which takes more of her time.

XXVIII. There are practical interventions when working with victims of abuse.

1.14.After that one needs to go and talk to the mother.
1.17.Perhaps consult the police.
1.18.Maybe the child has to be taken to the district surgeon to be examined.
3.7.After seeing K. they had to take the mother to court.
3.8.Then they took K. to SOS.

30.5.You can take the child to the hospital.
30.6.You can't take the child to the police station.
32.5.They took the child to the child protection unit to be examined, and to open a docket.

XXIX. Working with abuse has taught her a lot.

10.5.She had been working with those kind of people so she could easily identify it.
12.7.She can feel controlled in any kind of situation, and out of those situations.
12.8.What she is trying to say is she can accommodate different types of people.
12.9.Because she meets different kinds of people with different ideas.
12.11.Once she starts talking to somebody she can tell she is this type of person.
12.12.She has this type of problem.
12.13.She will have to handle him in that way.
13.2.She can accommodate any kind of person.
13.3.She has learnt a lot working here.
13.4.She has learnt how to handle somebody who has been hurt.
13.5.Especially when she has not been in that kind of situation.
13.19.She has learnt a lot here.
13.20.She has learnt a lot, because she can easily recognize a place that does not suit her.

XXX. Need a space to relax and help them with the work they do.

35.1.To help them cope, and not get tired they need a lot of workshops and seminars.
35.2.Sometimes they need to refresh themselves.
35.3.Once every three months maybe take all the staff to a resort for the weekend.
35.4.Just to cool down and relax, without discussing anything that concerns their lives.
35.5.To have peace of mind, sleep if one needs to sleep, and if one needs just to go to the pool and cool down.

XXXI. They need their own counseling.

34.1.She finds it very, very hard, and that is why she thinks that it is advisable while people are working with these kinds of problems to be counseled.
34.2.They should be counseled once or twice a year.
34.3.Because it frustrates her, and she does a lot of thinking, a lot of thinking which takes more of her time.
34.4.So at times they need to be counseled.

XXXII. She feels she is successful as a counselor.

3.9.It was one of her successful abuse cases.
3.10.One of the successful cases.
4.1.She felt they were very successful with that case.
6.12.At the end of the day she felt relieved when everything turned out alright.
8.8.She kept telling herself this is her work, this is where she belongs.
8.9.If she succeeds with the first case then she will make it.

XXXIII. She feels that she is helpful.

8.8.She kept telling herself this is her work, this is where she belongs.
11.2.It makes her happy now.
11.3.She is helping people.
11.4.She is helping the community.

XXXIV. Sometimes she feels emotionally removed from her clients problems.

12.4.She feels like her life tends to be on a remote control.
12.5.When it is a child she tends to be removed.
12.7.She can feel controlled in any kind of situation, and out of those situations.
17.7.When one entertains pain then one gets frustrated.

XXXV. Having a child has motivated her to carry on working with abuse.

8.1.Having a child of her own did not make it difficult for her.
8.2.She felt it encourages her.
8.3.She feels motivated by having a child to try and get to more children that have been abused.
8.6.She feels that the children that are coming have a better future.

XXXVI. Her experience has made her feel she has special knowledge.

10.1.In her first year she got four weeks of practical training.
10.2.She did junior primary.
10.3.When she went out to do her practicals she could easily identify those children who had been abused.
10.4.Their teachers could not see that.
10.5.She would say to the teachers to look at a certain number of student in the class that were being abused.
10.6.She said they should attend to the problem as it was serious.

XXXVII. In the new South Africa men and women are equal.

16.6.In the new South Africa the blame is no longer on the father it is on both the parents.
16.7.Now men and women are equal.
37.11.Men and women must stop abusing their children.

XXXVIII. You need be careful to help the client not to be to emotional.

17.3.She used to say to the people that came there that they must take what comes and leave what goes.
17.4.Adjust yourself to the situation.
17.5.If it is bad one must calm down and take it cool.
17.7.When one entertains pain the one gets frustrated.
17.10.You have to be cool and calm, taking what comes and leaving what goes.
27.2.She has to understand you.
27.3.She must not be emotional

27.4.She must be able to tell you what happened.
27.5.How she feels about what happened.
27.7.You have to be careful, very careful.
27.10.You must make it a point that she doesn't get angry.

XXXIX. She sometimes feels alone with the difficulties she experiences with her work.

1.20.She only has herself at the end of the day.
30.10.At the end of the day she will be hurt, because the problem will not be solved.
32.20.When she sits alone she thinks that she did this, and she shouldn't have done that.
33.1.She finds it frustrating, because she keeps on thinking about what happened to the child.
33.2.She keeps on asking herself what happened to the child.
33.3.She thinks how is she now, how are things going, is she well, because she finds it very difficult.
34.1.She finds it very, very hard, and that is why she thinks that it is advisable while people are working with these kinds of problems to be counseled.

XXXX. She sometimes needs to get away from all the problems she faces working with abuse.

35.2.Sometimes they need to refresh themselves.
35.3.Once every three months maybe take all the staff to a resort for the weekend.
35.4.Just to cool down and relax, without discussing anything that concerns them in their lives.
35.5.To have peace of mind, sleep if one needs to sleep, and if one needs just to go to the pool and cool down.

XXXXI. Counselors must be sympathetic.

1.5.You need to be sympathetic.
13.1.Yes she is more sympathetic.
13.2.She can accommodate any kind of person.

A. Working with abuse is hard.

I. Working with abuse is difficult.
IV. Multiple Abuse is particularly difficult for her.
XII. She finds the work frustrating.

B. The work affects her personally.

VIII. Working with abuse has a negative impact on her.
XXIII. Sometimes her work affects her emotionally.
XIII. Working with cases of child sexual abuse are particularly stressful.
XXVII. She sometimes worries about what happened to her clients.
XXXX. She sometimes needs to get away from all the problems she faces working with abuse.

C. Her ability to work as a counselor is affected.

XXII. Sometimes she doubts her abilities as a counselor.
XXXIV. Sometimes she feels emotionally removed from her clients problems.
XXV. She cannot always achieve her goal in therapy.

D. Being a counselor has improved her life.

V. Working with abuse has benefited her.
XXXVI. Her experience has made her feel she has special knowledge.
XXXIII. She feels that she is helpful.
XXXII. She feels she is a successful counselor.
XXIX. Working with abuse has taught her a lot.

E. Knowledge helps you deal with abuse.

IX. You have to know what causes abuse.
III. Three different types of abuse.
XXI. One must be take action to avoid abuse.
XXVIII. There are practical interventions required when working with victims of abuse.

F. Cope by focusing on the positive.

VI. One goal in therapy; success.
X. She is coping.
XI. When faced with a difficult case help clients move forward.
XXIV. To cope one must learn to deal with life's ups and downs.
XXVI. One has to focus on the positive.

G. Counselors need certain abilities.

II. Counselors have to have certain qualities.
XIX. Counselors have to be flexible, and adjust to their different clients and situations.
XX. The client must trust you.
XXXXI. Counselors must be sympathetic.

H. Extra support is needed to cope.

XXXI. They need their own counseling.
XXX. They need a space to relax and help them with the work they do.
XXXIX. She sometimes feels alone with the difficulties she experiences with her work.

I. She is working for a better future.

XVIII. Children are the future.
XXXV. Having a child has motivated her to carry on working with abuse.
XXXVII. In the new South Africa men and women are equal.

J. Women have to be more responsible than men, because men are abusive.

XIV. Men are responsible for most of the abuse.
XV. Women have to take a greater responsibility for caring for the family than men.

K. There are other causes of abuse.

XVI. Even women abuse.
XVII. Poverty causes abuse.

L. You cannot be emotional when working with abuse.

VII. You have to remain rational to work with abuse.
XXXVIII. You need to be careful to help the client not to be to emotional.

Analysis Interview 2 (Counselor P)

I. She finds it frustrating when women in abusive relationships don't leave.

1.2.She found it frustrating because the woman did not want to leave.
1.8.So the woman wanted to go according to those rules, which she found frustrating because the woman was in an awful position.
1.12.She found it frustrating, because she thought the woman was being so stupid.
1.17.She finds the case very difficult, and she ends up taking it home.
2.7.The lady did not see it was part of her husband's abusive behavior. She thought he is just a boy who will outgrow this behavior of beating others.
3.1.She could not even make her see.
3.4.She finds it frustrating, because she knows she can do something about it, but you cannot do it without the woman's permission.
11.3.Then they go back to their relationships, then they come back with another problem.

II. Women don't leave abusive relationships, because they blame themselves.

1.3.The woman did not want to press charges against her husband, because she thought it was her fault.
1.4.Maybe the woman thought she was not good enough.
1.15.They think their husbands will change, and partly they think it is their fault.
4.7.She didn't see that the problem was that her husband has a problem and you need to fix that.

III. Victims blame themselves.

1.3.The woman did not want to press charges against her husband, because she thought it was her fault.
1.4.Maybe the woman thought she was not good enough.
1.15.They think their husbands will change, and partly they think it is their fault.
4.7.She didn't see that the problem was that her husband has a problem and you need to fix that.
24.2.Then you have to make the victim feel that they did not deserve it, that nobody deserves to be hurt.
24.3.You have to tell the victim that they did not invite it upon themselves, that it was not because they were wearing short skirts.
37.1.Counseling also would have helped her sister not to blame herself, because as soon as you start blaming yourself it will never go.
37.2.You think that you are part of it, and maybe if you didn't do this it would never have happened to you.
37.3.People shouldn't take the blame, it doesn't help, it is not your fault.

IV. She prefers not to work with rape victims.

19.2.With rape cases they mainly refer them to the police station where they are dealt with.
21.1.They prefer to refer all rape cases.

23.1.They do counsel rape but they encourage rape victims to go to the Agape clinic on Wednesdays even if they come to the center for counseling.
24.1.She finds working with rape cases very difficult, because sometimes they start crying, so one has to console yourself so that she doesn't start crying as well.
25.1.She finds working with rape difficult, because she has a sister who was raped and that maybe comes up for her.
20.1.Firstly they are working under pressure so they don't have time to follow cases up until the end, like rape cases where they need intense counseling.

V. Her sister's rape affected her emotionally.

25.1.She finds working with rape difficult, because she has a sister who was raped and that maybe comes up for her.
25.2.She feels bitter about it.
26.1.She tries her level best to work with rape, but she sometimes thinks she hasn't dealt with it correctly.
28.13.It was very difficult.
29.1.She was felt so hurt, because her sister was crying.
29.2.At the time she did not know about things like counseling.
29.3.Everybody in the house cried.
29.4.It was difficult for about three months.
28.13.It was very difficult.
29.1.She was felt so hurt, because her sister was crying.
29.2.At the time she did not know about things like counseling.
29.3.Everybody in the house cried.
29.4.It was difficult for about three months.
30.1.She felt bitter, because she couldn't do anything about it she felt that these men were enjoying it, because they know they can do this and go free.
33.3.It becomes heavy, because you cannot do anything.
33.4.It is not a nice experience, it is harmful.

VI. She is bitter about her sister's rape, because they did not catch the perpetrator.

25.2.She feels bitter about it.
29.7.They went to the police who took statements, but it was hopeless, because they did not find the boy.
29.9.She felt so bitter.
30.1.She felt bitter, because she couldn't do anything about it she felt that these men were enjoying it, because they know they can do this and go free.
30.2.Nothing can stop them, they are still going to continue doing it.
33.1.She worries about these people that keep on going free, because they think that is the way it should be.
33.2.They don't know how much harm they are causing, not only to the person, but to the family of the person.

VII. She felt powerless to catch her sister's perpetrator.

29.6.What made it more difficult is that they did not find the boy who did it.
30.1.She felt bitter, because she couldn't do anything about it she felt that these men were enjoying it, because they know they can do this and go free.

30.2.Nothing can stop them, they are still going to continue doing it.
31.1.She felt she couldn't help.
32.1.She just felt frustrated that she couldn't get the man herself and take him to the police station.
33.1.She worries about these people that keep on going free, because they think that is the way it should be.
33.3.It becomes heavy, because you cannot do anything.

VIII. She is worried that criminals think they can get away with their crimes.

30.1.She felt bitter, because she couldn't do anything about it she felt that these men were enjoying it, because they know they can do this and go free.
30.2.Nothing can stop them, they are still going to continue doing it.
33.1.She worries about these people that keep on going free, because they think that is the way it should be.

IX. The decision to change lies with the victim.

3.4.She finds it frustrating, because she knows she can do something about it, but you cannot do it without the woman's permission.
3.5.She cannot do it for the woman, it must come from the woman herself that she wants to do it, if she wants an interdict, or whatever else suits her.
7.1.The decision lies with the victim.
7.2.She cannot take the decision for the victim, she must come up with it, she must not do it for her, because she will not abide.
7.3.She is only there to assist her to do the right thing, not to do it for her.
7.4.It will not be something the victim wanted, she will say okay she will do it to please her, and when she leaves she will come back with another problem.
7.5.So she has to make the victim make the decisions and then assist her with them.

X. Counseling helps rape victims by allowing them to talk about what happened.

24.7.What is frustrating is that you have to get the client to recall the whole scene of the rape.
24.8.It is better for the client, because she will be able to talk more easily about the rape, and she has to go to court and say the same things again, which is difficult.
38.1.Counseling helps because in their tradition they are not allowed to express their emotions, to express their anger or fears.
38.2.It really helps to have someone to talk to, someone you don't know and won't judge you, someone who wil try.
38.3.You express your fears and emotions more freely, which does help a lot.

XI.. Counseling helps victims not to blame themselves.

1.19.Finally the woman realized that her husband had the problem, and she decided to leave him. It was a slow process and she found it hard.
37.1.Counseling also would have helped her sister not to blame herself, because as soon as you start blaming yourself it will never go.
37.2.You think that you are part of it, and maybe if you didn't do this it would never have happened to you.

37.3.People shouldn't take the blame, it doesn't help, it is not your fault.
36.1.The counseling would have helped her sister to feel that it was not her fault that something like this had happened to her, that she didn't invite it upon her self.

XII. She feels powerless when the client doesn't want to change.

1.2.She found it frustrating because the woman did not want to leave.
1.8.So the woman wanted to go according to those rules, which she found frustrating, because the woman was in an awful position.
1.12.She found it frustrating, bece se she thought the woman was being so stupid.
3.4.She finds it frustrating, because she knows she can do something about it, but you cannot do it without the woman's permission.
3.5.She cannot do it for the woman, it must come from the woman herself that she wants to do it, if she wants an interdict, or whatever else suits her.
4.1.She felt so powerless.
4.2.She was just talking and not doing anything.
4.3.The only thing she can do is talk.
4.4.Maybe she felt she could make her see that her husband is not going to change.
4.5.The woman's husband is not going to change, because she doesn't take further steps to make him see that what he is doing is wrong.
4.6.The woman goes home, because she feels better and the whole thing continues, she will be hit again and blame it on liquor, that he was drunk.
4.7.She didn't see that the problem was that her husband has a problem and you need to fix that.
4.8.So she feels so powerless.
5.1.It left her feeling that she was so powerless.
6.1.That was the only case where she experienced feeling powerless, maybe because it was her first case.

XIII. Counseling has helped her to communicate her needs more effectively.

40.1.After she attended an enrichment course and counseling course at lifeline she found it easier to talk about herself.
40.2.She does talk about herself and what she wants.
40.3.She would only express what she felt when she was angry.
40.4.She then found out that it was more important to talk when you are not angry, because people don't get the message well when you say it when you are angry.
40.5.It is worse to talk when you are angry, than when you are not angry.
40.6.At least now you she can express herself more easily.
40.7.She can communicate with her family, let them know what she wants.
40.8.If she didn't do that she thinks she would just walk out.
40.9.She would just shut up and not do it, and they would interpret it as her being stubborn.
40.10.She says she doesn't want to do this 1, 2, 3 and then they understand, they understand her better.
41.1.Now she doesn't shut up and keep quite and then not do the thing that she doesn't want to do.

XIV. It is important to make children talk.

42.1.First it depends on the case maybe the client doesn't want to talk he is quite, because of the person that brought them there, the mother or father, they will ask them to stay outside.
42.2.Sometimes there are clients that are very stubborn that don't want to talk.
43.1.She tells the client that they will stay there, and that they are wasting their time if they don't talk.
43.2.She says she is working there so she doesn't have anywhere to go, that they can stay there the whole day.
43.3.In the end the client will end up seeing that they are wasting their time, that they cannot stay there the whole day without talking, so in the end they also talk.
44.1.Yes she is referring to children.
47.1.Children don't want to talk and you find out from the parent that the child is doing the same thing at home, when they ask the children they don't talk, and when they come here they do the same thing.
47.2.The parents say you see they don't want to talk to us, and she say the parents can go home and the child will remain there until she decides to talk and eventually he will.
48.1.It is very important for the children to talk, because communication is the basis of everything, a relationship, a family, anything.
48.2.If you don't talk how is it going to be, it is the only way we are going to get through to each other.
48.3.If they don't talk and they think people will get the message they are wrong, it only makes things worse.

XV. People who don't talk are stubborn.

42.2.Sometimes there are clients that are very stubborn that don't want to talk.
43.1.She tells the client that they will stay there, and that they are wasting their time if they don't talk.
43.2.She says she is working there so she doesn't have anywhere to go, that they can stay there the whole day.
43.3.In the end the client will end up seeing that they are wasting their time, that they cannot stay there the whole day without talking, so in the end they also talk.

XVI. When people don't want to change it affects her emotionally.

1.2.She found it frustrating because the woman did not want to leave.
1.8.So the woman wanted to go according to those rules, which she found frustrating, because the woman was in an awful position.
1.12.She found it frustrating, because she thought the woman was being so stupid.
1.17.She finds the case becomes very difficult, and she ends up taking it home.
1.18.It affects her and the way she looks at other relationships.
3.4.She finds it frustrating, because she knows she can do something about it, but you cannot do it without the woman's permission.
11.1.There are times when she doesn't feel good, because she doesn't know if some woman won't turn around on the way.

XVII. Victims have low self esteem.

1.4.Maybe the woman thought she was not good enough.
24.5.Mainly you have to make them feel that they are not dirty, because mostly they feel that they are dirty.
36.2.You loose your self confidence at that point in time, it would have helped her sister regain her self confidence quicker than she did.

XVIII. You can only try your best to assist victims to change.

5.2.She knows that there is nothing that she can do, all she could do she did, and it is up to the woman to take further steps.
7.3.She is only there to assist her to do the right thing, not to do it for her.
7.5.So she has to make the victim make the decisions and then assist her with them.
55.1.Some days it doesn't happen that she feel she has helped somebody, but at least she has done her best that she could, it is up to them to take it or not.
56.1.She doesn't feel that she hasn't helped people, because she has done what she has done, she has given it her best shot.

XIX. She has learnt about how to work with abuse at the center.

1.13.It was her first case and she learnt that woman always stay with abusive husbands.
6.1.That was the only case where she experienced feeling powerless, maybe because it was her first case.
6.2.Maybe she has learnt from practice.
29.2.At the time she did not know about things like counseling.
35.1.Maybe counseling would have helped all of them in the family to get over this quicker, she doesn't know maybe it would have helped them more.

XX Traditional cultural values are frustrating.

1.5.She was a young when she was married off from the rural areas.
1.6.In her tradition when you get married the old ladies tell you that there is a code of marriage.
1.7.A woman must stay in the marriage even if her husband beat her, a woman's grave is in her marriage.
1.8.So the woman wanted to go according to those rules, which she found frustrating, because the woman was in an awful position.
1.12.She found it frustrating, because she thought the woman was being so stupid.
2.1 The woman felt that she must abide by the rules and she did not question them, even if she had to give up her life for them.
38.1.Counseling helps because in their tradition they are not allowed to express their emotions, to express their anger or fears.

XXI. It is important to consider the children.

2.2.They tried to show her that she had children, and what would happen if the man killed her, that she must think about the children's wellbeing and how they are being affected.

2.3.Even if the woman couldn't do it for herself, she should do it for her children.
2.4.The children are growing up in an abnormal and unfavorable situation.
2.5.They said to her that her boy and girl think that is a normal way of life.
2.6.The woman was having a problem with her boy who was beating other boys at creche, and they had called her several times, telling her if he doesn't change they are going to chase him away.
2.7.The lady did not see it was part of her husband's abusive behavior. She thought he is just a boy who will outgrow this behavior of beating others.

XXII. Most abused women see that they must change.

12.4.The when the woman sees what they were saying at first was true, he is not going to change, then they feel good about it.
13.1.When the women see they are going no where.
14.1.Mostly the women see.
16.1.The case was successful, eventually she was removed from the husband.

XXIII. She does not have much success with maintenance cases.

17.1.She has not felt successful in maintenance cases, in those you cannot find a solution, there is no way you can help the person.
17.2.The client does not know where to find him in the first place, and they cannot go out and track him.
17.3.If the client doesn't have the physical address, it is difficult for them.

XXI There are good reasons why they cannot work with rape cases.

20.1.Firstly they are working under pressure so they don't have time to follow cases up until the end, like rape cases where they need intense counseling.
20.2.She doesn't say that they are not qualified, but Agape students are more advanced than they are, so they can deal with the problem more intensely.
20.3.Usually they can't deal with it intensely because of time.
20.4.As one can see their office is not that private, and those people that have been raped are very sensitive, they need privacy, because they are more sensitive than other cases.

XXV. It is hard to listen to accounts of rape.

24.7.What is frustrating is that you have to get the client to recall the whole scene of the rape.
24.9.The rape victims wish they could shut if off and not remember anything.
25.1.She finds working with rape difficult, because she has a sister who was raped and that maybe comes up for her.
19.1.They refer other cases that they don't feel they can deal with to places like Agape for intense counseling.
20.1.Firstly they are working under pressure so they don't have time to follow cases up until the end, like rape cases where they need intense counseling.
20.2.She doesn't say that they are not qualified, but Agape students are more advanced than they are, so they can deal with the problem more intensely.
20.3.Usually they can't deal with it intensely because of time.

XXVI. Rape is about power.

24.4.It is not a question of rape it is a question of power.

XXVII. Had she known about counseling she could have helped with her sister's rape.

29.2. At the time she did not know about things like counseling.
35.1.Maybe counseling would have helped all of them in the family to get over this quicker, she doesn't know maybe it would have helped them more.
36.1.The counseling would have helped her sister to feel that it was not her fault that something like this had happened to her, that she didn't invite it upon her self.
37.1.Counseling also would have helped her sister not to blame herself, because as soon as you start blaming yourself it will never go.

XXVIII. It is difficult to work with people who don't want to take responsibility.

49.1.Another difficulty is when she is dealing with marital problems, where the husband blames the wife and the wife blames the husband and no one wants to take responsibility.
49.2.She tries to show them that they are not doing any good by shifting blame, because the problem does not go away, so they need to deal with the problem, not shift it around between them.
49.4.It takes more time to deal with that kind of case, like the one that is happening over there (Referring to a couple being counseled in the opposite corner of the office.), at time one will end up having a session for two hours until they finally are able to reconcile and start dealing with their problems.
51.1.You have to tell the couple that it is useless them coming her in the first place if they don't talk, they could have just continued doing that at home.
51.2.If they have are here it means that they need help.
51.3.She ask them how am I going to help you if you don't want to be helped, she cannot smell what there problem is, she is not a witchdoctor, she doesn't know what their problem is, she need them to tell her.

XXIX. You cannot help people who do not want to be helped.

51.1.You have to tell the couple that it is useless them comir ; her in the first place if they don't talk, they could have just continued doing that at home.
51.3.She ask them how am I going to help you if you don't want to be helped, she cannot smell what there problem is, she is not a witchdoctor, she doesn't know what their problem is, she need them to tell her.

XXX. She makes a difference in the helping work she does.

53.1.Her helping people makes a difference.
53.2.It makes a difference in somebody else's life, to put a smile on somebody's face make a whole lot of difference.
53.3.She has a feeling of fulfillment that she has done something at least for that day.
54.1.She often feels that she helps people, because they see so many people, so on any one day you will have done something.

XXXI. Woman must be responsible and stand up to abuse.

3.2.She knows the situation is not going to get better if the woman does not take a stand and make him stop.
3.4.She finds it frustrating, because she knows she can do something about it, but you cannot do it without the woman's permission.
3.5.She cannot do it for the woman, it must come from the woman herself that she wants to do it, if she wants an interdict, or whatever else suits her.
4.5.The woman's husband is not going to change, because she doesn't take further steps to make him see what he is doing is wrong.
5.2.She knows that there is nothing that she can do, all she could do she did, and it is up to the woman to take further steps.

XXXII. Abused women are unreliable.

4.6.The woman goes home, because she feels better and the whole thing continues, she will be hit again and blame it on liquor, that he was drunk.
7.2.She cannot make the decision for the victim, she must come up with it, she must not do it for her, because she will not abide.
11.1.There are times when she doesn't feel good, because she doesn't know if some woman won't turn around on the way.
11.2.The woman decide not to press charges, or they have talked it over with their partners.
11.3.Then they go back to their relationships and then come back with another problem.
12.1.It is actually good for them to come back, because she knows they are not going to change this man.
12.2.They are actually just talking it over now so that she can come back.
12.3.When the woman goes back, she returns with another problem.

XXXIII. Children are vulnerable.

27.1.She was still very young when it happened.
28.5.She was really so tiny.
2.3.Even if the woman couldn't do it for herself, she should do it for her children.
2.4.The children are growing up in an abnormal and unfavorable situation.
2.5.They said to her that her boy and girl think that is a normal way of life.

XXXIV. She feels responsible for what happened to her sister.

28.8.She didn't go to the game that day she went to town.
29.2.At the time she did not know about things like counseling.
30.1.She felt bitter, because she couldn't do anything about it she felt that these men were enjoying it, because they know they can go free.
32.1.She just felt frustrated that she couldn't get the man herself and take him to the police station.
33.3.It becomes heavy, because you cannot do anything.

XXXV. In her first case she felt powerless.

1.1.Her first experience was working with a woman who was being beaten by her husband.
6.1.That was the only case where she experienced feeling powerless, maybe because it was her first case.

XXXVI. The environment can influence how people behave.

2.4.The children are growing up in an abnormal and unfavorable situation.
2.5.They said to her that her boy and girl think that is a normal way of life.
2.6.The woman was having a problem with her boy who was beating other boys at creche, and they had called her several times, telling her if he doesn't change they are going to chase him away.
2.7.The lady did not see it was part of her husband's abusive behavior. She thought he is just a boy who will outgrow this behavior of beating others.
15.1.Whether the women sees or not maybe has to do with the environment, where they grew up, that says a lot.

XXXVII. She feels successful as a counselor.

6.1.That was the only case where she experience feeling powerless, maybe because it was her first case.
6.2. Maybe she has learnt from practice.
16.1.The case was successful, eventually she was removed from her husband.
53.3.She has a feeling of fulfillment that she has done something at least for one day.
54.1.She often feels that she helps people, because they see so many people, so on any one day you will have done something.
56.1.She doesn't feel that she hasn't helped people, because she has done what she has done, she has given it her best shot.

XXXVIII. Sometimes the work affects her emotionally.

1.17.She finds the case becomes very difficult, and she ends up taking it home.
11.1.There are times when she doesn't feel good, because she doesn't know if some woman won't turn around on the way.

A. Victims have to stand up to abuse.

I. She finds it frustrating when women in abusive relationships don't leave.
IX. The decision to change lies with the victim.
XXXI. Woman must be responsible and stand up to abuse.

B. She can't help those that are not willing to take responsibility.

XVIII. You can only try your best to assist victims to change.
XXVIII. It is difficult to work with people who don't want to take responsibility.
XXIX. You cannot help people who do not want to be helped.

C. Victims blame themselves.

II. Women don't leave abusive relationships, because they blame themselves.
III. Victims blame themselves.
XI.. Counseling helps victims not to blame themselves.
XVII. Victims have low self esteem.
XXVI. Rape is about power.

D. Her personal experience of rape affects her working with rape.

IV. She prefers not to work with rape victims.
V. Her sister's rape affected her emotionally.
VI. She is bitter about her sister's rape, because they did not catch the perpetrator.
XXV. It is hard to listen to accounts of rape.

E. Counseling has helped her deal more effectively with her personal life.

XIII. Counseling has helped her to communicate her needs more effectively.
XIX. She has learnt about working with abuse at the center.

F. She feels responsible for helping people who have been abused.

XII. She feels powerless when the client doesn't want to change.
XXIV. She feels responsible for what happened to her sister.
XXXV. In her first case she felt powerless.
XXVII. Had she know about counseling she could have helped with her sister's rape.

G. Child victims must talk.

XIV. It is important to make children talk.
XV. People who don't talk are stubborn.

H. Children need to be given priority.

XXXIII. Children are vulnerable.
XXI. It is important to consider the children.

I. The environment influences people's behavior.

XX. Traditional cultural values are frustrating.
XXXVI. The environment can influence how people behave.

J. She helps people.

XXII. Most abused women see that they must change.
XXX. She makes a difference in the helping work she does.
XXXVII. She feels successful as a counselor.

K. Sometimes she feels she can't help people.

XXIII. She does not have much success with maintenance cases.
XXIV. There are good reasons why they cannot work with rape cases.
XXXII. Abused women are unreliable.

L. She is concerned that criminals do not pay for their crimes.

VII. She felt powerless to catch her sister's perpetrator.
VIII. She is worried that criminals think they can get away with their crimes.

M. Sometimes the work has a negative emotional impact on her.

XVI. When people don't want to change it affects her emotionally.
XXXVIII. Sometimes the work affects her emotionally.

Appendix 3

Common Themes from Interview 1 & 2

(a) Working with abuse is difficult.

(b) Sometimes they question their ability as counselors.

(c) Working as a counselor has benefited them.

(d) The environment plays an important role in the development of abuse.

(e) They are working for a better future.

(f) They will not work with certain types of cases.

(g) The work sometimes has a negative impact on one's emotions.

(h) They feel vulnerable outside of the center.

(i) Abused women are unreliable.

(j) They help people.

(k) You cannot help those that do not want to be helped.

Unique Themes from Interview 1& 2

(l) Extra support is needed to cope.

(m) Working with abuse can help to heal one's own experience of abuse.

(n) You cannot be emotional when working with abuse.

(o) Child victims must talk.

(p) Women must be more responsible than men, because men are abusive.

(q) She feels responsible for helping people that have been abused.

(r) Victims blame themselves.

(s) Cope by focusing on the positive.

(t) Counselors need certain abilities.

Author: Brodie, John.
Name of thesis: A phenomenological study of the experience of lay counsellors working with victims of abuse.

PUBLISHER:
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg
©2015

LEGALNOTICES:

Copyright Notice: All materials on the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg Library website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be distributed, transmitted, displayed or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

Disclaimer and Terms of Use: Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page)for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

The University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the Library website.