

Psychological Work with Survivors of Sex Trafficking: A Narrative Inquiry of the Impact on Practitioners

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ABSTRACT

This study contributes to the limited body of psychological literature in the field of human trafficking through presenting new and applicable understanding about the impact on psychological practitioners of working with women survivors of trafficking for sexual exploitation. The three core aims of the study were, firstly, to expand understanding about the individual experiences of personal and professional impact. Second, to highlight the support required for practitioners working with survivors of trafficking for sexual exploitation. Through giving voice to practitioners, the third aim was to provide a new body of evidence in this much under-researched area, contributing towards improving clinical effectiveness.

Underpinned by feminist postmodern values, this study is shaped as a story of resistance against the marginalisation and oppression of women's voices. Taking a narrative inquiry approach to exploring both the singular and common experiences of impact, four women practitioners were interviewed, twice each. The design was collaborative, incorporating analysis and feedback between interviews, as well as drawing on poetic representation taken from interview segments. Each participant worked in different, often multifaceted roles, as psychologist, psychotherapist, counsellor and expert witness, yet all were psychologically trained.

Across the four narratives, five different subject areas were identified: *A personal philosophy, rite of passage, boundaries, protective factors, and knowers and not-knowers*. These headings gave rise to a discussion of how practitioners are impacted in the immediate, on a psychological, social and embodied level, as well as longer-term. The underlying personal philosophies of practitioners emerged as both motivating and protective in the work. Pertinent also was how the impact of the work changed at different points in a person's career, the initial rite of passage representing a particularly challenging time in terms of impact and learning about boundaries. The individual understanding gained from the four narratives led to concrete output in the form of a template for a practice-based manual of recommendations, for application with organisations and individuals offering services to survivors of trafficking.

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Introduction

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Upon starting this research, I had been working in the trafficking field for a decade but was no longer offering frontline casework or psychological therapy. I had segued into being an expert witness assessing and writing trafficking identification reports, whilst also working therapeutically with survivors of torture. My own journey into the field of human trafficking initially took shape through work with refugee clients in Australia in the early 2000s, where I was also researching the experiences of women in decriminalised versus criminalised commercial prostitution. I have lived in numerous countries throughout my life and when I moved to London, I took up a role as caseworker at the Poppy Project in Eaves, in 2007. This was a feminist organisation, and the Poppy Project was also the first UK government funded project carrying out research and campaigning, as well as frontline support, advocacy, and housing, to women survivors of trafficking. Knowledge about trafficking was in its infancy then, and is still sparse now, both about survivors and about practitioners working in the field.

When this research project was conceived in 2016, I was left with many questions about the consequences and change occurring in myself and other practitioners as a result of working with survivors of trafficking. A curiosity about impact was at the forefront of my mind. However, it took time to arrive at the research topic, mainly because of my own ambivalence about delving into challenging experiences I have had working in the field. I had gone through different phases with the work, including being deeply impassioned and committed, to suffering empathic fatigue and vicarious trauma. I went through a period of complete burnout when I could no longer work with clients. Recovering from this, I slowly found my way back to client-facing work in different organisations and as an independent expert witness. The research thus arose from my own experiences of being impacted by the work. When I began the research, I was offering training on vicarious trauma and self-care, which highlighted to me the silence and self-effacing tendency of practitioners in the trafficking field. It

is for this reason that I decided my core aim would be to give psychological practitioners a voice.

RATIONALE AND AIMS

This current study is shaped as a story of resistance against the oppression and marginalisation of women's voices. To achieve this, my overall approach has been to inquire into individual narratives of women working in the trafficking field. Underpinning my thinking were feminist postmodern values, which allowed for the exploration of what Kim Etherington (2004: 74) refers to as 'local' stories and sharing of 'lived experiences,' that I 'place alongside my own life' so as to inform myself and others.

This study has three central aims. Firstly, is to explore impact on practitioners of working with women trafficking survivors who have experienced sexual exploitation. Secondly, an aim is to highlight support required, ultimately working towards improving clinical effectiveness. This has led to concrete output in the form of a template for a practice-based manual, for application with organisations (or individuals) offering services to survivors of trafficking. The manual is shaped by the analysis of the research and offers a framework for supporting practitioners in the field. The final aim is to provide a new body of evidence in this under-researched area, contributing to the field through stimulating debate and further research.

This study is idiographic in nature, concerned with investigating the uniqueness of working in the trafficking field. The four participants who took part in this study come from a range of professional backgrounds, working in various contexts: As psychologists, expert witnesses, managers, counsellors, psychotherapists; all taking different perspectives on the work, yet grounded in psychological training.

Outline of the dissertation

The dissertation comprises six sections, beginning with this introduction, in which I offer an overview of the wider context of human trafficking, globally and in the UK. I then move on to reviewing the existing literature concerning the impact on practitioners of working with trafficked persons, and survivors of trauma more broadly. In the study's methodology in section three, the epistemological underpinnings are elaborated upon and an outline of how the research was

conducted is provided. This leads onto section four, in which I present the outcome of interviews. I first outline themes emerging from individual participants as well as across narratives. Each of the four participant narratives are then presented, with reference to themes and assisted by poetic representation. Following this, section five contains a discussion across the four narratives, linking them with relevant studies in the field and to the psychological and psychotherapeutic literature. Embedded in the discussion I point to implications and conclude by drawing together the wider implications of the findings, including mapping out a skeleton of the manual for practitioners and organisations. In section six I conclude the dissertation through reflections on the research process and offer final thoughts on the study. I make reference to relevant appendices within the text.

Terminology and semantics

Going forward, 'survivor' will refer specifically to women who have been trafficked for the purpose of sexual exploitation. This is as opposed to 'victim,' the terminology used by the British authorities and in legal proceedings concerning trafficked persons. This choice in language is to empower rather than disempower, although I acknowledge that binary terminology always has limitations. When I use the term 'practitioner' I am referring to a person who is therapeutically or psychologically trained, thus assuming that they understand the process of psychological therapy. This is as opposed to other frontline staff working in the trafficking field, such as advocates, lawyers, medical doctors or social workers.

THE GLOBAL AND SYSTEMIC CONTEXT OF TRAFFICKING

The internationally accepted definition of trafficking, devised as recently as 2000, states that:

"Trafficking in persons" shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or

services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs' (Palermo Protocol, Article 3, 2000: 2).

To fully understand the context of modern day slavery, specifically human trafficking, it is important to turn briefly to both the global and systemic context. Human trafficking is a hidden phenomenon and complex in nature. It is difficult to determine the scope of the problem; we can only rely on estimates in coming to understand the scale. Probably the most reliable is the International Labour Organization's estimate that over 40 million people are in slavery today, 4.8 million of those being sexually exploited, 99% of which are thought to be girls or women (International Labour Organization, 2017). Statistics collected in 2018 showed that 6993 cases had been referred for investigation of trafficking in the UK, this is up from 5142 in 2017 (National Crime Agency, 2019). These numbers must be viewed in a broad context, understanding that many survivors of trafficking don't escape their exploitative situation, don't survive, or simply never come into contact with the authorities. Despite (or because of) this, trafficking in persons is believed to be the fastest growing criminal industry in the world.

Formal definitions are relatively recent, but it is well known that slavery is not a new problem. Human trafficking has historically been referred to as 'white slavery,' despite the fact that it involves people of all races and ethnicities (Jahic & Finckenaure, 2005). Globalisation, as well as social and economic imbalance, provides the ideal conditions for the movement and exploitation of human beings. Trafficking is generally known to increase in situations of crisis and transition. A country with a high corruption rate, where citizens are plagued by poverty, unemployment and social exclusion, with colonial histories and gender inequality, usually allows trafficking to flourish (Waugh, 2006; Yakushko, 2009). This paints a disturbing picture of a modern world, where human beings can easily be reduced to a commodity and the abuse of their liberty becomes a method of ensuring profit (Kara, 2009).

Trafficking in Britain

Considering the British context, established identification and support structures for trafficked persons are relatively recent. The legislative context, and how it overlaps with asylum seeking, is a complex topic, however, I will offer a very brief introduction as a way of framing the current research. Prior to 2009, there was no formalised

process for identifying and supporting survivors of trafficking in the UK, and very little work had been done to understand the scale and impact of trafficking. It had largely been ignored or misunderstood, mistaken for smuggling and subsumed under the understanding of prostitution. An interesting illustration of this was how initially our allocated police team at the Poppy Project was the now disbanded Clubs and Vice squad, tasked with policing nightclubs, 'vice' or prostitution, and obscene publications. I went on "drive arounds" with a number of my clients and male police officers from this division (with the aim of finding locations where survivors were exploited), which highlighted the well-meaning yet often condescending approach of the authorities, lumping trafficking in with a whole range of other 'obscene' crimes, rather than understanding the complex nature of international trafficking.

During this time, the Poppy Project conducted a series of Government funded pilot projects on how best to support trafficked women and, alongside other stakeholders in the field, advised the UK authorities on how best to implement support structures for survivors. In 2009 the National Referral Mechanism (NRM) was established; a framework within which public bodies such as criminal justice agencies, the Home Office, local authorities and third sector partners work together to identify individuals who may have been trafficked, and provide appropriate protection and support, including provision for psychological input. The NRM was designed to meet Britain's obligations under the Council of European Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings (ECAT), to which the UK Government is a signatory. It was ratified and came into force in 2009 (ECAT, 2005). Human trafficking has subsequently been subsumed under the Modern Slavery Act from 2015, which covers a range of slavery related acts, including trafficking, but also sets out more clearly articulated obligations and measures to identify, prevent and protect persons who have been trafficked.

Despite the above measures, and the significant work carried out to formalise guidance, many trafficked persons in the UK remain unidentified and undocumented. The ones who are referred to the NRM are usually given a 45 day 'reflection period,' intended to award them safety and security as well as an opportunity to 'recover' post-trafficking, whilst a formal decision is made about the legitimacy of their trafficking claim. It is an obligation of the UK Government to provide access to health services, including psychological therapy: 'Psychological assistance is needed to help the victim overcome the trauma they have been through and get back to reintegration into society' (ECAT, 2005: 6). However, there is no formal

implementation of this, and whilst there is some specialist provision through organisations such as the Helen Bamber Foundation, there are no psychological services solely dedicated to trafficked people in the UK.

Trafficking and asylum

During this 'reflection period', unless the survivor is a British or EU national, the decision on legitimacy is usually intertwined with a person's legal status in the UK, most often their claim for asylum. This nexus can be because of fears of persecution on return and/or because it is unsafe to return to her country of origin, because traffickers know where she was living before she was trafficked, because they usually operate in criminal gangs, and because she faces ongoing threat to herself or her family. Re-trafficking is a serious problem. In addition, a woman who has been trafficked will usually suffer with psychological and health difficulties as a result of her experiences and will very often have been ostracized by family members or loved ones, because of stigma and prejudiced views around trafficking, prostitution and mental health difficulties (Amnesty International, 2006). Consequently, the safest option is to seek asylum and build a new life in the UK. For this reason, it's argued within human rights law that trafficked women be recognised as 'member of a particular social group,' requiring protection in the UK (Refugee Convention, 1951: 3).

With claiming asylum comes a range of challenges, which can add to or compound the trauma a woman has already undergone. She can be faced with adjusting to a new culture and/or language; suffer disconnection and even betrayal by family, friends and her home community, as well as complete disruption to the continuity of her life. Once in the UK she will more likely than not face isolation, poverty, prejudice, and the psychological after-effects of her trafficking experiences, which may lead to questioning her self-worth, and sense of identity, whilst living in a constant state of heightened arousal caused by uncertainty regarding her safety and future. In claiming asylum, a woman is more often than not forced to go through multiple interviews with Home Office officials, appeal hearings and/or judicial reviews and solicitors' meetings, all of which can be a protracted process frequently stretching over several years. Women who have been trafficked often find themselves in situations where they have no voice and are trapped in a re-traumatising immigration system. They are inherently vulnerable as a consequence of their experiences and

can be doubly victimised by the current hostile environment that espouses closing borders and vilifying 'the other' in society.

Power and oppression

It is well known that trafficking, when carried out for the purposes of sexual exploitation, mainly concerns women and children (ECAT, 2005). They are more vulnerable to trafficking due to the lack of social safety nets in many developing countries. The problem of human trafficking is often linked to patriarchal societies shaped by gender inequality, as well as violence and discrimination against women, and other minorities (Koricanac, 2013; Contreras, Kallivayalil, & Herman, 2017). This is well illustrated by Albania being the UK's top source country of internationally trafficked adults according to 2018 statistics (National Crime Agency, 2019). A country marred by entrenched economic, political and social inequalities, corruption and persecution of women through practices such as forced marriage and honour-based violence (Amnesty International, 2006).

In the UK, the oppressive circumstances that a trafficking survivor originates from, and later finds themselves in when claiming asylum in Britain, is set against the backdrop of a long colonial history with a powerful legacy. The British law enforcement and judiciary is run by a powerful establishment elite and as such can unconsciously take the position of bystander and oppressor, particularly evident in the asylum process. It is also pertinent to note that a common feature in trafficking accounts is the connection between criminal networks and corrupt government or law enforcement, turning a blind eye or at times being complicit in facilitating trafficking.

This brief overview is intended to provide insight and some context into how the systemic cultural and social repression that women experience in society can reinforce susceptibility to trafficking (Waugh, 2006; Collier, 2007). This means that women who have survived trafficking, and arrive in therapists' consulting rooms, constitute one of the most marginalised groups in society, trapped within the dominant narratives of victimisation, migration and criminality.

Emotional and psychological impact of trafficking

To understand how practitioners can be impacted by their work with this client group, it is essential to first consider how survivors of trafficking are themselves impacted.

The complex traumatic experiences and multiple layers of trauma resulting from human trafficking more often than not lead to lifelong psychological and physical health difficulties. Survivors of trafficking usually present with a combination of physical injuries, sexual health problems, chronic somatic health consequences of abuse, and long-term mental health difficulties. Fatigue, weight loss, headaches, dizzy spells, loss of memory, fainting, stomach and abdominal pain, chest and heart pain, breathing difficulty, back pain, vision and ear problems, are all common 'symptoms' (Zimmerman, et al., 2006; Hossain, et al, 2010; Oram, et al; 2012). In terms of psychological difficulties, diagnoses of depression and post-traumatic stress disorder are often made, and survivors present with a range of 'symptoms' including: anxiety, panic attacks, suicidal ideation, self-harm, psychotic 'symptoms', low mood, flashbacks, hyper-arousal, chronic fear and various other experiences associated with post-traumatic stress disorder (Zimmerman, et al., 2006; Hossain, et al, 2010; Oram, et al; 2012).

The psychological trauma of a woman who has been trafficked must be understood as interpersonal and cumulative (Herman, 1992; Contreras, et al, 2017). This is not only as a result of traumatic events in the context of the trafficking situation, which can range anywhere between days and decades, but a woman is also likely to have lived through systemic social oppression, disempowerment related to her gender, as well as previous emotional, physical and sexual violence (Zimmerman, et al, 2003; Zimmerman, et al, 2006; Tsutsumi et al, 2008; Rafferty, 2008; Hossain, et al, 2010; Ostrovski et al, 2011; Oram et al, 2012; Abas et al, 2013; Turner-Moss et al, 2014; Domoney et al, 2015; Kiss et al, 2015; Oram et al, 2015; Ottisava, et al, 2016). One large-scale study of trafficked women in the UK, conducted by Cathy Zimmerman and colleagues (2007), found that 59% of survivors reported abuse prior to being trafficked to the UK. My professional experience suggests that this is an underrepresentation. It is for this reason that trafficking is best understood in the context of violence against women and illustrates why a feminist approach is critical when studying the area (Watts & Zimmerman, 2002).

A combination of systematic violence, threat, control and coercion is usually used by traffickers to force a woman to submit to sexual exploitation; these acts can be so sadistic and extreme that core beliefs about a woman's sense of self are often irrevocably altered (Boltzmann et al, 2013; Koricanac, 2013; Contreras et al, 2017). My experience of working with both trafficking and torture survivors echoes literature in the area suggesting the methods used by traffickers are often akin to the process

of torture, leaving profound changes to personality and eroding a person's ability to feel trust post-escape; this is despite there being limited physical 'scarring' or visible evidence of abuse (Boltzmann et al, 2013). The deceit and coercion employed by traffickers is intended to leave women confused, shamed, distrustful and with questions of complicity.

To add another layer of complexity, it is not uncommon for traffickers to form personal relationships with their victims, sometimes intimate ones. This aligns with the experiences of domestic violence or sustained sexual abuse, where a woman is subject to psychological manipulation and grooming, resulting in complex feelings of love, betrayal and self-questioning (Herman, 1992; Davies & Frawley, 1994; Contreras et al, 2017). All of this, of course, increases the complexity of forming relationships post-trafficking, including within a professional psychological environment. This leads us onto practitioner impact; these complex experiences, including the physical, psychological and relational aftermath a trafficking survivor presents with, are inevitably going to deeply impact women practitioners tasked with bearing witness and forming relationship with survivors of trafficking.

So far, I have offered a brief summary of the broader context of trafficking and the experience of trafficked women. Every survivor is an individual and whilst there are many parallels, it is critical, as ever in a therapeutic context, to be alive to the subjective experiences of survivors. In turning now to look at the 'in therapy' process for practitioners working with survivors of trafficking, the above information becomes a background picture of some of the many considerations that need to be taken into account in the work. Sometimes these aspects are foregrounded, but even if they are not, they are always influencing the work on more subtle levels.

Literature Review

MAPPING THE TRAFFICKING FIELD

Literature being conducted in the trafficking field is emergent and cross-disciplinary, encompassing legal, sociological and human rights studies (The Group of Experts on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings, 2011; Helen Bamber Foundation & Ludwig Boltzman Institute of Human Rights, 2013) to more general guidance and handbooks on how to respond to trafficked persons when providing frontline services (Zimmerman & Borland, 2009; Home Office, 2016; Twigg, 2017; Human Trafficking Foundation, 2018; Rajaram & Tidball, 2018). The guidance focuses primarily on survivor basic needs, such as shelter and safety, and on understanding the complex nature of trafficking. There is also a particular focus on mapping frequency, causes and improving identification of survivors.

As outlined in the introduction, there are a growing number of studies looking at psychological and physical consequences of trafficking. Alongside this, there is some guidance and limited research investigating what therapeutic approaches are most effective in work with trafficking survivors (Hardy et al, 2013; Koricanac, 2013; Robjant, Roberts & Katona, 2017; Hopper 2017; Countryman-Roswurm & DiLollo, 2017; Contreras, et al, 2017; Oram & Domoney, 2018). Models usefully propose incorporating social justice, human rights, and culturally responsive frameworks (Chung, 2009), understanding the complex process of psychological coercion and relational betrayal (Contreras et al, 2017), and the use of 're-storying' in narrative and creative approaches (Koleva, 2011; Countryman-Roswurm & Dilollo, 2017; Robjant et al, 2017). The literature highlights the unique approach needed in work with survivors of trafficking. Consequently, impact will differ from other client work, setting the stage for the current study of practitioner impact.

PRACTITIONER IMPACT

I now turn to literature concerned with the impact of trauma work on practitioners. Relevant studies focus broadly on frontline staff, some of whom are psychologically trained, others not. Much of the implicit and explicit transmission of trauma has been framed in the context of terms such as countertransference reactions, compassion fatigue, secondary and vicarious trauma (Wilson & Lindy, 1995; Pearlman &

Saakvitne, 1995; Stamm, 1995, Figley, 1995). This review initially maps out literature on secondary and vicarious trauma, terms I use interchangeably, then post-traumatic growth, before moving onto countertransference and intersubjective ways of working. Following this, I explore specialist areas such as sexual violence, anti-oppressive practice, and finally trafficking specific research.

Vicarious trauma, secondary trauma and post-traumatic growth

In the past three decades, a number of different frameworks have been used to understand the physical, emotional, psychological and existential impact of working with survivors of trauma. The most common constructs are those of vicarious traumatisation (McCann & Pearlman, 1990; Pearlman & Saakvitne, 1995), secondary traumatic stress (STS) and compassion fatigue (Stamm, 1995; Figley, 1995). These acknowledge and explore how therapists may experience a client's trauma, or effects thereof, almost as though they themselves had been exposed to that trauma. Pearlman and Saakvitne (1995: 31) define vicarious traumatisation (VT) as, 'the transformation in the inner experience of the therapist that comes about as a result of empathic engagement with clients' trauma material.'

Since this early work, a multitude of studies looking at therapist impact, under the headings of secondary and vicarious trauma, and more recently also post-traumatic growth, have expanded upon this subject, enriching the field by allowing practitioners to make sense of their own vicarious reactions (Sarbin-Farrell & Turpin, 2003; Chouliara et al, 2009; Guhan & Liebling-Kalifani, 2011; Cohen & Collens, 2013; Hernandez-Wolfe, et al, 2015; Manning-Jones & Stephens, 2015). A UK study conducted by Sodeke-Gregson, Holttum and Billings (2013), investigating compassion satisfaction and vicarious trauma in 253 psychological practitioners working in the National Health Service (NHS), found that upon filling in Professional Quality of Life Scale Compassion Satisfaction and Compassion Fatigue Questionnaires (Stamm, 2009), 100% reported as being at average to high risk of secondary traumatic stress (STS) and 90.1% at risk of burnout. Whilst being limited by quantitative method, and set within a certain organisational context, the results are rather striking and illustrate the importance of learning more about the experience of secondary trauma.

Sarbin-Farrell and Turpin (2003) in their synthesis of VT literature, predictably, found that mental health workers note the presence of powerful emotional, physical and

behavioural responses in work with clients who describe traumatic events. Contributing to this finding, Baird and Kracken (2006) collated findings from sixteen studies looking at VT and STS and rated the outcomes based on relative 'persuasiveness.' Looking across studies they arrived at two 'persuasive' outcomes: That therapists having a personal history of trauma is linked to the development of VT; and that higher levels of exposure to trauma work increase likelihood of STS (Baird and Kracken, 2006: 186). However, these researchers suggest that the lack of clarity about definitions of VT and STS limit any understanding of the concepts. This is echoed by Sarbin-Farrell and Turpin (2003) who suggest that evidence for the existence of VT is inconsistent because of the difficulty distinguishing VT from other sources of distress. This critique can of course be applied to most studies adopting these terms. However, it strikes me as partially being a limitation of using narrower definitions, and of working within a positivist paradigm of diagnosis. That is why the current study uses the more encompassing description 'impact' and does not seek to propose an ultimate truth, or indeed proof, rather, an exploration of experience.

Turning now to some of the more recent literature on secondary impacts of trauma work, I map both what can be perceived as negative as well as positive effects of working with clients who have experienced traumatic events. Building on Tedeschi and Calhoun's (1996) three domains of growth: Changes in self-perception; changes in interpersonal relationships; and changes in life philosophy, Cohen & Collens (2013) in their recent metasynthesis of twenty different studies on vicarious trauma and vicarious posttraumatic growth, found four separate but interrelated themes. This was in a sample of twenty qualitative or mixed method studies investigating the impact on frontline staff working with clients who had experienced trauma. The data gathered was grouped into overarching themes of, 'emotional and somatic reactions to trauma work,' 'coping with the emotional impact of trauma work,' 'the impact of trauma work – changes to schemas and behaviour,' and 'the process of schematic change and relating factors' (Cohen & Collens, 2013: 572-578).

The qualitative and non-binary view adopted in this review, seeing impact both as "positive" and "negative," is useful to the current study, where emphasis is on exploration of change and process, rather than outcome. Collating literature in this way allows for a broader view of what themes are emerging when studying practitioners in the field, and I will draw on a number of the individual studies later in this review. Cohen and Collens' (2013) metasynthesis also highlights the significant gap in the field, in that only one study was conducted in the UK, with interpreters

working with refugees (Splevins, et al, 2010), meaning that insight pertaining to psychological work cannot be gleaned. In addition, none of the studies looked specifically at the impact of working with survivors of trafficking. The specific focus on research that combines vicarious trauma and posttraumatic growth narrows the scope. The current study aims to capture the experiences of practitioners without being limited by definitions of impact.

Looking now at specific “symptoms” of VT and STS, a more recent study by Hernandez-Wolfe, and colleagues (2015), investigating therapeutic practitioners working in torture treatment centres in the United States, found that practitioners, alongside the anticipated vicarious trauma ‘symptoms’ such as nightmares, sleep disruption, intrusive thoughts, dissociation and hyperarousal, also reported profound changes to their sense of self through changes in goals and priorities, increased hopefulness and personal resilience. This is interesting given the overlap in the presentation of clients who have been trafficked versus tortured. Similarly, a qualitative study by Arnold and colleagues (2005), with a focus on post-traumatic growth, found that a sample of generalist trauma therapists reported a mixture of intrusive thoughts and/or images; emotional reactions; physical exhaustion; concerns about therapy, yet also gains in empathy, compassion, tolerance, and sensitivity; improved interpersonal relationships; deepened appreciation for human resilience; greater appreciation of life; desire to live more meaningfully and positive spiritual change.

Re-evaluating self-identity and the emergence of existential questions about life seems to form a significant part of the impact of working with survivors of trauma. Whilst limited by being quantitative in nature, a Swedish study by Kjellenberg and colleagues (2014), identified frontline workers with war and torture survivors as experiencing change to their attitudes towards death and the concept of human ‘evil’ as a result of their work. Barrington and Shakespeare-Finch (2013) investigated how health care providers were affected by working with refugee survivors of torture and trauma in Australia, which, echoing other studies, found changes in life philosophy, understanding of self, and interpersonal relationships as a result of the work. Pitched within the language of growth, a deeper sense of meaning making was identified in front-line staff, which acted as a way to integrate the experiences of clients and ameliorated the effects of the vicarious trauma reaction.

Whilst these studies show the wide-ranging impact and the transformational nature of work with trauma survivors, three core questions arise: what is the impact of work specific to survivors of trafficking; how might this be in the UK context; and what are the individual lived experiences of practitioners? Alongside this, finding a way to frame the question of impact outside the paradigm of 'positive' or 'negative' allows for greater nuance and width of exploration.

Countertransference, intersubjectivity and impact

Looking back through the psychoanalytic literature, investigating the impact on practitioners of their work with trauma clients isn't new. Freud's conceptualisations of transference and countertransference (1910), and Klein's (1946) of projective identification, mark the birth of exploration of the mutual impact between therapist and client in the consulting room. This mutual impact has since been expounded in detail (Racker, 1968; Maroda, 1991; Wilson & Lindy, 1994). It is noteworthy that whilst the studies reviewed in the section above generally investigate the therapist experience as one-sided, Rasmussen (2005: 22) argues that a limitation of much research into VT has been the 'linear thrust' of studies, overlooking the mutual and reciprocal interactions between practitioner and client. The question of impact in this study is by contrast not reduced to a static one-way analysis, but rather understood as mutual influence.

Whilst focus in this study is on the practitioner, I view the question of impact in the context of relational psychotherapy (Stolorow & Attwood, 1992; Maroda, 1998; Mitchell, 2000), which is driven by a shift away from intrapsychic drives. This evolution of psychological thinking is reinforced by more recent infant research (Stern, 1985; Schore, 1994; Beebe & Lachmann, 1998; Trevarthen, 2009), showing that human beings are hard-wired to connect and consequently, we are always finding ourselves in our unique situation as well as in the co-created intersubjective field (Orange, 2010).

Within the relational frame, it is important to understand that the mutual influence occurring through the empathic engagement with trauma survivors is complex. It operates both on conscious and unconscious levels, including through emotional attunement and somatic mimicry (Levine, 1997; Gallese, 1999; Rothschild, 2006). Wilson and Lindy (1994) conceptualise two types of countertransference, the first resulting in avoidance, counterphobia, distancing, detachment, and the second in

over-identification, over-idealisation, enmeshment and excessive advocacy. These are considered expectable at times, in terms of being exposed to great horrors, and are influenced partly by the therapist's reaction to the client's story, and by subjective reactions reflecting unresolved conflict in the therapist's own life.

The need to normalise the 'empathic strain' resulting from work with this client group is often overlooked, but vitally important in the process of practitioners recognising subtle role taking in their work (Wilson & Lindy, 1994: 2). Pearlman and Saakvitne (1995), describe how trauma clients can easily take up both persecuting and victim roles in their lives, including in the therapeutic environment. Matching this, Wilson and Lindy (1994: 2) describe a therapist draw towards roles such as 'fellow survivor' or 'failed protector.' Linked with this, Dick Blackwell (1997) describes how feelings of impotence in practitioners can easily be evoked in work with asylum seeking survivors of torture, leading to unawareness of the practitioner's own propensity towards re-enacting persecutor, victim, and rescuer roles (Karpman, 1968). Consideration of these relational dynamics is important in the context of working with clients who have experienced trauma, and forms a basis for my thinking about impact on practitioners in this study.

Contributing to the relational impact are specific challenges such as working with practical and psychological needs simultaneously. Century, Leavey, and Payne (2007), in their study looking at experience of counsellors working with refugee and asylum-seeking clients in primary care in North London, noted this precise difficulty. They described how this often led to breaches in maintaining professional boundaries, a difficulty echoed by practitioners working in the trafficking field. In an article on therapeutic work with survivors of trafficking, Koricanac (2013) notes the difficulties therapists sometimes experience in accepting their own reactions to the client group, and how this can lead to boundary violations when requests for help are not recognised as related to transference/countertransference constellations.

Trauma, sexual violence and a feminist approach

As touched on above, practitioners' personal histories of trauma are generally an area of interest for researchers. Sodeke-Gregson and colleague's (2013) study found that 59.3% of trauma practitioners in the UK responded affirmatively to having a history of personal trauma. A Swedish study by Kjellenberg and colleagues (2014) found 91% of practitioners reported having experienced personal trauma. The

nance of what kind of trauma is reported is lost within the quantitative paradigm; however, the statistics are still rather striking.

The current study is based on the foundational understanding of all women as being affected by some form of oppression, personal intrusion (such as street harassment), or psychological and physical denigration (Vera-Gray, 2016), or acts existing on Liz Kelly's (1988) continuum of sexual violence. Working within this framework I am not attempting to draw a comparison between women who have been subject to trafficking versus street harassment, rather, I acknowledge that all women are subject to varying degrees of oppression and violence. Consequently, therapeutic engagement with the client group requires an examination of one's own experiences of such.

Practitioners in this study work with clients who have experienced the most extreme forms of physical and sexual violence, inevitably raising questions of women's oppression generally. Jirek (2015: 1) in a recent study exploring the impact on advocates working with survivors of domestic and sexual violence in the United States, described a deep change in advocates' perceptions of the world, a level of hurt and weariness, described as 'soul pain.' The concept of 'soul pain' left me wondering about commonalities between advocates and their clients, especially what experience of violence advocates had themselves undergone. Questions of 'soul pain' acted as a backdrop to considerations of impact in the current study.

More historic research by Schauben and Frazier (1995: 57), of counsellors working with sexual violence survivors, described the common reactions of fear, anger, neediness, denial, pain and shame experienced by clients as 'psychic drain,' and discussed how leaving such feelings unresolved can impact the clinical work. Pearlman and Saakvitne (1995) suggest therapists' subjective rage can inhibit more complex ambivalent feelings of love, loyalty, grief, self-blame, shame and guilt in the client, that can serve to re-enact earlier dynamics which the client experienced whilst in the exploitative situation. Alayarian (2007) and Blackwell (1997) both echo the importance of reflecting personally on feelings of helplessness, impotence, hopelessness, hatred, and aggression when working with refugees who have experienced trauma (including sexual violence), in order to prevent the draw towards unhelpful helpfulness, such as overstepping therapeutic boundaries, or unethical therapeutic practice.

Culture, 'otherness' and trafficking

In working with survivors of trafficking for sexual exploitation, attention needs to be on a range of converging complexities cutting across all of the subject areas discussed above. Alongside this, an important aspect of trafficking is that it encompasses a cross-cultural encounter. Research conducted on experiences of mental health provision to survivors of trafficking in the United States found that clients reported problems of cultural sensitivity and appropriateness as primary issues (Aron et al, 2006). Cultural, ethnic and gender oppression, as well as the stereotyping of women in prostitution, prevails in society in general and amongst therapeutic practitioners (Chung, 2009; Koricanac, 2013; Bryant-Davies & Tummala-Narra, 2017; Contreras et al, 2017). Practitioners, living in, and often originating from the host culture, are inevitably unconsciously influenced by cultural discourses that shape their work with clients. This is similarly spoken about in work with other refugee clients (Blackwell, 2005; Alayarian, 2011; Afuape, 2011). A suggestion is made that practitioners working with survivors of trafficking must take up an active stance in relation to the elimination of abuses of power through human rights and social justice because such issues are systemic and influence clinical work (Chung, 2009). Explorations of culture and 'otherness' further show how human trafficking is a unique type of trauma, necessitating specific research into the impact of working with the client group.

Impact of working with trafficking survivors

I identified a handful of qualitative studies looking specifically at the impact of working with trafficking survivors. These are graduate dissertations in the United States and internationally. One of which investigates the impact on non-therapeutic frontline staff (Sallee, 2017), and another practitioners working with trafficked children and their families on the reunification process (Thai, 2017). Another piece of research was carried out by Contreras (2012) investigating frontline staff working in the Guatemalan context, looking at the personal experiences, including secondary stress associated with working with trafficking survivors, as well as making suggestions for how chronically stressed workers can be supported. Lastly, a Masters level study was carried out by Forsyth (2016) looking at 'lay' counsellors working with survivors of trafficking in the Philippines, again investigating experiences of vicarious trauma. Results from these studies echo some of the findings from the broader literature on impact on frontline practitioners working with survivors of trauma discussed above;

such as experiences of vicarious trauma and burnout, changes to perceptions of 'evil' and 'goodness', as well as experiences of impotence in the work.

Finally, in research that is relevant to the British context, Kliner and Stroud (2012), conducted a qualitative study looking at 'psychological and health impact' on non-therapeutic frontline staff working with survivors of sex trafficking. Again, common themes listed included frequency of burnout and other adverse effects on practitioners' health. Notably, the study describes how practitioners felt under-trained and under-supported by organisations, which led to general concerns about quality and sustainability of UK trafficking specific services (Kliner & Stroud, 2012). This offers a starting point for the current study, which 'gets under the skin' of the psychological processes of practitioners working with trafficking survivors in a UK context, which is different to other frontline staff.

Gaps in the field

As is evident in this review, none of the studies conducted are investigations of psychological practitioners, working with survivors of trafficking in the UK context from a qualitative perspective. Having also reviewed psychotherapeutic journals, I have not been able to identify research, or indeed much literature, looking at the complex dynamics in a psychological context when working with survivors of trafficking for sexual exploitation. It is noteworthy that in the specific area of Counselling Psychology, there appears to be extremely limited research looking at work with trafficking survivors. In the UK Counselling Psychology Review I identified no titles looking at work with trafficking survivors, despite the niche skills needed. Internationally, in the *Counselling Psychology Quarterly*, I found only one study, on working with child survivors of trafficking, which is considered above (Chung, 2009). This leaves a big gap in knowledge for Counselling Psychologists and psychotherapists, and emphasises the necessity for research in the area. Questions remain as to how practitioners are impacted by psychological work with trafficked persons, including how they conceptualise and understand the process of impact. These questions seem particularly pertinent when a recurrent theme emerging from studies is the frequency of burnout and a gap in knowledge about what support is needed in order to render work in the trafficking field sustainable.

Methodology

'Academic life is impersonal, not intimate. It provides a web of distractions. The web protects us against the invasion of helplessness, anxiety and isolation we would feel if we faced the human condition honestly. Stability, order, control – these are the words that social science speaks. Ambiguity, chance, accidents – these are the terms that life echoes.' (Arthur Bochner, 1997: 421)

PHILOSOPHICAL UNDERPINNINGS

This project is grounded in social constructionism and draws on materialist feminist approaches. I employ feminist sociologists Stanley and Wise's (1983) proposal that research be an exploration of the personal and everyday. This study departs from the idea of knowledge production and moves towards research as an understanding of lived experience, embracing the intimate, and the ambiguity of life (Bochner, 1997; Ponterotto, 2005).

In adopting a materialist feminist perspective, I am recognising the need for the voices of women practitioners in the trafficking field to be heard and for their experiences to be used to foster change. This approach challenges the shared inheritance of oppression (of women, minorities, marginalised groups), consequently allowing the research to act as a tangible resistance. My aim is to produce work that isn't purely academic, but where research outcome is connected to proposals for social change, leading to concrete resources in the trafficking field.

Drawing on Simone de Beauvoir's (2011) idea of the 'situated self', I view the narratives of participants as situated within a particular historical and geographical context of social relations, within which I also exist as translator of stories; each of us shaped by our own personal experiences. Aligned with this, social constructionism rejects the idea of a universal truth, rather taking an interpretivist stance on 'knowledge' (Gergen, 1985). To this end, in conducting the research, I am drawing on Elizabeth Grosz's (1993) proposition that there needs to be a structural reorganisation of positions of knowing within academia, where women's voices can be heard and listened to, this challenging the concept of 'knowledge' as a construct inherently embedded in patriarchal history.

I am of the view that there is no definable feminist research methodology, rather, as Kelly, Burton and Regan (1994: 46) describe, 'what makes research 'feminist' is not the methods as such, but the framework within which they are located, and the particular ways in which they are deployed.' Feminist research operates as a form of praxis, a lens through which methodological choices are made. In this study, decisions concerning data collection, interaction with participants and presentation of narratives, were arrived at through principles, such as awareness of power dynamics, transparency, and reflexivity (Etherington, 2007). Not giving a single definition of feminist research allowed for flexibility to examine and explore women's experiences in their world, the research design evolving through reflexive engagement.

The research question posed is about the impact people have upon each other, namely the trafficked woman on her practitioner, and subsequently the impact on me as the researcher, and later, on the reader of the study. This fits within a social constructionist framework, in its shift from gathering information about the interior of a person's mind, to explorations of human interaction (Gergen, 1985).

CHOICE OF METHODOLOGY

As the research topic is deeply embedded in my own professional practice, and emphasises intersubjectivity, it seemed most fitting that the design involve a collaborative process. I initially considered a number of participatory action research based methodologies, most notably Cooperative Inquiry (Heron, 1996). However, because I didn't occupy an insider position in terms of therapeutic work with trafficking survivors when the study was devised, and subsequently did not have a group of colleagues actively seeking to research the impact of this type of work, two fundamental tenets of cooperative inquiry, it did not seem the right fit (Heron, 1996).

Relying broadly on a narrative inquiry approach, with thematic analysis, offered an avenue for collaborative exploration of the lived and storied experiences of participants (Polkinghorne, 1995; Etherington, 2000; Riessman, 2008; Speedy, 2008). The design holds at its core an interest in entering a person's subjective world; finding a way to re-narrate co-created meaning arrived at through conversation (Speedy, 2008; Riessman, 2008; Squire et al, 2014). This is congruent with my way of working as an integrative psychotherapist, where I consider myself an

intrinsic part of the narrative co-creation (Stolorow & Attwood, 1992; Stolorow, Attwood and Orange, 2002). The understanding gained is intersubjective, 'situated, transient, partial and provisional; characterised by multiple voices, perspectives, truths and meanings' (Etherington, 2013: 6).

Storytelling is one of the fundamental ways to make meaning of and organise our experience in the world. Theodore Sarbin and Jerome Bruner were among early proponents of the 'narrative turn' in qualitative studies, recognising the value and depth offered by grounding research and clinical learning in narratives. Sarbin (1986) aptly described how the lives of real individuals, and their narration of experiences, are more useful than experiments done on nameless, faceless subjects, reduced to probabilities, particularly fitting given this study's underpinnings of feminist postmodern values, concerned with collaboration and reflexivity as ways of 'collecting, analysing, and re-presenting people's stories as told by them' (Etherington, 2004: 75). Taking a post-modern stance on how human beings recount and interpret their world, challenges traditional and modernist views of truth, reality, knowledge and personhood (Bruner, 1987).

Narrative inquiry's historical links with political movements, embedded in social justice, feminism, and power dynamics, also rendered it a good fit (Squire et al, 2014; Livholts & Tamboukou, 2015). Research in the area of human trafficking inevitably needs to be underpinned by an anti-oppressive framework, taking into consideration the structural problems shaping a world where modern day slavery can prevail.

Alongside the anti-oppressive nature of the methodology, it is also appropriate given that narrative approaches to therapy are often used in work with persons who have undergone traumatic experiences (White, 2004) and specifically in therapeutic work with trafficking survivors (Countryman-Roswurm & DiLollo, 2017; Robjant et al, 2017). Based on my own therapeutic experience in this area, the re-construction of fractured narratives in a relational space is an important part of understanding and integrating the life-shattering experiences of trafficking. Similarly, my aim was to offer participants in this study an opportunity to narrate their personal experience of impact.

PARTICIPANT CRITERIA, SAMPLING AND RECRUITMENT

My initial criteria for participants were that they were women psychological practitioners, working therapeutically with women survivors of trafficking who had been sexually exploited. Restricting recruitment to women was partly based on guidance highlighting the need for a gender sensitive approach when working with clients where perpetrators have most often been male (Zimmerman & Borland, 2009; Home Office, 2016). Also, my aim with the study was to look specifically at the impact on women practitioners of working with female clients who have been trafficked and sexually exploited.

In the recruitment call, I stipulated that participants needed to have worked psychologically with the client group in a qualified capacity for at least two years and be in regular supervision. I advertised through my professional networks via email (Appendix 1). Participants came forward from a range of backgrounds. The participants I settled on came from a combination of violence against women forums and the refugee advocacy field. I knew the participant referred to as Rose through her work as an expert witness with trafficked women. I had contacted her directly to request that she send the recruitment call out to her network. She subsequently expressed an interest in participating. Once contact was established with each practitioner, I sent out an information sheet with study criteria (Appendix 2).

I had initially envisaged including only participants who were working therapeutically. However, upon interviewing my expert witness colleague, and discovering that she did not work therapeutically with the client group at the time, I decided, in collaboration with supervisors, to broaden my criteria. This decision represented a choice to allow the research to evolve to reflect the diversity in roles psychological practitioners take up in the trafficking field. I sensitively declined expressions of interest from a number of other practitioners who were either not currently working with the client group, or not psychologically trained. All were encouraging and one practitioner offered to send out the research details to her network.

To incorporate the experiences of other frontline staff would have widened the inquiry too much, and impact research with general frontline professionals has already been carried out in the UK and internationally (Kliner & Stroud, 2012; Contreras, 2012). Throughout the process I held in mind Polkinghorne's (2005: 141) assertion that participants should not be chosen simply because they are available but because

they can, 'provide clarifying accounts of an experience.' In this case, I was looking for clarifying accounts on impact from a psychological perspective.

Diversity of participants

As part of the research process, I asked participants to fill in a demographic form with details about their practice (table 1). Interestingly, this showed a rather homogenous representation in terms of ethnicity, yet a great deal of diversity in professional roles and training.

Table 1: Participant details

Name	Age	Ethnicity	Personal Therapy	Title	Length of Training	Supervision	Years in Field
Jane	45-55	White Other	20 sessions	Counsellor	4 years	2 hours monthly	2-5
Rose	55-65	White Other	- 8 week intensive - 10 sessions	Clinical Psychologist/ Expert witness	5 years	Ad hoc	10-20
Maura	55-65	White Other	6 years	Psychodynamic Psychotherapist	7 years	4 hours monthly	2-5
Nina	45-55	White British	1 year	Clinical Psychologist	3 years	1 hour monthly	10-20

DESIGN

The research design is inductive and fluid in nature. Through applying iterative processes, a circular design of participant interviewing, analysis and narrative representation evolved. These occurred concurrently, not in separate stages. The use of poetic representation offered a powerful and evocative means of capturing narrative and bringing participants' experience of impact to life (Speedy, 2008).

Grounded in social constructionism, I abandoned the idea of participants as repositories of knowledge, and instead adopted an active interview approach

(Holstein & Gubrium, 1995; Holstein & Gubrium, 1997). The conversations that formed the basis of the study were concerned with both the 'how' and the 'what' of meaning production, and I viewed this process as a 'conversational partnership' (Rubin & Rubin, 2005: 79). The narration was co-created, whilst acknowledging the inherent asymmetry in the final narrative production; it is ultimately me as the researcher filtering and re-narrating the exchanges. Whilst the study is underpinned by an understanding of impact as an intersubjective experience, I maintained a focus on practitioners' experience, not that of clients.

I was aware of my subjectivity throughout the interview process, for as Riessman (2008: 139) describes, 'investigators carry their identities with them like tortoise shells.' And so, my experience came to shape the study both through my own reflexive stance on relational dynamics with participants and through what it has meant for me to be impacted by work with trafficked clients. Already knowing Rose in a professional context inevitably influenced the conversations I had with her. We had shared understanding of people and services. Conversely, differences in our faith backgrounds shaped the conversations Jane and I had, through establishing us as 'different' from the outset. These factors very likely led to assumptions of either shared or diverging knowledge and underlying frameworks guiding our approach to the work, a topic I will return to throughout.

INTERVIEWS, PARTICIPANT COLLABORATION AND ANALYSIS

I conducted interviews at a location convenient to participants, usually at their workplaces. Upon meeting, I introduced the research information sheet and placed particular emphasis on the subject of anonymity, as well as the importance and value of committing to two interviews so that analysis could take place between meetings. All four participants signed consent forms and agreed for conversations to be tape-recorded.

I relied on two conversational interviews each, with analysis carried out, and shared with participants, between each meeting. See Appendix 3 for a point-by-point timeline of the process of interviewing and concurrent analysis. The meetings took place anything between 6 – 12 weeks apart, allowing for transcription and initial analysis. This also facilitated a period of rapport building, allowing narratives to unfold through deepening conversation, for as Polkinghorne (2005) suggests,

responses in initial interviews are likely to be more restrained and less rich. Additionally, the two-stage process provided space to receive feedback from participants about whether I had captured themes in a way that looked and felt 'right' to them.

Interviews and concurrent analysis

I began the process of reflection en-route to each participant interview, noting down points in my research diary (Appendix 4). This included feelings, thoughts and questions pertinent to the individual, based on initial contact and knowledge of the organisations within which they worked. Following Speedy's (2008) suggestion, I jotted down key words that rang out to me during the process of interviewing, such as, 'knowers/not-knowers' and 'desire to be helpful,' from the diary entries relating to Rose. I draw all Appendix examples from Rose in order for the reader to be able to follow how the interviews and analysis evolved throughout. Post-interview, I expanded on those notes and on my feelings about the interview, viewing this as information about the relational field and the context of the interview (Appendix 5).

The first interview conversation was loosely based around a sheet of subjects I aimed to cover (Appendix 6). However, interviews, and particularly the first one, were inherently unstructured, not seeking a point of 'arrival.' This process is intrinsic to narrative interviewing and was familiar to me from psychotherapeutic work (Speedy, 2008).

After the initial meeting I transcribed and sent a copy to participants to check over (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This checking was incorporated for participants to retain ownership of the interviews and to be able to change or amend aspects they felt had been misrepresented or misunderstood. They were mostly responsive to this, sending feedback such as highlighting parts of the conversation they felt particularly moved by. Following this, I started the first round of analysis, outlined in full in the next subsection.

One element of this analysis was the production of a set of poems based on segments of conversation from the interviews, and what I called a 'talking sheet' (Appendix 7), sent to participants a week prior to our second meeting. I devised the idea of the 'talking sheet' to avoid an 'interview schedule' which I felt would be too

directive. On the 'talking sheet' I listed themes related to impact. These were the most repetitive and seemingly significant themes (or initial codes) drawn out from the analysis. My aim was to stay as close to the participants' experience as possible, by using their own words to denote themes. I was aware that through being the one who had selected the themes from the first interview I was already directing the second conversation. After the second interview, I repeated the process of transcription and participant checking. Following this second meeting, interview analysis for both interviews was collated and expanded upon, noting themes, personal roles and narratives as well as a narrative trajectory (Appendix 8). I emailed this sheet, along with poetic segments from the second interview, to each of the participants so that they could offer feedback once more. Once this feedback was received, I was left with the first round of full analysis for each participant. How this was condensed and analysis across narratives was carried out, is outlined in the next section.

In conducting the interviews, I felt my therapeutic training equipped me with the ability and skills to quickly establish a safe environment and to ask questions that facilitated depth of reflection. However, I am not exempt from the realities of human interaction and I noticed that I generally felt more nervous and uncertain during first interviews with participants, and with some more than others, such as Rose whom I knew and admired. I felt myself somewhat tentative with her initially, which is perhaps also what resulted in not double-checking pre-interview whether she did indeed meet my initial criteria. Fortunately, this actually allowed the research to evolve and broadened the perspective gained on practitioner impact.

Throughout the interview process, I was mindful that the stories shared were aimed at me, a person with multiple identities: a woman, a therapist working in a similar field, a student, a white woman, a 'foreigner', a Metanoia trained therapist, an 'expert' in the field, all of which shaped the outcome. My comparative youth also seemed to set up a teacher/student dynamic with several of the participants. Jane asked me outright what my age was during our first meeting, and I wondered whether this was both in order to place me contextually and perhaps also as a way to assert power of knowledge and experience. Interestingly, this can parallel the process of therapeutic work with trafficking survivors where subtle negotiations of power, shame, and commonality between therapist and client often take place (Contreras, et al, 2017).

FULL ANALYSIS OUTLINE

The theme of impact was the backbone guiding all methodological and analysis choices in this research. I developed my own system of analysis, drawing on various authors and theorists including Riessman's (2005; 2008) thematic, dialogic performance and interaction analysis, as well as Speedy (2008), Faulkner (2016) and Gee (1991) in their use of poetic representation. There are many separations between the types of analysis that can be used in narrative inquiry (e.g. structural / thematic), yet I am in agreement with Livholts and Tamboukou (2015) that divisions between events and experience, or what and how a story is told, cannot usefully be made. So, whilst the process of analysis is inductive, iterative and detailed, it is also flexible enough to incorporate a pluralistic view on the narratives.

The study design incorporates two ways of representing and working with the stories of participants. Firstly, I rely on 'narrative analysis' as a way of treating stories as knowledge *per se*, conveying participants' lives in their depth, richness and texture (Etherington, 2004). Poetic representation aided this by allowing the singularity of impact experience to be conveyed. Alongside this, I carried out 'analysis of narratives,' treating interviews as 'raw' data, allowing for conceptual manifestations and the emergence of common themes (Polkinghorne, 1995). The collaborative process of analysis evolved throughout the course of data gathering yet was consistent and repeated in the same sequence with each participant.

In the design of the study, I took into consideration the suggestion that coding and analysis can be assisted by the use of CAQDAS computer programs (Saldana, 2009). However, I found that hand coding of transcripts, and the use of paper, allowed me to take a more creative and reflective approach to the content. I wanted narratives to emerge more organically, not to reduce them to systems. In coding manually, I kept the process interpersonal, not commodifying or objectifying participants such as survivors of trafficking have often been treated. I was thoroughly immersed in the data in a way that is less possible when using a computer program.

Thematic and structural analysis

Returning to the interview process, in the thematic analysis I used a sequence of iteration for each participant conversation. The outcome of one was the starting point for the next. During the transcription stage, I started noting down in a separate word

document reflections and thematic content that struck me as significant or repetitive within interviews (Appendix 9). My processes were guided by Saldana's (2009) suggestions on coding, including reliance on a 'crib sheet' during analysis, reminding me of what to look for in interviews (Appendix 10). I used an inductive coding process with close reading of each interview, considering multiple layers of meaning (Thomas, 2003). I was mindful of attending to three aspects of language; what is said, how it is said, and what remains unsaid (McCormac, 2004). There were four rounds of analysis on each interview followed by analysis between participants and the writing up of individual narratives. For further details I include a point-by-point outline of each step in Appendix 11.

As is evident, the study design was collaborative and relied on participants engaging with the analysis. Some participants engaged in detail and others very simply noted agreement or not. For instance, during the second interview Rose went through each theme on the 'talking sheet' in great detail, adding reflection and deepening explanation of wording she had used in the first interview. However, upon sending the final collated analysis sheet to her some weeks after the second interview, she did not respond. Jane, on the other hand didn't refer to the 'talking sheet' during the second interview, even though I used it as a reference point to deepen conversation. Both of these positions impacted the work differently. For instance, I felt Rose was holding me to account and was very particular about what she wanted to convey about impact during the interview, which gave strong parameters for the narrative. This was less so with Jane, where maintaining the focus on impact was difficult at times. Conversely, without final feedback from Rose I was left wondering if I had captured the points she wished to convey. In Jane's case, the lack of engagement with the 'talking sheet' left me unsure as to whether she had indeed felt the themes raised represented her. In considering these points, I was conscious of the co-created aspect of the interview and analysis process. I strove to remain analytically reflexive and self-aware throughout, noticing my particular interest in certain topics, likely because of the link with my own experiences.

Poetic representation

A key aspect of my analysis was the construction and use of poems, drawn from each participant narrative. The use of creative representation made it possible to retain experiential and evocative aspects, and also keep the narratives intact whilst singling out points of impact identified through analysis of the transcripts. Faulkner

(2016: 100) describes how the use of poetry in presenting data allows for a 'greater connection between the participants' identity narratives as well as the connection between the researcher, participants, and audience.' My wish was to preserve this interactive element.

Poetic segments were selected by identifying text that 'sang' to me. These would usually stand out quickly during the actual interview or when I was transcribing. Speedy (2008: 5) borrows the expression of 'talk that sings' from Jonella Bird, who describes it as a process of listening and responding to narrative on numerous levels, including emotive and intuitive. As such, the criteria for poetic segments were that they had a singing (or emotive) quality. I drew on Speedy's (2008) guidance in the process of analysis, treating the re-listening of interview conversations as though I was having poetry recited to me. This required me to listen on different planes, and attend to the relational aspect of conversations. I listened out for descriptions of impact on participants, noticed how the re-narrating impacted on me, and for how my re-narrating impacted the participants when I read out poems during the second interview.

Once I had identified text that sang to me, I then took inspiration from Gee's (1991) recommendation of dividing segments of narrative into stanzas, relying mainly on his formatting style, rather than his approach to analysing content. Hirshfield (1997: 32) states: 'Poetry can do what other forms of thinking cannot: Approximate the actual flavor of life, in which subjective and objective become one, in which conceptual mind and the inexpressible presence of things become one.' My aim was that the poetic approach mirrored participants' experiences and the impact experienced by the reader, would thereby translate an aspect often lost in academic work, namely the emotional resonance of the content.

The timing for reading out poems to participants was led by when the particular theme of the poems came up in conversation. Time did not permit me to read all of the poems out loud, but all copies were given to participants to look at later if they so wished. The participants' responses to poems varied, some captured the story of a participant more than others. During our second meeting Maura noted that: '*They are a way of distilling an essence... which is hard to capture in academic discourse,*' mirroring the ambiguity that Bochner (1997) refers to in the quote with which this chapter started. Maura expressed feeling respected, heard and acknowledged

through the poems. In all cases, the reading back process had a noticeable impact on the participants and often led to a deepening of conversation (Loh, 2013).

Post-interview analysis

The collated analysis from both interviews had left me with over forty different themes, or what can be thought of as initial codes (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017). For the next step of the analysis I followed Thomas' (2003) analysis recommendations and went through each participant's collated analysis sheet using a deductive process of grouping subsidiary themes, narratives and roles, under 7 – 10 overarching headings. I reduced overlap and redundancy as I went along. See Appendix 18 for this working through. At this point, strong themes within and across participant narratives were already emerging. When naming themes, I tried to stay as close to participants' language as possible.

Analysis across participants

The final round of analysis involved inductively creating conceptual groupings across conversations with participants (Riessman, 2005). Again, I applied Thomas' (2003) recommendations and created categories that summarised raw data, conveying key themes and process emerging across participant narratives. I started with summarising overarching themes for all four participants on one sheet of paper (Appendix 19). From this, I looked for commonalities and overlap, arriving at ten overarching headings across narratives that were later condensed to five in the final write up (Appendix 20). In the analysis section I will outline these themes and explain more about how they informed both the write up of the individual narratives and the discussion. I recognise that any analytic account I extracted from the interviews was partial, viewed through my lens and did not represent a whole picture; much more could always be explored from the data.

Presentation of narratives

Throughout the process of interviewing and thematic analysis, I was experimenting with writing up the narratives, writing numerous drafts using different ways of setting them out. This ultimately culminated in the presentation of individual narratives of participants under the broad thematic headings, followed by the discussion across

stories. Given that a primary aim was to give practitioners a voice about their experience of impact, allowing space for their stories was an important part of the analysis. The narratives represent each participant's unique story interpreted through my lens of analysis. I considered separating the narrative for each participant into two, to reflect the two interviews, but instead decided that they represent an ongoing dialogue rather than separate conversations.

TRUSTWORTHINESS/AUTHENTICITY/TRANSPARENCY

Cognisant of my embeddedness in the research, my intention throughout was to remain visible in the frame, guiding the process and both construing and claiming findings. Consequently, I create what Stanley & Wise (1990) term, 'accountable knowledge,' where my reasoning process and situated nature is visible, and the decision of inclusion and omission is transparent throughout. It is for this reason that I have included in the appendices significant evidence of how the analysis was carried out.

Maintaining internal consistency in the analysis of interviews was an important feature to ensure validity (Loh, 2013). Going through transcripts numerous times enabled me to focus in on topics spoken about repeatedly, noticing how they changed and deepened as our conversations progressed.

With narrative inquiry being a deeply subjective research process, trustworthiness is not gained through replicability. Attempting this would inevitably lead to a different piece of research; but rather, trustworthiness is achieved through the degree of collaboration with participants, repeated 'member checking' and through the internal consistency of the research design (Lincoln & Guba, 1985: 357). Feedback and co-analysis played an essential part in helping me decide what data to prioritise and use in the final write-up (Thomas, 2003).

Further to this, the research process occurred in conjunction with a small support group that I established with three other Doctoral researchers, one of whom was also doing a narrative inquiry study and had worked therapeutically in the violence against women field. This colleague was particularly influential, offering feedback on segments of analysis. Following the social constructionist paradigm, I did not treat this feedback as objective 'truth' but rather, a different perspective on persuasiveness, utility and applicability, that allowed me to expand my own thinking

(Guba and Lincoln, 1994; Loh, 2013). For instance, it was through her feedback on 'talking sheets' that the decision to use participants own words to structure themes was arrived at.

At the heart of the research I have aimed to apply the qualities of verisimilitude and utility (Loh, 2013), through placing the question of impact at the core of the work. I have been conscious of capturing an essence of the experiences of participants, achieved partly through the use of poetry and the creative element of narrative building, and through participant and colleague checking. In producing a study that encompasses verisimilitude I have, in part, relied on how the content of participant narratives resonated with my own experiences, and also by looking at similarities and differences with my own and between participant accounts.

ETHICS

Ethical approval was sought and granted through Metanoia Institute/Middlesex University, which was conveyed to the participants. However, more important than institutional approval, I was conscious of adhering to my own framework of ethical practice throughout. Blindly following rules strikes me as neither useful nor collaborative, and as Stark (1998: 203) suggests, 'may encourage an unthinking "cookbook" approach to ethical conduct that can result in misapplications of the rules.' Embodied guidelines, based on values and principles, offer an elastic approach based on reasoning and relational consideration.

A key part of my ethical framework was to ensure that participants were well supported in their work and could seek extra input in the event that the research triggered emotional distress. To implement this, firstly, I asked that participants be in regular supervision. During our first meeting I also informed participants that if they became distressed as a result of the research process, I could provide them with contacts for private psychotherapists and I suggested that extra supervision be sought. I also made it clear that they could make contact with me to speak about any feelings, thoughts, or concerns throughout the process of the research. Maura did indeed seek extra supervision as a result of the research process, as did I in the writing up phase of the work.

Confidentiality was spoken about in detail with participants, and whilst anonymity was desired, I also explained that by presenting in-depth narratives in the write-up of the

dissertation, it wouldn't be possible to completely assure that they were non-identifiable (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). This is especially the case because human trafficking is a niche area where professionals are often familiar with one another and there is collaboration between organisations. This led to interesting discussions about the limits to descriptive information, for instance, Maura asked that I identify her as working within a woman's organisation, but not what type, in a bid to avoid identification. We negotiated and agreed on the wording she would feel comfortable with. It was made clear to participants that they could withdraw their consent at any time.

Recordings of interviews were kept on password-protected devices and transcripts were locked up. In addition, information collected was stored either under the initials of the participant or under the pseudonym they themselves chose. In the interest of transparency, participants were also made aware that conversation shared, as well as emails and phone exchanges, would make up part of the data. This seemed particularly pertinent to participants with whom there was a familiarity, such as Rose, as this can lead to forgetting of boundaries between research and other kinds of relationship (Rubin & Rubin, 2005).

Reflexivity and insider research

In my view, an ethical approach to analysis pertains both to the participants in the study and also to the reader of the project. In the reading of the work it is important that, following the feminist and social constructionist perspective, I as the conductor am visible in the frame of the research, an interested and subjective actor (Stanley & Wise, 1993). The lens through which I view findings is both highlighted and claimed as an intrinsic part of the process, I am co-creator of findings; my situated reasoning process is emphasised throughout.

Taking up this co-creator position means the project is inherently classified as insider research (Rooney, 2005), shaped by the collaborative nature of the analysis, my own position as practitioner within the field, and the inclusion of my own experience. My subjectivity is embedded, and perhaps more rigid than someone who does not work in the field, a valid criticism of insider research. Another researcher may have gleaned different and perhaps more meta-level insight. However, through my insider understanding of terminology, services, and particular struggles of the client group, I offer a different kind of validity. This also meant that interviews required much less

'setting up' of the subject matter. Additionally, my insider position in the field seems to have played a role for all four participants in their decision to take part.

I find truth in Rubin and Rubin's (2005) suggestion that the insider position changes the nature of the data and how participants are recruited. Whilst I don't know how interviews could have progressed if I hadn't worked in the field, I certainly experienced rapport being quickly established because of shared knowledge and a sense of camaraderie. Maura explicitly stated that knowing I had experience working, not just with trafficking survivors, but other clients who had experienced extreme trauma, allowed her to trust my ability to understand her narrative. She asked at the beginning of our first interview what organisations I had worked at and when I later queried why, she explained that she needed to see if she should protect me in what she conveyed during the interview. She stated: *'When you told me that you had worked at the Poppy Project and Freedom from Torture, I know you've heard terrible stories. And I know you've sat with appalling torture and experiences that you are powerless to redeem.'* This denotes a mutual understanding amongst practitioners in the field, where if the interviewer had been someone who did not have experience of this field, Maura may have chosen not to disclose aspects of her experience out of concern of how it would have been received.

Narratives

In the following section I first offer an analysis of narratives through outlining the themes for individual participants and then overarching headings across the four narratives. These thematic groupings establish a structure for how the four narratives are represented and how I later think across stories in the discussion.

ANALYSIS OF NARRATIVES

Through the process of analysis for each of the four participants, sets of overarching themes were arrived at. Table 2 contains an outline of these.

Table 2: Individual participant themes.

Jane	Rose	Nina	Maura
Boundaries slipping	Knowers and not-knowers/A voice of resistance	Compartmentalisation/ Self-protection	Learning about impact
Personal beliefs	Philosophy and passion	Philosophy	Personal beliefs/Philosophy
Helping	Difficult impact	Personal history/Foundation of values	Protective strategies/Inner space
Personal material/History	Protection of self	Growth/Learning about the work	Boundaries
Learning how to do the work and supporting self	Helping/Other responsibility	Embodying trauma	Personal history
Protection against impact	Rite of passage	Setting self aside	A wish to guide and model to clients
Knowing and teaching	Personal experience	Different levels of impact	Awareness raising and giving voice to clients
	Degrees of impact	Boundaries	

	Physical impact	Knowing/collaborating/ Sharing and raising awareness	
	Setting self aside /Altruism	Helping	

Analysing across the participant narratives, using a deductive process of grouping participant themes under overarching headings, ten thematic groupings were initially arrived at:

Themes Across Participants

1. Personal philosophy
2. Rite of passage
3. Boundaries
4. Protective factors
5. Knowers and not-knowers

6. Helping
7. Personal history

8. Levels of impact
9. Embodying trauma
10. Setting self aside

The first seven of these headings resonated particularly strongly across all four participant narratives, albeit in different ways. It is for this reason that I use the first five headings as a structure for how to represent participant narratives. 'Helping' and 'Personal history' cut across most of the other themes and could be integrated under each of the first five headings. 'Levels of impact,' 'Embodying trauma' and 'setting self aside' were themes most relevant to Nina and Rose and are subsequently integrated into their specific narratives. The five headings are not rigid, they bleed into each other and the question of impact runs through each of them. They form groupings that offer a structure for each participant's narrative and subsequently the headings within the discussion across narratives.

NARRATIVE ANALYSIS

In retelling the four participant narratives below, I give primacy to the voice of the storyteller whilst acknowledging that the narratives are shaped through dialogue. I intended to preserve the integrity of stories, and to convey the humanity in each narrative. My voice will be evident in questions that frame the conversation and in how I offer brief interpretive reflections throughout. My aim has been to present narrative segments and poems that give a flavour of our conversations and represent the immediacy and particularities of each person's experience (Speedy, 2008). Each participant is introduced through a brief summary based on my reflection on the meeting and the setting of the interviews. The narratives are presented under the five overarching headings present in the narratives of all four participants. These offer a guide to common features, yet for each participant the overarching themes manifested differently, in a different order, and with individual heading names.

Maura

Maura and I met in a comfortable loft room with slanted ceilings at the women's organisation where she sees her trafficked clients. As we settled into our chairs I asked Maura: *'Do you know the reason for wanting to participate in the research,'* to which she replied: *'To open up something hidden and shameful.'* She explained: *'Trafficking is very hidden and the women victims are hidden.'* This acted as an introduction to conversations about how upbringing and personal experiences of hidden oppression have informed her work with the client group. As our conversations deepened, Maura spoke of how bearing witness to the systemic violence trafficked women are exposed to, affects her both in the immediacy of the therapy relationship and influences her underlying philosophy of life.

Rite of passage: Personal history, giving back and a wish to guide

Rite of passage for Maura represents a lifetime of experiences that have led her to work with trafficked women, and how this now shapes the way she is impacted by the work. She described growing up in an Irish Roman Catholic household, shaped by religious and cultural restrictions. She recalled feeling exposed as a young woman, experiencing a degree of developmental neglect that has now allowed her to identify with her trafficked clients' experiences. She explained:

'They are women who you almost feel, by a twist of fate, that (trafficking) could have happened to you.'

Maura expressed gratitude that her life turned out differently and that her circumstances allowed her privileges that many of her clients haven't had. From this arises her wish to be helpful and give back to women. Maura explained that she has needed to find her own way of expressing internalised religious values, even though she has left Catholicism behind. This serves her well in the work with clients as she spoke of understanding something deeper of the feelings of shame that her clients carry. It also allows Maura to find ways to communicate across cultural barriers when working with women from very traditional and patriarchal societies such as Albania. Through this depth of understanding arises a passion for teaching and guiding, that Maura described as important in how she views her role with trafficked women:

'I often have a powerful impulse to kind of. . . maybe it's to educate them.'

Maura was head of English in a secondary school for many years, and draws a parallel with this previous role, yet sees herself as occupying a different position with her clients now, relying more on personal experiences:

'I am bringing a whole lifetime of different perspectives to young women who are usually not well educated. So it's further away, but it's got some personal experience in it. Shame is something I do understand, emotionally and personally.'

Reflecting during our second meeting on the underlying drive to educate that arises for her in the work, Maura explained:

'I think it's broader than that, what I feel. It's that, well, I'm an immigrant to this country too, so even with the older clients that I see, I have a desire, almost to kind of guide them through the labyrinth of the culture. I thought a bit about that; is that maternal or is that a kind of . . . I don't know what kind of role that would be in society, but something like a wiser older person.'

The following poetic segment from our first conversation aptly illustrates how Maura's life experiences have shaped her work now, and how working with trafficked clients leads her to reflect on her own personal life trajectory:

*'It's strange actually, when I think about it
one of the emotions I feel is gratitude.
I feel grateful that I had enough in my life
that it didn't tumble out of control
in the way that these women's lives have.*

*I think that at that sort of age:
eighteen, nineteen, twenty-one,
that sort of age.
I had very little real adult care.*

*It was a very different era
and I was also sent to boarding school in Ireland.
So I had very little mothering actually to be honest
and I think I was a bit mad in a certain kind of way.*

*I think I had very little understanding of
how the power dynamics of the world,
myself as potential prey,
potential victim,
of needing to protect myself.*

*And I think that there was a precariousness about my emotional survival
during my teenage years and early twenties.
That I feel I was lucky that awful things didn't happen to me.*

*So I feel a sense of gratitude really.
It's a sense of kind of maybe,
a giving back because my fate was different.*

*It's a strange thing,
I don't know why,
but it's something like that I feel.'*

The reparative quality of her work emerges from this segment. Upon reading the poem back to Maura during our second meeting, she reflected:

'One of the things that strikes me so much is the Jesuits have a saying "give me a child until they're seven, I will have that child for life" and I can see the Catholicism in this. This idea of fate, my fate was different so I need to kind of give back. There is something religious or fated or protective in that.'

In discussing the poetic segment and its meaning, Maura told me:

'I'm really struck by just how powerful seeing and hearing my own words in a different voice coming back to me is.'

She continued:

'I suppose I don't think of myself as someone with a philosophy and when I read this I realise I have a philosophy of life. And I don't think I can put my philosophy of life into words in a kind of normal, casual, social interactions with friends. But maybe

other people can recognise this about me, because these are my words and tone. And the unconscious and what we embody, maybe I embody something more powerful and more strong than I recognise. You know, maybe it's helpful for my clients because, I mean, I like and respect this woman in these poems.'

Personal philosophy: Feminism, art and empowerment

Maura's philosophy of life appeared both explicitly and implicitly intertwined in most aspects of our conversations about impact. Her personal trajectory allowed her to study Literature at a prestigious British university. Her choice of Literature, in part, appeared to act as a way to liberate her from early cultural and religious constraints. Maura described examining cultural norms and questioning her role as a woman in the world. She explained how feminism was formative to her development, with feminist literature playing something akin to a parenting role in her growth:

'I certainly read it as though these were emotional, intellectual mothers for me. I had a very deep dialogue with them that was enormously helpful to me.'

This acted as a form of liberation from her conservative roots, leading her to gain a different perspective and to develop her own personal ideology. In our conversations, she articulated a complex inner world, cultivated in order to break away from the restrictive grasp of Catholicism.

'That religious space, I rejected, but I probably put a space made up of art and feminism in its place.'

'It just felt normal to me to live in this world, but have another whole inner world going on alongside it.'

'A lot of my time was very much working on my inner self, and I needed that to survive, I think. I needed to put a lot in place inside me to survive.'

This personal journey of liberation forms an important grounding for Maura's work with trafficked clients. Just as she draws on her experience of Catholicism, her personal experience of oppression has meant that she identifies with clients, feeling the impact of the work on this level and consequently strives to model a different kind of perspective on womanhood:

'I find it quite easy to understand shame and the projection of shame within a patriarchal society. I think I have a strong feeling of respect for the women and a strong feeling that this is not their shame, even though they feel it as their shame.'

In this sense Maura conveys solidarity with her clients, yet also sees herself as representing a model of a self-sufficient woman.

Protective factors: The inner space

Maura described her personal philosophy as having a dedicated internal 'space' that she referred to as the '*inner space*.' This place acts as protection against the difficulty of therapeutic work with trafficked women. Maura explained how the '*inner space*' feels like a compartmentalised area within, incorporating both a mechanism of processing her psychological and emotional life, as well as linking with her personal philosophy. This inner space made up of art, literature and feminism, replaces religion and aspects of her cultural heritage.

I include a passage in verse here to illustrate the poetic manner in which she conveyed this inner space:

*'I suppose ever since I was a little child
I have always had an inner space
where . . . I read stories.*

*And, I've always found that kind of withdrawal
from the world of relationships and talking and interaction,
to a kind of inner place where I read, or think,
has always been a resource of mine
since I was a tiny child.*

*And, I think there's something about,
I'm so familiar with doing that
I've done it for nearly 60 years
and that I kind of put it somewhere in there with all, you know.
I am able to do that.*

*Ahm . . . I suppose because I believe,
and certainly my experiences is,
that everyone has a complicated inner world.*

*and that finding an inner place
where you can put experiences,
and think about them
and mull over them,
even if they are painful and awful,
is a necessity to survive.*

*So, I'm very familiar with doing that,
long before I trained as a therapist.'*

I experienced tenderness and a childlike cadence in her voice as Maura spoke. In discussing the poetic segment, Maura reflected:

'I have always been drawn to and am myself someone who lives in a space of representation more intensely than the, kind of, the day-to-day space. I've always loved art, I've always loved literature, you know, so I've always been able to find a space that is more meaningful and shaped and satisfying and emotionally deep, than perhaps the space of reality, which can often be painful and fractured and unsatisfying.'

Maura explained how she uses it to retreat from the pain of her client work, and the space also seems to act as resilience building, ultimately allowing her to face the pain inherent in her clients' stories. After I read out this segment to Maura she explained how she uses her inner space to store client material:

'It allows me to put it somewhere, so that it doesn't, for example, enter my dreams. It doesn't. I think it goes into my unconscious actually; I think that's where I process a lot of this, rather than my conscious. And I think it's the writing of notes that puts it in that place.'

Maura explained how important this is in offering respect to her clients:

'I think there is something really important about finding a place inside yourself to put these experiences, that allows you to be a kind of safe place for your clients.'

She reflected how the importance of this compartmentalisation has been reinforced by her own early experiences:

'Yeah, I hadn't thought about that, but yes, I have some personal experiences of this. My mother was a marriage counsellor and she trained a long time ago.' 'She was very bad at keeping boundaries and she would talk to us, her children, about clients.' 'She was a very bright woman, very sensitive woman, very good counsellor, but she hadn't had a career. It was her way of experiencing a life she couldn't lead.'

The cultivation of her inner space in therapeutic work thus appears to have grown out of recognition that it was needed in order to protect her clients and herself in the work. In hearing the inner space poem read back, she added:

'I think the only thing I would want to add is not about me, it's that sexual violence violates that inner space and I can't imagine anything worse than that.'

As such, Maura conveyed how she sees part of her role with clients as being to support them to re-build and cultivate their own inner space, as she believes: *'everyone has an inner place'* that requires nurturing.

Boundaries: Hope and power

In our discussions about impact during the second meeting, Maura described how our first conversation had left her with a realisation that:

'This is getting me down this work.'

She explained how of late she had been thinking:

'It feels like every single client suffers terrible abuse and I think that I just began to think that the whole world was filled with that.'

Maura expressed a growing awareness of how deeply she is affected by the work on a philosophical/existential level. She explained a sense that she had lost touch with a feminist community of women to sustain and nurture her.

Maura's workplace supervision doesn't allow for the exploration of these underlying values. She told me how difficult it is witnessing how women: *'bear the brunt of such appalling violence in the world,'* describing a feeling that feminist movements are not active anymore, and societal conditions for women are not improving. This had resulted in her reaching out to a private supervisor between our first and second meeting. A woman who she knows reads feminist literature and with whom she can share thoughts on systemic violence against women. Maura explained that:

'I think I need to get extra help with it, just to talk about it somewhere that isn't about my supervised work, and isn't therapy, but sits in between really. It's almost like a consciousness raising session, in the sense that you are talking about deeply distressing systematic things which, it begins to feel, are not individual, it's systematic, and that deeply depresses me about the world. So I think I need to find some way of putting that into perspective, perhaps even a feminist perspective.'

The following poetic segment from our second conversation, meaningfully explores the feeling of hopelessness and how the pain of the work can penetrate the protective boundaries Maura has built up through her personal philosophy and cultivation of her inner space. The segment arose when I asked her what she is protecting herself against in work with clients. I have underlined emphasised words in this verse:

*'Yes, I really thought about this,
I thought 'what a good question',
and I do have ideas about that.
I think it goes back to the good side of being brought up as a Catholic.*

*It is that I want to believe that humankind is good
and I think I want to believe in that idea that you love your neighbour as yourself.
I'm deeply imbued with that.*

*I think that in the work I do . . . you're coming across such dark parts of humankind
and I was thinking about greed*

*and kind of, rapacity
and a desire to make the other the object of your desires.*

*I think I want to keep my own belief that that is not what human beings are,
and I also want to witness against that.
But I suppose I'm trying to,
I'm trying to keep faith with that.*

*Because I'm not religious now,
but I think there's something about that.
You know, what is life?
If everyone is just simply an absolutely greedy selfish devouring human being
that devours others,
then it doesn't really seem to me that life is worth it.*

*So, you know, I think I need,
I think that's what I'm protecting against,
yeah, I'm trying to keep that belief alive.'*

The process of bearing witness to disturbing client accounts seeps into Maura's core beliefs about humanity. She conveyed the process of protecting herself in the work, as a balancing act that requires reflection and nurturing of her underlying philosophy. Later Maura also touched on the practical aspect of her work with clients and how this mediates against the pain of hopelessness that she feels:

'So we have to do things like write to the Home Office in support of them or, you know, try and write to housing agencies or, a lot of different things like that, which you wouldn't do in the classic psychodynamic model.'

She explained how she sometimes hears the voice of her supervisor in her head, and is aware that how she manages boundaries in this work is sometimes different to how she is advised. Maura conveyed the complexity of working with the client group in that they have a great many challenges around safety and learning to navigate the British system. The role she needs to take up sometimes doesn't conform to therapeutic norms. She described how with time she has come to accept that this work requires its own approach, because trafficked clients present with a different set

of concerns. Yet, she equally recognised how there are personal gains for her in adapting her working style:

'I think it probably releases some of the pressure, to be honest.'

The practical interventions also seem to link with personal impulses arising when witnessing the unfairness of violence:

'I think the younger ones; I get a very powerful impulse of "I'd like to adopt them." So obviously that's a mother impulse.'

Maura narrated how witnessing the immense need that this client group presents with can lead to feelings of hopelessness that she needs to reflect on:

'I cannot redeem anything in 6 months. I can help a bit. I can give a sense of respect and value, and I am open to hearing what my clients choose to say. But a huge thing, I think, is that I have to continue to endure my powerlessness and the awful losses that I cannot redeem.'

Maura explained that she is very aware of 'vicarious satisfaction' and the potential for enactments, particularly because she is faced with such despair in this work:

'One of the things about psychodynamic training is that it makes you think about the vicarious satisfactions about other people's trauma. You have to think about quite dark elements within the human psyche or your own psyche. You know, you have to think about "what's really going on here, why am I attracted to something like this?"'

'Holding that tension between not getting too involved, not taking someone over, trying to give them the space to empower themselves and yet supporting them, I think it's a very difficult tension.'

She explained how this was particularly acute because of her personal history of witnessing her mother unable to maintain boundaries in a way that supported her clients and her family. In the work with trafficked clients Maura reinforced how she has to constantly be aware of the complexity of negotiating her impulse 'to help' whilst acting from a place of empowerment.

Knowers and not-knowers: Giving voice to clients

Maura described the importance of understanding her clients on a deeper level and putting their experience into words, both in the therapy room and with other professionals. This communication, which sometimes transgresses traditional therapeutic boundaries, can be vital in communicating the hidden stories of her clients to the authorities:

'I can put some things down that I've elicited over quite a long time, in a fluent, helpful way, which they [clients] can't do. That feels quite powerful and it helps with some of my powerlessness.'

In this sense she is mediating against the difficulty of the work and also giving voice to her clients, in a way that they are unable to, using herself as a bridge between her trafficked clients and the wider world:

'If I can understand them and put into words my understanding of what they've been through, and obviously communicate that to the Home Office, or someone, then they feel they have been understood. And that helps, I think, with the loss, of feeling that they have lost their mother, their country, their family, their future.'

As such, this also functions as a therapeutic intervention, both mediating against her own powerlessness and the client's loss. Giving voice to her clients in a public sphere also seems to have a parallel purpose for Maura, of challenging the patriarchy and working towards the kind of world that she wants to live in. Throughout our conversations Maura conveyed the importance of holding the big picture in mind, with an awareness of the systematic injustice inherent in how trafficked women are treated in Britain.

Towards the end of our second meeting, Maura touched again on what motivated her to participate in the research:

'I think one of the experiences of being a woman can be voicelessness, especially in the public sphere. And so, hearing and seeing this [poems and talking sheet] is kind of recognising my voice in the public sphere in a certain way, and that also feels very important, that women should have their voices in the public sphere, because there are so many things preventing that. I'm thinking of Harvey Weinstein at the moment,

you know, that kind of thing. The voices of women need to be in our culture. The kind of strengths that women have, or the life philosophies or wisdom.'

'It feels powerful to me personally, but it also feels powerful to me as a feminist, to kind of engage with this [research], because you [the researcher] are doing something that feels, you know, perhaps taboo breaking'.

Maura explained how she feels she is taking a stand by speaking up about how she is impacted by the stories of women who have been trafficked. Through our conversations, both Maura and I are validated in the experience of feeling impacted by the work and are also empowered to find our voices in the public sphere.

Summary

Maura's narrative conveyed a journey of personal development, arising from a need to release the restraints of her earlier life, forging a path for herself that has resulted in a strong life philosophy grounded in literature, art and feminism and which also led her to work in the trafficking field. Maura has had numerous personal and professional rites of passage, illustrated particularly through her earlier life, and now through discovering the trafficking field and navigating the powerlessness and despair she can feel in this context.

Jane

Jane was welcoming and generous, settling me into her home where we had agreed to meet for both the first and second conversation. She asked various personal questions. Soon after meeting, before the tape recorder was switched on, she enquired whether I am Christian, which I am not. This was an aspect that featured strongly in Jane's narrative as she identifies as 'born again' Christian, meaning that she has a direct and personal relationship with God. Establishing this difference early on contextualised our relationship and shaped the interaction that followed. I noticed how, contrary to the other participants, Jane had to explain herself in greater detail and we had to work harder to build a bridge between our different frameworks.

Personal philosophy: A calling and empowerment

Jane spoke of how her faith is a vital component of her counselling approach and articulated her work as a calling. She described a feeling that she has been given an innate ability that she is called to use in her counselling with women who've been trafficked: *'God called me to that, through a sequence of events.'* She explained further:

'I would say that God has been very faithful in positioning me in areas of working where I'm most passionate. So I think that when you have a gift, and your passion, if you mix the two together, you find your purpose.'

As she spoke I sensed a mixture of amazement and gratefulness in her voice, conveying something of the surprise and privilege she experiences at working in the field. She explained how she feels other people brought the therapeutic skills out in her, seeing it in her before she did. She treats her work as a way of life and considers her broader purpose to be that of 'helper.' Jane made an overt link between her pastoral function at church and her counselling practice:

'I was getting alongside so many people on my journey, about four to six hundred people in my church. And I work very pastorally with a lot. I've got a lot of people. So my training ground has been with people before I trained to be a counsellor and obviously that continues. But I've honed those skills by having cups of coffee with people and listening to them and then I decided that maybe I should train to be a counsellor, so that I make sure that I'm not causing harm to people.'

As such, her faith came across as a backbone in most aspects of how she engages with clients.

Jane expressed being angered by the injustice that trafficked women have to endure, reinforcing her commitment to women's empowerment. She sees it as her duty to witness against both subtle and overt violent intrusions that women have to endure. This passion for standing up against gender inequality is asserted also in how she supports trafficked women to recognise their own worth. She used the example of a ten pound note to explain how she works with women around empowerment; doing an exercise with them to illustrate how the worth of a ten pound note does not change regardless of whether it is crumpled up, stepped on, or if it is held neatly in a wallet. She explained a passion for communicating equality and commonality:

'They're my sisters and I'm standing in a gap with them, and I always tell them "You are not in this on your own, I am standing right next to you, with you, walking you through this."

Her faith seems to influence and protect her against some of the anger associated with the injustice of trafficking. This seemed particularly relevant in the context of how perpetrators are rarely prosecuted for acts of violence against trafficked women. She narrated how:

'They're gonna stand before God and God is going to say "what did you do with my girls, what did you do with my daughters?" And they're not gonna have a leg to stand on, because he's the ultimate judge.'

Her faith mediates some of the injustice and difficulty in witnessing the lack of recourse when it comes to women who have experienced sexual violence and trafficking.

Rite of passage: Life as training ground and helping

Along with a sense of privilege at being able to work with trafficked clients, she also spoke of her own life as being a *'training ground,'* that has allowed her to understand her clients' experiences and that has led her to the work:

'You can train and train to be a counsellor, do BA's and stuff like that, but there is nothing like life experience really, and I think you need both, absolutely. But life experience, when you know, then you can empathise deeper.'

She explained a sense of knowing that connects her with her trafficked clients. She spoke of often feeling that trafficked women have been selected to come to her, or vice versa:

'It's funny that as a counsellor, because you often feel you're working with the right people, and I just felt that it was crucial.'

She explained how she has a strong affinity with the client group and experiences a sense of: *'holding'*, that is stronger with trafficked women than with other clients:

'It's almost like, this might sound bizarre, but it's almost like I've been trafficked myself, in a sense. In a bizarre way, if I had to use my imagination, I can imagine what it must be like.'

Yet she also explained her understanding of her own experience as different from that of her clients:

'Something is broken in their spirit, and I'm not saying that it's not able to be reversed or certainly rebuilt, but I would say that that's the difference. When they come to you and they've lost everything and their will has been broken.'

Nonetheless, Jane spoke of there being a metaphorical umbilical cord between her and her clients, a very deep empathy, almost a sense of being: *'in it'* with them, linked in part to her own experiences, both as a young adult and in childhood:

'I've had life experiences where, one particular occasion where my dad, I was told, kidnapped me. But at the time my mother had tried to commit suicide, and there is a scene I remember.'

She recalled a vivid image of seeing her mother run after the car in great distress, as her father drove away with Jane in the back seat. She recalled being glued to the back window, crying for her mother. Jane described another situation, when she was slightly older, of leaving the country where she had been living with her parents:

'And then as a twelve year old my mum deceived my dad and he signed the papers thinking I was coming for a holiday, but he signed custody over to her and [she] just brought me to England. So there could be some, some subconscious.'

In her mention of the 'subconscious,' she referred to an unconscious understanding and identification with her clients. There is a strong mirror to some of the experiences trafficked women go through when they are entrapped and moved between locations against their will.

Later during our first meeting, she also described having lived in a domestic violence relationship when she was a young woman:

'I had my first baby at 16, she was born at 17, so I had extreme abuse from him. I had my nose broken, he head butted me and stuff like that, and also hurt my baby. So kind of remembering those experiences, does kind of, you know, help you to empathise.'

She explained more during our second meeting:

'I know what it's like when nobody comes. So when I've called out for people to come and help me, and no one was available, and no one saw the depth of my pain that I was going through. Whether it ties in somewhere, I'm not sort of conscious about it, but subconsciously, yeah.'

As such Jane draws on her own painful history to understand what her clients go through and it seemed as though she was still making sense of her own experiences in relation to her clients. Learning from where her motivations arise and how this affects how she is impacted by her work. Jane explained that she feels she is using her experiences to be in the service to her clients:

'So nothing I've been through is wasted, nothing, not one day of anything I've been through has been wasted. And I'm thankful. I have no stuff that's left, you know, from that. Occasionally, if I allow myself to dwell on things that's happened in my life, if you're talking about it, things can surface, but generally as a rule I'm very fortunate because all what I've experienced was training ground.'

Knowers and not-knowers: Facing a scary place and teaching

Jane described viewing it as her responsibility to both work with clients and to educate people in society. She explained how she feels she has been positioned in the right place, especially because not many people are able to work in the area:

'Not too many people are actually passionate about . . . Lots of people are helping homeless people, lots of people are helping soldiers who have been to war and stuff, but human trafficking is quite a, from what I gather from people I have spoken to, can be quite a scary place.'

During our meetings she told me of a plan she has to go to India to help in setting up a refuge for trafficked women. People around her are reacting to this in different ways, often with concern. Jane explained how she is often asked:

"Aren't you scared?" And I'm like "well, no, not really", because a bit of fear is okay.'

Jane described feeling that work with trafficking survivors is an overlooked area with significant challenges. She explained that given her fearlessness and her innate ability, the work leaves her feeling she has a duty to do it:

Jane also explained viewing her role as that of being an educator. Many different people come to her in a pastoral capacity through the church, also young men. When they bring up issues, such as pornography addiction, she considers it her role to convey something of the truth about the damage that the objectification of women causes. She narrated:

'I think education and understanding is really crucial. Then if you [a person using pornography] walks away and you don't stop doing it, then you really are accountable, because you can't unknow what you know'.

'So then there is a great responsibility for that person'.

In this sense Jane described her work as wide reaching. It becomes a way of life to work towards changing issues around gender inequality.

Boundaries: Following intuition

Jane explained how her intuition plays an important role in how she negotiates boundaries in the work. She explained:

'I'm prepared to take a risk sometimes, I mean, we can take risks as counsellors, and we can be bold, and I'm sometimes quite direct even though I'm person centred, but I feel that I'm able to manage [the clinical process], very quickly.'

This aspect of her work emerged in the context of speaking about one particular client, who she believed was at risk of trafficking at the time she was working with her. Jane narrated the client's account to me and explained how she decided to break what she felt were the restrictive boundaries at her workplace, as this was in the best interest of the client, and gave her a phone number to call upon arriving in a country she was travelling to:

'I gave her this phone number anyway and said "be careful while you're out there and have a great life", you know, "I wish you all the best." And I did tell my boss this and she said "Jane, why would you say that to [her], that was about you.'

I inquired: *'What was that, the about you bit?'*

'Well, because I could have, my manager said, there could have been nothing in it. It could be a very genuine thing, but it could have prevented my client from going over to [other European country]. I could have been leading her. I just had an intuition, and I think, in my work a lot of what I do is intuitive. You learn that.'

The following poetic segment, taken from the first meeting, illustrates further how Jane uses her intuition in the therapy room. This was in the context of the client referred to above:

*'I just had an intuition,
and I think, in my work, a lot of what I do is intuitive
You learn that.*

*I always believe that sometimes I get kind of,
like something would drop into my spirit.*

And I would feel a danger, I would feel danger.

I'd feel a vibe

I'd feel something,

I go with it

I go with it an awful lot when I'm working with women.

Ah, It's kind of like my solar plexus area.

And sometimes bizarrely I can get kind of like a pins and needles experience at the back of my head.

And I'm not sure what that ever is.

I've never really looked into that from a psychological aspect.

I feel quite assertive when I get it,

and I feel that if I walked away

and I didn't say anything,

that I would regret it.

So it's better to say it and be wrong

than not say it.

I felt like I couldn't afford not to say anything to this girl because of her, because of the evidence I had of her vulnerability really.

And, ah, she went.

We had an ending.'

When I read this poem out during our second meeting Jane explained how it captured her experience of feeling misunderstood in her work. The restrictions she experiences in her workplace, or by supervisors, often leaves her feeling that she is not trusted. She explained how some of the boundaries set up at her workplace don't feel organic and hinder the type of work she wants to do. She sometimes feels frustration and explained an instance where her supervisor said: '*Jane, you might have to let go of this client,*' and her response was to think: '*No, you're not there so you don't know.'*

At a later point, during our second conversation, Jane elaborated on how she works with clients therapeutically:

'I mean, I'm not saying I would be gung ho and I would be reckless. When I talked about being a loose canon [during the first meeting], I think I feel sometimes that's how people perceive me to be, but it's not . . . I take risks knowing I've got one life to make a difference and you know, sometimes that doesn't work out, but a lot of the time it does.'

She added:

'When you're working with trauma you've got to, the key thing is that you manage that client going into trauma. So I would say that I've risked doing work like that with clients sometimes, without having all of the experience, but have had some kind of intuition that has managed that well. And I think sometimes, I'm being honest, I've felt, phew, that worked out okay.'

Jane narrated how it feels important to be able to take those risks and be trusted by management, as it can have transformative effects and can ensure the safety of her clients. She explained:

'Everything is red tape nowadays, it's policies and procedures.'

'And that's good, it's good to have goal posts within which you can work in, I think that's good for both client and counsellor. But sometimes I worry about how things sound, but it allows me to be positioned in the absolute perfect position to be able to help people, through being a counsellor. It's that calling.'

Jane described how when information comes to her, not to communicate messages to clients would be: *'a missed opportunity'*, thus compelling her to speak when moved by the spirit.

Jane explained that at the foundation of her work she wants to maintain a sense of love for humanity, and for the individual:

'They're humans first and I'm a human first.'

Protection: Honour, privilege and faith

Jane's sense of purpose gives her the ability both to do the work and to withstand the challenge of not being trusted by supervisors and managers at times. It also protects her against the pain of not having positive outcomes with clients. She explained:

'I am also able to balance that and say, "well, I did my best." It's not me making the changes, it's the women.'

Jane is able to hand back the responsibility to her clients, and finds closure relatively easily. She explained how she is conscious of how her warm and passionate approach impacts her clients:

'I kind of try to work with clients, being very conscious of what I'm offering them of myself, because I have to be careful that it's not meeting a need in me and it's not going to leave them wanting by the time they leave sessions.'

This seemed particularly in relation to younger women clients in the context of offering short-term counselling at the service she works. She explained how clients become very attached to her and she feels a strong desire to do more than is possible, which she manages with her faith. She elaborated how it protects against the pain of the work, in that it allows her to hand her clients over to God and think of herself as one helper along the way. She explained: *'I'm called into this position to stand there and to do that.'* Jane feels that God supports her in the work with clients, giving her a great trust in her intuition, and the guidance she receives about the work, allows her to let go more easily.

She acknowledged how her life outside of the counselling room, as well as the honour and privilege she feels, allows her to create distance and contextualise the work:

'I'm very good at learning to leave my work at work and come home and see my grandchildren and my husband, and just occasionally it impacts me where I don't particularly, sort of have flashbacks, but it might be that I think about a client and what they've been through. But I think that this would be completely common in the line of work that I do, because I hear very graphic [things], you know, sometimes I think to myself "I can't believe what I hear," but I feel so honoured and privileged.'

This sense of privilege that Jane feels also seems an important element in how she protects herself against the knowledge that many women don't make it:

'There's something about the whole nature of trafficking that's so criminal, and yet, these women have survived it. The human resilience just blows me away and I feel that they are just so precious to even be sat . . . Some of them don't make it to sit in the counselling room, and yeah, how they manage to still laugh and love and still be humans. They're the ones that I encounter, because I believe that there are some trafficked women that kill themselves, there's a high suicide rate; they've got really severe psychiatric problems.'

'I think the day I don't feel honoured and privileged is the day I should stop doing the work.'

There is perhaps both a comment on the personal humanity Jane feels is essential in being able to do this work, and an acknowledgement of how vicarious trauma can make a practitioner ineffective.

Summary

Jane's narrative shows a commitment to being in a helping role, meeting the needs of her clients. She expressed a passion for supporting women, offering an empowering therapeutic experience and serving God in her calling to work with trafficked women. The training ground of her own personal history appears to have laid the foundation for a life spent being in service to others; a strong motivator and also protection against the difficulty of impact.

Nina

Each time we met, Nina collected me in the waiting room of the NHS clinic where she worked and led me down a long hallway, striding at an energetic pace. She struck me as immediately warm and approachable, contrary to the feeling of the room we settled in, which was sparsely furnished and devoid of personal artifacts. Our conversation felt collegial and familiar, and as it progressed I learnt that in the early part of her career Nina had worked in the same organisation I was employed at during that period. Nina had been aware of this when she contacted me to participate in the study, and it seemed an important factor in establishing solidarity from the outset.

Rite of passage: Foundational of values and learning about the work

Nina spoke of humanitarian values, gender equality and contribution to society, as being foundational to her upbringing. Her father was a Vicar and her mother a reader in the church. Nina explained:

'They [parents] did a lot of social action type work and they've always worked with refugees. My sister runs a language project for refugees; it's kind of a bit of a family thing.'

Nina told me that she is no longer a member of the Church of England but that she has adopted the Quaker faith. This imbues her with a commitment to equality, responsibility for others and for ensuring social justice, not dissimilar to values instilled in her family home.

Alongside these values, Nina explained how her parents reinforced a feeling that she could embrace an empowered experience of womanhood. She reflected on this during our second meeting:

'You inherit your perceptions of womanhood. Obviously they come from your own experience, and they come from your own family.'

'I come from a family of three sisters and my mum's always worked.'

'We're from a family of confident women. I was thinking about it, none of us changed our names when we got married. All of us are working. All of us went back to work quite soon after having children. All of us role model: thinking, equal women, and we've actually, the three of us married men who are quite quiet.'

This combination of empowerment and accepting responsibility towards others in society, seems to have been further shaped by attendance at an international school strongly grounded in the principles of inclusion and social responsibility:

'I went to an international school, sixth-form college.' *'There are lots of them all over the world and they're, it's not private; we didn't pay to go there.'* *'They had about 17 nationalities and people from refugee backgrounds.'* *'We did a lot of social and community stuff as well.'* *'Our philosophy was about trying to put ourselves in other people's shoes, basically, trying to imagine.'*

Nina spoke in detail about how fundamental this experience was in shaping her understanding of other cultures. A great deal of social justice work happened at the school, particularly in the context of global issues, reinforcing her sense of responsibility towards others. Nina explained how she was taught that she has the power to effect change:

'It's not enough to think and feel, you need to do something, you need to kind of help, feel what your responsibility is. You can be effective, you can help a situation, I think that was a really clear message from being sixteen. You know, you can be useful, you just need to find what to do.'

As such, Nina's choice of Psychology seems to have been born from this responsibility towards humanity and a wish to offer something back. When she first started working in the trauma field Nina explained how she went through a period of overload and adjustment, influenced by the responsibility she felt, and also by the pressure of working on her Doctorate and having a difficult personal relationship:

'The material itself makes me livid and despair at humanity.'

'When I was first doing my placement, it was probably a lot more rage, there was more raw emotion around in the work I was doing, and less, the boundaries were more difficult back then.'

'I was probably effective as an angry friend, but it's not necessarily going to give them the best therapy.'

'I think I was emotionally drained. I was actually knocked out. I developed a severe allergic reaction to something which I'm convinced was because I was just absolutely overloaded. I kind of almost collapsed on a physical level.'

Her passion and values impacted on how deeply she was affected by the work, particularly in the early part of her career.

Personal philosophy: Social justice, human rights and women's empowerment

Nina tied her personal foundation to her work now. Early in our first conversation she explained that she is deeply committed to a human rights approach in her therapeutic work, which influences how she is impacted by her work. She expressed a mixture of political passion and a drive towards understanding and caring for people in her community, as well as a commitment to women's rights and empowerment. She explained:

'I work within a human rights framework, and I think that helps me that I can work as a psychologist with all the professional stuff that that entails, but I can also work within a human rights framework. Sometimes it means putting my colours on the mast, you know, kind of being able to say to people "this is horrific," this shouldn't have happened, and that's not something you hear a lot of psychologists say in their work.'

Nina communicates this both explicitly and implicitly with clients:

'It's actually saying that "because you were violated, or persecuted or trafficked or whatever, we need to help you, or we can help you in the most holistic way. It's not just about the therapy, it's about, kind of, also making sure you're [client] linked in with other services." I think there is probably a bit more emphasis on that role in the therapy than there would be for other psychologists. I see that practical work, if you can call it that, as being part of the witnessing, and part of the position taking.'

Nina expressed how foundational and protective it is for her to transmit her human rights approach. Similarly, Nina explained how she always maintains an awareness of gender roles and issues of empowerment with her clients. She explained how she is deeply impacted by the commonality she feels with her clients, of being a woman, albeit with different opportunities and privileges.

The following poetic segment from our first meeting centres on a women's group she runs for trafficked clients. It offers a powerful illustration of Nina's passion, and how the emotional and sensory aspects of her work directly fuel her political stance:

*'Yeah, oooh, phew, its enormous
whatever it is it leaves me with,
it's funny.*

*The group is very moving
and it's an absolute privilege to run those groups.
I mean that totally genuinely,
they're amazing groups.*

*I had a moment in the last women's group that I never had before
that I kind of, I sort of,
we were lying on the floor.
This sounds odd.
It was a yoga exercise.*

*We always have a lovely Assistant Psychologist, who is a yoga instructor,
and she comes in one session,
and they've met her before
because she organises other stuff.*

*And she was doing an exercise
that involved us lying down with our arms in front of us
and our cheeks on this filthy carpet in the other room.*

*And, I obviously join in,
and I always get the interpreter to do it as well.*

*So we were lying there,
and as I looked along the line,
I could just see this sea of hair.
This really beautiful hair.*

*And it was two Albanian women.
Oh it makes me really choked thinking about it.
For some reason I was in a position where I could see all this hair
and I was absolutely choked with emotion.*

*It was so,
partly because it was,
because there was something about the fact that we were all women.
Ultimately we're all women with hair,
with hair
with bodies
with pain.*

*Of course, I can only try to glimpse into their experiences
but at that moment,
on the carpet,
we were all on the carpet with our hair
and our bodies and our stories.*

*And I kind of, I couldn't get up,
I just wanted to stay there,
because I just sort of felt such a connection
and I realised that we were connected to each other.*

*You know, I was connected,
and also had a role,
but it was allowing something to happen.
Maybe there was a bit more laughter than normal,
maybe they were looking at each other's bodies differently.*

*And then you have to stand up and take a different role,
and there is sort of,*

*that day there was actually a little sadness,
about standing up.'*

When I read out this poetic segment, it was palpable how deeply meaningful Nina finds this commonality and the role she plays in her work. She welled up and told me:

'That's really lovely, it is, and it's really true.'

I asked: *'what feels true about it?'*

'I felt freed up in that moment.' 'I was being true to myself as a psychologist.'

'We were doing something that fell into a framework of the work we were doing and sometimes I have to just be a little bit aware of that. Because in this work my boundaries are a bit different, but I felt like we, like there was an equalness in the way we were all seeing each other.'

Nina conveyed how this embodied modelling of her philosophy with clients is vital in her approach to the work. When I asked her what happened next, after the group, she recalled striding out of the room filled with purpose, feeling: *'passionately political,'* and thinking: *'right we have work to do.'* Nina explained how her political drive isn't a sensitive individual experience, like she gets from therapy, but rather a drive to fight for justice and to: *'speak truth to power'* which is also deeply grounded in a recognition of her cultural heritage of being a well-educated British woman and holding a great deal of power compared with her clients.

Knowers and not-knowers: Speaking truth to power and the Fly boot army

'I already understand that the world has some awful people in it, and some people that are very damaged, and that power can corrupt and that there are things that the world doesn't know about.'

Connected with this knowledge, and through the impact of client stories she hears, Nina has an inherent commitment to speaking truth to power, both through educating others and through challenging ingrained societal beliefs around gender and privilege. She explained how seeking out people with similar values and passion

plays an important role in motivating her to continue and to see the good in what she is achieving:

'I was doing this training, and to start with I was sitting with the other groups and I was just kind of looking down at the floor whilst waiting and I just saw Fly boots, Fly boots, you know, the make of the boot, Fly boots, Docs, Fly boots, and I was just thinking "this is great, this is like a Fly boot army."'

She explained how this sense of togetherness with other practitioners allows her to continue finding passion to do the work. Nina has actively built a strong network of supportive colleagues:

'But the really nice thing, the thing is I have such a warmth for working in this field, and it's partly because of the amazing network of people in City and surround.'

'We've built a sort of transparency and collaborative way of working.'

She also spoke of how supervising trainees and other staff gives her an important sense of achievement through spreading knowledge. Alongside this, Nina is balancing what it means to expose her staff to the horrors of trafficking:

'But I think it's hard, because I look after the trainees as well, I know that they don't have years of experience and even if they are mature students, I still feel like "oh God, that must have been hard for them", the stuff I read, say for one trainee recently, who's been working with a trafficked woman, I've never heard violence like she describes.' 'And I think somehow "is she seeing things that she shouldn't see in her career yet.'

Nina expressed her role as being one of bringing people into the field and supporting them to do the work in a sustainable and useful way. She explained how this is particularly the case at this stage in her career:

'The next phase is beginning, which is about giving it [knowledge] away as well. Kind of trying to encourage other people to take, you know, pursue their own desires in this area.'

'It feels like a weave, that actually there's no point just having weaves going one way or the other, for a really strong system, you have to have people doing different things. It all has to come together.'

Nina explained how passing on knowledge and collaborating with others is both strategic in ensuring the best support for her clients and is also what she is good at, and what sustains her:

'Many areas of my life are less clear, but this part of my life, work life, is exactly where I'm meant to be, speaking truth to power.'

Nina expressed this deep commitment arising from her personal values and the impact of working with clients. At one point, she explained that her foundation in a human rights-based approach and women's empowerment are so foundational that:

'This is just a vehicle, this role is a vehicle to do it.'

Boundaries: The vessel of trauma

Nina described how whilst she manages boundaries around her work differently now, compared to when she first started working with trafficking survivors, she still feels impacted by the distress of her client's struggles. This tips into overwhelm more so with client's current distress than the narration of their stories:

'The thing that can feel overwhelming is to sit with the suffering, rather than the trauma, that's the distinction. And there are a couple of moments where I can think of two women who I really sort of took with me, held with me a little bit. She'd got her status and was stuck in a bus station with her husband and son and I was going on holiday. So I would have probably offered her support and gone into practical mode, and I did as much as I could, and then I had to switch off and it was really uncomfortable. It was partly because it was such a stark difference between our lives; I was going to France on holiday, we were driving in a car, but the main thing was that I could have been there to be useful.'

She explained how in situations such as these, she is sometimes left with a creeping guilt that can de-stabilise her sense of personal balance.

Alongside this, the sensory aspect of her work seems to play an important role for Nina in managing the impact of her work. She spoke of an instance where a client had showed her graphic images of violence on their phone, which shocked Nina deeply. The following poetic segment offers insight into the impact of the work when what she called her 'heart space', is compromised:

*'Its kind of that slightly measured,
I can't spill out too much.
It's not the energy,
the energy keeps on coming, sort of.*

*I don't know what to call it
It's the bit about how much in your heart you can contain about all of this.*

*You can get to the point where you just feel
either overwhelmed by it because you have seen too many people,
too many stories,
and you're spreading yourself too thinly,
and you know you've clicked into an action mode.
Then, you know,
there's a point at which I just keep an eye on it really.*

*I think actually the magazine was partly about domains,
I think I probably keep the domains a bit separate.
And actually that was at home,
and I needed to keep a certain amount of heart for home,
you know, I need to keep it.*

*And I remember the day that person showed me that thing on the phone
I went home.
And we live in a little village.
It was a really nice day,
and I sat with my husband in the chairs in the garden,
watching the children do cartwheels on the lawn.
And I felt physically sick.
I just thought "this is insanity we have this life, and this shits happening here."*

*That day I really couldn't,
because I felt like it had pierced something
at a different level.*

*And for me it's actually about,
I don't know if it's like this for other people,
seeing film stuff.*

*So if, I see the news,
I listen to the radio all the time.
I know what's going on.
But when I saw those refugees from Myanmar
arriving in Bangladesh,
I saw pictures of them clambering,
passing babies around.*

*And it was just like "oh no no no no,"
and I left the room
before it could kind of.*

*Because I can feel like I just want to cry
and I don't know where I would stop.
And it's desperate,
and you feel incredibly guilty having any quality of life.
Not giving everything up,
getting out there.*

*I don't feel like that when things are in balance.
When I come from work; I work really hard.
I give enough of the right part of myself
I supervise other people in the right way,
and it's okay.'*

There is a careful balancing of resources that takes place, which needs to be attended to by Nina in order to be able to do the work. She explained this as:

'A vessel of trauma that I can contain; I can't keep topping it up, filling it up at home with things from Facebook or from my own research.'

Having read out the poetic segment during our second meeting, Nina reflected and responded:

'See it's interesting, also from the stanzas and when I read the themes, I thought, are there times when I spill over and become overwhelmed? And they don't spring to mind because most of the time it doesn't feel like that, but then the memory of being in the garden, that was, you know, I remember that really acutely. And actually that was a time when you just want to weep.'

'I'm glad it does happen a little bit, because I want to be operating from a heart that can also be pierced by the pain of it all.'

Protective factors: Heart space and compartmentalisation

Managing her 'heart space' and her physical capacity, is something that Nina has learnt with time:

'I'm better at gauging how much I give. And I probably look after myself a bit better, you know, kind of silly things: I get enough sleep, don't drink during the week particularly; things that might affect me feeling that I have energy.'

She described how with time and experience she has learnt different ways of managing her resources, by being able to recognise what triggers her and how she needs to set boundaries in work and at home, to prevent slipping into a place where she is no longer useful. She explained: *'I would definitely avoid watching anything violent'* to prevent overwhelm.

As the poetic segment above illustrates, Nina considers it imperative to be mindful of what kind of 'information' she is ingesting outside of work so as not to reach a saturation point and have no space left for her clients or her family. She explained how having a family has balanced how much she engages with traumatic material:

'I think life changes when you have children.' *'Everything sort of settles, has settled in the last 10 years much more. I kind of recognise, I can't go off to Calais. I wanted to*

go and do something useful, but because I have children, that feels quite protective actually. That you have to kind of, you have to stop working at a certain point because you actually have to get to school and collect children.’ ‘Over the years life has become a bit more compartmentalised.’

She explained further:

‘As a person, I don’t think I can both go on the marches and go to Calais and engage things on a bigger, wider, political level, and also do the work I do. I think that would be too big a thing, I guess I was aware that this is what I do best. In the past I really felt, when I saw, again, images and films about Calais and all the rest of it, I really felt “I have to be there, maybe I can be useful there” and I couldn’t do it because the children were too small and it just felt like it, practically it would have been too hard to organise, and now I’m firmer in the belief that that’s not where I am meant to be.’

Having embraced her role, Nina described a need for clear separation of the different parts of her world, driving from the village where she lives, into the city where she works, and how this separation allows her to compartmentalise different parts of her life.

Another aspect that Nina cited as important in managing the impact of the work has been the development of her professional confidence. Being the manager of the NHS service in which she works, and having been recognised as running an outstanding service, has led her to not feel personally responsible for all clients. She explained:

‘I recognise that I offer a kind of therapy that doesn’t suit everybody, you know, I think there are people who need to have a more psychotherapy approach or counselling and this Forum [she is part of] now enables me to know who the providers are, that we know each other well, and I can signpost.’

As such, the collaboration with others is an essential resource allowing Nina to manage the painful impacts such as hopelessness and despair, allowing her to reinforce her boundaries and hand over responsibility. She also explained that to be effective in this very complex area of work one has to recognise limitations: *‘It’s also, kind of, not trying to be everything and knowing what your skills are and what they’re not.’*

Summary

The sense of solidarity that Nina feels with her trafficking clients seems to deeply inform the responsibility to act. She described striking a balance of preserving her resources enough to balance all parts of her life, in spite of the deeply impactful nature of the work. In speaking of her work in the trafficking field she explained: *'I don't want this kind of work to end, I don't see it as having a limited amount of time.'* By using her safe and secure life to recharge and create balance, she is able to offer containment for the great horrors and the insecurity that her clients face.

Rose

Rose and I were already acquainted before her participation in the research, having met once or twice through our work in the trafficking field. Upon agreement to participate, we arranged to meet at her home and office. Our interaction was familiar from the outset, despite not knowing one another well. She invited me into her sparsely furnished living room, and I sat in the sofa where she conducts her trafficking assessments. Rose sat in a chair opposite, as she would do with her clients. Facing her in this way, her authority was palpable; she had a clear articulate voice, highly detailed in her descriptions whilst also radiating warmth and sensitivity.

Personal philosophy: Other responsibility and passionately speaking out

'Once you know, you can't not know, it would be active collusion to turn your back.'

This statement is a powerful illustration of Rose's underlying philosophy. She spoke of a strong drive to empower women and vulnerable people in general, by using her voice to translate the stories of people who have experienced violence, including trafficked women. She embodies this value in the numerous roles she occupies in the field, including as expert witness, therapist, trainer, writer and consultant. In her expert witness work, which is predominantly with survivors of trafficking, she carries out lengthy interviews and formulates psychological diagnoses. Rose expressed her fundamental aim being to really hear her client's stories and to offer something useful back through producing reports:

'That's not just an intellectual satisfaction, that I get the picture, it's more about . . . truly being able to reflect what it's like to be in her internal world.'

'I think I have a core construct about, if there is a need, it's my responsibility to try and help with it, which definitely comes from my mother. And is closely associated with "I'm responsible for other people's mental health," which I certainly got from her. And as I've got older, I've gotten much better about separating that out.'

Rose spoke of how these core constructs represent a foundation that she has worked with personally in order to ensure they remain useful in her work. However, her work with trafficking survivors does indeed trigger this '*other responsibility*,' which

is very deeply ingrained and important to her. This is illustrated in the following experience she had on a consulting trip:

'When I was coming back from Nigeria with a bunch of information about what happens to victims [of trafficking] who return [to their countries of origin], I went with a number of barristers on an investigation. To cut the story short, the plane had an emergency landing, there was danger that it was going to crash and we would all die. It landed in the middle of the Sahara Desert at three o'clock in the morning, and it was circling, dumping fuel, and the pilot explained that we couldn't make it to the next commercial airfield. Anyway, the reason why I'm telling you that, although it's a bigger story, is that I actually, I thought I might die within minutes. And generally I was glad, joyous about how lucky I had been in my life to have as much love as I did, especially with my husband and also with my family. To do work I really cared about, and I was glad that I was going to die quickly. Then I suddenly realised all of the materials I had, all of the notes I'd taken were on the plane, and I felt furious that the work was going to get lost. So there is an example of other responsibility.'

The ability to have a concrete impact on the lives of her clients seems to be vitally important to Rose in managing this feeling of responsibility and also mitigates the painful impact of the trauma narratives she hears:

'If I were not able to take action, I don't think I could do this work.'

As such, producing expert witness reports is a task that allows her to take action in a way that is practically useful to clients.

Another process that allows Rose to use her *'other responsibility'* constructively is through teaching others, whether this is a Home Office official or other practitioners working in the field. She explained her passion for learning and teaching in the context of Personal Construct Theory:

'The first time I was asked what's the contrast to learning I said death. It's so fundamentally important to me.'

Rite of passage: The personal in the professional

Rose described going through a challenging period of adjustment when she first started working in the violence against women field in 2000. She had already been working in senior positions in the NHS as Clinical Psychologist when she switched to working with domestic violence and childhood sexual abuse, and later also trafficking. She explained the personal and professional impact:

'I had six months of discovering domestic violence when it was, I think, singularly the most challenging six months, in terms of secondary trauma, that I'd ever had.'

'I came home crying in a way that I hadn't before, my script about having to be responsible for people's mental health was triggered to a ridiculous degree. So I was working God knows what hours, . . . I was trying to manage [Domestic Violence] Refuges and do therapy at the same time, so it was, it was exhausting and overwhelming.'

When she then started working with trafficked women some years later:

'I took another step down in recognising the depravity and inhumanity of not just the individual, but a group of individuals, or a gang, or systematic abuse, which is quite different.'

Rose explained how during these early years she was taking in a great deal of new information, about this level of injustice, and struggling to make sense of it on her own. She described feeling alone and wanting to mobilise friends and family to understand more about this new world she had discovered:

'My husband said that in the beginning I looked desperate to have validation about how shocking [the work] was.'

'He understood that it was me sharing the burden of how awful it was, but that it was really hard for me and it was really hard for him to see that I didn't seem to be getting relief from telling him. I was more talking about it, rather than taking responsibility for processing my feelings towards the traffickers.'

Rose explained how he had said to her one day: *“It’s too hard to listen to you, and piece you together and put you back into shape and then you go out the next day and do it all over again.”*

Which forced her to take stock:

‘So I did “note to self – too much supervision from husband” and I have hardly ever talked about it with him since then.’

She explained how this difficulty processing the impact of her work also had a direct influence on her social life during this period:

‘Nobody ever invited us [her and husband] around, and so partly I realised that I had to be more respectful about setting boundaries with other people.’

She explained how in hindsight it became evident to her that she had been in an adjustment phase that marked the rest of her life. The following poetic segment illustrates how she thinks about this rite of passage period in general and how it was influenced by her own personal history:

*‘Yes, well, I certainly think some people go through that,
people who are . . . I don’t quite know what the word is.
Open.*

*Really empathic, emotionally as well as mentally,
cannot begin, or be exposed to some of this work,
without experiencing vicarious trauma.*

*I think some people get triggered to remember their own experiences,
as indeed I did when I’d forgotten for years.
And it wasn’t until I started hearing about sexual abuse,
that I remembered being, I was going to say sexually assaulted,
but it’s true to say raped,
by a friend of my father, when I was fourteen.*

*And at that stage . . .
when I first started doing the work,
I guess I was about forty-four.*

*So, although I had done some work on it in my therapy,
I guess in my thirties.
It really felt like a huge distance of time.*

*I think a lot of people reconstrue their relationships
or their experiences
when they start to hear . . . other women talk about sexual abuse.'*

Rose explained how her own experiences of historic violence coming to the fore in the earlier phase of her work, both contributed to her vicarious trauma experience and also led to a breaking down of the: *'Us and them boundary'* with clients. She developed an understanding of people as *'knowers'* and *'not-knowers,'* describing herself as a *'not-knower'* before starting work in the violence against women field.

In our second meeting Rose explained a feeling that some people either never emerge from the rite of passage phase, getting stuck and: *'either they're blunted or overly controlling in the work, and that's re-traumatising for the clients,'* and eventually they burn out. Conversely, she feels some people never enter this phase because they don't work with their own personal material in therapy or don't fully let the suffering of clients in.

Knowers and not-knowers: Collaboration and a voice of resistance

The isolation she felt in this early phase of her work in the violence against women field, led Rose to seek out support from networks of people who share a similar understanding. Initially she contacted a previous therapist:

'She listened to me for an hour or so and she said "I've got one thing to tell you" and here I am waiting for the magic answer and she said "I really think you should leave [the field].'

'Yes, that was a really powerful discovery, that there were people who knew and people who didn't.'

'She was a not-knower and I was really disappointed. I was okay because I loved her, but I was disappointed and I was really lucky that, in not being able to turn to

her, I remembered a previous therapist and trainer that I had, who lived in Tucson Arizona, who was a knower, she had written a book.' 'And I started to talk to her.'

Rose explained how this early period of working in the field was vital in learning who she could lean on, what support she needed, and how to process client material. She explained how this would often encompass something much broader than ordinary clinical supervision, drawing on different layers of personal experience, shared understanding and political engagement with other women in the field.

In the context of this political engagement, Rose understands her own voice as the most powerful instrument she has in translating her clients' stories. Whether this is through training and educating others, or through her reports. She conveyed a strong sense of feeling impassioned by the work to give voice to the voiceless:

'I sometimes say to clients that it's my job to write down what you say and then I say it and then people believe it. And I always feel a bit ashamed about how much credence my words have, compared to theirs, but it does feel like redressing a wrong, and empowering them to actually be able to speak it. So when I have been under pressure and, a few times my husband, and more than a few times solicitors, have suggested that I can really shorten my reports and therefore the time it takes. And that one of the ways I can do that is to leave out the transcript of the client's interview with me. I won't do it. I want their voice to be heard, and I think the power comes [as much] from their words as it does from [my] writing.'

In giving her clients a voice in the public sphere, Rose adopts a voice of resistance that can powerfully influence opinion and understanding. The following poetic segment conveys how Rose uses her emotive experience of the work and the stories of her clients to document abuse and injustice, in order to fight for a different outcome:

*'For example, one of them [trafficker] when he knew that she was thinking of reporting him
he took her to the police station
and at the police station, the officers greeted him with open arms
and were very respectful.
He said laughingly: "she wants to complain about me."*

*Now, when I think about that right now,
I feel really angry at him.
So it's not unusual when the client leaves
that I feel sad or drained.*

*I think I'm probably too focused on the structuring
and taking charge of the interview to be really aware of it
but I'll have that sense of empathy about helplessness.*

*But afterwards, afterwards I would feel initially sad
and then when I'd start to think about the men
I'd feel angry.*

*Yeah and . . . I think that anger is quite a powerful, useful force
about effectively holding them accountable . . .
And they thought they could get away with it because they had her trapped
or locked her on her own.*

*But I am giving her a voice
and I have a voice.'*

After reading this poem out during our second meeting Rose responded:

*'Well, I think hers matters more than mine. I am so privileged to be a vehicle for
women to be able to speak.'*

'I'm a . . . channel . . . or a connection, between her and the world.'

I queried: 'Your reports?'

*'Yes, it's rephrasing, or even using her words, like your poems, to be able to help
other people hear what she said, or the meaning of what she said.'*

She explained how this translation process is essential to all aspects of her work, including training and educating others: *'It's a bit of a two-way process. It's partly giving her a voice, but it's also about helping them see and hear. In fact, one of the*

power point slides I use is a Thoreau quote: "it takes two people, one to speak and the other to hear," and I care about getting both of those to work.'

Boundaries: Limitations, desensitisation and physical impact

Rose spoke of the multitude of ways she is impacted by her work, both in her personal life and also in individual interaction with clients. She has learnt over the years how to find a balance in relation to her personal capacity and self-care, although this hasn't always been in place:

'I hate to turn away a need, and I went through a little phase where I tried to do two [assessments] a day and that was just psychologically impossible. I was brain dead and exhausted, emotionally as well as mentally.'

She explained how trafficking survivors impact her on a different level to other clients, often due to their displacement, youth and vulnerability:

'So, I'm quite clear that people are responsible for their own mental health, and yet, there is something about victims of trafficking, especially those that have been estranged from their families, where I feel quite drawn into wanting to do more. I talked with my husband, and son indeed, about setting up a charity, a bit like Helen Bamber Foundation, but much more simple, about just having a home where people can come, and family where they have no family.'

'I feel really sad about how alone people are and . . . yeah, and I think over the years I have gotten better about realising my limitations, because the heart in me would say, as my husband and son did, "let's have a home from home."'

Rose explained how she also feels a very immediate impact when assessing clients, as illustrated in the poem in the previous section, which can leave her feeling hopeless. She explained how work with trafficking survivors is '*much more profound, it's quite draining for workers.*'

There are a number of ways Rose measures the impact of her work, which allows her to build in self-care. One is that of desensitisation which she described as being a sure sign of overload: '*People tell me about their pain, I start to go "oh yeah" and "whatever", I disconnect. I'm not listening, I cannot absorb anymore*', which is when

she knows she needs to take a break. Another is when client stories are re-played in her mind. She described this as being particularly acute in the early days, when she first started hearing about extreme horror and abuse.

Rose explained how at this stage in her career it is often the non-verbal aspects of interactions with clients that have the most significant impact:

'A woman that I saw a couple of times ago, she asked to be excused to the toilet and I could hear her retching. And, well, that makes me feel a bit sick or uncomfortable to remember that.'

'I don't have the opportunity to acknowledge in myself what has resonated or been triggered [in assessment]'. 'My concentration is mental, physical, indeed spiritual, but while I can be satisfied mentally, or even feel "that's it, I've done enough", I'm often more tired and drained emotionally than I have processed right at that time.' 'My inner child is exhausted. And so, I think I'm listening with my feelings and my heart as well.'

She explained how she sometimes experiences the listening as not only being with her heart, but also her body is listening. This can manifest in an ache at the base of her skull when she finishes assessments:

'My understanding of it is that there is something about, I have been appraising, standing beside, witnessing the danger and feeling that at quite a base level of my brain.'

Protective factors: Learning protective strategies, the big picture and passing on the baton

Rose spoke of numerous ways that she protects and supports herself in the work; both in the immediacy of seeing clients, in her way of holding the big picture in mind and more broadly understanding how she can be most useful at this stage in her career.

The implicit impacts described above have necessitated that she builds in protective mechanisms to be able to do the work:

'I almost never watch news. I don't watch films about abuse, I don't watch any films about violence. I don't read any murder mysteries. I don't watch documentaries that perhaps some people would expect that I should watch.'

She explained that if she were to take in more distress and violence in her daily life it would be:

'A rape of the senses, because a big difference for me is that I can hear it and do something about it. Then I can manage the pain.'

Rose explained how with time she has developed a way to reduce her workload to make it more manageable and has also adopted more self-sustaining personal strategies for processing the disturbing impact of her work. She explained how after assessments:

'It's not unusual for me to go into the garden and effectively put the abusers or traffickers in the empty chair and speak directly to them, out loud "I'm not going to let you get away with it, you bastards. She's not silent anymore, and I will not let you hurt her anymore.'"

Rose explained how she has come to realise that to manage and overcome vicarious trauma it is important to:

'Pull them [the traffickers] out of the ether and confront them, I guess, as part of, not being done by them in the way that she [trafficked woman] was done to.'

Thus, completing the cycle of processing anger and abuse in a way that her clients might struggle with.

Rose also narrated the depth of privilege she feels at being allowed into the inner worlds of her clients:

'That sense of privilege; it's an extraordinary thing to have complete strangers be willing to trust their innermost thoughts and feelings . . . and it's often in the context of real shame and embarrassment.'

She explained how the sense of shared understanding she feels when assessing clients, is grounded in her intentional communication of respect and care:

'They often have a sense of relief or . . . quietness and a connection, because they know that I know and I almost invariably offer them a hug and they take it. Which is just one expression of how I think there is a bond that develops between us, that is honest and respectful.'

This has a protective function for Rose in that she knows she is not only offering something concrete through producing a report, but also a depth of understanding and empathy towards her clients.

During our second meeting Rose described how the recognition of being part of something greater, of which suffering is an aspect, has been an important step in learning to tolerate the work. She explained how she now takes many more breaks and holidays than she used to, being very mindful of how she preserves her resources in order to be most useful:

'Last year I did something that was really good for me. It was partly because I was writing manuals, but I was also writing reports. So, I would spend a week every month in France, in the Alps. And I have said to many people, "the mountains were there long before us, and they will be there long after," and it helps me set the problems, both of the women and my own, into perspective.'

Rose explained that at this point in her career she considers it vital that she take up the role as teacher and facilitator. This offers her a way to be most effective and useful whilst protecting her own resources:

'I love to train, and I love to see people develop. And one of the, well, the training I'm most passionate about now is helping people understand victims of violence. And that gives me a buzz and, a joyful purpose that I really see at this stage of my career. For the last five years or so that I'm working, what I want to do is to train as many people as I can, the things that I have learnt over the last twenty years by my bootstraps, and then I go and do the garden and walk in the mountains. I can pass the baton on.'

Equally, her outlook on the work is now more realistic than it has been in the earlier part of her career:

'I don't feel so responsible anymore, in fact, I know there are other really good, better expert witnesses out there, so I can say "I do not feel qualified, or able, or feel I'm the best person to do this," and over the years I know to whom I might refer.'

This collaborative aspect is an essential part of maintaining boundaries and optimism. Towards the end of our second meeting, Rose explained:

'I want to go back to something that I said earlier, about having the light. That when assistants used to leave, or people I had trained left, I used to feel a real loss and now I don't feel that anymore. I feel that the number of lights across the UK and indeed the world, are connected.' *'That if I were a satellite looking down, I could see lights across the world connected between people who care about the same things, so I never feel alone in this work. I'm glad to be part of that light.'*

At the end of the meeting Rose warmly expressed her gratitude that I am doing the research, and told me: *'I'm glad to be on the same side,'* she then stood up and asked: *'Is it time for a hug?'*

Summary

Following the second interview, whilst I was in the bathroom, Rose collected a folder with artistic photographs that a client had once given her in exchange for a report she had written. She explained that she would like to give me one of these as a thank you for the poetry shared during our meeting (Appendix 21). This gesture felt like a powerful illustration of Rose's dedication to exchange, sharing and collaborating. It was clear to me that Rose had agreed to participate in the research as a way of passing the baton on, educating, sharing and contributing to the next generation of practitioners.

Discussion Across Narratives

The discussion that follows is shaped by the different professional roles and length of time each participant in this study has worked in the field. This allows for an exploration of the singularities, the uniqueness of each person and their story of being impacted by work with trafficking survivors (Livholts & Tamboukou, 2015). The participants' voices are sometimes unified and sometimes take up different perspectives. How they are interpreted is framed by my own reflexive position within the field; I am, as Riessman (2008) suggests, intrinsically woven into the narrative 'storyworlds' of my participants. This shapes my discussion of analytic content and informs my understanding of how to create concrete guidance to support practitioners in the field.

As I look across stories, drawing together themes and paying attention to the individual voices of the four practitioners, my aim is to discuss how practitioners are impacted by the work; what the personal and professional implications for practitioners are, whilst drawing attention to the clinical implications. My discussion is an interpretation of the narratives, drawing on and complementing the representation of individual stories of participants, whilst locating this within theoretical understanding and current literature. The discussion is divided into five sections reflecting the thematic headings: Personal philosophy, rite of passage, boundaries, protective factors, and knowers and not-knowers. At the end of each section I outline the implications specific to the heading. In a final sixth chapter I collate the implications of the discussion and explore these in a broader context. Based on these implications, I suggest recommendations and propose that these make up the content of a practice-based manual for how to support practitioners. Once devised, this is intended to be directly applicable to practitioners and organisations working with trafficking survivors.

I. PERSONAL PHILOSOPHY

A personal framework of belief based on values, contextual situation and a philosophy of life, is arguably something most human beings are shaped by to varying degrees. This personal philosophy can be more or less rigid, exist in layers, and be articulated and reflected upon, or not. It is ambiguous, difficult to define, inherently a personal and situated perspective on life. We may locate it within overarching frameworks, such as feminism or human rights, faith, politics or indeed psychological orientations that imply certain beliefs about the human condition. Literature in the trauma field, with refugees and with women, is shaped by authors' more or less overt ideologies and beliefs. For instance, Judith Herman (1992) overtly cites the women's liberation movements as the intellectual mainspring of her seminal work 'Trauma and Recovery.' Equally, the work we do with clients is shaped by our context and our personal philosophies. Dick Blackwell (2005) outlines numerous layers, including the political, cultural, inter and intrapersonal, as shaping the ideological landscape of our consulting room.

In this project, each participant's psychological work came across as powerfully steeped in individual personal frameworks, sometimes conscious and other times so deeply embedded that the underlying values, experiences, and ideological influences were barely articulated. The frameworks were communicated in different ways, but in each case seemed fundamentally intertwined with the drive to work with trafficking survivors. Below I explore both how practitioners made sense of impact in the context of their underlying belief systems and experiences, and also how personal philosophy appears to mediate against difficult aspects of impact.

Personal philosophy as motivation

Themes concerning values, drives and ideology consistently ran through each participant narrative. How the personal philosophy manifested was complex and incorporated both early life experiences, the embodiment of womanhood, and fundamental values that influenced passion for working with refugees and trafficked women. For instance, for Nina, her human rights framework was instilled from early life, as part of her family and schooling, and subsequently led her to superimpose upon and be driven by this in her work with clients.

What drives participants to do the work and subsequently sustains their commitment also seems to relate to feelings of responsibility towards other human beings and commonality with clients. This is particularly in the context of structural inequality for women in society and practitioners' personal experiences on the continuum of oppression and sexual violence (Kelly, 1988; Vera-Gray, 2016). Rose and Jane more overtly acknowledged histories of physical abuse and sexual violence and spoke of how this has shaped their work with trafficked women. It emerged as part of a bigger picture driving both of them to fight against this injustice, and in Rose's case, seemed to trigger feelings of responsibility for clients.

Maura and Nina also described being driven by experiences of inequality and intrusion, which has meant that what they hear from clients is translated through their own lens of personal oppression, illustrated, for instance, by how Maura models empowerment in the context of shame in the therapy room. Reflecting upon personal philosophy as a powerful lens, I was also conscious of how interviews and representation of participant narratives was influenced by my understanding of all women as existing within an oppressive paradigm and being subject to different degrees of intrusion and violence.

Personal philosophy as protective

The strength of practitioners' philosophical frameworks, including my own, is interesting considering how a loss of meaning and personal alienation commonly results from complex trauma (Orange, 2016). Not only does trauma erode a sense of meaning and values in life, the trafficked woman's sense of self can feel foreign and hostile. Herman (1992: 137) explains: '(T)he victim of chronic trauma may feel herself to be changed irrevocably, or she may lose the sense that she has any self at all.' This is a disturbing and painful place to occupy, reinforcing the importance of practitioners holding strong belief systems to guide their client work. The founder of Narrative Therapy, Michael White (2004), emphasises the importance of identifying, protecting and preserving personal value systems in the client, as an essential step in trauma therapy. Based on narratives in the current study, it seems equally important to identify, protect and preserve practitioner values and beliefs.

Having a strong underlying belief system came across as a protective factor in withstanding the potentially disturbing impact of witnessing the accounts of trafficking survivors. This is interesting in the context of other studies on trauma work, such as

Jirek (2015: 1), whose study of advocates working with sexual and physical violence survivors, introduced the concept of 'soul pain.' Practitioners described experiencing a life altering 'wounding of their spirit' as a result of the work, which, overall, contributed to feelings of 'loosing faith' in the world.

The personal frameworks that emerge as part of narratives in this study seem to act as prevention against the loss of faith, protecting against difficult feelings of powerlessness and helplessness. Maura's inner space allows her to section off client work in a metaphorical '*inner space*' where it can be processed alongside her personal philosophy, thus mediating feelings of powerlessness. This highlights the importance of having strong foundations in values in order to be able to withstand not only the loss of meaning their clients experience, but also, as Maura described, the loss of faith in humanity (or women's empowerment) that trafficking can engender.

Nina explained how she actively takes up a human rights based approach by: '*putting my colours on the mast,*' disclosing her political stance to build a working alliance strong enough to approach the depth of despair and shame that trafficking survivors will usually be left with as a consequence of their experiences (Safran & Muran, 2000; Contreras, et al, 2017). Embodying and verbalising political values to clients is often suggested in literature on working with survivors of trauma (Danieli, 1984; Herman, 1992; Blackwell, 2005). Nina reflected that this type of stance helps her on a personal level, allowing her to communicate some of the personal impacts that she experiences at hearing narratives of horror and abuse. Based on her early experiences of working in the field and feeling a great deal of anger, it perhaps also acts to prevent internalisation of painful feelings.

Jane's description of faith as a backbone of her work is another strong example of personal philosophy mitigating against the difficult impact of the work. In her case, acting as a driver towards being of help to her clients whilst also protecting her philosophically through, for instance, allowing for a deferral to God as the ultimate judge. This seems to offer a reprieve from the injustice of working in a field where perpetrators are rarely convicted, and survivors are ultimately left with damaged lives.

Overall, it is, however, questionable where the line can be drawn between a personal philosophy being protective or defensive. For instance, Jane's conceptualisation of her work as '*a calling*' by God seemed to allow her to position some of the pain and

difficulty of the work in a vessel outside of herself. I was left wondering how this may have impacted relational engagement with clients (Stolorow & Attwood, 1992), as unlike the other three participants, Jane didn't overtly express feelings of powerlessness and hopelessness or what Jirek (2015) conceptualises as 'soul pain.' I questioned whether relinquishing control to an all-powerful 'male' entity, perhaps allows her to manage her own feelings of helplessness, but could also mirror some of the features of trafficking; paralleling the loss of control and personal disempowerment a trafficked woman may feel. This could impact on the process of psychological emancipation of Jane's clients, who are themselves struggling to come to terms with the psychological shackles of their trafficking experience (Contreras, et al, 2017).

Situated frameworks of belief

Viewing the work through the lens of personal philosophy raises questions about the interaction between client and practitioner belief systems, and the reciprocal loop of impact. Our unique situation does perhaps matter more than we acknowledge: as Beauvoir (2011: 4) asserts: 'every concrete human being is always uniquely situated,' constrained by circumstance. I, as the researcher in this study, am a white woman, not a refugee, originating from a country that affords me inherent privilege and security. These factors shape the types of decisions I have been able to make; they both offer me freedom, certain restrictions, and constrain me from fully understanding the situation of my refugee clients. The same is the case for practitioners in this study and their clients.

The differences in privilege and choice, arise as particularly pertinent in work with trafficked women; practitioners act as representatives of British culture in the mind of the survivor, who likely originate from a country impacted by poverty, inequality, political unrest, and often with a history of colonialism (Blackwell, 2005). This difference in situation will inevitably influence the work, whether in the conscious or unconscious realm. Maura acknowledges this inherent inequity, yet creatively applies her understanding of cultural shackles as a way to engage with her clients' restrictions related to gender and culture.

Implications

The most clear implication of these findings is the importance of allocating time to reflect upon and understand personal philosophies: where they originate, how they inform our work, influence our clients and in what way we can understand our subjective position vis-à-vis that of our clients (Blackwell, 2005). The reflections on unconscious influences of personal philosophy also raises the need for creating a space where awareness of parallels and differences between client and therapist can be cultivated so as not to re-enact traumatic relational dynamics within the co-created space of therapy (Lindy & Wilson, 1994; Maroda, 1998).

An immediate way to do so is through supervision and personal therapy. However, the importance of having a collegial network to both nurture the underlying drives, and to understand them, is another important feature noted by Nina and Rose, and reflects findings in other studies (Contreras, 2012; Kliner & Stroud, 2012). Practitioners in this study appear to have sought out their own networks in order to develop understanding of and to explore their personal philosophies so as to manage the more disempowering and painful impact of the work.

Without a space to discuss the importance of underlying frameworks of belief, a tendency towards hopelessness and overwhelm could ensue, such as described by Maura in having lost touch with feminism and feeling that her work is disproportionately affecting her life. Alongside this, Jane expressed feeling misunderstood and not trusted at her workplace and with a supervisor, which led her to take more risks with clients. Consequently, it appears vital that practitioners are able to find a structured space where they can reflect upon and nurture their personal philosophies. This would also allow practitioners and supervisors to understand personal philosophies as part of the therapeutic work, such as through building working alliances and developing trust (Safran & Muran, 2000; Blackwell, 2005), whilst noticing if there is impingement on individual clients' cultivation of personal values and beliefs. A parallel process can occur where clients may be inhibited by the practitioner's personal philosophies if these are not reflected upon.

Pertinent also is the fact that some organisations working with survivors of trafficking already operate with existing philosophies, such as faith, feminism and human rights. It is important to consider how collectively enforced philosophical systems can be both supportive and sustaining to staff (and clients) yet can also inhibit practitioners' pre-existing framework. Organisations working in this complex area can be at risk of systemically re-enacting oppressive 'behaviours' that can control and shame staff.

The dynamics of interpersonal trauma have a way of permeating not only individuals but also organisations and systems (Wilson & Lindy, 1994).

II. RITE OF PASSAGE

Out of the narratives emerged evidence of an initial adjustment period when starting work in the trauma field and with survivors of trafficking. During this phase, the work appears to impact participants more intensely, as they learn about how to negotiate professional limits. Personal belief systems and existential questions were raised, concerning human depravity and goodness. The impact during this phase manifested differently for each participant. Because of the different lengths of time spent in the field, Rose and Nina reflected in hindsight, whereas Jane and Maura are closer to the beginning phase of their work in the field, and thus spoke of some current challenges they face. This provides an important difference in perspective, opening up discussion of how this phase can be recognised and how practitioners can be well supported during the rite of passage.

An overwhelming new world discovered

Starting work with survivors of trafficking opens a new world of deprivation and extreme violence, such as one would rarely be exposed to. There is a distinct difference between theoretical awareness of human trafficking, and sitting with a human being who has experienced such violence directly. The layers of sadistic abuse and the sinister manner in which women are used as commodities, lays bare a disturbing underbelly of organised crime and human depersonalisation. In Louisa Waugh's book on human trafficking in the Balkans, (2006: 37), Anna, a survivor from Moldova, narrates: 'I had lost count of how many men had bought and sold me. I had been traded like a dead body, and I felt as though I was dead by then.'

Participants in this research either alluded to or overtly spoke of how bearing witness to such stories, and seeing the consequences of this deplorable crime, raised complex questions around meaning and the inherent goodness in humanity. Rose particularly mentioned the first period working in the violence against women field as being the most difficult in this process of learning about the '*depravity*' of human nature. She explained a type of awakening, learning about the dark side of human nature and recognising the broad impact of violence against women. Rose's description mirrors evidence in Merriman & Joseph's (2018: 126) UK study looking at more wide-ranging traumas, where work with survivors is characterised as 'a

journey.’ They suggest that ‘therapeutic selves’ develop over time, leading to a point of acceptance concerning the pain and horror aroused in them by the work. A question raised by trafficking work specifically is its extreme nature and how this has a specific impact on practitioners. Rose’s description of not being able to fully process her clients’ experiences, and seeking to come to terms with what she was hearing through drawing on ‘*supervision*’ from her husband, shows something of the ‘contagion’ of trauma (Herman, 1992; Rothschild’s, 2006), and the repetitive cycling through of stories in the early phase of the work, mirroring ‘stuckness’ clients can experience.

Nina spoke of a similar period of adjustment when she first started working in the trauma field. She explained the impact of the work having been exacerbated by the instability of her life at the time. She described at this time developing a physical illness, a severe allergy, which, in hindsight she feels was related to being completely overloaded, having difficulty setting boundaries and thus feeling deeply impacted both psychologically and viscerally. This could perhaps both be understood as an overload of work, a state of physical overwhelm and burn out, and perhaps also as an embodied or somatic type of empathy (Rothschild’s, 2006). I am reminded of a time, in my first year of working frontline with survivors of trafficking, when I had conducted a lengthy assessment with a client and developed a severe migraine that necessitated I go home immediately. This somatic experience directly mirrored that of my client, who had come down with a similarly intense headache during the meeting. What I remember being different at that time, from how I approached client work later, was a sense of wishing to empathise so deeply that I could take away her pain. The result, however, was that we both suffered. Similarly, Nina reflected that she now feels more effective whereas in the earlier phase she felt effective as an ‘*angry friend*.’ A process of emotional processing seems to have taken place in order for her to take the position of bearing witness to client suffering, which is indeed a more valuable and sustainable service (Blackwell, 1997; Orange, 2016).

This raises a number of points, including how painful it can be to face the immensity of need that this client group present with, and our powerlessness in the face of suffering. All four participants spoke of the impulse to do more for clients, whether to guide clients as Maura described, Nina’s wish to go to Calais, or Jane’s description of intervening when she ‘*intuits*’ that her clients are at risk. Rose also described at an earlier stage of her work, having tried to do more than one client assessment per day to meet need, which left her completely devoid of resources. As such, this early

phase seems to contain particular challenges in boundary setting and stopping oneself from taking on a 'rescuing' position (Karpman, 1968: 1) or what Cozolino (2004: 180) refers to as 'pathological caretaking.'

Personal history in the professional realm

Contemporary research (Chouliara, et al, 2009; Kjellenberg, et al, 2013; Jirek, 2015) speaks to the impact of working with persons who have experienced trauma, being interpersonal, transformational and affecting fundamental meaning-making. As such, a practitioner's personal history inevitably influences work with trafficking survivors, and this emerged as a significant theme across narratives. In the current study, Rose explained how her own experience of rape had emerged during the rite of passage phase. It became clear to her during the first six months of working in the violence against women field that she needed to find a way to integrate and process her own experiences more thoroughly. She explained a sense that some practitioners are more '*open*' or '*empathic*', which left me wondering if what she meant was that these practitioners had themselves experienced sexual violence. The high statistics on trauma practitioners and advocates identifying as having personal histories of trauma, offers some support to this thinking (Sodeke-Gregson et al, 2013; Kjellenberg et al, 2014).

Jane spoke of her own trauma history as being a '*training ground*' for the work she is doing now, although she did not overtly name her experiences as having been traumatic. It seemed that through the conversations shared in this study, some recognition emerged of how she may unconsciously be affected by her own traumatic history when working with clients. She noted how supervisors have drawn attention to this, in their suggestions that some of her interventions with clients could be motivated through her personal need to see clients emancipated and protected from harm. This mirrors some analytic thinking in the trauma field, such as that of Alayarian (2007), who considers practitioners who are motivated by unconscious desires to repair their own relational traumas as a particular risk of enactment.

Considering the desire to repair one's own relational traumas through my feminist lens on gender oppression and violence (Vera-Gray, 2016; Kelly, 1988), I view the personal meaning Jane gains from being of help to others, as perhaps consistent for most, if not all, women working in the violence against women field including Rose, Nina and Maura. This desire to repair can more generally be linked with the wounded

healer archetype, familiar and common within psychotherapeutic literature (Jung, 1982). It thus seems that most practitioners are likely to be motivated by some form of reparation, and that this will impact on how their work with trafficking survivors is experienced.

Our own personal experiences may both heighten our understanding of the oppression and violence that our clients have experienced and perhaps also lead us to want to negate it. Rose described how an important impact of the work in the rite of passage phase was for her to understand that there is no '*us and them*' binary in her work with clients. All four participants spoke of being motivated to support women, to empower and challenge gendered power structures, yet also spoke of being affected themselves. As such, work with trafficking survivors, if examined deeply, necessitates the practitioner to face their own experiences of oppression and trauma. As researcher, I am not exempt from this impact. Speaking to participants and reading on the subject has led me to revisit uncomfortable aspects of my own personal history from a new perspective. I have had to confront and re-narrate one version of reality where I am strong and empowered, finding underneath another version in which I realise how many times I have experienced intrusion, harassment, violence, and have felt disempowered yet could not recognise it at the time, at least not with any clarity.

Learning ways to sustain work with trafficking survivors

All four participants spoke of a deep sense of passion and investment in their work. Alongside this, there seemed to be a process of re-framing understanding of human nature. Maura, who is in an earlier phase of the work, noted that a particular impact is a feeling that the world is '*filled with violence,*' leading her to take steps to reengage with feminism in a collegial supportive environment. This is interesting in light of Kjellenberg and colleague's (2014: 120) study, which found a high proportion of participants developing fear of, or becoming resigned towards the idea of 'human evil' as a result of their work with torture survivors, suggesting there may be re-adjustment taking place on a foundational level around personal beliefs in extreme trauma work.

In order to pass through the rite of passage phase and choose to remain working in the field, it appears practitioners need to find a way to sustain themselves. There is a remarkable similarity in the trajectories of Rose and Nina, in their decisions to seek

out likeminded professionals and build a professional community as a way of mediating against isolation and hopelessness. Rose described needing to consult mentors to manage the painful impact of the work when she first started. This need for likeminded colleagues and professional networks, to talk through the difficulty of their work, and to validate boundary setting, is acknowledged in literature on work with refugees who have suffered from severe systemic trauma (Blackwell, 1997; Alayarian 2007). Nina and Rose both described a vital aspect gained through their professional networks, being the feeling that they are not alone in fighting the battle against oppression and violence.

What seems to emerge is a paradigm shift in the worldview of practitioners, which parallels the devastating de-construction of personal reality that trafficking survivors undergo. Trafficked women are 'inducted' into the commercial sex industry through the use of coercion, shaming, beatings, threats, as well as physical and sexual abuse (Zimmerman, et al, 2006; Contreras, 2017). This inevitably leads to re-framing perceptions of reality and of underlying beliefs. As such, the paradigm shift that takes place in practitioners seems equally inevitable when they are introduced into this new world of human depravity. Alongside this, practitioners are asked to metabolise challenging psychological and somatic reactions in clinical work. A pertinent question is thus whether a practitioner can indeed be helpful if they don't go through this rite of passage phase. As Nina narrates, when speaking of feeling overwhelmed and deeply affected by her work: *'I want to be operating from a heart that can also be pierced by the pain of it all.'*

Implications

Naming the existence of a rite of passage phase allows for discussion of how new practitioners and organisations alike can understand the impact of their work. There can be a tendency for practitioners to negate the difficulty and pain experienced when they first come into contact with the client group. Rose clearly explained setting herself aside when she first started the work, through always being 'on', campaigning for clients, and socially isolating herself due to difficulty drawing boundaries between work and personal life. This tendency within the trafficking field for practitioners to set aside their own needs in favour of that of their clients is ultimately unhelpful to the work. Hafkenscheid (2005) speaks of this more broadly in relation to deeply traumatised clients and how work with this client group can evoke confusing,

disturbing, and burdensome feelings in the practitioner. Yet, because of the suffering clients have experienced, there can be a tendency to negate the reality of the disturbance in the therapeutic relationship and in the implicit emotional communication. The reason being that because these clients: 'deserve sympathy and support' (Hafkenscheid, 2005: 160).

Diverting to client needs may also be a way for practitioners to avoid or minimise the pain of their own experiences. It is noteworthy that in recruiting for this study, I received numerous rejections for requests for participation, and this is despite my embeddedness in the field. One practitioner expressed a willingness to take part only if the conversations were over Skype and at a very particular nominated time of day, which made it impossible to include her. Another feature I noticed was a tendency for participants who did take part, to divert to client stories when questions of personal impact were posed. This raises questions as to the degree to which the process of setting self aside in psychological work with trafficking survivors could also be a conscious or unconscious survival strategy for practitioners. Rose speaks of a process whereby she is able to carry out assessments with clients relatively unaffected by her own process, and then once she completes meetings she starts feeling the actual impact, both on a physical and emotional level. To fully engage with the impact of the work may indeed be too overwhelming for some practitioners, or at certain times (Wilson & Lindy, 1994), and this can have implications for the clinical work.

With regards to emotional and psychological overwhelm, Rose's explanation of attempting to process client material through repeated conversations with friends and loved ones in the early phase of her work, offers insight into a cyclical process of re-living and failed attempts at emotionally processing her newfound knowledge. This can both be understood as a vicarious trauma reaction (Pearlman & Saakvitne, 1995; Rothschild, 2006) and perhaps also as a triggering of personal trauma. Rose's own experience of rape needing to be worked through further, seemed part of finding a more sustainable and integrated approach to the work. Had she not understood this need, it is questionable how it would have affected her ability to remain working in the field, or indeed how it would have impacted work with clients.

Building collegial networks to share personal and professional experiences associated with the work emerges as important in sustainably managing the work. My own experience in the field has taught me that whilst there is an implicit

understanding that colleagues and wider networks are needed to sustain the work, very little formal structure is put in place by organisations to facilitate this.

Based on their study, Kjellenberg and colleagues, (2014) recommend that attitudes towards death and human 'evil' be discussed in training and supervision. A similar recommendation can be made as a result of this study, where the early stages of engaging in this work appear to open up existential questions that, if not addressed, can come to interfere with the work or lead to the internalisation of hopelessness or overwhelm, as for instance described by Maura. In addressing vicarious trauma, existential questions can often be ignored, and understandably so, as these are difficult topics with no concrete answer. However, when undertaking work with a client group who have been forced to face death and feel the impact of what can be thought of as 'evil,' it seems clear a practitioner benefits from having considered and challenged their own thoughts and feelings around these subjects.

III. BOUNDARIES

Negotiating where to set boundaries to manage impact, is a constant process in any therapeutic engagement. In work with survivors of trafficking this is both vitally important and often more challenging because of how deeply traumatised the clients are. It is also often complicated by additional factors, such as clients' practical needs (Century et al, 2007). Across all four practitioner narratives, the maintenance of boundaries was described as a delicate balance, different from work with other client groups, and learned over time. How boundaries slip and are re-negotiated is explored in this section as a natural part of emotional engagement with the work. The challenge of boundaries is explored through looking at manifestations of vicarious trauma, including psychological, somatic and social experiences (Figley, 1995). Alongside this, unchecked omnipotence that can arise in practitioners from a personal need for fulfillment (Blackwell, 1997), is explored in the context of the need to be helpful, another key theme identified across participant narratives.

The unbearable pain of trafficking

The pull to offer some kind of reparation of a woman's fractured life through relieving her anxiety, by providing help or reassurance, or engaging in practical interventions, can be very strong in work with survivors of trafficking. Maura described a perception

that a redemptive approach to therapy can lead to difficulties; feelings of helplessness need to be faced by practitioners, accepting that therapy cannot undo the pain that trafficked persons have undergone. As discussed in earlier sections, the aim of traffickers is precisely to cause a painful erosion of autonomy and confidence, to shame their victims into submission through violence, neglecting basic needs, and through psychological coercion (Contreras, et al, 2017); a process that has been referred to as 'intimate terrorism' (Lange, 2011). As such, to sit with and bear witness to levels of disturbance and relational distress resultant from such violence is indeed very painful for practitioners.

Eleftheriadou (1999), in his article on therapist countertransference when working with asylum seekers, proposes that the client's feelings or stories can feel like an invasion to the therapist, who may worry that they will never be able to process these adequately. Wilson and Lindy, (1994) divide countertransference reactions in trauma work into two opposing positions, the first resulting in avoidant reactions including denial, minimisation and detachment and the second in over-identification, such as over-commitment, dependency and enmeshment. Rose described taking up both positions, by falling into enmeshment and over-commitment, feeling responsible for clients' mental health, yet also detachment and minimisation of client experiences when overloaded or when clients appear stuck and unable to take action. The ability of therapists to offer holding and containment (Winnicott, 1965; Bion, 1963) in the face of this difficult material is particularly pertinent, particularly as many survivors of trauma struggle deeply with the prospect of their suffering being minimised, forgotten or disbelieved (Levy, 1999). Rose explained how knowing when she is reaching points of frustration and saturation is something she has had to learn over time, and it has become a clear sign to her that she needs to take a holiday, as she cannot be of use to her clients any longer.

The maintenance of boundaries in the face of painful client material seems particularly challenging in the context of the draw towards helpfulness. Jane described sometimes offering more to clients than the therapeutic relationship asks for. Phone numbers are given to clients when travelling, because of concern that trafficking will take place. Also, session allocation is extended in spite of organisational policy. Jane framed this within the context of intuition and missed opportunities; however, it seems important to consider underlying motivations. Blackwell (1997: 9) suggests: 'it is much harder to bear witness than it is to be helpful.' Alayarian (2007) speaks of the complexity involved in working with

traumatised individuals, where therapists are called to face not only deeply disturbing stories, but also the resulting feelings such as rage, hatred, revenge, murderousness, loss of and loathing of self.

The work is a constant negotiation of boundaries, where violations of the therapeutic frame can often take place if a practitioner carries with them unresolved or not thought through personal trauma, or experience narcissistic injury at being unable to help a client. Rose spoke of challenges in managing the interaction between her own trauma and that of clients in the initial phase of the work and how this led to both re-living her own and her clients' experiences. Alayarian (2007) suggests that in work with refugees, boundary transgressions often occur when there is a mismanagement of helplessness, hopelessness, hatred, and aggression which may connect with a practitioners' own history.

Negotiating practical and psychological needs

Work with trafficking survivors will almost always incorporate certain practical tasks, which seem to serve a containing function for both clients and practitioners (Century et al 2007; Keefe & Hage, 2009; Oram & Domoney, 2018). Therapeutic work with survivors of trafficking has to adapt and accommodate this difference, as clients often struggle to engage with psychological interventions when they experience high levels of anxiety about medical treatment, financial issues, housing, their political, civil or welfare rights, and ultimately questions of safety. Safety is not only related to a person's refugee status, but also concerns very real risks from traffickers who may be trying to locate them. So, what is a request for actual practical assistance and what is a request for containment, isn't easily distinguishable. Boundaries are inevitably maintained differently with this client group. There seemed to be a consensus amongst Nina, Rose and Maura, that they are all drawn towards offering practical support with clients, which has a certain impact on them in how they carry out their work. Each of them explained how practical actions in themselves are not counter-therapeutic when reflected upon. Nina described how she embraces an advocacy stance, such as writing letters; viewing this as part of the psychological intervention she offers to clients. She explained how being able to offer a practical intervention can increase a client's sense of trust and feeling that their problems are taken seriously, ultimately serving a therapeutic purpose.

When considered more widely, these practical aspects are indeed consistent with a

culturally sensitive and needs-based approach to working with refugees, where the incorporation of the practical can be understood as therapeutic (Keefe & Hage, 2009). This is particularly the case because some trafficked clients do not have an understanding of a western therapeutic frame, which means that conventional therapeutic boundaries are not easily understood, nor are they always useful. Lennox Thomas (2007: 48) suggests that to work with refugee clients, we must always bear in mind the: 'intercultural intersect of the therapy, our culture, the patient's culture, and the culture of psychotherapy.' Century et al (2007: 7) similarly note in their study of therapists working with refugee populations in the UK: 'This formalised relationship and the obligations of each, may have little meaning for many non-western asylum-seeking and refugee clients. Perhaps of more importance is their attachment to someone who can be trusted and will give some help, whatever form this takes.' Being keenly aware of the underlying therapeutic purpose of these practical actions seems to be what has allowed practitioners in this study to manage impact on boundaries, for instance through understanding the writing of letters or reports as being a way to give voice to clients, such as Rose and Maura both noted. Maura also spoke of offering clients a base for attachment where they can learn about their host culture, an aspect she perceives as vital with clients who have lost all family and community support (Mahler, et al, 1975; Bowlby, 1988).

Nonetheless, there appears to be numerous layers of meaning to the practical interventions, and they seem to serve both the client and practitioners. All four participants expressed sadness and disappointment at the inadequacy of protection and support offered by the authorities to their trafficked clients in the UK. This of course raises questions of practitioners' motivations towards being helpful and the personal investment in taking up helping roles (Blackwell, 1997). Interestingly, in their study of therapists, Century et al (2007) described the loss of boundaries, such as writing letters and visiting clients in their homes, as arising from practitioners' feelings of inadequacy and omnipotence, or guilt about the refugee experience in the UK.

Maura explained that whilst she acknowledges that sometimes all she can do is sit with the brokenness of someone's life and accept that she cannot change it, practical interventions such as writing letters to solicitors can give her a sense of achievement that the therapy sometimes cannot. To offer something practical, like a letter, can feel like a very real contribution to an immediate need. As such, the practical intervention appears to become a momentary compensation for her own feelings of overwhelm and helplessness. Finding the appropriate balance can consequently be very

challenging, especially when a client request for practical help could potentially be a symbolic request for reprieve from psychological distress (Koricanac, 2013).

Given the helplessness that can ensue in this type of work, it is interesting to consider the professional roles practitioners in the current study have taken up in the trafficking field. It seems clear that the chosen roles seem to suit personal proclivities. Responding to the need of her clients, Rose offers a very practical intervention in the production of expert witness reports, which has a direct impact on a client's claim for asylum in the UK. In writing these, she also addresses her own expressed personal need to make a concrete difference to her clients. A similar niche skill, and personal need, is evident in Nina's choice of heading up an IAPT service and taking up a teacher/advocate role. This draws on her strength in mobilising others, whilst also allowing her to have a broad impact on the field, an important aspect of her personal philosophy and what appears to be her personal need in order to be able to bear the pain of trafficking.

Secondary trauma: Personal and clinical boundaries

In this section I look at how practitioners in this study are impacted on physiological and psychological levels (Figley, 1995). Taking an interpersonal perspective, the secondary trauma reactions that a practitioner experiences can be understood both as a mirror to what the trafficked client experiences, and as a complex interaction with the practitioner's own history and current experience (McCann & Pearlman, 1990; Rothschild, 2003; Hafkenschied, 2005).

Embodiment and emotions

In considering the physiological impact on practitioners, it is important to understand the way in which trafficked clients have survived life-threatening experiences. Levine's (1997: 34) proposition of post-traumatic symptoms as being 'fundamentally incomplete physiological responses suspended in fear,' is a useful way to understand how survivors are plagued post-trafficking. During sustained traumatic experiences, such as sexual and physical violence, which also carries with it a painful invasion of the body, a dissociative process often occurs as a survival mechanism (Herman, 1992). A process of disconnection from the emotional, bodily, and cognitive sense of self can occur when, as Davies and Frawley (1994) describe, the physical and psychological violations can be too great for the ego to tolerate.

How a client manages the impact of severe physical intrusion and violation inevitably has an impact on the practitioner, whether this is implicitly or explicitly understood. Rose and Nina both spoke of how they experience the impact of their work on a very physical level, not only in the sense of developing physical illness, such as in Nina's case when she first started work in the trauma field, but also in the immediacy of the client work. Rose, in her description of carrying out expert witness assessments, described listening and responding, taking into consideration clients' full experience, tracking narrative and physiological reactions (Levine, 1997; Rothschild, 2003). This has physical consequences for her. During our second interview, when she had completed an assessment some hours earlier, she momentarily pressed her hand against the back of her skull, describing a dull ache which she often experiences post-assessment.

Rothschild (2006) speaks of how vicarious trauma has to be considered in the context of human beings' natural tendency towards mimicry. As therapists we use postural mirroring both consciously and unconsciously to gain information about a client's internal state and as a way to establish attunement (Gallese, 1999). The challenge when working with trafficking survivors is that what is communicated between client and therapist is of such a painful nature that it can mark practitioners long after sessions. A practitioner may also be picking up and embodying the dissociated aspects of client experience, in a projective identification process (Rothschild, 2006; Klein, 1975). Rose speaks of how she has become aware of needing to consciously rid herself of the psychological and emotional content of sessions once clients leave, through active exercises such as two chair work, expressing her anger at perpetrators.

Nina spoke of the embodiment of her client work in a slightly different way, referring to her five senses, and how her boundaries can be transgressed when she is exposed to material from an unexpected channel, such as visual content. When she can predict the sensory material, she can effectively establish a boundary against it. She explained how with trafficking clients, it's easier to metabolise the stories because there is very little physical proof, or evidence of the abuse, unlike for instance with torture survivors where the evidence can often be very clear. Nina also described sensory experiences having a positive impact. For instance, in her description of seeing her clients' hair intertwined on the ground during the women's group, and how a powerful desire for justice arose. This indicates that sensory input

can both compromise her boundaries and have a very useful impact of spurring her on in the work, through stimulating aspects of her personal philosophy.

Dissociation and compartmentalisation

The painful cycling between dissociative states and intrusive stimuli will almost always be part of the presentation of a client with severe interpersonal trauma and sexual violation (Herman, 1992; Van der Kolk, et al, 2007). Similarly, participants in this study described needing to negotiate personal processes of compartmentalisation, desensitisation and dissociation, such as Rose's description of setting herself aside during assessments and Nina's awareness of needing to establish sensory barriers to protect herself.

This is interesting in the context of Alayarian's (2011) paradigm of 'healthy' versus 'unhealthy' dissociation, and its applicability to practitioners in the field; healthy dissociation being predicated on optimal developmental conditions and relating to a person's ability to create a line of defense against traumatic intrusions whilst maintaining narrative elasticity. Unhealthy dissociation on the other hand originating in developmental dys-regulation or in long-term sustained abuse, relating more to a fragmentation of self (Alayarian, 2011). Applying this to practitioners working with trafficking survivors, I was left wondering how much a healthy level of dissociation plays a part in surviving work in this field. The process of compartmentalisation that Nina describes does indeed allow her to survive the pain of the work, through the creation of a protective line of defence between different parts of her life, such as work and home. This line of defence appears to be something she has cultivated over time and begs the question of whether it is indeed possible to sustain work with trafficking survivors if some form of compartmentalisation and/or desensitisation didn't take place. Just as for clients (Van der Kolk, 2007), perhaps some level of dissociation becomes a survival strategy that allows practitioners to hear story after story of a nature that challenges their physical, psychological and social equilibrium.

The length of time they have spent in the field means that Nina and Rose have both listened to countless stories of human trafficking. Rose describes how stories have become a web, with commonalities, compartmentalised out of consciousness when she doesn't need to remember them. As such they have perhaps also lost their traumatic impact in this process of proliferation and storing away. Interestingly, Maura speaks of a similar propensity towards splitting off narratives, using her *'inner*

space,' but spoke less of needing to manage intrusive material outside of work, in the way Nina and Rose do. Nina and Rose, however, explained the ability to split off narratives as a partial process (Fairbairn, 1994), which does not seem to preclude other kinds of impact, such as the non-verbal aspects. These non-verbal aspects thus appear to have the most intrusive impact at this stage in their career. An example of this is Rose's memory of the impact of hearing one of her clients retching in the bathroom during a difficult assessment.

Bystander guilt

The disparity in privilege in client lives versus that of practitioners, emerged as a challenge to boundary setting and maintenance. In recognising personal privilege, the impulse to compensate can be strong. Nina spoke of this in relation to the experience of guilt that she could be doing more particularly when faced with a client's practical difficulties or when sensory boundaries are challenged. When this happened, she became acutely aware of her privileged life, recognising that her clients live a very different existence. The desire to go to Calais to volunteer is an example of her drive to do more, as though what she is providing isn't adequate enough.

These feelings of guilt and overwhelm mirror findings from numerous other studies in the trafficking and refugee field (Century et al, 2007; Contreras, 2012). In a study conducted with therapists working with holocaust survivors, Danieli (1994) discusses the most common countertansference reaction of psychological practitioners being bystander guilt, leading to the inability to set reasonable limits, patronising clients or developing a masochistic and non-witnessing position towards their clients. Guilt thus marks a return to the desire to be helpful, a theme throughout all four participant narratives.

Implications

Learning how practitioners in this study negotiate boundaries in a different way to other work could have a normalising function, potentially reducing isolation of other practitioners in the field who grapple with similar challenges. Speaking of complex feelings such as guilt, anger and less conscious physiological reactions is important in allowing others to recognise these in themselves. Experiences of participants in

this study, show that a 'healthy' level of dissociation may need to take place in order to find longevity in the work (Alayarian, 2007). Nina described how with time in the field she has learnt not to act on the guilt she feels by doing more, but rather she notices it and then reminds herself of all that she is doing with clients, and grounds herself in the other priorities in her life, such as family, which allows her to find distance from the work.

The exploration of the embodied impact of work with trafficked clients is important in highlighting the implicit way in which practitioners are affected. My own experience has taught me that these somatic and non-verbal aspects, such as client's physical reactions (retching in the bathroom) are rarely attended to in supervision. Psychological work can be a rather verbal profession, sometimes overlooking the importance of an embodied approach to supervision and self-care, such as incorporating Trauma Release Exercises (TRE) to address physical countertransference or projected aspects that can often remain physically 'stuck' for practitioners.

The boundary permeability between practical and psychological needs, and noticing when interventions are based in a need to alleviate the practitioner's own helplessness, versus when there is genuine need for practical intervention, is another delicate balance highlighted by the narratives (Blackwell, 1997). Cultivating personal reflection on work is noted by participants in this study as being important; this allowing for the processing of overwhelm and to unpick what is a practical need and what is a request for containment. Thomas (2007) in his discussion of boundaries and flexibility in work with refugee clients, suggests that it is often through a team approach that practitioners are able to maintain this balance; drawing on colleague expertise and perspectives. The diversity in practitioner roles within this study also shows something of how the impact of the work is dealt with, in that some practitioners take up inherently more practical positions vis-à-vis the work. This shows the value in practitioners being supported to identify their strengths and personal proclivities when choosing professional roles.

It was notable that very little was mentioned in relation to interpreters in the maintenance of boundaries in the work. Rose offered an example of how interpreters can block emotions for clients, although did not elaborate on this. This has been noted in great detail in other studies investigating work with refugee clients (Century et al, 2007) where interpreters are often seen as posing a boundary to developing

relationships with clients and complications can arise when there are miscommunications culturally or language wise.

IV. PROTECTIVE FACTORS

From the narratives, it seemed clear to me that participants experience their work in the trafficking field, with women or with refugees, as a way of life. Each of them described commitment to a deeper set of values intertwined in personal philosophies. Nonetheless, practitioners are constantly negotiating how they set boundaries, self-care, and protect against the painful effect of their work, details of which is explored in the following section.

Separating the personal and professional

Both Nina and Rose seem to have developed a delicate wall of resistance against vicarious trauma reactions. Nina described how with time in the field she has become more aware of her limits and the importance of separating off different parts of her life, through both physical and metaphorical compartmentalisation. She described a physical delineation occurring when she drives from the city where she works, to the country town where she lives. Rose similarly spoke of taking physical distance from her work by regularly going to the mountains in France to recalibrate and remind herself of the bigger picture. In one sense, the physical delineation between work and home is part of ordinary actions taken to restore oneself through separating work from leisure, mirroring recommendations in relation to self-care (Rothschild, 2006; Norcross & Guy, 2007). However, if examined closely, the physical separation also seems to serve as a barrier against what can be thought of as vicarious trauma ‘symptoms.’

Both Rose and Nina explained going through a process of assessing and moderating their levels of arousal and managing their window of tolerance for traumatic material when not at work (Rothschild, 2003; Siegel, 2012). Nina explained how it is necessary to ‘*keep the size manageable – a vessel of trauma that I can contain, I can’t keep topping it up with stuff from home or from Facebook or from my own research.*’ Rose spoke of a similar experience in relation to how much she can contain outside of her work environment. She avoids reading or watching shows about trafficking or trauma, in order to prevent experiences of frustration and overload. She described this as: ‘*a rape of the senses,*’ a visceral parallel to the

experience of her clients. My own experience closely echoes that of Nina and Rose in that I notice a disproportionate level of arousal when watching, listening to or reading traumatic content, particularly related to issues around torture, trafficking and persecution of refugees. Traumatic content comes alive for me, triggering off client stories, as well as feelings of anger and sadness. Through reflection on this, I was left wondering whether one can ever fully distance oneself from secondary impact of this work.

What emerged from the participants' accounts was a combination of physical separation from trauma and also a metaphorical one. Maura spoke of her, '*inner space*' where she protects and processes her client's stories, whilst also protecting herself and other relationships in her personal life from the 'intrusion' of difficult client material. Similarly, Nina spoke of her '*heart space*' as a location of emotional capacity, viewing this as being a container that she cannot endlessly keep filling up with traumatic material. This internal separation and management of trauma content suggests that cultivating awareness of such a process could be helpful to practitioners in learning how to manage their resources effectively.

Length of time in the field as a protective factor

Time spent working in the field emerged as a significant protective factor; earlier years doing the work seemingly being shaped by adjustment periods, learning about the impact of trafficking and the complex presentation of the clients. Jirek (2015), in her study of trauma advocates, discusses a process of emotional estrangement and numbing occurring with time in the job, her participants engaging in 'surface acting' by setting aside their own feelings and numbing (Hochschild, 1983). This strikes me as an important comparison to make in the context of Nina and Rose, who over time, conversely, describe finding an equilibrium and balance in managing their resources that now helps them maintain their work. Neither of them evidenced nor spoke of emotional disengagement or persistent numbing. Pertinent to note, is that participants in Jirek's (2015) study were not psychologically trained which may have meant that emphasis on personal and professional reflection is likely to have been reduced.

Nina and Rose's experiences parallel findings in Merriman and Joseph's (2018) study of Counselling Psychologists working with trauma survivors. Those practitioners described a developmental process across time of becoming more able

to take in traumatic material and process it with clients, without feeling destabilised. As though the internal space that can contain trauma material increases and grows with time. This developmental process was associated with increased feelings of acceptance and hopefulness. The process of compartmentalisation seemed particularly important to Rose and Nina in this developmental process, as was personal reflection and collegial support. Having psychological skills of reflection, combined with knowing how to build resources and learning to manage the work through collaboration with colleagues, seemed to be essential factors in sustaining both Rose and Nina.

With regard to the length of time in the field, Nina and Rose narrated the use of very simple self-care strategies, in a way that Jane and Maura didn't. This may have been because Jane and Maura omitted them; however, it did lead me to reflect on whether the necessity for such becomes more evident with time. Nina deliberately spoke of doing basic things such as sleeping enough and not drinking alcohol during the week, as a way of preserving her resources. She explained how these relatively simple tasks have become more and more important to her with time. Similarly, Rose spoke of aspects of self-care, such as treating herself to shopping trips, emotional release exercises, and having restful evenings on the sofa. Perhaps the simplest actions are the most nurturing, if we allow ourselves to indulge in them.

Gratitude and privilege

In spite, (or perhaps because) of the extreme trauma that participants in this study have witnessed, fundamental feelings of gratitude and privilege consistently ran through the four women's narratives and seemed to be a deeply protective force. These feelings appeared to be linked with personal philosophies, such as Jane's description of privilege at how she has been guided by God to work with trafficked clients. For Nina the importance of her heart being pierced by the pain of the work, came across as an enormous personal growth opportunity, echoing findings in the study by Arnold and colleagues (2005), which showed that trauma therapists experienced gains in empathy, compassion, tolerance and sensitivity, as well as a desire to live more meaningfully through their work with trauma survivors. This sentiment similarly pervaded all four narratives in the current study in different ways. The desire to live meaningfully may already have been present before starting work in the field, however, the work only seems to have increased this desire.

Implications

Overall, to reach a point of sustainable working seems less about whether a practitioner is affected, and more about how impact manifests and is negotiated throughout a person's career. Based on Nina and Rose's descriptions of how they manage their work, developing protective strategies and ways of being that allow them to avoid too much exposure to traumatic or distressing material outside of work, is protective. Careful balancing of resources and compartmentalisation seems necessary in order to prevent the impact of work from bleeding into personal lives; this seems to be achieved through the use of metaphorical and physical separation of space. Collegial networks seem important in modelling to newer practitioners how best approach these protective mechanisms in the work (Blackwell, 2005). Being able to express how one feels about the work, both with colleagues and with supervisors seems essential, which emphasises a need for a collaborative approach to practitioner support. My own experience and insight gained from conversations with participants in this study, has shown how important it is to nurture feelings of gratitude, privilege and meaning making as a result of working with clients. Doing so in a collegial environment may serve to reinforce practitioners' underlying philosophies and values, protecting them against the more difficult aspects of the work.

V. KNOWERS AND NOT-KNOWERS

Being part of a group of people with special knowledge about the state of the world, about clients, and about the depravity of human beings, emerged consistently as an experience in all four participant narratives. This 'knowing' both appeared to instil a sense of solidarity and collaboration, as well as frustration towards people who either 'don't know' or are not engaged in making change towards speaking out against trafficking, the refugee experience, or women's oppression in general. In this section I discuss the impact of such dynamics on participants, as well as how the responsibility of the work may have an effect on whether practitioners are able to step away from the work. Alongside this, the position of 'knowing' within the therapeutic relationship raises questions about positions of power occupied by practitioners in relation to their clients, particularly given the asymmetrical and culturally specific situation of therapy (Chung, 2009).

Solidarity and responsibility

As touched upon in the personal philosophies section, the collective theme of solidarity appears to act as a strong driver in all four participant narratives. Maura overtly commented on the structural inequality that all women suffer in society, citing her role being to witness against this by giving clients a voice. Similarly, shedding light on the hidden reality of trafficking becomes a commitment and a necessity, which Nina describes as a life path. If the door of awareness is open, there is a collective experience amongst the four practitioners that they must take action. This is important in the context of bystander effects (Clarkson, 1996: 46) where the avoidance of 'autonomous goal-directed action' seems to fundamentally go against all four participants' commitment to responsible living through supporting others. Rose overtly spoke of this aversion to bystanding, narrating, '*it would be active collusion to turn your back,*' and Jane similarly explained, '*you can't un-know what you know,*' emphasising the responsibility she feels to act on her knowledge.

This perceived responsibility left me questioning whether practitioners are able to distance themselves or stop doing the work without feeling it as a betrayal. Knowing that injustice is rife and how much work is needed in the area can leave practitioners with guilt and battles with self-recrimination. This can even be momentary, as described by Nina when she went on holiday with her family and had to leave a client who was in distress. Again, it is pertinent to consider where the passion for righting structural inequalities and the oppression of women (or indeed refugees) ends (Kelly's, 1988; Vera-Gray, 2016) and where the drive to repair personal relational trauma begins. Jane's story of being a young woman reaching out for help when she was herself a victim of violence comes to mind. She described not being helped, instead forced to face the reality that life is filled with people who don't take action, even in the face of requests for help.

Rose narrated how motivations for her work remain the same, but the way she works now is different to when she started in the field. She described how initially she saw it as her responsibility to educate people about violence against women whereas she is more discerning now. Whilst still motivated by a desire to see the world filled with '*knowers,*' she spoke of feeling that she could soon step away from the work and tend to her garden, suggesting that handing over responsibility to others feels justified given the length of time she has been in the field.

‘Speaking truth to power’- the asymmetrical relationship

Another important impact and purpose expressed by participants seemed to be taking up an advocating stance on behalf of clients, through speaking up about the injustice of trafficking, and through embodying a politically motivated role. Nina, explained that part of her role is as an educator and a witness against injustice: *‘I already understand that the world has some awful people in it, and some people who are very damaged, and that power can corrupt, there are things that the world doesn’t know about.’* She views herself as needing to take up a role of *‘speaking truth to power.’* Another layer of this is Maura’s explanation of how writing on behalf of her clients allows her to challenge the power differential between men and women in society in general, which is an important motivation for her work with trafficked women.

I was left wondering how ‘putting into words’ in the way both Rose and Maura described, can result in a particular version of a trafficked person’s narrative being conveyed, which could potentially be motivated by the impact the work has on practitioners. More broadly, any practitioner working with this client group will inevitably occupy a more privileged position than the person with whom they are working, economically, sometimes culturally, and most pertinently in terms of nationality or citizenship (Blackwell, 2005). All four practitioners in this study originate from culturally and ethnically dominant backgrounds as opposed to most of their internationally trafficked clients. In working with people from different cultural backgrounds, a practitioner is always faced with their own, and with clients’ introjected ‘cultural scripts’ (Gilbert & Orlans, 2011: 98). So, when Rose explains that she is: *‘translating clients voices,’* to convey their messages to the world, I understand this is as being filtered through her subjective lens. As touched on earlier, we all operate from a position of ‘cultural conditioning’ (Erikson, 1980), and from our individual ‘situation’ (Beauvoir, 2011), which plays a significant role in how we learn to be in our world, as well as how we interpret it. By setting up a dichotomy of ‘knowing’ and ‘not-knowing,’ either in relation to clients, to other practitioners, or the world at large, a power difference can be reinforced and transmitted.

All four participants spoke of recognition of commonality yet also difference with clients, whether this is that they are women, they have hair, they are mothers, or that they are political. However, each participant also expressed having been able to take a different path in their lives and acknowledged both gratefulness and personal

conflict about this difference. Making this connection, and seeing the similarities with clients, seemed to offer a dual impact: both a painful reminder that they are not infallible as well as reinforcement of the different sources of stability and love that each participant has in their life. Social factors and being born in certain parts of the world, has automatically privileged participants in this study with different life-paths and personal agency, yet the '*precariousness*' of their (and all human) individual circumstance, as Maura names it, is ever present.

Implications

Remaining curious is a basic prerequisite for working in the context of difference, as is awareness of personal biases, and general tendencies towards minimising the realities of privilege and oppression to avoid topics such as classism, racism, sexism and homophobia (Bryant-Davis & Tummala-Narra, 2017). Inherent in being a 'knower' is practitioners' willingness to face something that is painful and difficult for clients to bear on their own. Working with a practitioner who is trained and does know something more about the trafficking experience, is likely to offer respite for clients who are likely to feel more contained and supported in this environment. As such, becoming 'a knower' appears to be an essential part of working in this field, whether this is through attending trainings, learning through talking with colleagues, through personal experiences or through really taking in what a client tells us.

Narratives in this study have shown how when starting out in the trafficking field, there is a need to reflect upon one's own relationship with the binary of 'knowing' or 'not-knowing.' What does it mean to hold more knowledge than others, in terms of personal responsibility and difference? The position of being different from others in how much we know and how much we do to change the situation we know about, sets up a dynamic where a practitioner can raise themselves morally above others yet also be a force for good. It must be questioned whether our clients do indeed view us as more 'knowing' than others in society; do they feel understood, emotionally, personally, culturally, simply because we choose to work with them and feel passionate about the cause? Studies of client perception cast doubt on this (Aron et al, 2006). The asymmetrical aspects of psychological relationships are particularly emphasised in work with survivors of trafficking, and it is vital that practitioners consider and reflect upon this in supervisory environments.

A final implication to consider in light of the binary positions of 'knowing' and 'not-knowing' is the weight of responsibility and sustainability of work in the field of trafficking. If we feel that we are a scarcity, are we ever able to stop doing the work and tend to our individual gardens? Through ignoring our own needs, practitioners face the risk of burnout, particularly likely when carrying the weight of the work alone (Sodeke-Gregson et al, 2013). The need for professional collaboration and environments where we can discuss the particulars of our work, and indeed hand over aspects of our responsibilities to colleagues appears to protect against this. Nina and Rose both emphasised collaboration and sharing as vital to their continuity in the field, alongside recognition that they cannot meet all clients' needs.

Implications and Contribution to the Field

In the following section I collate implications from each of the five headings in the discussion, offering reflection on how these can contribute towards clinical practice in the trafficking field. I also reflect on the immediate impact and implication for participants who have taken part in this study. Finally, I introduce a practice-based manual, to be drafted from insights gained in this study, and discuss the possible value of this to practitioners in the field.

IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Overall, conversations with participants demonstrated a collective narrative of deep and profound personal and professional impact, alongside a lack of structured and tailored support in navigating the experience of working with survivors of trafficking. Consequently, supervision, personal reflection, training and careful induction of practitioners, arose as the most important implication of the research, essential in equipping practitioners to do their work well. The need for training and additional support is echoed in research into the impact on a wider range of professionals working with survivors of trafficking in the UK (Kliner & Stroud, 2012), and psychological practitioners working internationally (Thai, 2017). In this study, there was an overall sense that practitioners had to find their own way, seeking out space to reflect on the impact of the work and creating the types of networks required to sustain them.

There are obvious reasons for the lack of training and support for practitioners, not least because work in this field is woefully underfunded. The fact that practitioner needs are set aside, mirrors the lack of structured psychological support for survivors, and what I perceive as a collective resistance to recognising the human cost of trafficking. The lack of specialist, dedicated organisations working with survivors of trafficking both limits expertise in treatment for survivors and knowledge of how to support practitioners. It, of course, also contributes towards isolation for practitioners, which can be even more acute when working independently, such as is the case for Rose.

Consequently, specific training and tailored professional input is necessary for practitioners who do work with survivors of trafficking. In Table 3, I offer a range of

recommendations drawn from the five thematic areas that emerged from narratives. These form part of a template for the practitioner-based manual, which I will introduce in sections below.

Table 3: Recommendations for practitioners and organisations.

Personal Philosophy	Relevant to:
<p>1. Identify underlying motivation for work, including values, philosophy and drives.</p>	Practitioners
<p>2. Workplace supervision to consider values and personal philosophy of practitioners.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - It may be useful to assess and decide whether various ideological styles of supervision can be helpful to the individual, such as feminist or human rights-based approaches (Prouty, 2014). 	Organisations
<p>3. Sensitivity to differences in personal philosophy in staff. Reinforce and support practitioners to reflect on their own system of belief rather than dogmatically enforcing ethos of organisations.</p>	Organisations
<p>4. Training in anti-oppressive practice, and culturally aware frameworks (Chung, 2009).</p>	Organisations
<p>5. Supervision to explore intersects between practitioner and client personal philosophies, beliefs and context. Practitioners to remain curious about: difference; conscious and unconscious dynamics; where personal philosophy hinders and compliments work; interplay of cultural differences and issues of power.</p>	Organisations & Practitioners
Rite of Passage	Relevant to:
<p>6. Training for new practitioners on impact of work with survivors of trafficking. Key areas: Self-care, secondary trauma, understanding consequences of human trafficking on survivors, cross-cultural working and anti-oppressive practice.</p>	Organisations

<p>7. Regular supervision to reflect on existential concerns regarding meaning, death and beliefs about humanity.</p> <p>8. Reflection on own history of oppression, intrusion and violence within violence against women framework.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Supervision and/or personal therapy. <p>9. Name the process of 'setting self aside' as ultimately unhelpful to practitioners, organisation, and clients alike.</p> <p>10. Collegial networks needed to reflect on and reinforce impact of work.</p>	<p>Organisations</p> <p>Practitioners & Organisations</p> <p>Organisations</p> <p>Practitioners & Organisations</p>
<p>Boundaries</p>	<p>Relevant to:</p>
<p>11. Raise awareness of layers of secondary trauma impact: Psychological, physical, emotional, and existential.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Training & awareness building in supervision. <p>12. Reflection on personal strengths and underlying drives enabling practitioners to take up professional roles that suit natural proclivities.</p> <p>13. Reflection on propensity towards being 'helpful' and enactments of role taking such as persecutor, rescuer and victim.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Supervision and/or personal therapy. <p>14. Awareness of the implications of working with the practical and psychological aspects concurrently.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reflection on difference between requests for containment versus practical help. - Organisational training and supervision. 	<p>Organisations & Practitioners</p> <p>Practitioners</p> <p>Organisations & Practitioners</p> <p>Organisations & Practitioners</p>
<p>Protective Factors</p>	<p>Relevant to:</p>
<p>15. Development of self-care plans for practitioners and self-care strategies discussed and tailored to individuals in supervision (Pearlman & Saakvitne, 1995).</p> <p>16. Team building and collegial support structures cultivated.</p>	<p>Practitioners & Organisations</p> <p>Practitioners &</p>

<p>17. Trauma Release Exercise classes for practitioners.</p> <p>18. Discussion of separation between work and home-life in order to prevent burnout.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reflection on metaphorical and physical barriers against trauma. <p>19. Supervision emphasis on post-traumatic growth impacts such as feelings of gratefulness and privilege. Remembering the good outcomes.</p>	<p>Organisations</p> <p>Practitioners & Organisations</p> <p>Practitioners & Organisations</p> <p>Practitioners & Organisations</p>
<p>Knowers and Not-Knowers</p>	<p>Relevant to:</p>
<p>20. Awareness that 'us and them' dichotomy can isolate practitioners.</p> <p>21. Nurture communities of 'knowers' – harness the passion and collaborate with other practitioners in the field.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Supervision and/or collegial peer groups. - Attendance at CPD and Forums discussing trafficking as a way of connecting with colleagues and increasing learning. <p>22. Remain curious and open to learning about 'the other,' considering differences in privilege, culture, language, personal beliefs.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Understand that we don't always know. - Learn from colleagues, personal networks and clients. <p>23. Cultivate boundary setting.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To allow for the recognition of limits and being able to say no to work and/or to stop working in the field. 	<p>Practitioners</p> <p>Practitioners & Organisations</p> <p>Practitioners</p> <p>Practitioners & Organisations</p>

A PRACTICE-BASED MANUAL

The recommendations above are in part what led me to the idea of producing a practice-based manual as concrete outcome from this study. Being able to draw from the depth of reflection with participants, their knowledge and experience, and creating a tool that can reach a wider field of professionals, feels respectful and congruent with the philosophy underlying this research (Stanley & Wise, 1983). Alongside this, producing such a manual and implementing it also offers me the opportunity to follow other professionals in their work, perhaps understanding more of what is needed in the field. This represents one of my personal drives, to prevent the research from landing on a library shelf gathering dust. Rather, it can reach its full potential by being useful to the practitioners who devoted their time to the research and to other practitioners in the field.

My intention is to design the full manual following the completion of the dissertation; this would allow findings to become applicable in the field immediately. The aim is that it can be implemented by organisations and distributed to practitioners more widely. The manual will also form the basis of articles I intend to submit to relevant journals, such as the *Counselling Psychology Review*, as well as the *Journal of Human Trafficking* and *Journal of Modern Slavery*.

As I write this implications section, I have already started drawing on these research outcomes in the design and delivery of training materials. I recently delivered a training workshop to a group of people hosting trafficked persons in their homes. The reflections on underlying personal philosophy and the rite of passage phase were enthusiastically received and hosts expressed how deeply these ideas resonated. Equally, in another recent training I delivered to psychological therapists working with torture survivors, a discussion of what it means to take up the 'knowing' and 'not-knowing' positions led to a wonderfully in-depth discussion on the isolation these practitioners often feel in their work. Consequently, the learning gained from this research is already trickling into my own work, and I hope can become formalised into a structured tool once this Doctoral process draws to a close.

Based on learning from the training scenarios described above, I envisage the practice-based manual being tailored not only to psychological practitioners, but also other front-line staff working with survivors of trafficking and generally in the trauma field. Based on my experience, this will be highly applicable to a wide range of

professionals both nationally and internationally and I see myself being able to train other practitioners to deliver the cornerstones of the manual. In doing so, understanding about the impact of this work is increased amongst organisations, hopefully acting towards changing the culture of overlooking practitioner needs.

IMPLICATIONS OF TAKING PART AND FURTHER RESEARCH

By virtue of participating in the research, the four women interviewed have already made a decision to engage with the impact of the work they do, and have taken up a space to reflect. The positive feedback from participants about the benefits of having this reflective space, offers immediate insight into the need for additional support.

Maura illustrated the impact of the interview process by making concrete changes in her approach to supervision and additional support, actively showing what was needed. Nina, in response to having read the transcript of our second conversation, wrote to me: *'I guess what was moving was actually feeling like I was having a kind of conversation with myself. I read my words, sometimes jumbled and slightly incoherent and sometimes not and I wanted to reply, sometimes wanted to hug Nina and have a glass of wine with her. Not because I had found answers or had 'arrived' in any sense, but just because it was a conversation that was so deeply personal and before now 'uncovered' – a journey that will go on no doubt.'* I was left wondering how this *'journey'* would continue for Nina and where it would lead her. What would be of interest, particularly in the context of implications, is also to know if/how the research process changed practitioners' engagement with their work after our contact stopped. This would include evaluations of how participants are influenced and impacted by reading the final dissertation, which contains not only their own narratives but also that of other practitioners, as well as a synthesis of themes.

As alluded to immediately above, questions of what it would be like for other practitioners to have such a space for reflection, how much their experience of the work would change, are raised this study's findings. Implementation of a reflective space incorporating the above recommendations, and subsequent evaluation of such, would make for valuable further research in the area. It is also an area I continue to think about as I design the manual, aiming to use it in a sustainable manner where the impact of such a tool can be evaluated for effectiveness.

On a broader level, further research could usefully focus on specific issues related to the five subject areas identified in this study. For instance, investigating in greater detail what I refer to as the rite of passage phase. How do practitioners enter and exit this phase? And further in-depth exploration of what specifically allows practitioners to continue work in the field without experiencing burn-out. On a slightly different topic, research into the implications of being a white British practitioner working with a trafficked client from a non-white and culturally diverse background would be extremely relevant; this could perhaps shed light on an aspect that is difficult for practitioners to engage with, given the inherent power differential.

Conclusion and Reflections

This dissertation has presented the narratives of four women practitioners working with women survivors of sex trafficking in the UK. The research had three central aims: to explore the impact on practitioners working with trafficking survivors, whilst also offering a reflective space for meaning making about their professional practice in order to uncover personal and potentially universal insight; secondly, to highlight support required and work towards improving clinical effectiveness in working with survivors of trafficking; and finally, to provide resources and evidence in this under-researched area, contributing to the field through stimulating debate and further research.

In the pursuit of these three aims, this dissertation has presented in-depth narrative experiences of practitioners and identified five key thematic areas: Personal philosophy; rite of passage; boundaries; protective factors; and knowers and not-knowers. These overarching constructs have been used to understand the impact of the work and to devise recommendations for practitioners and organisations in the field. These recommendations make up an initial template of a comprehensive manual, for application in organisations offering services to survivors of trafficking (and other client groups affected by trauma), which is to be developed for wider use.

In this final section, I reflect on some of the challenges that arose throughout the research process and in the writing up phase. This relates to both personal and participant dynamics. I also consider how the current study may inform other research in this unexplored area.

CHALLENGES IN PARTICIPANT RECRUITMENT

As mentioned in earlier sections, I encountered challenges with practitioners agreeing to take part in the study. Recruitment took time and I had a couple of practitioners who agreed but then were unable to make time for the interviews. I was conscious that resources are scarce and practitioners working in this field are professionally stretched. Another dimension of this challenge was directly connected with the reason for the research, namely the tendency of practitioners to de-prioritise their own process due to the overwhelming needs of clients; a kind of hierarchy of pain one can be faced with when working in this field. Comparatively, the experience

of a practitioner, can rarely 'match' the pain of this client group, which speaking from my professional knowledge, can lead to self-negating personal need.

Throughout the research, I wondered about the parallel process between client and therapist. Clients can present with a desire to avoid speaking of deeply painful material and so disclosures need to be managed carefully. However, ultimately if survivors of trafficking are unwilling to reflect on themselves in their new context and don't engage with the process of remembrance and mourning their own losses, it can be difficult to find a sustainable way forward (Herman, 1992). Similarly, it is only through personal reflection on how they are impacted by client material, that practitioners are able to process and engage with their clients in the most helpful way. Otherwise a process of fragmentation can enter the work, where practitioners split off parts of their own experience.

CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE

Not dissimilar to some of the reasons why recruitment was a challenge, I too questioned my voice as legitimate and useful throughout all stages of the research process. This was at its most acute during the write-up of the narratives when I struggled with finding my voice to convey the stories of participants. Following a discussion with my critical research friend, I recognised a parallel process with participants and with trafficked women. I found myself oppressing or dismissing my own views, and the legitimacy of the analysis I was carrying out, viewing it as nonsensical and incoherent, not worth merit. In hindsight this mirrors some of the self-negating process of practitioners in this area, of trafficked women's voices and perhaps of women's voices in general. Now looking at the project as whole, I am able to recognise the value in the powerful stories of the women in this study, including my own. It has come back into view that the research gains its value from the impact it has on the participants and the readers of the work. In the earlier part of analysis when I was reading the poetry to participants, a similar process of validation took place, emphasising that the value lies in our collaboration. In initially negating the legitimacy of my own voice and the power of the narratives, I was myself trapped by an idea of needing to offer something immediately tangible and 'helpful,' whereas bearing witness with patience has actually allowed the research to evolve, revealing powerful insights (Blackwell, 1997).

POWER AND DIFFERENCE

Questions of power and difference have been at the forefront of my mind throughout the process of writing up the research. In terms of my own position in the research, I have sought to remain transparent and 'in conversation' with the reader about what Livholts and Tamboukou (2015) refer to as the confessional practice associated with a reflexive approach to research. The problem being that it can run the risk of reinforcing research privileges rather than addressing questions relating to power and knowledge. The research is firmly positioned in the realm of practitioner exploration; this is indeed useful, but given the voicelessness of the client group in question, I was cognisant that my choice of topic didn't allow them a direct voice. A secondary voice is heard, however, it is important to acknowledge this voice as interpreted through layers of narrative, by me, and through the voices of women practitioners who hold power and privilege in their positions.

The structural inequality connected with gender, histories of abuse, and the injustice inherent in being an asylum seeker, were features spoken about particularly by participants. However, ethnicity and culture were brought up relatively little, despite it no doubt playing a significant role in relationships with clients. It is pertinent to note that all participants originated from white British or other white background, as do I. This fact is likely to have shaped the research significantly in that each of our subjective lenses is shaped by inherent privilege and perhaps a western (socio-religious) morality that dictates that we give back to the less fortunate. Much can be read into this position, which is beyond the scope of the current study. But what is certain, is that the subject of power is difficult to fully engage with in a lived experience way when there is such homogeneity in the participant sample. Had there been a participant who was non-white, and perhaps from a culturally diverse background, different layers of impact could have been uncovered. Impact could be very different for a practitioner with whom the client identifies and relates to in a different way; in fact, I know this is the case from my supervision work with practitioners from culturally and ethnically diverse backgrounds.

In the current study, participants, particularly Nina, did speak of the western construct of the healthcare provider as an expert promoting unequal power relations, and had I delved further into this, it may have allowed some insight into the area. I consequently wondered about my own blind spots in not questioning further into participants' thinking. Blackwell (2005) suggests that in working with refugee clients,

the relativity of culture, and the power of our ethnicity differences, can often remain relatively unconscious to us despite awareness that it has an impact on work with clients. I wondered at the parallel process of discomfort I feel, and which perhaps mirrored in participant narratives, of the inherent privilege I experience as a white European woman. Overall, my own challenges in taking up this subject tells me that this is an area for further exploration and, as suggested, a fertile one for other qualitative research to be conducted.

TRANSLATOR OF STORIES AND 'BRACKETING'

In the process of research interviewing I held the power of being the translator of stories. At times I wondered how my keen awareness of this led me to bracket myself off too much, rather than fully accept the research process as co-created. In my therapeutic work, I frequently ask myself whether self-disclosure is of use to my client or not (Maroda, 1991); 'bracketing' being in aid of attempting to engage with a person's worldview or 'frame of reference' as fully and empathically as possible. In this study I tried to be aware of the ways in which my own frame of reference in relation to the work could obscure a clear appreciation of another person's subjective reality.

On reflection, however, I wondered if I could actually have disclosed more of my own experience in conversation with participants, as I felt myself overly cautious, despite my values being clearly evident in the presentation of narratives and discussion. In writing up Jane's narrative, I struggled to find a balance in how to present her voice, which was deeply influenced by her faith. Originating from a secular family background, I was left struggling to understand and embrace this perspective and I wondered how further exploration of our differences in belief could have led to fruitful discussion around power in the therapy room. It was picked up by a reader of the dissertation that Jane seemed to contextualise most of her thinking in relation to God, which was indeed the case. This seemed more overpowering in her case than with other participants such as Nina who spoke of being influenced by a quiet faith, not foregrounded in her work with clients. My personal tussle with the question of faith and personal beliefs in work with the client group, led to fruitful thinking around how ideologies and strong belief systems can both support and can also oppress practitioners and their clients. Ultimately, Jane and each of the other participants interviewed are representative of other practitioners working in the field, with similar

ideologies, training backgrounds and personal beliefs. As such, I feel I have worked to capture something of the essence of what Jane brought to the interviews and the inherent place of goodness from which she is motivated in her work.

LIMITATIONS AND CHOICE OF METHODOLOGY

Given the limited guidance on how to go about analysing and working with narrative data, it felt particularly important to stick to the procedure I had devised. There were however a couple of instances where I veered from this. One difference in how participants were communicated with about analysis was in exchanges with Maura, with whom I had consistent and very engaged conversations about the analysis and her experiences. Coming from a literary background, she was interested in the poems and gave a great deal of feedback about the impact on her of having these read back. For this reason, in an email exchange about the analysis of the second interview, I asked her which of the poems she found to be most impactful, a question I had not posed to other participants. The poems chosen by Maura were then used in her narrative. All of the participants fed back the significance of hearing the poetry, hearing their own voice reflected back to them in a meaningful way. However, I did not engage with them in the same fashion. In hindsight, altering the process with Maura and not offering the other participants the opportunity to comment on which poems impacted them the most, felt like an oversight. I noticed myself wanting to lean on Maura in her experience and opinion of the poetry, partly because of her background and also because of the very open communication between us.

Reflecting on the process between us, I am aware that our age difference and experiences may have influenced this. Maura is in middle age and I am in my late thirties, her teaching background and immersion in literature, allowed me to draw encouragement from her about the research process. My engagement with her felt nurturing and validating, in a way that was comforting in the face of large amounts of data that felt overwhelming to process. On reflection, what became clear to me is also the parallel process to that of the clients Maura works with. My own experience has taught me that these types of dynamics can be a strong feature of work with trafficked women; they often present feeling overwhelmed and looking for guidance in how to navigate the confusion of both their internal and external landscape. Maura spoke of a desire to guide her clients, which is different to therapy clients with other kinds of backgrounds, linking this also to her investment in teaching and guiding

young women. In hindsight, were I to carry out the research again, I would have offered all participants the opportunity to feed back on the poems in this way.

FINAL REFLECTIONS: STOKING THE FURY

An interesting process took place for me throughout interviews and write up, of engaging on an almost visceral level with the structural inequality of women. This had a particular impact because of the rise of the #metoo campaign, various sexual abuse scandals and my own work with refugee organisations. The visceral pain at the injustice I have witnessed in the course of my work is not a new process, but one that had laid dormant for some years before I started this research, and perhaps a reason for my reluctance to engage with the topic at first. Throughout my therapeutic training I had found some peace with the pain and anger I feel at the injustice perpetrated by the powerful few, but when I started the interviews, I noticed a re-stoking of the fire. This is a double-edged sword for me, both helpful in driving me forward, surviving my own situations of oppression and invasion, and also in assisting others.

Reflecting back, I am struck by one occasion where I was returning from my second interview with Maura and had to catch the London Tube to get to my home. I found myself sitting next to a man who seemed to occupy both his own and my seat through the spreading out of his legs and leaning on our shared arm rest. At that moment it felt impossible not to react, I was overcome with rage at his display of entitlement and pushed my arm onto the armrest and spread my legs to match his. He looked at me with incredulity and disdain. He pushed against me and I did the same, in the end I turned to him and said, *'this is a shared seat, you are on my side and I would like you to move,'* to which he replied that he was there first and proceeded to ignore me. Writing this, I feel that familiar creeping of red hot anger, my internal thoughts centring on questions like 'how can he not understand the impact of his actions,' 'why am I invisible?' and 'I hope he has learned a lesson.' The reality being that he probably hasn't, and just recalls me as that irritating woman on the train who didn't give him enough space.

In working with survivors of trafficking, one is forced to push up against the paralysing power that one can feel as a woman and/or as a refugee in a non-inclusive society. I know that this fury and the wish to challenge drive my work, and I

found similar themes in the narratives of the four women in this study. At times, this fury has caused me great pain, both in the sense of feeling impotent to effect change, but also on a more personal level because fury and pain ultimately feels corrosive and isolating. When I stepped off the Tube train, having left the invasive man behind, I felt I had been strong and challenged him, but I also felt self-conscious, I felt shame at my anger and fear at the repercussion, looking over my shoulder as I walked away. Later when I reflected upon it, I was sad, because of the hard shell I had constructed around myself in order to survive that short moment, the shell that trafficked women live in permanently. It is these kinds of impacts, encompassing the professional and personal that is rarely reflected upon in a deeper way. And it is this kind of reflection that the current study has opened and allowed for through enabling four women practitioners to share their stories of impact.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Recruitment advertisement sent to network.



**Invitation to participate in a Doctoral research project titled:
'Therapeutic work with Women Survivors of Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation: A Narrative Inquiry'**

In this study I aim to investigate the professional and personal impact on psychological therapists of working with survivors of trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. The study design is practice based, feminist and collaborative, grounded in my own experience working with the client group. The emphasis of the research is on depth and reflection on the implicit and explicit processes that impact us in our work with clients. I intend for the interviews to be a space for reflection, offering an informal CPD opportunity, allowing psychological therapists the space to think about their own personal experiences of the work. It is my hope that information gained can inform work with the client group and will lead to publications that could be of use to others working in the area.

If interested in being involved in the research, I would ask you to take part in 2 face-to-face interviews approximately 3 – 8 weeks apart. Interviews would last around 1 hour and would be arranged at a time and location convenient to you. In keeping with the collaborative nature of the research, I would also share conversations and pieces of analysis with you.

I ask that you identify as a woman Psychologist, Psychotherapist or Counsellor, registered with the relevant accrediting bodies (UKCP, BPS, BACP), working face to face with survivors of trafficking. I also ask that you have worked with this client group in a qualified capacity for at least 2 years.

Please get in touch with me via email to express your interest, or if you have any questions. Do also feel free to pass this on to your networks if you think you might know of others who would be interested in participating in the study.

Sincerely,

Mirjam Klann Thullesen
mirjamthullesen@gmail.com
07722732799

Appendix 2: Participant information sheet and consent form.

METANOIA INSTITUTE & MIDDLESEX UNIVERSITY

INFORMATION SHEET

**‘Therapeutic work with Women Survivors of Trafficking for Sexual
Exploitation: A Narrative Inquiry’**

This research is part of my professional doctorate in Counselling Psychology and
Psychotherapy, a joint doctoral programme with Metanoia Institute and Middlesex
University.

This study has been reviewed by the Metanoia Research Ethics Committee

You have received this information sheet because you have expressed interest in taking part in researching the impact of working with survivors of human trafficking. This sheet offers information about the aims of the study and what it will involve to be a participant in the research. Please take time to read the following outline carefully and to decide whether or not you would like to take part. Feel free to raise any points with me and I thank you in advance for your interest and participation.

Aims of the research

In this study, I aim to explore the experience of working therapeutically with women survivors of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. I am interested in your personal and professional reflections of working with this client group. The study is collaborative and born out of my own experience working with the client group. I aim to conduct interviews with 5 different therapists, during the summer and autumn of 2017, and the thesis write-up should be finalised in 2018.

Why I ask your participation and what will happen if you agree to take part?

I request your participation because you are currently working therapeutically with women survivors of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. If you agree to be involved in the research, I will ask you to take part in 2 – 3 face-to-face interviews that are around 3 – 8 weeks apart. The participation in a 3rd interview is not essential. The interviews are semi-structured, and I will have a range of questions prepared, but I will equally welcome themes you would like to raise. The interviews will be between 45 minutes – 75 minutes long. We can speak via email or on the phone to arrange a convenient time and place for these.

In between our interviews I will transcribe and start to analyse information arising from our conversations. I intend to send both the full transcript of our interview for you to check over (if you wish) and some excerpts/analysis before we meet again. I would like to ask you to take some time to reflect on the excerpts in particular and invite you to note down any other reflections you have about the themes discussed in the interview, or any thoughts that arise for you following our interviews. These reflections are likely to form the basis of our second interview and I will ask you to submit any written comments as part of the data for the study.

The data

I promise to write with respect and dignity for those choosing to take part in my project.

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

What are the possible benefits of taking part in this study?

The interviews will hopefully allow you to explore and reflect on your own experiences working with the client group. The interviews are not therapeutic, although they can hopefully open a space for participants to develop insight, both personally and professional.

What are the risks?

During this study, we will be discussing the effects of working with traumatic narratives and may also speak about your own trauma narratives, which could potentially provoke difficult feelings and thoughts. I ask that you engage in regular clinical supervision in relation to your work with trafficking survivors when the interviews are taking place. If you do feel distressed after interviews, for whatever reason, you may wish to consider further support. Contacts for private psychotherapists will be made available upon request.

I ask that you discuss with me if you are really uncomfortable with something discussed or with my analysis of our conversation. If so then it is important to discuss how you are affected by the conversation, or if it concerns analysis, what your view is and whether some parts need to be omitted. I regard all aspects of these negotiations as part of the data collection and analysis.

Can I provide anonymity and confidentiality?

The final research will be published as a Doctoral thesis, every effort will be made to conceal information that might be linked back to you. I can offer to change your name, and some other basic details. I will not be able to fully guarantee your material will not be identifiable by a reader that may know you personally.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

This research will be published as a postgraduate dissertation in the Middlesex University Research Repository within the next two years. You will be able to obtain a copy of the final dissertation through my access to the repository. In the event of the publication of any research articles arising from the study, I will ensure that you are not identified. However, the cautions described above will still stand. In the event of the publication of a book, which is potentially more widely available than research articles, I will not use personal narratives without your consent.

Who has reviewed the study?

The study is reviewed by the Metanoia Research Ethics Committee. Please note that in order to ensure quality assurance and equity, this project may be selected for audit by a designated member of the committee. This means that the designated member can request to see signed consent forms. However, if this is the case, your signed

consent form will only be accessed by the designated auditor or member of the audit team.

If you have any questions or require more information about this study, please contact the researcher using the following contact details:

Mirjam Klann Thullesen MBPsS, UKCP registered Psychotherapist and Counselling Psychologist in training

Email: mirjamthullesen@gmail.com

Tel: 07722732799

If you have any complaints or confidential concerns regarding this study please contact:

Professor Vanja Orlans, Metanoia Institute, 13 North Common Road, Ealing, W5 2QB.

Email: Vanja.Orlans@metanoia.ac.uk

Tel: 02085792505

CONSENT FORM

Participant Identification Number:

Title of Project: Therapeutic work with Women Survivors of Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation: A Narrative Inquiry

Please Initial Box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reason.

3. I agree to take part in the above study.

4. I agree to the interview being audio recorded and transcribed

5. I agree to the use of anonymous quotes in publications

Name of Participant _____ Date _____

Signature

Name of Researcher _____ Date _____

Signature

Appendix 3: Data collection and analysis outline.

Timeline	Task
Week one.	Interview one.
Week two.	Transcript of interview one sent to participants for checking.
Before interview two.	Talking sheet with preliminary themes from interview one sent to participants for reflection a week before scheduled meeting.
Week five – eight.	Interview two: Talking sheet discussed and relevant poetic segments read out.
One week after interview two.	Transcript of interview two sent to participants for checking.
Week twelve – fifteen.	Themes collated from both interviews, and poetic segments from interview two sent to participants for feedback and comment.
Week fifteen onwards.	<p>Full analysis of interviews and participant feedback.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Condensing and refining themes. – Devising five umbrella headings. – Narrative write-up. – Discuss themes, personal narratives and trajectory under five umbrella headings.

Appendix 4: En-route interview reflection notes, Rose.

(1)
2nd interview
Participant 2, interview #1
13th July 17

Contact w participant.

I emailed her on the 4th July 2017 asking that she send the research ad out to her network. She is a well established person in the field, who also writes expert reports, but I want her input. She is also working therapeutically w clients. She emailed me back the next day saying that she'd be happy to participate in the research and ~~was~~ suggested a couple of other places/people to send it. Was very warm and helpful. It did however prove rather a waiting game - w/out the interview booked in. It was not until the day we had made tentative booking of interview that appointment was finalised. I notice that she was writing emails to me late at night and responses were short. I imagine she is in fact incredibly busy in her daily life.

My feelings

I feel really nervous going into the interview. This participant is a hero of mine, who's work I have followed for the last decade. I have read her expert witness reports, which are known in the field as the best you can get a hold of. I have read her reports and admire her depth of thought. I wonder if she's read any of my reports.

She certainly knows my work @ poppy and I remember attending an assessment w a client about 8 yrs ago. I was in training as psych nurse and she gave me forms to fill in alongside her psycho-logic notes, to learn how she's doing the work. Very collaborative and warm. I'm aware that I also see this as a good networking opportunity.

↓
PTD

Appendix 5: Post-interview notes, Rose.

(3)

Post-interview Reflections

- It's interesting, I almost feel the same leaning [redacted]'s horse as I do when I have myself been doing trafficking interviews. I feel no need to beat myself with chocolate or something else sweet. I also feel like I am in a daze, slightly meditative, like I have contained something on a very visceral, bodily level. Yet, it is also different as I can feel its a secondary experience. It is not as draining as when I have done assessment. I feel in an adjacent space. I wonder how she feels now...

- Ask her about bodily experiences next time we meet.
- Ask also about the idea of her husband being a knower or not-knower.

I was left with a lot of questions post interview that I didn't get a chance to ask. In terms of setting and interaction, I noticed that it was exactly the same room I had been in when I came with a draft for assessment 8 yrs ago. She was very smiling and warm, offered me tea. NOT wide smile ~~she~~ tall, didn't ask any questions about me, but offered plenty of helpful suggestions. I got a sense that she was very caught and that it was a professional interview for her. This also came across in the way the interview progressed. I think she was moderating how much personal information she shared. When I asked her personal process questions she either struggled to answer them or decided to take conversation in different direction. She then did come back to some more personal reflections on how she has been personally affected by work right at the end. Talking about the 6 months of learning at the start of working in a refuge. She talked about how this affected both her relationships w husband and her friendships. She seemed much more animated during this discussion.

(4)

much less cognitive and intellectually talking about her style of working.

It was quite a turning point in the interview especially when [redacted] she named the fact that she does and has not specifically worked with trafficking survivors therapeutically. It somehow allowed us to turn a page and focus on talking about her experiences more openly. Its like I had perhaps been trying to fit her into criteria before and she may have felt guilty for having agreed to [redacted] criteria despite not fitting them.

It freed us up to be more personal.

- I got a sense of 'stay out' when I asked about the 'cruel' word, she wasn't willing to go deeper in, but still commented out herself at end of interview that it had had an impact on her to name that experience.

Demographic

- white woman: ~~white woman~~
- perhaps about late fifties
- middle class - Dr, high level education.

* Key Themes - Areas to think about

- shadows of perpetrators
- the knowers & not knowers.
- ~~some to be overly helpful~~ boundaries learnt w time.

Reflections

- she was very professional and I am aware that I sat in the sofa that her trafficking clients normally sit in.
- how did that affect how she related to me?
- I could feel her desire to help me and offer some support and it was interesting how she talked about that in the interview in terms of taking on too much work and then had also agreed to participate in my research but didn't fit my criteria. Was she trying to be too helpful?
- Just as time goes by now I am realising that I

7

am feeling in a state of reprobation and heightened awareness post interview. Noticing small things in my surroundings and emerged, despite feeling very tired before. I wonder if this relates to my auto-suggestion and nerves coming into interview or also something about [redacted]'s containing abilities, their experience of creating that reflective/safe space she talked about in interview.

I have a feeling that she's a slow burner, someone who's interview will unfold more as I listen to it and as I notice my own emotional + physical reactions post-interview.

Key issue

- Need to discuss criteria in Vayjan.

Appendix 6: Interview one themes.

Focus Areas for Interview

- Tell me about your current therapy practice with this client group.
- How long for and where do you see clients?
- Differences with other client groups.
- Impact of the therapy work: personal/professional
- How do you experience the tension between bearing witness and looking away in your work?
- Processing feelings about the work: inside and outside therapy room?
- How the personal intersects with the professional in the therapy room.
- Are there outside forces that influence your work?
 - Cultural, political, social, familial etc.

Appendix 7: Talking sheet, Interview two.

Talking Themes Rose

For 2nd interview

Participant's own words in italics

1. The need for *Revival* following interviews. The feelings about interview content that emerge post-interview.
2. *Core Construct of 'I am responsible for other people's mental health'*. Meeting the needs of trafficking survivors, is there a cost to self / the responsibility of information you hold.
3. The *Knowers* and *not knowers*: Does *knowing* isolate you from not knowers?
4. The first 6 months of working in Refuges. Do you feel that a period of vicarious trauma is a rite of passage in this area of work?
5. The exchange in interviews / giving something back to each individual. Maternal transference / the importance of giving clients a reparative experience.
6. *Web of stories*: Does this web impact your life outside of the report writing world? Is this web triggered at other times, not just when assessing, writing reports or when doing other professional activities? How is the web stored inside of you, physiologically, emotionally, intellectually?
7. Entering internal world of client / knowing more than others about the client: is there a cost or gain for you?
8. Using your *voice as resistance*: what happens to the helplessness, hopelessness and force impact when you are unable to take action?
9. Parallel process: *accumulative effect* on you of force and number of abusers. Further reflection.
10. *Active collusion*: when you are a *knower* it would be active collusion to turn your back. What does that mean for you? Can you ever not do this work? What about others in your network who now also know and are not acting / how do you feel about that?
11. *Offloading with Husband*: The learnt need to compartmentalise trauma content and private life.

Appendix 8: Collated analysis, interview two.

Collated Analysis for Feedback ROSE.

2nd Interview

November 2017

Thematic analysis

1. To honour other professionals
2. Voice of resistance
3. Learning as core construct
4. Teaching others (helping 'knowers' to understand/see/hear VOT narratives)
5. The pressure of responsibility
6. Maternal transference / countertransference
7. Passing on the torch / Web of lights
8. The importance of teachers
9. Meeting needs in others
10. Recognising limitations
11. Containment by husband
12. The unlimited needs of VOT clients
13. Rite of passage (as part of Rose professional journey)
14. Personal history of sexual violence
15. Commonality and difference with clients
16. Knowers versus not-knowers
17. Shame at structural inequality for clients
18. Gratefulness - impact
19. Wish to empower clients
20. Sharing impact of work
21. Giving VOT's a voice
22. Narratives like dominos (in Rose's mind – one narrative triggers another and another)
23. Compartmentalisation of work
24. Physical pain impact (at back of head – physiological empathy response)
25. Revival process (having changed over time; has become more self-supporting)
26. Saturation point
27. Client stuckness – high impact
28. The power of action / reclaiming power
29. Awareness of conserving resources / output

30. Anger as default emotion (projective identification + own anger)
31. Clients that can make higher order meaning – lesser impact
32. Parallel process impact (same emotional experience as client)
33. Entering internal world of client
34. The residue of shadows (has developed ways of processing/discharging these through externalising feelings post-assessment i.e. two chair work)
35. The exchange with clients
36. Privilege of being trusted with delicate narratives
37. Community and collaboration with other 'knowers'
38. Recongising burn-out
39. Putting narratives in perspective / the big picture

Narratives and Roles

1. The Active Practitioner
 - imparting knowledge
 - passing the torch
 - writing
 - advocating
 - raising awareness
 - sharing own experience of work
2. The Teacher
3. The Self-developed Narrative (the one who has gone through many incarnations in her personal and professional life and has arrived at a place where she feels in balance and grateful)
4. The Ethical Practitioner
5. The Experienced Professional (who is also looking to pass the torch to other 'knowers', such as me – Mirjam -)
6. The Responsible Practitioner (holding client material with care, recognising the pressure of this / the boss who is firm but fair with employees)
7. The Emotive and Sensitive Practitioner (connected with the maternal dynamic and inner child material)
8. The Nurturing Narrative (Connected with emotive and sensitive practitioner)
9. The Embodied Practitioner (feeling trauma impact in own body, i.e. pain at back of head)
10. The Identified Practitioner (connecting with and using own trauma experience to understand and work with client group)

11. The Learning Narrative (need for personal development and learning, as core construct)
12. The Translator / Narrator of VOT Stories (Rose as the mediator between clients and the outside world, giving them a voice, using her own voice as resistance)
13. The Saturated Practitioner (when the trauma narratives build up and she reaches a saturation point)
14. The Supported and Cared for Woman / Practitioner (by husband, other practitioners, herself)
15. The Realistic and Strategic Practitioner (weighing up where to be most helpful and how to achieve this / holding the big picture in mind)
16. The Challenger of Power Structures / the feminist (?)
17. The Knower

Developmental Trajectory

Personal trauma history --> responsible for others' mental health --> wish to help others --> practicing psychology /therapy --> transition to violence against women field --> vicarious trauma / rite of passage --> the advocate --> self-containment / learning to manage impact --> collaborating with and learning from other knowers --> learning how to be most effective --> sharing own experiences and educating others -> passing on the torch.

Appendix 9: Transcription notes, interview one.

Initial Analysis of Rose interview

13th July 2017

58 – 59: The drain on workers of hopelessness and helplessness in the client presentation. Go deeper into the impact on her when I see her for 2nd interview.

65 – 72: Theme: being able to do something. Activity – taking action. = 77-81: Clients disclosing things they haven't done to anyone else. Being the special person who is honoured with information that no one else is privy to. But this also means that ROSE is burdened with this information/holding something that is unformulated and unexplored. What impact does that have on her? What is it that makes ROSE better at containing than others?

82 – 87: ROSE consciously and intentionally gives specific feedback to clients as a way of reinforcing goodness in them. She doesn't need to do that as an expert witness, sounds like she is doing this from the stance of a therapist attempting to offer something therapeutic in the midst of extracting information. And also as a woman, and as someone who has borne witness to the victim sharing something so difficult and unformulated. All of this costs ROSE and is extra energy she must put into it.

95: What is the whatever? Is it that her state is less important?

103 – 116: ROSE directs conversation away from talking about her own internal experience of pushing for information. What impact this has on her. Does she know, has she reflected on this before, perhaps her own feelings are unformulated too, which is why it's difficult to talk about (at the end of interview she said she felt quite 'shocked' at having used the word cruel and thinking about the cruelty of what she does).

146 – 151: come back to this in second interview. How does the core construct come from your mother? Why do you feel you need to meet other people's needs. Think more about this in the sense of what that means, deeper level.

148 – 158: about wanting to do more. Creating a family for these clients. It's a lot about re-parenting and plugging into Rose's feeling of wanting to create family for clients.

168 – 174: not hearing outcome of client's cases and the emotional impact of hearing about a negative decision. Not feeling good enough. There is a thread going through here of wanting to help and not being good enough and somehow the complexity of the trafficking client plugs into this even more. See lines. 148 – 158: about wanting to do more. Creating a family for these clients. It's a lot about re-parenting and plugging into Rose's feeling of wanting to create family for clients.

179 – Here she moves away from talking about personal impact. I don't know if this is because she misunderstood my question, which was more focused on thinking about the actual content of what VOTs go through. A transference of the sense of inadequacy and not being good enough. The dynamic that the VOT brings from her own background and from her experiences. I think that for the second interview, I could potentially bring this segment in with me in stanza format and think with ROSE more deeply about the meaning of what she said.

189 – 193: Interesting parallel process here with doing the research and me going over and over ROSE's interview. Will I cross a point where I know and understand ROSE?

200 – 204: Talks about some of her own experience and then quickly moves onto the client's experience again. Overall theme: there is a real tendency to defer to the client's experience, rather than talk about own self in the experience. Maybe this is normal but I wonder also about how this is particular and especially connected to working with trafficking clients in particular.

250 – 258: ROSE seems to go off on a completely different tangent, seemingly unrelated to my question about the personal and professional intersecting in the room. But for her it connects, there is a connection, I am assuming there's not, which is interesting. Listening back over the interview, I got a sense that she is trying to help me, to give me some resources, advice about how to think about what she thinks I mean by the personal and professional intersecting. I think it's really interesting because, what it in fact highlights is something about the difference in how I am thinking about the personal and how she is. In that I am aware that she is a clinical psychologist and I am a psychotherapist and counseling psychologist and I know that we have probably had different experiences of encouragement or not of delving into our own material and how this impacts on our work. I wonder if ROSE would ever have come across questions around enactments.... It would maybe be interesting to bring this in overtly when we meet next time. Are you familiar with enactments? It could be an interesting question for all of my participants in fact.

308 – 330: I feel I have to keep asking the same question over and over. I really wonder if there is a different message being interpreted by participants about the content of my research, what I am looking to gain, or is it just that they don't want to explore the impact on themselves... It's really confusing when I listen back. Is that avoidance of anything personal for the therapist a way of keeping the trauma at bay. For ROSE it seems she's adopted a very professional, very warm and engaging, yet nonetheless very professional persona which maybe keeps the trauma at bay... I don't know, but it is difficult to understand how my research outline and the type of questions I am asking doesn't lead her towards the personal. Am I asking the wrong questions? Need to be really mindful of that with future participants. Asking quite direct and obvious questions. Not too open. Test it out on Swee?

332 – 343: ignores question about the personal impact of having clients in her home.... interesting how she then answers describing how the client experiences the interview. Now this then begs the question of whether this changes the clinicians efficacy or not....

+ 35 mins – end – is the best bit of interview in terms of impact.

433 – 455: Speaks of linking different VOT stories together and how one triggers another one. So whilst she leaves the story behind when she submits the report, she does find that stories link to one another and are stored in her consciousness. (ask more about this in next interview – how the stored information/stories impact on her).

445: She starts actually speaking of real personal impact of her work. This is not with VOT's but it sets the stage for her VOT work and shows how she developed her separation tendency, in terms of managing boundaries with the content of client work. * This actually reminds me that it would be interesting to ask her more about the gin o'clock times in her house and the impact of seeing two VOT clients for assessments in the early days. Inability to say no – how did this difficulty with

boundary management impact on her? There is an overall theory here about how if the clinician is able to set effective boundary in terms of how much client work they take on, the less VT they experience.

467 – 475: Impact on relationship with husband and being pieced together at the end of the day, then going out again. Most emotional piece in the interview. Relates also to DV but is precursor and initial experience of working in the violence against women field. It's interesting how women's ability to process the experience of doing this work changes the longer they do it. Have to cut something off in themselves in order to be able to do it?

483 – 583: The concept of 'knowers' and 'not knowers' gets introduced here. Very interesting subject to explore more in second interview. Explore also Rose's interaction with personal therapy in second interview. Also 'Active Collusion' is introduced here. To explore more in second interview. It is really interesting how she introduces all of this right at the end of the interview, knowing that we only have about 5 mins left. There is such a parallel to therapy sessions where the client introduces the aspects that they want to talk about but only briefly, right at the end. Leaving me with those aspects of their experience/narrative. Is ROSE doing the same or is she only just deciding now that she is willing to share those aspects.... Interesting to think about this further. Also, I notice that she talks of this very admired and loved therapist who lets her down by not being a knower. I wonder if she feels she has let me down, knowing very well that she is a hero of mine, and not having been willing or able to go too deeply into personal impact in our interview.

504 – 506: I am Really interested in listening closely to what happens next, how does the conversation switch into something less evocative again, as this is really very evocative and important part of her narrative.

506: I push ROSE too far into something personal and I notice that she swaps from the personal into talking again about the clients. Asking if she has herself experienced violence was too much disclosure at this point, and she gives a very ambiguous answer.

529 -530: Respectfulness in setting boundaries for other people.

539 – 543: This is interesting – being a not knower is a barrier. So people are just not disclosing violence because the receiver doesn't know. So the interesting question here is: how did ROSE come to be a knower all of a sudden 15 years into her work? I would like to ask her more about that?

Appendix 10: Crib sheet for interview coding.

Question: 'Impact on therapists of working face to face with survivors of trafficking for sexual exploitation.'

Framework: Feminist, Collaborative, narrative, process oriented, Relational, meaning-making.

Look for: Attitudes, feelings, thoughts, lived experience, gendered experience ●

Questions

- What are participants doing, thinking, feeling?
- What is their aim?
- How, exactly, do they do those things?
Strategies
- How do they understand what is going on?
- How am I implicated in this interaction? ●
- What do I see going on? What did I learn?
- Why did I include certain sections?
- What strikes me? What is unusual, surprising, conceptually interesting?

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Appendix 11: The process of interview analysis.

INTERVIEW ONE

- Interview conducted using sheet of themes noted in Appendix 6.
- Participant transcript checking carried out pre-analysis.

Analysis

Round one.

Close analysis line by line on hard copy of the transcript with a wide margin divided into two columns, as suggested by Saldana (2009).

- Column 1: Sentences or words uttered by participants that appeared significant noted down. Chosen based on emotive content, evidence of values, looking for the essence of segments of talk, repetitive elements of themes, and guided by the focus on impact (by clients, of the work, on clients, on me).
- Column 2: coding sections using my words. Aim to identify themes. See Appendix 12.
- Throughout: Initial thoughts on themes noted on separate document, to be organised and condensed at a later stage (Appendix 13). Themes were understood as embedded and developed across stories, rather than extracted from stories (Squire et al, 2014). They evolved throughout the interview and participant feedback process. The wording, exclusion and inclusion of certain themes were consequently changed in the final analysis.

Round two.

- Second round of analysis on a fresh transcript, focused on structural analysis and the evidence of self-narratives, as well as roles embodied by participants, and relational dynamics between us in the interview (Appendix 14).

Round three.

- Third round of analysis, on structural analysis transcript.
- Was carried out whilst I re-listened to the conversation, stopping and starting the tape to reflect, tuning in to the way language was used, the interaction between us during the conversation and listening for unsaid content, reflected

by silences, pauses and tonality of voice. Additional reflections noted on the thematic and structural analysis transcript.

Round four.

- Re-listening to the interview once more in full without stopping, making extra notes and ordering the themes. The 'talking sheet' was drafted based on this.

INTERVIEW TWO

- Talking sheet sent one week prior to scheduled interviews.
- Unstructured interview with discussion of 'talking sheet' incorporated.

Analysis

Following procedure from the second interview, I undertook the same sequence of analytic steps.

Round one.

- Thematic coding in two columns (Appendix 15), as described above.

Round two.

- Structural analysis on separate transcript (Appendix 16), as described above.

Round three.

- Re-listening to interview, taking additional notes on the thematic and structural transcripts.

Round four.

- Re-listening to full interview without stopping whilst making extra notes on transcript and starting to draft analysis document.
- Once the interview had been listened to, all themes, structural analysis and personal trajectory elements were collated into one document from both the first and second interview (Appendix 8). Based on themes taken from transcripts I amended some wording to take into account themes from both transcripts, or created themes that encompassed several minor themes, such as physiological response.

- This final document incorporated my interpretation of participants' personal journeys and their expression of roles, to allow for analysis of personal storytelling and to write up the participant's narrative (Riessman, 2008).
- Collated analysis was sent to participants for feedback, with poetic segments extracted from second interview (Appendix 17 for poem example).
- The analytic output from the second interview was more detailed; I identified a greater number of themes and removed others. I also added personal narratives and roles into the structural analysis transcript and amended any elements of the analysis that participants' felt misrepresented them.
- Feedback on the interpretation was then sent back via email, with some participants offering detailed responses and others simply replying that they felt I had captured what they wished to convey.

Appendix 12: Transcript first round of thematic analysis, interview one.

	HER WORDS	MY CODE
59	not just PTSD but major depressive disorder and there is another impact on	
60	that, both about reaching out or connecting with them. But also that	
61	helplessness and hopelessness is much more profound, its quite draining for	
62	workers. (yes definitely).	
63		
64	MT: So in terms of just thinking about the impact on you of doing; maybe we	
65	can start with the expert witness experience, and how it is for you to take	
66	that on and how you feel it impacts you in your life?	
67		
68	Well.. Initially I was very saddened by it. What does that mean. The first few I	
69	wrote, aahm, particularly when I was discovering things that I hadn't really	
70	come across before like FGM of children, I was.. yeah deeply sad, and partly	
71	that means that I would be quiet or tearful or ahm... down, lack of energy,	
72	preoccupied and find myself thinking about that story. I think one of the	
73	things that's good though, about being a therapist, or indeed an expert	
74	witness is that its possible to do something. Not to undo the past, but to do	
75	something that is helpful or relevant for the women. So.	
76		
77	MT: How do you experience that? In a sense of, how how, what is it that you	
78	feel you do and what is the impact?	
79		
80	Well, in the interview itself; listening and not being afraid to talk. I've often	
81	had victims disclose details that they haven't to other people and I think	
82	that's because I make it a safe place. Because they know, and we're talking	
83	about secondary trauma, they know that I can hear it and contain it in a way	
84	that they would be afraid to tell other people. And so, support in the telling of	
85	it is, I think, useful in itself. And..at the end of every assessment, I would	
86	always give them feedback about what I respect and admire about them. In	
87	terms of their characteristics or their social skills or whatever. And I know a	

HER WORDS

IMPACT

- HELPLESSNESS & HOPELESSNESS IS MUCH MORE PROFOUND
- DRAINING FOR WORKERS!
- REACHING OUT CONNECTING.
- SADDED
- FGM CHILDREN
- LACK OF ENERGY.
- PREOCCUPIED
- ITS POSSIBLE TO DO SOMETHING
- DISCLOSE DETAILS
- SAFE PLACE
- I CAN CONTAIN IT
- I ALWAYS GIVE THEM FEEDBACK

MY CODE (3)

- PROFOUND EXHAUSTION & IMPACT OF VOT'S.
- DRAIN OF TRAFFICKING = TO connect w helplessness + hopelessness is a drain.
- DISCOVERING NEW LEVELS OF ABUSE = sad, lack of energy, pre occupied + thinking of story.
- THE POWER OF ACTION = being helpful + relevant to the women.
- BEING TOLD / HEARING
- KNOWING MORE THAN OTHERS = The responsibility of information
- CONTAINMENT OF DIFFICULT / UNTELLABLE MATERIAL
- MATERIAL TRANSPARENCY = feedback to clients
- ITS AN EXCHANGE: = clients give RAD info stories and she gives positive feedback about on a personal level.

	HER WORDS	MY CODE
88	lot of women that a lot of women have really valued that; that a professional	
89	is recognizing something good about them, especially when their self-esteem	
90	or their self-worth has been so damaged. And then, more importantly, I think	
91	they feel really relieved when they trust me to write a report that's an	
92	accurate reflection of their experiences rather than make judgments about	
93	them.	
94		
95	MT: What does it leave you with, being a person who holds information that	
96	no one else holds? Or that receives that information.	
97		
98	I feel glad, privileged really. Ahm... If I'm tired, so I think partly, the impact	
99	depends on our own state and whatever. Aahh, when I'm not tired and fully	
100	attentive, I follow the process ahh, at the time, and probably ask better	
101	questions. When I'm more tired, by which I don't necessarily just mean doing	
102	victims of trafficking work, but in general, I found myself, looking for	
103	information that will allow me to tick a box, which is quite a cruel thing, well	
104	crude thing to say. Ahm, and less connected with the experience of the person	
105	in the process of telling me. So, because I've done so many now, I hold the	
106	diagnostic criteria in my head, I know the follow-up questions to ask and	
107	sometimes I may even push, for instance about returning to the country of	
108	origin, because I need to see their distress or hear their contemplation of	
109	suicide ahh, that they may not have talked about to anybody else, for	
110	example.	
111		
112	MT: And what are you left with after that? (and then)	
113		
114	At the time I can think: okay tick, I've got that, but then as I talk to you know,	
115	or afterwards, I can feel quite uncomfortable about it. Ahm.	
116	and interview = ask her more about this.	

HER WORDS

- A PROFESSIONAL IS RECOGNISING SOMETHING GOOD.
- SELF ESTEEM / SELF WORTH.
- TRUST
- RELIEVED
- THE IMPACT DEPENDS ON OUR OWN STATE.
- LOOKING FOR INFO THAT WILL ALLOW ME TO TICK BOX
- I NEED TO SEE THEIR DISTRESS

MY CODE (4)

- REPARATIVE FUNCTION / EXCHANGE. = The recognition of something good that's personal leads to trust / gives something back.
- TRUST VS JUDGEMENT = RAD describes the exchange allowing for trust in her world.
- RELIEF OF BEING TRUSTED ONE = this is in looking why relief what's trust about for
- THE IMPACT OF OWN PHYSICAL EMOTIONAL STATE. = less connected w experience of what, ticking box
- IMPACT - she feels this is cruel or crude thing to say...
- 101-110 NEEDING SOMETHING FROM CLIENT THE EXCHANGE + HOW ITS INFLUENCED BY RAD'S OWN PERSONAL STATE
- DISCOMFORT IN THE EXCHANGE.

117 MT: Can you say a bit more about the discomfort?
 118
 119 Ahm.....well... For some people I think it can be helpful to talk, for other
 120 people, it is clearly distressing. So the interpreter can be in the room, and
 121 now I always make them sit separately. For example, so if the client is sitting
 122 where you are sitting, I would have the interpreter sit (points at separate
 123 chair) because I learnt some hard lessons about, if the interpreter was sitting
 124 beside the woman she would start to comfort her or whatever. And I do not
 125 want that to happen. So in that sense I'm harsh, I found myself saying cruel
 126 when I was talking to you (yes I heard that yeah), because ahm... I want to
 127 see the distress. Now, its with good intent but a lot, and I know, I know that it
 128 equips me to be able to write a more accurate, meaningful reflection of it, but
 129 actually at the time, ah..... I do it as a.. quite an academic discipline whereas I
 130 wouldn't do that in therapy.
 131
 132 Yeah, I'm interested in that. What would that experience be like in therapy?
 133
 134 Well, if somebody became distressed... I would almost certainly, be talking to
 135 them, about strategies, either to have insight or to alleviate the distress. I
 136 don't do that when I'm doing expert witness work ahm, ah.. unless its
 137 absolutely necessary. For instance, if a woman dissociates or she's absolutely
 138 overwhelmed, that she can't continue to talk to me, of course then I have to
 139 get her back in the room, so I've various grounding things, and ah, still then
 140 there is a.. bit of a steeliness I suppose, that I wouldn't have in a therapy
 141 situation, where I'm continuing to push and continuing to ask. So I very rarely
 142 have a session of therapy that would be over an hour and a half. Four hours is
 143 a pretty grueling interview.
 144
 145 MT: so there is presumably a cost for you in that, in the four hours.

Handwritten notes:
 - HELPFUL TO TALK OR CLEARLY DISTRESSING.
 - INTERPRETER SITTING.
 - I'M HARSH.
 - I WANT TO SEE THE DISTRESS
 - ACADEMIC DISCIPLINE
 - GOING AGAINST THE NEED OF THE CLIENT/ CAUSING DISTRESS.
 - DIFFERENCE FROM THERAPEUTIC WORK = OR IS IT?
 - EXCHANGE.
 = Discomfort for a report.
 = The exchange is an academic discipline
 - EXCHANGE:
 = In therapy she would have exchanged strategies to alleviate the pain for distress.
 - NEED TO BE HARD = Dissociate from pain?
 - SEPARATION OF SELF
 - EXPERT WITNESS WORK DIFFERENT.
 - DISSOCIATION
 - GROUNDING
 - STEELINESS
 - CONTINUING TO PUSH & ASK
 - FOUR HOURS IS A PRETTY GRUELING INTERVIEW.

146
 147 Ah, yes, ahm, I really learnt to pace myself in terms of when we were really
 148 busy. And I hate to turn away a need, ahm, I went through a little phase
 149 where I tried to do two a day and ah ah that that was just psychologically
 150 impossible. I was brain dead and exhausted, emotionally as well as mentally.
 151 Aahm.
 152
 153 MT: So so, you said that you hate to turn away a need. Tell me a bit about
 154 that.
 155 ASK MORE 2nd INTERVIEW ★
 156 So, when requests come in, I hate to say no. I think I have a core construct
 157 about, if there is a need, its my responsibility to try and help with it. Ahm,
 158 which definitely comes from my mother. Ah ah, closely associated with 'I'm
 159 responsible for other people's mental health'. Which I certainly got from her.
 160 And as I've got older I've gotten much better about separating that out. So I'm
 161 quite clear that people are responsible for their mental health. And yet, there
 162 is something about victims of trafficking, especially those that have been
 163 estranged from their families, where.. I feel quite drawn into wanting to do
 164 more. I have talked with my husband and son indeed, about setting up a
 165 charity, a bit like Helen Bamber Foundation, but much more simple, about
 166 just having a home where people can come, and a family where they have no
 167 family.
 168
 169 MT: Is your, I noticed the Dr. Psychologist on the door. Is your husband also a
 170 psychologist?
 171
 172 He's a business Psychologist and either does assessments or fast-tracking or
 173 coaching of executives and so on, so he's not a clinician, but he is a coach.
 174

Handwritten notes:
 - I HATE TO TURN AWAY A NEED
 - I HATE TO SAY NO.
 - CORE CONSTRUCT FROM MY MOTHER
 - I FEEL QUITE DRAWN INTO WANTING TO DO MORE!
 - NEED
 - OVERLOADING ON WORK DUE TO NEED TO MEET CLIENTS NEEDS.
 = Not wanting to say no, driving self into a state of exhaustion.
 = AT the cost of self.
 - MEETING NEEDS AT THE COST OF SELF.
 - MATERNAL TRANSFERENCE = She makes a link in own mother and then describes wanting to create home for her clients.
 = wanting to do more being drawn in.
 - SUPPORT SYSTEM.

175 MT: So there's a sense of wanting to do more, for you.
 176
 177 Oh, I think aahm.. I'm satisfied when a judge will refer to my report as helpful.
 178 And when the person secures the right to remain. And I feel quite
 179 despondent, or I used to, feel really upset when I got a second assessment. So,
 180 often I don't hear if the determination is not successful, until there's a second
 181 assessment, at which point I realise the first one wasn't enough and that
 182 that's the point where... I'm a bit more immune to it, but I used to feel, uhm...
 183 inadequate is quite a strong word, not good enough. And sorry about that.
 184
 185 MT: And how do you make sense of that in the context of the content of what
 186 you're writing about?
 187
 188 Ahm, well, I don't know how much time other experts put into their reports
 189 and I know that the LAA often complain that its too many hours. In fact I put
 190 in a lot more hours than I ever charge for. So I do a four-hour assessment, I
 191 spend at least an hour scoring up the questionnaires. I then, I usually get my
 192 PA to type up the transcript, but that's a days worth of work. I take about 25
 193 pages worth of notes, between 20 - 25. And then, when that's typed up, I go
 194 through it and categorise. And then it takes me almost a day to write the
 195 diagnosis. For the woman I'm working on just now, who has a really complex
 196 profile. This is the second day I have been working on her diagnosis. And
 197 then I'll take at least two days for the other sections and then I proof it for a
 198 day. Then there is quite a....(exhales) a psychological process, about... doing
 199 the interview, and of course, being in the room with the woman, but the
 200 intensity by which I know her, by the process of going over and over the
 201 conversation, is that. It probably takes me six or seven hours, maybe a bit
 202 longer, to cross a point where I know and understand her. And that means
 203 that I write much more meaningfully, I think, about her capacity to give

⑦

- SATISFIED WHEN
 REPORT HELPFUL
 - UPSET, SECOND
 ASSESSMENT
 - IMMUNE
 - NOT GOOD ENOUGH
 - SORRY ABOUT
 THAT

'I PUT IN A LOT
 MORE HOURS'

PSYCHOLOGICAL
 PROCESS
 - I KNOW &
 UNDERSTAND
 HER
 WRITING
 MEANINGFULLY

- THE IMPACT OF SECOND
 ASSESSMENTS.
 = NOT enough
 upset, despondent
 - PARALLEL PROCESS
 = checks.
 - MEETING NEEDS
 - EXCHANGE:
 = Her part of the exchange
 wasn't enough.
 - PROCESS:
 - MEETING NEEDS.
 - PRACTICAL EXCHANGE
 = Time spent on
 work does not correspond
 to money paid.
 - THE psych PROCESS
 OF REPORT WRITING
 = takes its toll and
 when not recognised
 is upsetting.

Appendix 13: Coding and analysis of themes Rose, interview one.

Parallel Process

- I am noticing a very interesting theme of different layers of parallel process between ROSE and her clients i.e.: 376 – 378: ROSE talks about the accumulative impact on her depending on the extent of violence the client has experienced. The bigger the number of perpetrators, the more ROSE is impacted. I wonder if the type of perpetrator that has been involved also influences the level of impact e.g. if a parent was involved in selling client. She didn't mention this.
- Lines 413 – 417: Another interesting parallel process is Rose's description of taking charge and not feeling her feelings until the client leaves. What is happening to traffickers as they go about their business? Do they ever feel their feelings about what they are doing? Obviously it is not the same situation as ROSE is using this process in the aid of her clients, but nonetheless, it is interesting to think about what is going on the level of feeling when interacting with VOTs. This point also links with my thinking about it being too difficult to really feel into the experience of working with this client group until you have left the work or can say goodbye to them. Is it too difficult to feel the immensity of the mix of feelings whilst in the room with the client. ROSE is doing expert witness work and so can afford to separate out feelings from the work, but what about therapists? How does it impact on their work? OVERALL THEORY: Is what happens that boundaries get broken if the full extent of the feelings are felt during the interaction with the client in the room? I.e. like Jane did with warning client....
- Cruelty: lines 566 – 569 ROSE speaks of being surprised at her own use of the word cruel in how she approaches interviews, especially when she is tired or overloaded. The parallel process aspect here is that of identifying with the perpetrator. I wonder how she would think of that idea. Can I bring it up in the second interview?

It's an Exchange/The Exchange

- In lines 80 – 120 ROSE characterises (not her word) her work with clients as an exchange. She is giving something to them in the way of personal affirmation and noticing positive aspects of them, in exchange for narrative, which she needs for her report writing. Another level of exchange is also in the flow from client to Rose, a story/narrative in exchange for a report. And this mirrors a bigger exchange of a report for a fee for Rose. And for the client, a report in exchange for protection, and again with the Home Office; a narrative in exchange for a status document/protection. There are a lot of exchanges going on on many different levels which the client and ROSE are subject to when dealing in expert witness reports and with the process of asylum seeking.
- So there is a personal exchange, an information exchange, a monetary exchange, a political exchange. Power underlies all of this.
- But in lines 103 – 110 ROSE speaks of the cruelty that she engages in when she is tired or doesn't have the resources to participate in the personal exchange between her and the client. The assessments become a box ticking exercise and she knows she is causing distress to some clients. IMPACT wise this leaves her with discomfort. 2nd Interview = can this be opened up a little more?
- This theme of exchange is evident in many aspects of our interview and her description of her own interviews. Lines 230 -234: she speaks of using her knowledge and experience to ask very difficult questions of her clients. This is

interesting because I get the sense that she is not referring to professional knowledge here but rather to a personal experience which allows her to ask questions about unformulated and unnamed material e.g. the experience of one client having had a miscarriage and feeling the baby coming out of her. This is also a therapeutic function, so she is therapeutically supporting the women to formulate feelings/experiences and verbalise them in the interview. Still there is a sense of an exchange in this, she is exchanging therapeutic formulating for narrative that can be used to make a diagnosis.

Meeting Needs (at the expense of self?)

- ROSE speaks of feeling that she has a core construct of needing to meet needs of others and it sounds like it is specifically targeted at women. In Lines 147 – 167 ROSE speaks of how she wants to meet the needs of clients. She described going through a point in her work where she would do two report interviews per day which is much more than she could handle and it would leave her entirely depleted and unwell. She has since changed that but still in engaged with wanting to meet a need.
- Like Jane, ROSE has spoken to husband and son about wanting to set up a charity, like HBF, which represents a home for trafficking clients. She feels this is triggered in her because of the lack of family that her clients have, and this draws her into wanting to do something more for them (IMPACT). See Stanza 1.
- A subtheme might be: 'meeting needs at the cost of self'. This is spoken about in lines 157 onwards and again in the last part of the transcripts where she speaks of alienating her friends due to passion.

Maternal Transference

- *This theme may sit under Meeting Needs or vice versa.*
- Lines 156 – 167: What's interesting here is that she moves from talking about her own core construct of meeting needs which she links to her own mother (explore more) and links this to 'I'm responsible for other people's mental health'. These are already two very interesting links made, but she then goes on to speaking of how victims of trafficking are special and unconscious exceptions are made for them and she feels more of a desire to meet their needs. How does that link with her own needs and unmet needs? She makes a link of VOTs who have been estranged from their families particularly pull on that need. This talk sings and has strong IMPACT. See Stanza 1.

Entering Internal World of Client

- ROSE speaks of entering the narrative or internal world of clients and viewing this as a big privilege as the client is trusting a complete stranger with this entry. This is linked with earlier conversation about when she is asked to do a second assessment and realizes that the first report wasn't helpful in gaining status for client. This is difficult for ROSE as she describes having invested a lot of time and a significant psychological process of entering this internal world, only for it to be rejected.
- ROSE speaks of shame and embarrassment client feels and still being able to enter internal world. How does this shame and embarrassment the client feels impact on Rose?

Giving clients a different experience of a person/professional/trust/reparative

- This links in with the therapeutic elements of how she works with her clients in interviews, giving something back in the exchange. There is a reparative function to many of her actions in the interviews, offering a therapeutic edge rather than just extracting information. Its like she is trying to treat the

interviews like a mini intervention in reparation of relational patterns around other people, as client's sense of belief and trust in others has been severely damaged. Not sure how this links to impact on Rose.

Impact on client

- ROSE speaks a lot about how she is trying to impact on the client, repairing the broken relational patterns of the client's past. In lines 329 – 344 she speaks of how she uses Judith Herman's theory of trauma therapy as a backbone for the work she does in her expert witness work. She describes how she and many trauma practitioners believe it is not possible to do trauma focused PTSD work until the client has status in the UK and she insinuates how her reports work towards achieving this so that this work is possible, thus representing the first stage. Here she is very much speaking of impacting the client.
- With this theme emerging I don't know if this is because she was confused about my question to some degree in that I was thinking about the impact on clients or if this just represents an important part of her work. Maybe both?

The residue of Shadows

- ROSE speaks of this in the context of how she analyses clients and their patterns but there is something interesting and profound about it.
- According to Wikipedia a shadow is characterised by: 'A **shadow** is a dark area where light from a light source is blocked by an opaque object.'
- Wikipedia also writes: 'A **shadow person** (also known as a **shadow figure**, **shadow being** or **black mass**) is the perception of a patch of shadow as a living, humanoid figure, particularly as interpreted by believers in the paranormal or supernatural as the presence of a spirit or other entity.^[1]'
- It makes sense that I make a transpersonal link with what she is saying given the rather magical and otherworldly associations with shadows.

Using Impact feelings and voice as resistance (stanza 3.)

- ROSE speaks of how during the interview she is in charge and focuses on how she can establish the best possible interview conditions/get the information she needs from the client to be able to write the report. When the interview is finished is when she experiences the impact of the work and she describes feeling sad at first and then when she thinks of the narrative given to her she feels angry at the men (there is a specific connection made with men here).
- She then goes through the process of converting the anger and sadness into her report. It seems she views this as a process of resistance where she gives a voice to the victim and uses her own voice of empowerment to speak for the woman who has been prevented from doing so before.

The Power of Action

- Lines 73 It seems that being able to do something concrete to help women is important to ROSE and the expert witness work gives her an ability to do that. It seems that this is an important part of managing impact, would be interested to know more.

Number of clients vs. Longevity of work

- IMPACT: lines 50 – 58, speaks of how the impact can be different but just as profound whether you do long term or shorter work with trafficking clients. Would like to know more.

The responsibility of Information

- Lines 80 – 87. Being told more than others means that she holds a greater responsibility which links with how she describes her core construct is about being responsible for other people's mental health. How does she make sense of that?

Revival and the need to change her own state to get away from helplessness and extent of force

- Lines 362 – 372: She speaks of Gin O'clock and how this used to allow her to revive when she used to do two interviews per day. She does not speak of how she processes the pressure and material now.

Web of Stories/Narratives that live in her Head

- Lines 448 – 461 ROSE goes through the process of how different stories of clients have linked in her head whilst we have been having our interview. It shows that she is carrying around an intricate web of linked narratives that she uses to write her reports. Its interesting how she goes through this passage in our interview, its like a small view into a segment of her mind. I wonder how it affects her to carry around these stories. I know that for me it leaves a residue and when I go about my life this web of stories is sometimes activated by experiences I am having where. Exploitation elements become heightened in daily life. I wonder how she experiences that. In the write up of the dissertation it could be interesting to mention my experience of having acupuncture a few years ago by my mum and having all of these stories well up and flash through my mind. How are we processing this material?

Impact on Relationship with Husband/Trauma is far Reaching

- Lines 483- 484 she speaks of how when she started in the violence against women field she used to offload on husband and speak to him about stories and he stopped her after a while as he couldn't handle it anymore.
- This process is interesting and she describes him as saying '*I don't want you to tell me one more fucking story about these women until you've fucking sorted them out, all right!*' Which shows something about how the helplessness and hopelessness impact was transferred into her relationship and apparently the most painful aspect of this was that her husband was unable to take action and 'sort the women or ROSE out' which led to a build up of frustration. That is perhaps one of the most challenging things about this material, sitting with the depth of despair and not being able to change it for someone. This is perhaps the aspect that remains unprocessed for longest. Would be interesting to enquire more about this.

Looking for a Magic Answer to impact of violence against women work

- Lines 500 – 503

Knowers VS Not-Knowers

- Last 4 pages of transcript
- This is such an interesting concept. The idea of the knowers and not-knowers and links with her relationships in life. Friendships and family/husband. What if loved ones are not-knowers, are they then colluding in the violence?
- What does it mean for her to be a knower and what cost is there in the knowing. Also in the interview I was trying to ascertain whether she is a knower because of her own experiences too or if it is just to do with finding

out about violence against other women? When I ask her this in the interview she diverts the conversation to clients and how it is for them to work with a knower versus not-knower. Again, I feel she is buying time to think about whether she wants to tell me about her own experiences of violence. I suspect there probably is something in her history but she decides not to go into it. Why else would there be such a strong trigger when she starts to work with the client group?

- There are quite a lot of sub-themes under this one like: Recognition that she needs to not push 'knowing' onto others if she wants to avoid alienating people. The question arising from this theme is whether by not sharing her experiences with others, is she thus isolating herself and how does it impact on her relationships?
- Subsidiary theme: She also speaks of 'Shame at being a not-knower in the past.' How is it that she came to work in this area, what made her make the choice, or how did she become a knower rather than a not-knower?

Seeking help/Needing to share impact of trauma stories with other knowers

- This could be a subsidiary theme to the knowers and not-knowers bit.
- Line 520, the impact requires a need to share with others who know.

Appendix 14. Structural analysis transcript segment, interview one.

(17)

462 but they won't do any of the trauma focused PTSD
 463 work (yeah, until they have their status), until they
 464 have status. So its real that Maslow's Hierarchy of
 465 needs. Until that accommodation, finances, fear of
 466 return is sorted, it would be inappropriate to do
 467 trauma-focused work (yeah). So.
 468

469 MT: How do you feel for instance that this work, and
 470 the narratives that you hear, from women that you
 471 interview, comes into your relationship. I mean, I'm
 472 aware that you do see the trafficking clients also in
 473 your home. The relationship to your home, to your
 474 husband, to your personal life.
 475

476 Well...ahm.... I think the questions in the framework
 477 that I've worked out, actually helps them expand
 478 their narrative in a way that surprises them often and
 479 as the interview goes on, although they get tired and
 480 many of them, you know, they start to have difficulty
 481 concentrating and so on, they often have a sense of
 482 relief or ah... quietness and a connection because they
 483 know that I know, and I almost invariably offer them
 484 a hug and they take it. Which is just one expression of
 485 how I think there is a bond that develops between us,
 486 that is honest and respectful.
 487

488 MT: And then when they leave, where are you?
 489

— TEACHER — STUDENT DYNAMIC,
 (Cross-cultural working)
 — Ethical working. How to do work being
 described.
 Bringing her back to question of impact.
 — Felt myself rather tentative.
 Flow = away from question
 → Its like she is trying to buy some time, not
 answer my question straight away. I don't think
 she doesn't understand the question I'm asking.
 I think she just doesn't want to answer now.
 = very considered + thoughtful.
 Question → How much can be shared now
 = what is safe.
 Maternal Role
 Emotive + sensitive voice changed in
 this segment.

(18)

490 And then I'm sort of glad to have had that closure
 491 with them and when they leave I am often quite tired
 492 to the bottom of my socks. ~~They~~ would laugh, it
 493 doesn't happen so much now, but I used to see people
 494 between two and six and six became gin o'clock in
 495 our house - laugh - and I'd be so ready to reach for a
 496 gin and tonic. Ahm..
 497

498 MT: -laugh - because what would that do for you?
 499

500 Ahm, as a bit of a revival. So I'd be mentally tired, but
 501 also emotionally drained and quite sad often and I
 502 think that's empathising with the helplessness and
 503 the extent of the force.
 504

505 MT: The extent of the...
 506

507 The force used against them by the traffickers (sure)
 508 and the number of people that might be involved in
 509 that. So if it involved FGM or the community or their
 510 family or whatever, that has an accumulative effect
 511 on me I think.
 512

513 MT: On you as well? (yeah) So its almost as though
 514 they're in the room here.
 515

516 Oh, so, I. When I sit with the women I ahm... ah, I look
 517 for the shadows (in what sense?) by which I mean the
 518 shadows of the people who have hurt her or

Flow
 — Into the personal: her voice sounds
 almost dull like for a moment. More
 vulnerable.
 Impact — process of being with family.
 Laughter Need for escape.
 → Depth of impact conveyed in quiet tone of her
 voice at this point.
 → Sharing some of this with me on a resonance
 level
 ↓
 FLOW + RELATIONAL
 — This conversation enters an almost transpersonal
 level for me: The way she speaks of the
 accumulative effect of ~~that~~ how many people
 traffickers have abused about. I feel this in the
 room in a surge like presences which is why I
 asked the question. I also asked it because it made
 me think of how I work with clients having
 a sense of their whole families, systemic networks
 being present. Also makes me think of family
 constellation — and how this material is
 being transferred to ~~me~~...

519 threatened her, because the way she behaves and the
 520 way she reacts to me, will be profoundly influenced
 521 by the way they've treated her. So, its not that I ask
 522 questions about them directly, in fact, mostly, when I
 523 work with victims of trafficking, I don't ask about
 524 their past experience. So before she comes I would
 525 have read her documents and have a sense of the
 526 background and.. people are often relieved about
 527 that. So the woman that I'm writing about just now
 528 said 'thank you for not asking dirty questions' ahm,
 529 and.. but sometimes I will.. in in helping her tell me
 530 about her reaction, I will find out about something
 531 that they've done.
 532
 533 MT: Yes, in her reaction. And then what happens to
 534 the shadows when she leaves?
 535
 536 Aaah, uhm.. well
 537
 538 MT: Are they gone?
 539
 540 ... aaaaah... no not really because I'm gonna sit with the
 541 report for quite a while, so I can park them for a bit
 542 but I'm very mindful of ah ah.. two very strong
 543 shadows in the case that I'm writing about just now
 544 and two others that were involved in her initially
 545 being drugged and raped and filmed. Aah, and the
 546 number of clients that sexually abused her.. are very
 547 shadowy to me because there are no names or details

Explaining work.
 = passing on knowledge.
 → TEACHER / STUDENT Dynamic

Explaining assessment process + content.
 → A way to not discuss own process?
 (Remains in vulnerability in this section)
 = Client process more important than her own personal process?
 I try to draw her back.

DIFFERENT LEVEL REFLECTION

- It feels as though I am ~~speaking~~ a ~~drawn~~ personal element to how she is speaking of shadows. I am not sure why this is where my ~~own~~ consciousness goes with it. It was on a felt level for me. I wonder how much this plugs into a deeper level for her. Because ~~she~~ is very contained + protective in her way of interacting with me, I find it difficult to know if I am genuinely perceiving something from her, or if it's my own material.

548 that I have about those clients, but the principle
 549 traffickers are definitely ahm... ah real figures to me.
 550 And... exhales - and have impacted on ahm, also..
 551 relationships with other people, for example, one of
 552 them took her when she, when he knew that she was
 553 thinking of reporting him, he took her to the police
 554 station and the police station, the officers greeted
 555 him with open arms and were very respectful. And he
 556 said laughingly, 'she wants to complain about me'.
 557 Now, when I think about that right now, I feel really
 558 angry at him (okay) so, ahm, its not unusual when the
 559 client leaves that I feel sad or drained or indeed, I
 560 think I'm probably too focused on the ahm..
 561 structuring and taking charge of the interview to be
 562 really aware of it, but I'll have that sense of empathy
 563 about helplessness and ahm.
 564
 565 MT: But afterwards you're left with something else.
 566
 567 But afterwards, afterwards I would feel initially sad.
 568 And then when I'd start to think about the men, I'd
 569 feel angry. (yeah). Yeah and aaaa... and I think that
 570 anger is quite a powerful, useful force about
 571 effectively holding them accountable, they thought
 572 they could get away with it because they had her
 573 trapped or locked or on her own. But I am giving her
 574 a voice and I have a voice, so that feels quite.
 575

→ visceral resonance to her words, tone change. = speaking through gritted teeth? Anger, pain.
 - story of horror. / sharing the burden with me?
 - Expressing emotion.
 = dipping in and out of emotion / much more so than earlier part of interview.

Trajectory of work emerging

SAD
 ↓
 Angry
 ↓
 Accountability
 ↓
 giving her a voice

Resistance - shared with me, using my voice - in research to share her experience when she is sharing her direct experience.
 - Desire to make an impact with her words?
 - Responsible / Accountability.

Appendix 15. Thematic analysis transcript segment, interview two.

461 daughter went upstairs while my colleague was
 462 interviewing the son and I was interviewing the
 463 woman. And when I went up to ask the daughter to
 464 come downstairs, she was lying on the sofa fast asleep.
 465 And it felt a real intrusion to wake her, so I think that
 466 image will stay. Its not necessarily the time when
 467 people are most distressed although that can be a
 468 flashback.
 469
 470 MT: It's some of these everyday.
 471
 472 It's that vulnerability I guess. (Vulnerability, hm) Like
 473 another one just. There's a domino that just went off. A
 474 woman that I saw a couple of times ago, she asked to
 475 be excused to the toilet, and I could hear her retching.
 476 And, well, that makes me feel a bit sick or
 477 uncomfortable to remember that. So perhaps it's the
 478 non-verbal things that might impact on me afterwards
 479 whereas I'm so busy writing the words, in some ways
 480 I'm processing the verbal stuff.
 481
 482 MT: But there's a lot of the non-verbal.
 483
 484 Yeah, there is, and I do write that down as well. But I
 485 perhaps don't, I don't have the opportunity to
 486 acknowledge in myself what has resonated or been
 487 triggered.
 488
 489 MT: On a more non-verbal or emotional level.

good - what stays behind.
 - INTRUSION

- VULNERABILITY
 - DOMINOS
 - RETCHING
 - MAKES ME FEEL SICK.

- NON-VERBAL.

- DON'T ACKNOWLEDGE
 'BUT I perhaps don't I
 don't have the opportunity
 to acknowledge in myself
 what has resonated or
 been triggered'

- INTRUSIVE IMAGES
 - NON-VERBAL INPUT
 - IMPACT OF THE OBSCURE THINGS.

- STORIES LIKE DOMINOS
 - IMPACT STRONGER AFTER
 - THE VULNERABILITIES
 OF OLIVIA. ETCHED
 IN MY MIND.
 = USUAL non-verbal
 aspects stay in RAS
 memory.
 = Verbal aspect is
 being processed, other
 sensory information,
 less so stays.
 - EMBODIED RESPONSE.
 - FEEL SICK.

- NARRATIVE TRIGGERS
 = through images,
 memory of direct
 vulnerabilities.
 - SETTING SELF ASIDE.

90
 91 Yeah yeah, in an emotional level in me.
 92
 93 MT: Which is what comes up in this poem as well,
 94 around, that whilst you're doing it you're busy
 95 structuring it and then afterwards.
 96
 97 Yeah, yeah, absolutely, I work very hard,
 98 concentrating. My concentration is mental, physical,
 99 indeed spiritual, but while I can be satisfied mentally,
 00 or even feel 'that's it, I've done enough'. I... I'm often
 01 more tired or drained emotionally than I have
 02 processed right at that time. (yeah) So, I'm glad you
 03 came today, because I may not have noticed, because
 04 I'd read your questions before I did the interview. Just
 05 to start to think about them. It isn't unfamiliar to me to
 06 have a really, ah, big ache at the back of my head, at the
 07 base of my skull. So this (touches back of head) area
 08 down here, which is not where I would have expected
 09 it. It's not pre-cortical at all. Its much more ahm basic
 10 than that.
 11
 12 MT: How, what association do you have with this area?
 13
 14 Well... what I think is intellectually interesting, is that
 15 EMDR therapists are now talking about how
 16 processing trauma.. when it is being mapped. The brain
 17 activity is being mapped when people are doing EMDR
 18 work, it moves from the base of the brain, the limbic

(Ukano's Trauma)

EMOTIONAL IMPACT

- USING ALL FACULTIES
 - MENTAL, PHYSICAL
 - SETTING SELF ASIDE.

- EMBODIED TRANSFERRED
 - COMMON IN WORK.
 - PHYSICAL PAIN IMPACT.
 - NON-VERBAL.

- FUNDAMENTAL IMPACT
 = DEEP LEVEL. What
 obs that mean long-
 term?

- MIRRORING?
 - PHYSIOLOGICAL EMPATHY
 RESPONSE.
 - LIMBIC SYSTEM
 RESONANCE.

☆
 'I work very hard concentrating
 My concentration is mental,
 physical, indeed spiritual...'
 - Concentration
 - Isn't unfamiliar.
 - Big Ache / Back of
 head.
 - Pre-cortical

Appendix 16: Structural analysis transcript segment, interview two.

316 Oh, so as you see, I'm tearful again. Ahm, I appreciate
 317 you for hearing it - voice breaks - and I appreciate you
 318 for making it public, so she does have a voice.
 319
 320 MT: Hm, and you do too... its very meaningful.
 321
 322 Well, I think hers matters more than mine. I am so
 323 privileged to be a vehicle for women to be able to
 324 speak... in fact, one of the ways that my, thank you, my
 325 ah, career changed is that.. when I first started working
 326 with women who had experienced violence, I think I
 327 was more of a traditional clinical psychologist. Partly
 328 that means being intellectual, and well researched, and
 329 academic,.. and I used to worry about.. how I came
 330 across to an audience and gaining that academic
 331 credibility. And I had a light bulb moment when I went
 332 to conference one, where a woman called [redacted], I think
 333 her second name might have been, [redacted], but I don't
 334 quite remember. [redacted] she had, my memory is that she had a
 335 donkey jacket on, and she stomped up and down the
 336 stage, ranting about men who had hurt women, and,
 337 including judges. She would give, in her magazine, a
 338 raspberry and a rose to whoever had pleased her or
 339 annoyed her over the month. And it was a
 340 breakthrough for me about, ah, I can just speak how it
 341 is. And it changed the way I teach, for the better.
 342 Because when I make a theoretical point, now I almost
 343 always say 'I'm thinking of a woman who' and I will tell

- Connection between [redacted] + I.
 = feels heard.
 * Importance of giving [redacted] a voice + also
 outputs. = I wonder about how much RAD
 diverts back to direct, very selfless approach
 to her work, yet, how much of herself is
 lost. n that. = This reminds a general
 perception I have of the field that
 people working in the area put
 themselves on the back seat, can
 have a tendency to de-prioritise
 self.
 Separation between intellectual academic
 + political + political and emotive psych.
 - POLITICAL / FEMINIST STANCE.
 - THE TEACHER
 - THE STUDENT = who has evolved through
 contact with powerful woman.
 - parallel process = she is speaking up
 in our interview + telling it how it is.
 + has been doing exactly what
 she describes about setting + men
 in the personal, hers + direct.
 - TEACHER ROLE
 - IMPARTING KNOWLEDGE.

345 a bit of her story, or I will use her voice. And, so, I know
 346 that that impacts on people in a completely different
 347 way. But it also took me out of it. I really feel so much
 348 more comfortable. And I can think of that way, bringing
 349 her voice, to how it's applied in Department of Health,
 350 or groups to whom I've been invited, as well as
 351 teaching.
 352
 353 MT: What do you mean by, taking you out of it?
 354
 355 Well just that I'm.. a channel.. or a connection, between
 356 her and the world.
 357
 358 MT: Which is how you describe your reports in a way,
 359 as well.
 360
 361 Yeah, yeah, its rephrasing or even using her words, like
 362 your poems, to.. be able to help other people hear what
 363 she said, or the meaning of what she said, even if they
 364 haven't heard that before hand.
 365
 366 MT: Hm, yeah... making it more clear in some way.
 367 (yeah) elucidating.
 368
 369 Yeah, and helping them not to be blinkered by their
 370 attitudes or myths about sexual violence.. so it's a bit of
 371 two way process. It's partly giving her a voice, but it's
 372 also about helping them see and hear. In fact, one of the
 373 power point slides I use is a Thoreau quote I use 'It

- PERCEPTION OF IDENTITY CHANGING
 with time in field, + through
 FEMINISM + POLITICS APPLIED. (collegial learning)
 = need that grounding to effectively
 use her voice.
 - BEING A TOOL FOR OTHERS (VOTS).
 - TRANSLATOR.
 [redacted] AS TRANSLATOR OF TRAUMA NARRATIVES
 = parallel process is what i'm doing.
 I am also translating and putting
 someone / RADS words out into the
 world.
 - THE TEACHER / NARRATOR / TRANSLATOR
 = imparting knowledge.
 = Relational approach.

Appendix 17: Poem example, interview two

Poetic Segment 3.

Title: Stuckness & Taking Action.

Almost, I was going to say, a rape of the senses.
Because a big difference for me is that I can hear it
and do something about it,
then I can manage the pain.

But, I really don't want to hear
and if it's just gratuitous,
I absolutely detest it.

I once tried to read, We Really Need To Talk About Kevin'
I don't know if you know about that book?
and I tried to read it,
and I really struggled.
It made me unhappy.

I put it down.
I felt depressed.
I read another chapter.
I still really disliked it.
I think I probably got through three more chapters.
I really hated that experience.

And *husband said to me 'it's a book, you don't have to read it if you don't want to read it.'
And I felt such a relief
of how I really don't need to and I don't want to.

And I realised in that process that I couldn't bear her stuckness
and not being able to do anything about it.
Whereas I can hear people that are stuck
and I can walk beside them
and it's very rare that I get impatient
or don't want to hear.

It happens occasionally,
I can think of a handful over the last twenty years
and that's where people are ruminating
but they're not,
I don't know if the word is willing, able, capable,
of moving on.

They have an investment, it seems
in not letting go.
Not being interested.
Not invested in the strategy of changing that.

If I were not able to take action,
I don't think I could do this work.

Appendix 18: Collated analysis: Reduction and grouping of themes.

Rose Collated Analysis
November 2017

1. To honour other professionals — respect / rite of p.
2. Voice of resistance — philosophy / passion.
3. Learning as core construct — philosophy / passion.
4. Teaching others (helping 'knowers' to understand/see/hear VOT narratives) — knowers. Philosophy
- Alhnam — 5. The pressure of responsibility — ~~difficult~~ impact.
6. Maternal transference / countertransference — ~~difficult~~ Helping.
7. Passing on the torch / Web of lights — knowers / giving.
8. The importance of teachers — ~~difficult~~ Rite of p.
- Alhnam? — 9. Meeting needs in others — ~~difficult~~ Helping.
10. Recognising limitations — protection of self.
11. Containment by husband — protection of self / difficult impact.
12. The unlimited needs of VOT clients — difficult impact.
13. Rite of passage (as part of Rose professional journey) — Rite of passage
14. Personal history of sexual violence — Rite of passage ~~personal~~ experience
15. Commonality and difference with clients — personal experience
16. Knowers versus not-knowers — knowers + not knowers.
17. Shame at structural inequality for clients — philosophy / passion.
18. Gratefulness - impact — protection of self
19. Wish to empower clients — Helping / personal philosophy ^{passion}
20. Sharing impact of work — knowers + not knowers / protection
21. Giving VOT's a voice — knowers + not knowers / Philosophy.
22. Narratives like dominos (in Rose's mind — one narrative triggers another and another) — protection
23. Compartmentalisation of work — protection
- physical impact — 24. Physical pain impact (at back of head — physiological empathy response) — ~~difficult~~ impact.
- physical impact — 25. Revival process (having changed over time; has become more self-supporting) — difficult impact / protection of self.
- physical impact — 26. Saturation point — ~~difficult~~ impact / Rite of passage. _{seeing self aside.}
27. Client stuckness — high impact — difficult impact.
28. The power of action / reclaiming power — Helping / personal p. / protecting self.

setting self aside

- degrees of impact
Rite of passage / protection
reason / philosophy
degrees of impact
protection
Rite of passage / personal experience
protection or direct impact
protection
protection
protection
knowers
protection / Rite of passage
protection
- physical impact
- physical impact
29. Awareness of conserving resources / output
 30. Anger as default emotion (projective identification + own anger)
 31. Clients that can make higher order meaning - lesser impact
 32. Parallel process impact (same emotional experience as client)
 33. Entering internal world of client
 34. The residue of shadows (has developed ways of processing/discharging these through externalising feelings post-assessment ie two chair work)
 35. The exchange with clients
 36. Privilege of being trusted with delicate narratives
 37. Community and collaboration with other 'knowers'
 38. Reconciling burn-out
 39. Putting narratives in perspective / the big picture

Narratives and Roles

- philosophy / knowers
1. The Active Practitioner
 - imparting knowledge
 - passing the torch
 - writing
 - advocating
 - raising awareness
 - sharing own experience of work
 2. The Teacher
 3. The Self-developed Narrative (the one who has gone through many incarnations in her personal and professional life and has arrived at a place where she feels in balance and grateful)
 4. The Ethical Practitioner
 5. The Experienced Professional (who is also looking to pass the torch to other 'knowers', such as me - Mirjam -)
 6. The Responsible Practitioner (holding client material with care, recognising the pressure of this / the boss who is firm but fair with employees)
 7. The Emotive and Sensitive Practitioner (connected with the maternal dynamic and inner child material)
- philosophy
knowers / philosophy
philosophy
philosophy
helping / personal

8. The Nurturing Narrative (Connected with emotive and sensitive practitioner) — Helping personal p.

9. The Embodied Practitioner (feeling trauma impact in own body, ie pain at back of head) — Physical impact — Difficult impact.

10. The Identified Practitioner (connecting with and using own trauma experience to understand and work with client group) — Rite of passage / personal / individual.

11. The Learning Narrative (need for personal development and learning, as core construct) — Personal philosophy.

12. The Translator / Narrator of VOT Stories (Rose as the mediator between clients and the outside world, giving them a voice, using her own voice as resistance) — Knowing + not knowing / Personal philosophy.

13. The Saturated Practitioner (when the trauma narratives build up and she reaches a saturation point) — Physical impact — Difficult impact.

14. The Supported and Cared for Woman / Practitioner (by husband, other practitioners, herself) — Protection.

15. The Realistic and Strategic Practitioner (weighing up where to be most helpful and how to achieve this / holding the big picture in mind) — Protection.

16. The Challenger of Power Structures / the feminist (?) — Knowing + not knowing / Personal philosophy.

17. The Knower — Knowing + not knowing.

Physical impact

Physical impact

Setting self aside

Developmental Trajectory

Personal trauma history --> responsible for others' mental health --> wish to help others --> practicing psychology / therapy --> transition to violence against women field --> vicarious trauma / rite of passage --> the advocate --> self-containment / learning to manage impact --> collaborating with and learning from other knowers --> learning how to be most effective --> sharing own experiences and educating others --> passing on the torch.

①

ROSE

KNOWERS + NOT KNOWERS

- Teaching others
- passing the torch/web of lights.
- knowers vs not-knowers.
- wish to empower clients.
- shame @ shirked responsibility for client.
- Giving VOT's a voice.
- Community of collaboration w knowers.
- The Active practitioner role.
- The Teacher
- The Experienced professional.

DIFFICULT IMPACT

- pressure of responsibility
- unlimited needs of VOT clients.
- physical pain/impact.
- Renewal process - charged w time saturation ~~at peak~~ point.
- client shockness - high impact.
- Entering internal world of client.
- The Embodied practitioner.
- The saturated practitioner.

philosophy + PASSION

- voice of resistance
- learning as core construct
- Teaching others.
- shame @ shirked responsibility for client.
- wish to empower clients.
- Giving VOT's a voice.
- The power of action/reclaiming ^{power}
- Anger as default emotion.
- The Active practitioner role.
- The Teacher
- The Ethical practitioner.

PROTECTION of self

- Recognising limitations.
- containment by ~~my~~ husband
- ~~Recognise~~ Greatfulness
- Narratives like Domino's
- Compartmentalisation of stories + work.
- Renewal process - delayed w time.
- The power of action/reclaiming ^{power}
- awareness of consuming resources
- clients that can make output
- higher order meaning.
- residue of shadows.
- Exchange w clients.
- Privileged of being trusted w narrative.

② Knowers + Not knowers cont.

- The translator/narrator of stones narrative.
- The challenger of power structures.
- The knower narrative.

Protection of self cont.

- Recognising burn out.
- putting narratives in perspective / the big picture.
- The self-developed narrative
- The supported + covered for practitioner.
- The realistic practitioner

philosophy + passion cont

- The Experienced professional
- The ~~Responsible~~ professional.
- The Emotive + sensitive practitioner
- The nurturing narrative
- The Learning Narrative
- The Translator/narrator of stones narrative.
- The challenger of power structures.

③

ROSE

HELPING

- maternal transference / countertransference..
- meeting needs in others.
- The power of action / reclaiming power.
- The Emotive + sensitive practitioner.
- The nurturing narrative.

PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

- Personal history of sexual violence.
- commonality + difference w clients.
- Anger as default emotion.
- The identified practitioner.

RITE OF PASSAGE

- recognising burn out.
- to honour other proffs.
- Importance of teachers.
- rite of passage phase firstly
- personal history of sexual violence
- commonality + difference w clients
- Revival process - changed w time
- saturation point.
- awareness of counselling resources
- entering internal world of client. client
- The identified practitioner

DEGREES OF IMPACT

- awareness of counselling resources / impact.
- clients that can make higher order meaning / less impact.

4

Physical impact

- The starved practitioner
- The embodied practitioner
- The exchange with clients
- Entering internal world of clients
- saturation point.
- renewal process
- physical pain impact.

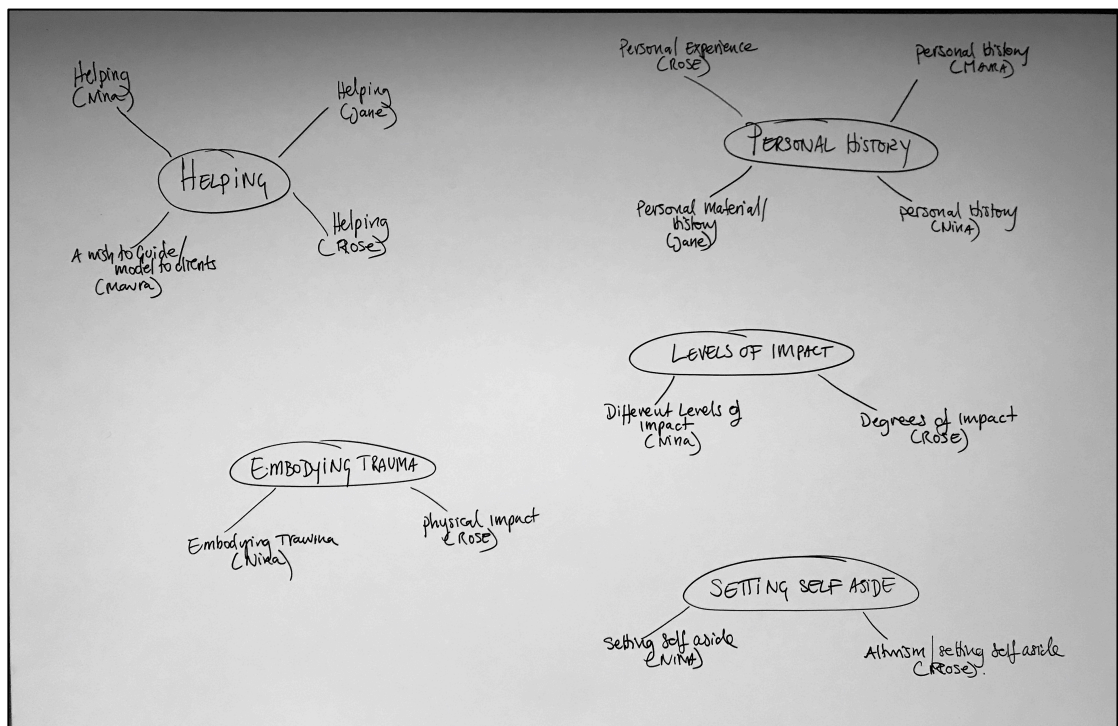
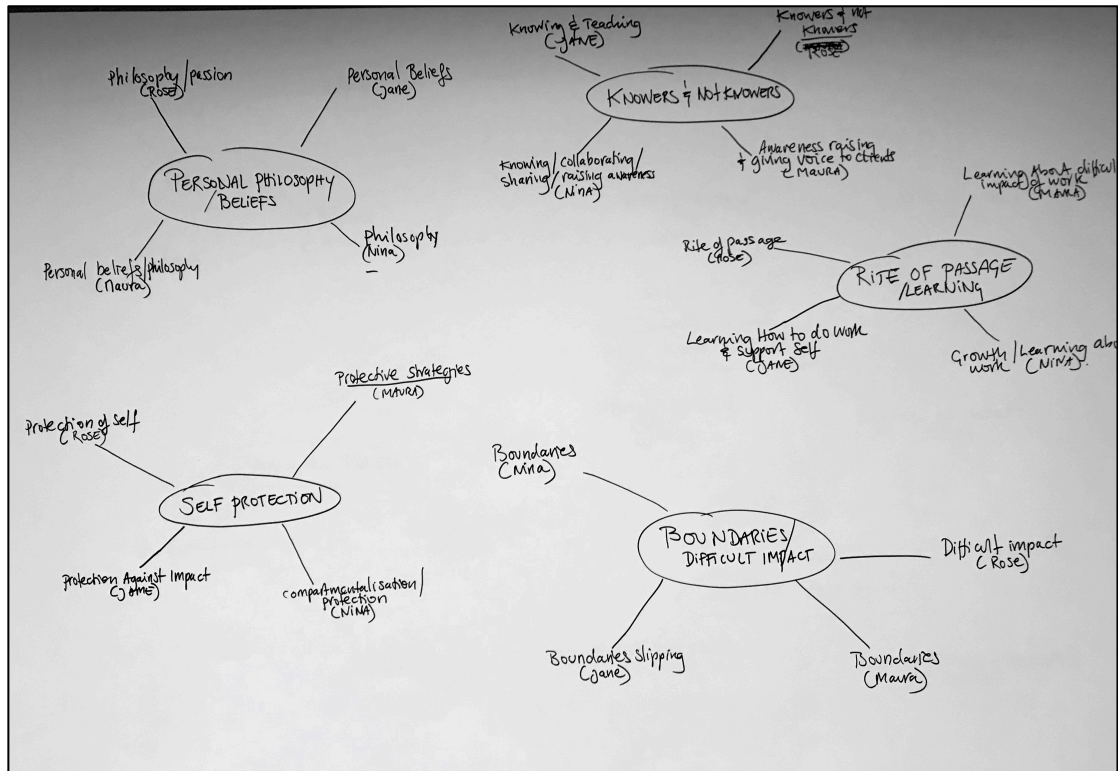
ALTRUISM | SETTING SELF ASIDE

- The realistic + strategic practitioner.
- Awareness of resources & output.
- saturation point
- meeting needs in others
- The pressure of responsibility.

Appendix 19: Overarching thematic grouping for all four participants.

<p>JANE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① Boundaries ✓ slipping ② Personal Beliefs ✓ ③ Helping ✓ ④ Personal material/ history ✓ ⑤ Learning how to do work & support self. ✓ ⑥ Protection against impact. ✓ ⑦ Knowing & teaching ✓ ⑧ Boundaries 	<p>ROSE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① Knowers & not-knowers voice of resistance ✓ ② philosophy & passion ✓ ③ Difficult impact ✓ ④ protection of self. ✓ ⑤ Helping ✓ Other responsibility. ⑥ Rite of passage ✓ ⑦ personal experience ✓ ⑧ Degrees of impact ✓ ⑨ physical impact ✓ ⑩ Altruism / setting self aside. ✓
<p>NINA</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① compartmentalisation/ self protection. ✓ ② Philosophy. ✓ ③ personal history/ foundation of values. ✓ ④ Growth / Learning about work. ✓ ⑤ Embodying trauma ✓ ⑥ setting self aside. ✓ ⑦ Different levels of impact ✓ ⑧ Boundaries ✓ ⑨ Knowing / collaborating/ sharing & raising aware- ness ✓ ⑩ Helping. ✓ 	<p>MAURA</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ① Learning about difficult impact of work. ✓ ② Personal beliefs/ philosophy. ✓ ③ protective strate- gies / inner space. ✓ ④ Boundaries ✓ ⑤ personal history ✓ ⑥ A wish to guide & model to clients ✓ ⑦ awareness raising & giving voice to clients ✓

Appendix 20: Overarching themes across narratives.



Appendix 21: Art piece gifted by Rose.

