

The power to speak:

Poetic re-presentation as an ethical aesthetic research practice for narrative therapists

by Sarah Penwarden and Laurel Richardson



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Abstract

Narrative therapists may hold a commitment to a person speaking for and making meaning of their own life stories – maintaining a person's speaking rights as the primary meaning maker of their lives. When therapists wish to research counselling practice to gain new insights about the effects of the work, how they handle the speaking of those who participate in their research requires ethical sensitivity. This paper considers the value to narrative therapy practitioners of a qualitative research approach to representing participants' words: poetic re-presentation. Created by American sociologist Laurel Richardson, poetic re-presentation is a research strategy that involves a researcher turning transcripts of participants' words into found poetry. This strategy clearly delineates between the speaking of the participant in a research conversation and the later representation of this speaking on the page in a researcher's writing. As such, this approach seeks to maintain the participant as speaking in excess of the meaning the researcher makes of it: speaking for themselves.

Key words: poetic re-presentation; qualitative research; practitioner research; poetry; therapeutic documents; narrative practice

Embedded in the ethical positioning of narrative therapy is a commitment to researching with the client the effects and work of the problem in their life (Epston & White, 1990). Narrative therapy also supports the therapist in taking up a position of critical thinking about therapy itself. Narrative therapy research is a form of counselling practitioner research that involves counsellors researching their own practice for their own benefit or to benefit the wider counselling community (McLeod, 1999). The aim of this research is to create new knowledge to help the field of counselling refine its approaches and continue to reinvent itself (McLeod, 2001).

In this article, I (Sarah) seek to bring to the attention of narrative therapists who desire to study their practice a qualitative research strategy that chimes with the poststructuralist ethics of narrative therapy. This chiming can be heard in relation to a concern about researchers' power to tell the stories of others. In my doctoral research, a narrative therapy practitioner inquiry, I found in poetic re-presentation (Richardson, 1992) a way to retell participant accounts in a way that was congruent with my practice ethics. This approach involves writing client-participants' stories as found poetry, clearly differentiating between the speaking of participants in therapy contexts and the later retelling of their stories in research writing. Poetic re-presentation can mitigate against the overwriting of client-participant stories by a therapist-researcher and maintains the client-participant's ability to speak about their own lives.

This article is in three parts. The first part involves my (Sarah's) scene-setting by exploring the problem in representation in research and offering poetic representation as a poststructuralist response. Then there is an interview with poetic re-presentation pioneer Laurel Richardson. Finally, there is an exploration of how poetic re-presentation may be composed and a summary of the congruence of this research strategy with narrative therapy.

Part One An ethical problem; a poststructuralist response

The problem of representation in practitioner research

One impetus for counselling practitioner research is for a therapist to be able to remain close to the effects of their therapy practice on the lives of others (Gaddis, 2004; McLeod, 2014). Narrative therapist Gaddis (2004) sought to design a research practice congruent with narrative therapy, being concerned that 'my research findings were not close enough to the client's descriptions of her experiences in therapy. Instead, they reflected more of *my* interpretations of her descriptions, even though the design supposedly grounded my interpretations in her descriptions' (2004, p. 6). In his therapy research, Gaddis sought to quote client-participant's words as much as possible (2004, p. 9). Gaddis' version of narrative therapy research highlights the ethical aspirations for therapists to pay attention to how power flows through their research practice, and the invitations to deliberately structure therapy research so that the accounts of client-participants are centred.

One practical way to attend to ethical considerations of power relations in research is to consider how a participant's account of therapy is represented in the final written document. While centring participants' accounts is a practice that may resonate with a therapist-researcher's ethical aspirations, how this might be done is a challenging question. Representation means speaking for another – standing in their place. Since the crisis of representation in the 1980s (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994), the issue of 'who speaks in the text and whose story is being told' (Sparkes, 1995, p. 166) has become a matter of significant ethical consideration. Indeed, as Geertz (1988) highlighted some years ago,

the gap between engaging others where they are and representing them where they aren't, always immense but not much noticed, has suddenly become extremely visible. What was once technically difficult, getting 'their' lives into 'our' works, has turned morally, politically, even epistemologically, delicate. (Geertz, 1988, p. 130)

The journey of words from the client's speaking to the therapist-researcher's writing is 'a highly political process' (Speedy, 2008, p. 86). How, then, might a researcher tell/write participants' stories without speaking for them? One response is to (re)present (Tierney, 1995) their utterances in a text, telling their story for a second time. Here, there are two distinct speakings: a client-participant speaks; this speaking is later re-presented on the page in the researcher's report. This emphasis highlights the change that has occurred to the participant's speaking when it is recomposed on the page. Although the meaning of participants' words is carried across from one context to another, their presence is not.

St Pierre (2008) highlighted the need for qualitative researchers to depict participants as poststructuralist subjects – changing across contexts – rather than fixed, humanist subjects:

Even though we write theoretically about fractured, shifting subjects, the participants in our reports retain the characteristics of humanist subjects – we organize them under proper names, 'pseudonyms', and we write rich, thick descriptions of their appearances, personalities, and experiences embedded in stories. We continue to serve them up as whole as possible for our readers, believing that richer and fuller descriptions will get us closer and closer to the truth of the participant. (St Pierre, 2008, p. 328)

From a poststructuralist perspective, the recomposition of participants' speaking by the researcher can be made transparent to show the two tellings: at the interview and then later on the page. Such an approach maintains the ethical clarity of the two distinct speakings.

Poetic re-presentation as a poststructuralist response

My doctoral research was a narrative therapy practitioner study on the value of rescued speech poetry to bereaved people re-membering (White, 2007) a lost loved partner (Penwarden, 2018). In thinking about how I would represent participant accounts of the therapy itself on the page, I stumbled upon the work of American sociologist Laurel Richardson (1990, 1992, 1994a, 1994b, 2002). I was stunned by the vividness of her retelling of a participant's story on the page, and loved the visual artistry of the poem. Diving into this approach to data representation, I found it offered significant benefits for me as a narrative therapist wanting to retell participants' stories within a poststructuralist ethos.

Laurel Richardson is Distinguished Professor Emeritus of Sociology at The Ohio State University. She is an internationally recognised feminist scholar who focuses on the sociology of gender. Over the course of her extensive career she has published many articles and 11 books, including *Fields of play: Constructing an academic life* (Richardson, 1997), which won a national award. She has received numerous commendations and honours for her work, which crosses genres of lived experience, academic writing and the poetic. Richardson's interest in poetry began in high school where she shared that interest with a person she calls a 'soul-mate' (see *Lone twin: A true story of loss and found,* 2019, pp. 63–71).

Richardson pioneered the poetic re-presentation of interviews, a practice whereby the researcher presents the words of participants on the page as a poem through the researcher's selection and arrangement. Through this approach, Richardson aimed to recreate the vibrancy of a person speaking: to 'write about, or with, people in ways that honor their speech styles, words, rhythms, and syntax' (Richardson, 2002, p. 880). In this way, a researcher could respect the initial speaking of the participant as a shifting subject and acknowledge the presence of the researcher as author of the text.

This practice – also referred to as poetic transcription (Glesne, 1997) – has grown exponentially since the publication of Richardson's (1992) now-classic poem 'Louisa May's Story of her Life'. This creative research practice has been transposed into diverse fields including education (Butler-Kisber, 2002; Glesne, 1997; Schoone, 2019), ethnography (Langer & Furman, 2004) and sports studies (Sparkes & Douglas, 2007). It has also been taken up in narrative therapy by counsellors re-presenting a client's life stories (Speedy, 2008), speaking about their own practice (Swann, Swann, & Crocket, 2013), and as a way to retell client-participants' evaluations of therapy (Penwarden, 2018).

Through the *International Journal of Narrative Therapy* and *Community Work*, I was delighted to have the opportunity to interview Laurel Richardson over Skype from her home in Worthington, Ohio. I begin my depiction of the interview itself with one of Richardson's found poems, as a way to illustrate her work.

Louisa May's Story of Her Life

i

The most important thing to say is that I grew up in the South. Being Southern shapes aspirations shapes what you think you are and what you think you're going to be.

(When I hear myself, my Ladybird kind of accent on tape. I think, Oh Lord, You're from Tennessee.) No one ever suggested to me that anything might happen with my life

I grew up poor in a rented house in a very normal sort of way on a very normal sort of street with some very nice middle class friends

(Some still to this day)

and so I thought I'd have a lot of children.

I lived outside.

Unhappy home. Stable family, till it fell apart. That first divorce in Milfrount County. So, that's how that was worked out.

ii

Well, one thing that happens growing up in the South is that you leave.
I always knew I would

I would leave.

(I don't know what to say...
I don't know what's germane.)

My high school sweetheart and I married, and went north to college.
I got pregnant and miscarried, and I lost the child.

(As I see it now it was a marriage situation which got increasingly horrendous where I was under the most stress and strain without any sense of how to extricate myself.)

It was purely chance that I got a job here, and he didn't. I was mildly happy.

After 14 years of marriage, that was the break.

We divorced.

A normal sort of life.

So, the Doctor said, "You're pregnant."
I was 41, John and I
had had a happy kind of relationship,
not a serious one.
But beside himself with fear and anger,
awful, rageful, vengeful, horrid,
Jody May's father said,
"Get an abortion."

I told him
"I would never marry you.
I would never marry you.
I would never.
I am going to have this child.
I am going to.
I am. I am."

"Just Go Away!"

But he wouldn't. He painted the nursery. He slept on the floor. He went to therapy. We went to LaMaze.

(We ceased having a sexual relationship directly after I had gotten pregnant and that has never again entered the situation.)

He lives 100 miles away now. He visits every weekend. He sleeps on the floor. We all vacation together. We go camping.

I am not interested in a split family, her father taking her away on Sundays. I'm not interested in doing so.

So, little Jody May always has had a situation which is normal.

Mother – bless her – the word "married" never crossed her lips.

(I do resent mothers' stroke.

Other mothers have their mothers.)

So, it never occurs to me really that we are unusual in any way.

No, our life is very normal. I own my house. I live on a perfectly ordinary middle-class street.

So, that's the way that was worked out.

She has his name. If she wasn't going to have a father, I thought she should have a father, so to speak.

We both adore her.

John says Jody May saved his life.

OH, I do fear that something will change—

(Is this helpful?)

This is the happiest time in my life.

I'm an entirely different person.

With no husband in the home there is less tension. And I'm not talking about abnormal families here. Just normal circumstances. Everyone comes home tired.

I left the South a long time ago. I had no idea how I would do it.

So, that's the way that worked out.

(I've talked so much my throat hurts.)

(Richardson, 1992, pp. 20-23)

Part Two: An interview with Laurel Richardson

Sarah: Thank you, Laurel for being willing to talk about your work. Can you talk a little about how you first heard poetry in a participant's words?

Laurel: As a young child I didn't see very well. I always depended upon voice. I remember people's voices. My father was a criminal attorney and he used our home phone. We were required to remember what was said to us in exact details. I got very attuned to voices and movement. Voice has always been very important to me. My highest value is aesthetic. I value beauty. I see beauty in all the voices I'm hearing. I think hearing for me is the most important of the senses.

So with hearing poetry in people's voices, it isn't like I have to pay attention to somebody as being a person I'm researching. I'm just listening to them; that's a skill I have.

No-one ever speaks in prose. It's not ordered. When you see prose on the paper it's linear. This is typical in my field – sociology – where researchers take up little excerpts and act as if that's it.¹ [Writing is] much more true to the narrative by not taking a clip here, and then putting your voice in, and taking another clip. It's about the *particularity* of that person who has a voice and a way of speaking.

With Louisa May, I selected her words as a narrative work, as an epic poem, as an epic life. I think the poetry permits the wide-ranging emotion of the person. You have a narrative that isn't quite what you expect. She has the repetitive refrain ('That's the way it is'). I wanted to make it clear that it was an interview; it wasn't just a poem out of nowhere. I was present and she was talking to me ('Is this what you want?').

Sarah: When you put her speaking on the page, it also has your aesthetic in it. You're creating the jagged lines on the page. Could you say a little about how you did that?

Laurel: The [line] breaks are content breaks. We're either switching topics she's talking about, or changing times: some times before she got pregnant, being pregnant, choosing to have the baby. I was trying to get the accent, the strength of her feelings. It's poetry with the open spaces, which is honouring her as I'm hearing her changing the thematic.

Sarah: There is something of your author-ness, your poet-ness in how you present it. How do you understand where your hand is in it when you put their speaking on the page?

Laurel: Of course I'm artful. I've spent years wanting to be more and more artful, and hopefully getting better at it. I've got a piece called 'Marriage and the Family'.² It's a series of lyric poems; together they form a narrative. If you change the order in which the poems appear, the narrative changes. I find this one of the most fascinating possibilities in poetry writing. Whether one is talking to the same person or different people, if you change the order in which you put the poems, the whole narrative changes. If you change the order of those, they're reconstructed again; it's a different life you're reading about.

One recent article I particularly like is by Hilary Brown (2020). I found it a marvellous piece. What's she done is taken her mom's journals and written a very small short poem, with all the white spaces. When she presented it at Qualitative Inquiry [conference] as a performance, it brought up all kinds of responses and other people's stories about it. She shared the poem with her mother and did a video, and then put it online. Then it's printed in this journal (Brown, 2020), and I'm talking about it to you. I don't know Hilary. The same poem has gone through multiple readings: by readers, by lookers, by her mom, by herself and by me as reader. People constantly rewrite their poems. What you see is how the poem presents a person who is constantly changeable. Not them as a humanist subject who's unalterable, but with multiple viewers/ readers/hearers. I read another article a long time ago of a woman who did the bridal dresses of her mother, where there became different ways of seeing the dresses. The same object changed by being in a museum, by people looking at it. It's the same kind of thing with a poem.

Sarah: It makes me think about the person who was in the poem as existing between people differently; that the subject of the poem means something different when people hear them. Could you talk a little about that?

Laurel: With Louisa May, people seem to know her.

There's a person there. They're not frozen in time at all. What you have is a snapshot of somebody at some particular point in time who is not that same person in the next snapshot. You have a reader who is reading in that snapshot of time and then rereads 10 minutes later and is not the same reader either. It is always in flux; it is never settled. Whereas the prose writing, that science writing, wants to think things are settled, established; that X equals Y.

Sarah: I'm wondering if the aesthetic does something for people, the reader. What does it do for them?

Laurel: Prose books are in genres. There's an already engrained idea of what the story is, what the narrative is going to be. Poetry doesn't do that. Poetry is a surprise.

Sarah: Thanks for that Laurel. It is so simple and beautiful. If we move to thinking about what poetic re-presentation does for the research, I'm thinking it makes the researcher visible.³ What was important to you in this?

Laurel: I'm a symbolic interactionist in sociology; that's my field. Everything is interactive. I am present and to pretend I'm not is a sociological lie. What someone is saying to me at that time and that place is because it's me there at that time and place. She [the participant] might say something completely different to you as a therapist, than she would say to me. It's not just that she's not frozen in time; she's not frozen with the person she interacts with. The very existence of your presence makes a difference. They're talking to you in a certain kind of way. It's not invisible to them. They're shaping what they're saying.

Sarah: This seems to connect with researcher power. How do you understand the power of the researcher?

Laurel: Whatever power I had was because of my position as a full professor of sociology.

The position was powerful. I understand the difference between me the person and the position I hold. I'm in that position and I want to use that power to help others. Having that OSU [Ohio State University] after my name helped me publish things other people couldn't publish. It let me get away with talking about poetry outside of my department.

The poetic voice says there are lots of different poetic voices. Many people have not felt comfortable in academia or graduate school because they write differently or think differently; it's an opening for other people. In America, there is so much diversity here. It's beautiful. The different voices, sounds, ways of making sense of their worlds.

Sarah: How might different researchers hear Louisa May differently and represent her differently?

Laurel: They make her available to people who don't know about her or that kind of life. I really object to the idea that you can't write about anyone but yourself, that you're the only one with a voice. It's not ownership or owning someone else's voice. It's bringing a voice into a world that can hear that voice, that otherwise could not hear that voice at all.

Sarah: I'm thinking about an idea that when you interview someone and hear them speak and you later write it as poetry, the meaning has slightly changed when you rewrite it. It might be a retelling or ...?

Laurel: It is a retelling. It can be retold and retold and retold. At least it's a telling. I worked very hard on the Louisa May interview, trying to write it as prose and it never worked. I gave up and decided to write the poem. I did it in the context of prose as a trope.4 Why do we think prose is true and everything else isn't? It's the postmodern question of why do you come to believe what you believe? How do you think something is true? One of the ways you say you believe something is because it was said in prose: I saw a chart, a scale; I saw some numbers on a paper. That was where the [poetic re-presentation] approach is coming from. How do you claim to know what you know?

I'd always been interested in truth claims. As a child, no-one would believe me that I knew things and saw things. When I was 35, I was in a car accident and was in a coma. I had been teaching statistics and was a maths prodigy. It was completely gone. How do I lay claim to any kind of knowledge? Are there other ways to know things? The car accident and coma really opened me, reopened me, to poetry which I'd known as a kid.

Sarah: Thanks a lot, Laurel. There's just one more question. Other researchers have taken poetic re-presentation far and wide. What is it like to see others taking this creative approach into their various fields?

Laurel: I cannot believe how it has gone cross-cultural, cross-continental, cross-disciplinary. How teachers use this, not to teach but to open their classrooms and open themselves – I'm in awe of where it's gone.

Part Three Condensation, composition and congruence

Condensation and composition

Richardson (2002) used poetic re-presentation to honour a participant's speaking by re-creating something of the vibrancy of their talk. She paid close attention to the lyricism of a person's voice, creating a

re-presentation of their speech on the page using poetic techniques such as 'line length, meter, cadence, speed, alliteration, assonance, connotation, rhyme and off-rhyme, variation and repetition' (Richardson, 1992, p. 26). As well as being used as a way to retell a person's story (Speedy, 2008), poetic re-presentation has also been used for other purposes in research, such as to distil or condense participants' speaking as data (Furman, 2006; Glesne, 1997).

Education researcher Glesne (1997) took up Richardson's poetic re-presentation in order to turn a long interview with Dona Juana, a Puerto Rican researcher and educator, into a short poem. Glesne did this by carefully selecting Dona Juana's words, which she turned into a 'poem-like composition' (1997, p. 202). Glesne began by reading the interview transcript, generating major themes, and then coding and sorting the text by those themes. Her approach was to select words from anywhere in the transcript as long as she kept 'enough of her [Dona Juana's] words together to re-present her rhythm, her way of saying things' (1997, p. 205):

I found myself searching for the essences conveyed, the hues, the textures, and then drawing from all the portions of the interview to juxtapose details into a somewhat abstract representation ... I wanted the reader to come to know Dona Juana through very few words. (Glesne, 1997, p. 206)

Other researchers have also written found poetry from participants' speaking in interviews as a way to distil and condense data, to create evocative re-presentations of participants' speaking (Langer & Furman, 2004).

In my doctoral study, I too used poetic re-presentation as a way to condense interview transcripts into evocative data (Penwarden, 2018). In my study, I engaged eight participants in re-membering conversations (White, 2007) about their lost loved partner. I then wrote each participant a folio of rescued speech poems directly from their speech (Behan, 2003; Speedy, 2005). Each participant and I then met for a second time to facilitate their reflecting as consultants on the effect and value of the poetry therapy on their re-membering of the loved one. In approaching the ordering of the interviews into themes, I listened again to each audio-recording, listening in particular for the effects of the poetry on participants' re-membering of the loved one. I selected episodes of their speaking and arranged them on the page, paring them back

to bare branches, using form to intensify the poetic work. In all, I wrote 16 poetic re-presentations from these interviews, condensing the eight interviews into short poems. In these poems, a reader could see a clear delineation between a participant's speaking and mine. They could see my hand in how I had retold participants' speaking, my author-ness. Each poem was a retelling from the initial moment of speaking onto the page, through my ear, eye and hand.

Congruence with narrative therapy

Poetic re-presentation is a research practice that chimes with narratively informed practitioner research. It is an ethical and aesthetic research practice that centres participants' speaking in research writing. This speaking may be of the life stories they are making, or about the effects of therapy on the woven text of their lives. Through poetic re-presentation, the difference between a participant's speaking and interviewer's meaning making is maintained. A client-participant's utterances are retold on the page as speaking for themselves; speaking in excess of the meaning the researcher makes. Moreover, the presence of the researcher is made visible through the selection and arrangement of particular participant's utterances; through line breaks, titles and form on the page. The resulting version is a re-presentation that makes transparent rather than 'conceals the handprint of the researcher who produced the written text' (Richardson, 1992, p. 878). It highlights the presence of the author. Thus, one can be account-able for one's accounts of the other (Linnell, 2010).

As well as being a politically conscious approach to retelling participant's utterances, poetic re-presentation invites a researcher to bring their aesthetic skills to bear in producing a kind of 'talk that sings' (Bird, 2004). Therapy researchers might use 'evocation, resonance and poetic-mindedness' in their selection and arrangement of client-participants' words on the page (Speedy, 2008, p. 87) This practice might reflect a 'thick' re-presentation of participant's accounts, where their 'richly described' stories of therapy might 'stand on their own' (Gaddis, 2004, p. 6). In this way, poetic re-presentation reflects a value of multiplicity rather than singularity, where each researcher might construct their own version of the participant's speaking while remaining accountable to faithfully re-present the person's initial speaking. Thus, 'constructing interview material as poems does not delude the researcher, listener, or readers into thinking that the one and only true story has been written, which is a temptation attached to the prose trope ... Rather that the facticity of the findings as constructed is ever present'

(Richardson, 2002, p. 879). A poem's very form reminds the reader that it has been constructed.

Poetic re-presentation is a strategy for data representation that takes seriously the notion that in research, 'writing is never innocent. Writing always inscribes' (Richardson, 2002, p. 879). Poetic representation has the potential to be a valuable addition to the range of research strategies available to narrative therapists wanting to be conscious of their own power as authors of research. It is one strategy for data representation that can be included within an overall narratively informed research study. Such an approach to data representation can enable the researcher to handle with care participant's utterances in a way where these utterances can speak for themselves, while also showing the presence of the researcher. As such, this research methodology might join with other research methodologies attractive to narrative therapists desiring to develop 'a kind of reflexive politically aware collaborative approach to research' (McLeod, 2014, p. 32).

Afterwards

When Laurel read her interview in the first draft of the article, she wrote to Sarah asking that the grammatical mistakes and incomplete sentences be 'corrected', because the speech has turned into prose, and the genre needs to be respected. Sarah did this. Laurel also invited Sarah to choose the important points from the interview (as Sarah understands them for her purposes) and construct as poem from them. Sarah did this and sent two poems to Laurel. In reading these poems, Laurel said she felt even closer to herself and to her work than reading the interview transcript. She felt heard and honoured. She could see the therapeutic power of poetic representation.

Being open

It's how poetry is done with the open spaces—the honouring of their talk.

Poetry is an opening for other people: the different voices, sounds, ways of making sense of their worlds.

The accident really opened me, reopened me, to poetry which I'd known as a kid.

Seeing, hearing

It's a listening.

As a young child I didn't see very well.
I always depended upon voice.
I remember people's voices.
I got very attuned to voices and movement.

Voice has always been very important to me; my highest value is aesthetic: I value beauty.

I see beauty in all the voices I'm hearing; I see beauty in a lot of places: the different voices, sounds, ways of making sense of their worlds.

No-one ever speaks in prose; it's not linear, ordered.

I did Louisa May's voice –
a Southern voice –
I did her voice.
If I'd done it the other way; I couldn't write it.

Louisa May – people seem to know her; she exists between you and me. There's a person now.

It makes her available to people who don't know about her or that kind of life. It's bringing a voice into a world — to hear that voice, that otherwise could not be heard at all.

Notes

- Richardson (1994b) resisted the common research practice in sociology of sandwiching participant words between researcher prose; the practice of 'quoting snippets in prose' (1994b, p. 522).
- In 'Nine Poems: Marriage and Family', Richardson (1994a) wrote a series of poems based on field notes from interviews with participants about their experiences of marriage, family and singleness. 'Each poem is a mini-narrative, an episode, representing an emotionally and morally charged experience. The order of the poems implies a plot ... The nine poems could be reordered. implying very different plots' (Richardson, 2002, p. 191). Richardson saw how a found poem could retell lived experience. In particular, how a 'sequence of poems with an implied narrative comes closer to achieving that goal than other forms of ethnographic writing' (Richardson, 1997, p. 180). Thus, re-presenting a person's speaking in a series of short poems can echo 'the artful openness of the process and the shifting subjectivities by which we come to know and not to know ourselves, and then to know ourselves differently again' (Richardson, 2002, p. 881).
- 'There is no view from nowhere; the authorless text' (Richardson, 1990, p. 27).
- In her approach, Richardson contested prose as the dominant model for claiming truth and knowledge in ethnography. More broadly, she argued from a poststructuralist view that as researchers we constantly create our own truth claims in our research (Richardson, 1994b).

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