Seeking to live more peacefully with painful histories

by Chaste Uwihoreye

Chaste Uwihoreye is a Rwandan clinical psychologist with 18 years' experience of clinical practice and a PhD in psychotherapy. He is country director of Uyisenga Ni Imanzi, a child- and youth-focused organisation. Chaste has a particular commitment to decolonising healing practices and promoting solidarity and cohesion. He is pioneering an approach that is deeply embedded in the Rwandan cultural context and informed by arts-based and narrative therapeutic approaches. Chaste can be contacted at uwichaste@yahoo.fr

ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9982-8435

Abstract

In this interview, Chaste Uwihoreye describes his work with young people in Rwanda, from collective truth-telling conversations to supporting child-headed households in ways that foster, rather than undermine, children's leadership. Chaste draws on Rwandan songs, poems and proverbs as forms of cultural acknowledgement and comfort in workshops with very large groups of young people. These workshops begin with a 'story gifting' process that acknowledges what has happened to the young people and their families, and at the same time creates new stories about ways of living together with difficult histories. Metaphoric practices are described, including an umbrella exercise in which people depict the problems they are facing in the present as rain, and the skills and knowledges that they use to face these problems as a protective umbrella. Memories are transformed into a 'usable past' that can be used to generate songs, poems or artworks. Possession of these tangible forms provides options for action: whether to share a song, burn a poem or keep a drawing. Chaste describes solidarity camps (Ingando) in which young people can be together and witness each other's suffering and strength, and be trained and supported to facilitate group work with other young people. In the shadow of genocide, Chaste shares the hopeful collective work of remembering painful histories in ways that enable people to act and to live good lives in the present.

Key words: Rwanda; group work; collective practice; youth; child-headed families; genocide; history; proverbs; narrative therapy

Uwihoreye, C. (2022). Seeking to live more peacefully with painful histories (D. Denborough, Interviewer). *International Journal of Narrative Therapy and Community Work*, (1), 7–17. https://doi.org/10.4320/SRNB1931

Author pronouns: he/him

 | ISSN: 1446-5019

DD: Chaste, you are involved in so many different initiatives here in Rwanda. One of these involves trying to talk with younger people about Rwanda's history, including the genocide against the Tutsi in 1994. Can you tell me about how you approach this?

Chaste: Here in Rwanda, after the genocide against the Tutsi, the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission hosted *Ingando*, meaning solidarity camps. Ingando is a traditional concept; a place and ritual where Rwandans can go and stay for some time, talking together to find a solution to any big problem that they are facing. After the genocide, in these solidarity camps, people would discuss the value of being Rwandese rather than identifying as separate 'ethnic' groupings (which had been influenced by colonialism and contributed to genocidal ideology).

Ingando also became a context for *itorero*, which is a traditional way of training young people. Prior to colonisation in Rwanda, we didn't have schools. What we had was itorero. This was the way in which young people learnt our values, our skills and our knowledge. It was a kind of school, but in our culture, knowledge is transmitted from a person to another person, from a generation to generation, through talking and sharing. It's a different pedagogy than the Western way of writing, publishing and learning through books. In our tradition, the proverb 'Utaganiriye na se ntamenya icyo sekuru yasize avuze' means 'Someone who didn't talk to his father will never know what his grandfather said'. This conveys the significance of the knowledge that is transmitted between generations through talking and discussion. Through itorero we know what our ancestors said. We know our values. We know our skills. We also learn from history. We learn the history from before colonisation: how Rwandans lived together and then what occurred during colonisation, how the social groups were created, how independence was won, how the regime was formed, the violence, the wars, the killings, up to the genocide. All of this from our history is discussed. It's sometimes not an easy story to share.

DD: I'm sure. And just this week, you were facilitating one of these itorero sessions, is that right? With some hundreds of young Rwandans present? I imagine you need to take great care with how you approach and introduce people to these histories in a collective setting.

Chaste: Yes, it's not an easy story because this history has affected every Rwandese in powerfully emotional ways, and it has also affected our relationships with each other, between Rwandese. Every Rwandese is living a kind of pain directly linked to these histories. During itorero, we are exploring and creating a collective memory of our history, but everybody also has an individual memory of what happened to them, to their family, to their village. There are some who were here in Rwanda, suffering. There are the others who were outside of the country in refugee camps. When we talk together about these histories, everybody has thoughts and memories. And these events continue to shape the present. Together in itorero, I am trying to facilitate a collective conversation that can assist us individually and collectively to live more peacefully with our painful history.

When I'm working with young people, we try to remember and acknowledge what happened to them or to their families, and at the same time, we are creating a new story of how we can together live with these histories. Of course, I do not teach the histories. There are others who can do this better than me. I am invited instead to create a context where participants can link their memories of these histories to preferred ways of living today. We explore how these histories have affected their lives, and how they have responded to this history. What memories connect them to this history? And what steps can we take individually and together into the future?

DD: You mentioned that these conversations take place in big groups. Is that right? Can you paint us a picture of how you facilitate these discussions?

Chaste: Yes, we may have 300 to 500 young people remembering together.

 | ISSN: 1446-5019

DD: And these may be people from very different social locations?

Chaste: Yes. In a group of 500 young people coming from everywhere in the country, coming from different social groups, coming from all different backgrounds, some are survivors, others from families in which people have been imprisoned. It's not easy.

DD: Sounds far from easy to me. You are meeting with up to 500 young people in a country where there's been profound social suffering, and you're bringing together people who are in very different social locations in relation to this suffering. Correct me if I'm wrong, but it's also a relatively reserved culture in which people do not readily share personal experiences with those they do not know?

Chaste: People here have good reasons not to quickly trust others who they do not know with their personal stories.

DD: So how do you begin?

Chaste I start by providing cultural proverbs, which are beautiful: 'Ijoro ribara uwariraye cyangwase ngo agahinda k'inkoko kamenywa n'inkike yatoreyemo', meaning, 'We are teaching you history, but you are the ones who know better the situation, your own history'.

And then we give stories to each other – what I call 'story gifting'.

I ask each person to quietly remember where they came from: where they were living in their childhoods or adolescence; to remember their family, their school. People keep quiet during these two, three, five minutes of trying to go back to their history. I acknowledge that during this time, they may also remember some of the hardships they went through, or their family went through. I say that if there are tears, that is okay. I acknowledge that Rwandan histories are painful, and if you feel the pain of this history then it means you are still alive.

I also let them know that immediately after being quiet, we will join in pairs. This is an invitation to outsider witnessing and story gifting. Everybody has to share a history from their life with their neighbour, with somebody else. And vice versa. And when you hear your neighbour's history, then you must give a gift in return. This is not a gift from a supermarket. It's a meaningful gift that is related to the history they have shared.

I give some guidance about this story gifting. I invite them to offer gifts of proverbs or gifts of songs. Here in Rwanda, our proverbs and songs are cultural forms of both acknowledgment and comfort. Michael White (2006) would describe how no-one is a passive recipient of trauma. I like to add to this and say that no-one is a passive recipient of another person's story or history. This initial exercise involves giving and responding.

I explain it through a wonderful proverb: 'Akebo kajya iwamugarura', meaning, 'If somebody gives you something, there is always something to give in return, there is always a giving back'. If somebody shares with us an aspect of their history, their story, it's a special gift, so we need to give back. And what are we going to give back? It should be something like a song, a poem, a proverb. That's an appropriate return gift.

DD: Am I right in thinking that this song, poem or proverb that is given back comes from the listener's personal history?

Chaste: Yes, their personal history. It's something that is connected to the feelings they get when hearing the history of the other. It's a beautiful moment when people are giving each other these gifts. This is the first step in our workshop in which we are trying to assist each other to create ways of living peacefully with history.

DD: This sounds like a beautiful process, but can I just go back a step? When you invite people to share an early story or early memory with others, you mentioned that for some, this can take them to very sad memories or devastating memories. I know you have such experience in meeting with people who have been through extreme suffering, so I know you would be somehow creating a context of great care with this. I gather you're trying to find some way to acknowledge what people are living with. How do you set a

 | ISSN: 1446-5019

context of care for that invitation, for people to remember and perhaps share in a public workshop a very painful or difficult memory?

Chaste: Before remembering or sharing painful memories, we need to prepare people. Here, in Rwanda, I prepare them by using some proverbs, such as: 'Ugira imana abona uwo abwira', meaning 'Who is lucky? The lucky one who can find somebody to listen to him, to listen to her? That is who is lucky'. That is one of the proverbs. And I use it to set a context that this is a place where we are going to listen to each other.

DD: I can see how that sets a particular context for the gift giving. This is not some cathartic individual psychological disclosure, but a collective context for the opportunity to be listened to and to listen to the histories of others – to exchange gifts of stories.

Chaste: Yes, this is an opportunity to be listened to and to exchange story gifts.

DD: If very painful or sorrowful memories are particularly present, how do you respond as a facilitator?

Chaste: The first thing I do is just to assure and to reassure people that we are here to listen to them. Here in Rwanda, we also use song. There are too many songs we have to use in these moments: [singing] 'Ni nde undirije umwana yogacaracara yogacana injoshi akenyegeza ibisabo, wirira wihogora nkwihorereze': 'Don't cry, don't cry, don't cry, my child who used to drink milk from a cow'. If someone is in need of particular comfort, then in Rwanda it would sometimes be appropriate for their neighbours to put their hands on them and for us to sing together.

DD: Thanks, Chaste, that conveys some of the care you take with enabling this precious story gifting. I imagine this is particularly important because you are working in a big group and with people from many different social locations and different relationships to the history of Rwanda. I really appreciate how this engagement with personal history and the story-gifting process is linked with cultural proverbs, songs and poems. What do you do next?

Chaste: After this exercise, I then introduce a different metaphor. I speak about how our histories, our memories, are like our property. You may seek to own a house or a car. If you have a house, you can use it, you can lend it, you can get money from it. Property is important. It is useful. Our histories are also a property that we must use effectively.

DD: This reminds me of the concept of generating a 'usable past' (Denborough, Wingard & C. White, 2009; Wertsch, 2002, p. 45).

Chaste: Yes, we are seeking to generate a usable history. We wish to transform the memory into other forms. For example, good songs can be made from histories. They can make a good poem. They can make good drawings, paintings. We can transform our histories into objects that are good, that are property, and we can decide how we are going to use them. Once these objects are created, you may wish to keep some of them, to share some of them, or to burn or bury some of them. This exercise involves a transformation of memory into a physical – often artistic – property. This is another process to assist us to continue to live peacefully with our histories.

DD: I guess this sometimes involves transforming anguish into art. What was a very personal, perhaps isolating, memory has a chance to be shared, if that is what the person chooses. And I appreciate very much that this sharing does not depend on the spoken word. What do you do next?

Chaste: After that exercise, there are three proverbs that I turn to:

'Iyo utazi aho uva ntumenya aho ujya'

'When you don't know where you're coming from, you cannot know where you're going to'

I share this proverb because we have just been through a process of remembering, of gifting our histories, and then making a property of our histories. These have all involved trying to know where we are coming from. Time is now up for that. We are going to move to something else.

There is another proverb:

'Iyo utazi aho ugeze ntushobora

 | ISSN: 1446-5019

kumenya urugendo usigaje kugira
ngo ugere aho wifuza kugera'

'If you don't know where you are, you cannot know where you are heading to'

At this point, I invite them to do what I call the umbrella exercise. Here in Rwanda, it can rain a lot and an umbrella is one of the strong tools we use for protection. It's a helpful metaphor to try to make visible how people are enduring hardships in the present: what skills they are using for protection.

We draw an umbrella and then use the metaphor of different lines of the rain to symbolise the problems and challenges that we're currently facing. We use the umbrella to represent what is protecting us. The visual image depicts that we are under the umbrella, somehow protected from the rain above.

Everyone individually does this exercise. It's a way of analysing where we are. We use it to name the contemporary challenges we are facing and also the forms of protection, the skills and knowledges, we are using to face these.

In Rwanda we like to work collectively, so we then take all the individual drawings and put them together. We evoke a collective umbrella and I give a summary of some of the different challenges people have placed on the raindrops and our skills of protection.

Once we are protected in Rwanda, we like to dance! So we take a moment together at this point in the workshop to dance!

DD: Great! you mentioned there was a third proverb you draw on?

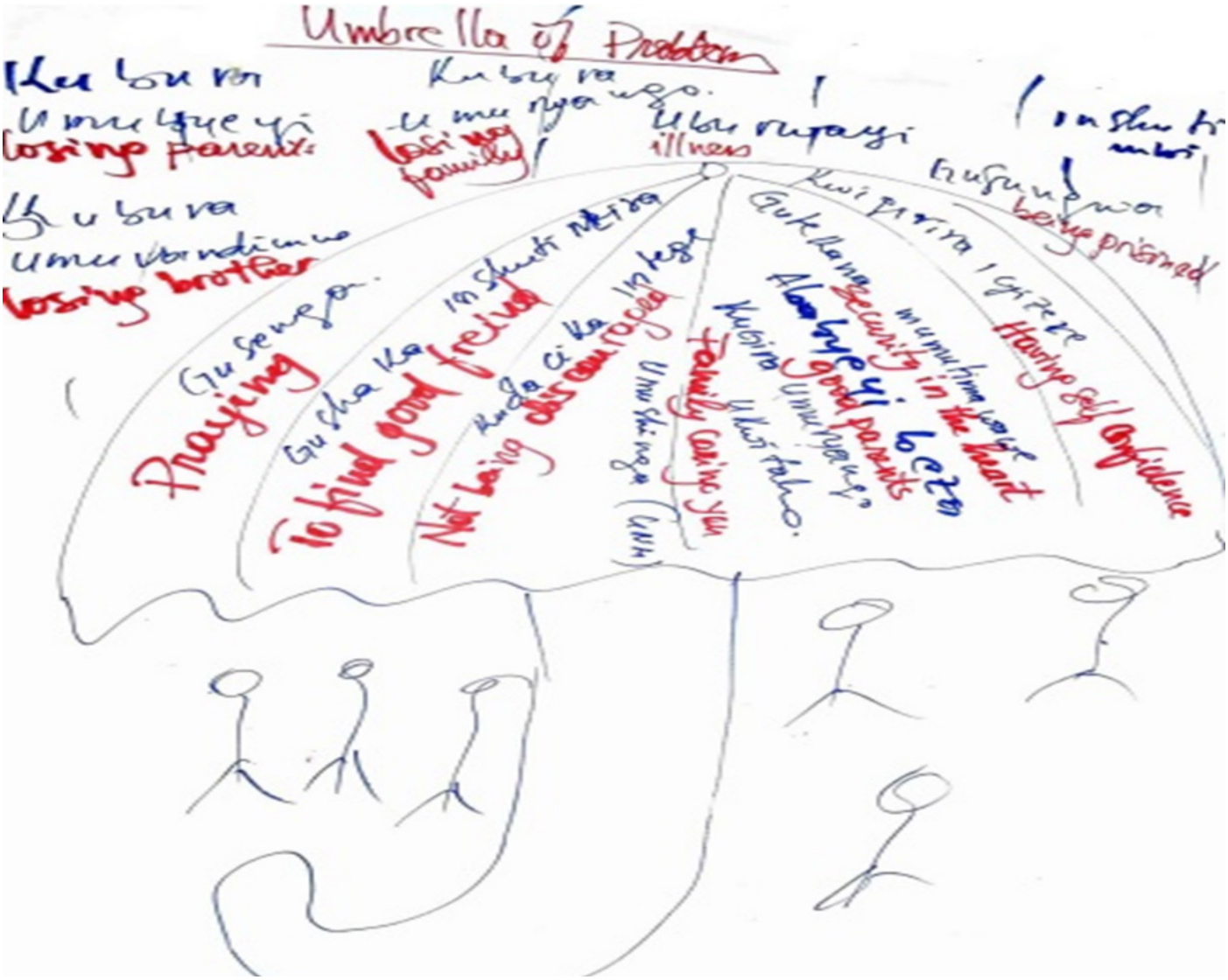

Figure 1. Example of the umbrella metaphor

 | ISSN: 1446-5019

Chaste: Yes. It's a beautiful proverb:

'Ndetse niyo utazi aho ugana aho
ugeze hose ugira ngo niho wajyaga'

'When you don't know where you are
going to, wherever you arrive, you
will think it's your destination'

When you leave Kigali, David, if you don't know you are going to Australia, and your plane stops temporarily in Nairobi, you will think your destination is Kenya!

I use this proverb to evoke the significance of breathing a new history. At this point in the workshop, we have spoken about our backgrounds. We know where we're coming from. And we've done an exercise with the umbrellas that shows where we are. But we cannot stay here and continue dancing. We need also to think about where we are going.

I find another metaphoric practice is helpful here: the House of Life. We draw a picture of a house that consists of different rooms. In Rwanda, a house has a room for parents, a room for children, a room for dining. Sometimes, you have a room for a visitor. When we use this metaphor to represent our lives (or the life of our country or community as a collective), there may be some rooms that have been destroyed, some rooms that are locked and we have lost the keys and you cannot get in, some rooms that are okay, and some beautiful rooms. We create these visual representations individually and then we start to circulate them.

We show our House of Life to others. It's like visiting each other's houses. In Rwanda, we only invite a special person to our house. You visit my dining room, you visit where I sleep, you visit where my kids sleep, you visit where

Figure 2. Examples of the House of Life metaphor

 | ISSN: 1446-5019

other visitors sleep. Sometimes you will see rooms that are not in such good shape. And after you have visited my House of Life, I ask you some questions to give me feedback:

- What emotions did visiting my house bring to you?
- What image of my house came to your mind?
- Did you have any new thoughts from visiting my house?
- Did you learn anything from visiting my house that could be helpful to your life?

DD: I like that question about learning.

Chaste: And then the last question: What can we do for your house? If there is a room that needs new paint, can we paint it? Can we build another room?

DD: What can 'we' do for each other's houses?

Chaste: Yes. For each other: 'What can we do for our houses?'

DD: I really appreciate this sentiment of joint action.

Chaste: This is about coming together to create a new history of a person. It's like trying together to find the keys for this house. After people make individual Houses of Life, we can also make a collective House of Life and plan different actions. After we talk about these plans and also the lessons we got from our houses, we celebrate. We celebrate building a new House of Life, which is coming from our history – its foundations are our histories – but we are also creating something new. This symbolises how we're living peacefully with our history.

DD: I see now how those three different proverbs shape your explorations together.

Chaste: Yes, this itorero process is therefore based around:

'Iyo utazi aho uva , ntumenya aho ujya'

'When you don't know where you're coming from, you cannot know where you're going'

'Iyo utazi aho ugeze ntushobora kumenya urugendo ushigaje ngo ugere aho wifuza kugera'

'When you don't know where you are, you can never know where you're going'

'Iyo utzi aho ujya , aho ugeze hose ugira ngo niho wajyaga'

'When you don't know where you are going to, you will think every stop is your destination'

DD: I have really appreciated hearing about this workshop, Chaste. In Australia, we are also seeking ways to come to terms with painful histories, including genocidal histories. So often in my country, it is the First Nations people (those who are descendants of survivors of genocide) who do all the work of remembering. I will share this interview with First Nations colleagues who want to create contexts for truth-telling and also want to find ways of relating to these histories that enable action and good lives in the present. Perhaps we can stay in touch with you about this. For now, though, I'd like to ask you more about Ingando – the solidarity camps. If I remember correctly, in the aftermath of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, you were originally involved in organising such camps for young genocide survivors. Is that correct?

Chaste: Yes. In 2004/2005, I was just finishing my bachelor's degree in clinical psychology, and I was recruited to support young children, young adolescent survivors of genocide. We had around 3500 kids to support and I was the only person employed. I remember that I was given a beautiful office with beautiful chairs. I remember reflecting, 'Am I to invite kids to come see me here in Kigali, in this office? Or do I need to go and see them?' That was my first question. And I realised I had to get out of the office. I started visiting these children where they were living in child-headed households. There were so many child-headed households at that time, and we organised the young survivors into local associations.

I started to facilitate groups in each district, but I could only go once a month to each of the groups and this was not enough. I realised I needed to support some of the young people to facilitate their own groups, to become healers, to help the others.

 | ISSN: 1446-5019

I selected two from each group and offered them a one-week training on how to facilitate a group: how to give time for everybody to talk, to share, to sing together. They started holding weekly meetings and I would see them each month, but there was never enough time for all we wanted to discuss. Then, I realised we needed a little bit of time to live together, to sleep together, to eat together. We needed more time. So that's when I decided to organise a camp and I borrowed the traditional concept of Ingando, solidarity camp.

In Rwanda, April 7th to 13th is the commemoration week. Even now, this a hard time; it's a remembering time. As survivors, we go back to the journey of the genocide. We pass through it again in that week. Young people had to finish the commemoration week, and then one week later they would go back to school. When they would arrive at the schools, they would start having emotional crises. Sometimes they would be hospitalised or taken to health centres. I said no. After the commemoration week, we will organise a one-week camp. That's where this started. The commemoration week is a mourning week; you are not allowed to dance. But the next week, during the solidarity camp, we could be together, we could continue crying, but we could also dance and sing and make poems.

DD: That sounds highly significant. How many people would come to the camp?

Chaste: Around 300 young people each time. We would invite 10 representatives from each regional association. We would sing. People would be with their friends. There would be joy as well as sorrow. And the 10 young people would carry the experience back to those in their local area. The government supported us to hold these camps up until 2010.

I remember one child saying, 'I didn't know other survivors could suffer as I'm suffering, but coming here in this solidarity camp, finding other children who are the head of their household, now I'm feeling strong'.

They would witness each other's suffering but also each other's strength.

DD: Speaking of witnessing, am I right in thinking you also invited other key people to meet with these young survivors?

Chaste: Yes, we invited other people, mainly leaders, ministers, to come to visit them, to hear them, to hear their specific problems. For example, I invited the Minister of Justice to witness some the injustices and legal problems they were facing, and this minister then took action in terms of providing materials, in terms of providing justice and also providing acknowledgment and feedback. These were outsider-witnessing practices in which the witnesses really took action that made material differences in the lives of the young people.

DD: I imagine some of these young people had endured unimaginable sufferings. For some of them, was it a struggling just to exist?

Chaste: Within the camp, there was a special space for kids who were continuing to suffer. Sometimes when they were asked to go back to school, when the camp was supposed to finish, they refused. Some were admitted to psychiatric hospitals, were given medications, but continued to suffer.

These young people taught me a lot. I started to have conversations with them in that special space during the solidarity camps. We gathered in groups of around four or five young people. It was at this time that we first started to seek out young people's own names for their unique sufferings.

I would say something like, 'You have met with doctors and teachers and many others but this has not solved the problem. Probably, we don't really understand your problem. You may know your own problem better than us'.

I remember one kid who didn't name anything, but he took a piece of paper, and he drew a tomb with a figure inside it and said, 'I am here. What do you want me to do when I'm here, in the tomb?'

I so vividly remember this. He made me realise that we didn't really understand what these kids were suffering; that we needed their own descriptions and then for them to prescribe their own solutions. When this

 | ISSN: 1446-5019

young man showed us that he was in the tomb, then we had a different question: 'How can we get out of this tomb?'

At first, none of us knew, but over time, some steps became clear. We learnt together that first of all, you must know who put you in the tomb. This was more important than going to school. This was more important than any other sort of education. You must learn who put you in the tomb and, if possible, if you find them, you ask them to get you out of the tomb. This is the plan that emerged.

So, together, we started to find who put him in the tomb. We established that it was the ones who had killed all his family members who had entombed him. We needed to find out who they were. The other young people said they wanted to help, so together we went to his village, where they had been living, and we sought out who had killed his family. We found someone who knew the truth. He spoke the name of the one who had killed his father.

The young man realised that it was not himself who should be in the tomb, it should be those who had killed his family. They were now in exile, not in Rwanda, but metaphorically we named them, and the other young people helped to place them in the tomb rather than this young survivor. We put them in the tomb metaphorically and drew him out. We celebrated. It was really beautiful. And then, this kid, after the solidarity camp, he went back to school.

DD: This sounds like you together created a form of truth-finding, truth-telling and a sort of justice-witnessing?

Chaste: Yes, and it was his prescription that they needed to be in the tomb not him. He gave us all a beautiful orientation about how to get out of a tomb. He was the one who taught us.

DD: It's an incredibly powerful story. Did you stay in touch with that young man?

Chaste: Yes. He's good. He got out of the tomb. He's now a police officer and one of my friends [laughs].

DD: There's just one other theme I would like to ask you about. You mentioned earlier the child-headed households. Here in Australia, when children are suffering, sometimes they are removed from their family and neighbourhood and community and are placed with other families. Sometimes siblings or cousins are separated in this process. But I believe you have a different approach, that you were determined to keep siblings together, even when they had no adult to care for them, and instead to support those child-headed households. Can you tell me more about this?

Chaste: I know about this from my own life. After the genocide, I was living in a boarding school away from my brothers and sisters. I had a good material life in that boarding school, but when I was sitting in class, I was thinking only of my siblings. I had to get out of there. I knew that for me, it would be better to suffer together with my brothers and sisters than to eat three times a day. I think in Rwanda, family is important. Family is a foundation.

If you have brothers and sisters or cousins, then you have a family. Even if there are no adults. So that's why we started supporting child heads of households. The youngest head of the family we had was a girl of about 10 years old, Sophie. She was caring for a younger sister and a brother. We provided her (and other child-headed households) with some material support, with a house so that they could stay together. And there were social workers who could visit and support them. And a mentorship program where some parents in the community could mentor the children who were heading up their households. But these children stayed together as a family and Sophie was the head of her household. She had to prepare the other kids to go to school, she had to work hard. She was the mother of two kids. They suffered together for that long period. There were challenges, but they stayed together, and this was good.

DD: As you say, suffering together was better than living a materially better life separately.

Chaste: I think sometimes people do not recognise what is lost in separating siblings or cousins. When children stay together, then they can remember together, they

 | ISSN: 1446-5019

can talk together, they can – forever – talk about their shared history.

I think a family is like any other institution. Every institution has the right to provide its own leadership. If I come to your family and say I am coming to bring my authority, my leadership to your family, I am going to impose my ways for managing a family upon you, I think this will not work for your family. Every family has their own ways, their own values, their own culture. Of course, any child-headed household will need support, but this support needs to build up the oldest child's leadership, not undermine it. The support needs to be based on the children's own culture and values. Unfortunately, sometimes adults, in the name of protecting children, thinking that we are supporting them, actually undermine children's leadership in families. I think children who have been through horrors ought to have the right to choose with whom they will suffer.

DD: We also have such limited views of what children can do. What Sophie, at 10, could do. What you, in high school, could do to bring your siblings back together. We often don't recognise this.

Chaste: Sometimes, people think that children are 'just children': that they don't have the capacity for leadership, they don't have the capacity to know what they want, they don't have the capacity to organise themselves, and therefore we (as adults) have to organise them. And when children experience hardships, rarely do we acknowledge their skills and knowledge.

There is a proverb here: 'Umutima w'ipfubyi watanze umutwe w'umusaza kumera imvi', meaning 'The person who is hurt gets white hair before an old man does'. This means that orphans, for instance, become wise, become accountable and responsible, before or even better than old people. When children become orphans, when they face situations of hardship, they become more accountable and responsible for themselves. And then sometimes we undermine that process as adults by seeking to become responsible and accountable for their lives.

DD: After the genocide, not only did you seek to support child-headed families, but am I right that 'alternative' non-biological families were also created?

Chaste: Absolutely. In high schools and universities as young survivors who no longer had parents or living adults, we created artificial or alternative families. A young person would become a father or mother or aunt to another child to whom they were not biologically related. Or you could become a daughter or son or niece to another child, not necessarily older than you. And you would then need to respond as a parent or as a child to these newly embraced relations. You had to respect your dad as you would your biological father. And these relationships were and are for life. This really worked. These were new forms of family that we generated in the shadow of genocide.

DD: Chaste, the effects of the genocide that took place in Australia are continuing and the removal of First Nations children into state care and foster care is a current realm of profound suffering. I have so appreciated hearing you speak about your philosophy of children and young people having the right to choose with whom they suffer, and your emphasis born from your own experience that sometimes it's better to suffer together than be separated. We will share these stories of how you formed associations of children and young people; how you trained and supported them to then facilitate groups for other children and young people; how you held solidarity camps; how children's leadership was supported so that, where desired, they could maintain child-headed households to support their siblings; and how you formed alternative families of love and respect in the face of devastation.

We sure have covered a lot of territory in this conversation. Those earlier stories about how you are facilitating itorero to seek ways of living more peacefully with painful histories were also really significant to me. Thank you!

 | ISSN: 1446-5019

References

Denborough, D., Wingard, B., & White, C. (2009). *Yia Marra: Good stories that make spirits strong – from the people of Ntaria/Hermannsburg*. Dulwich Centre Foundation, WAHAC, and General Practice Network NT.

Wertsch, J. V. (2002). *Voices of collective remembering*. Cambridge University Press.

White, M. (2006). Responding to children who have experienced significant trauma: A narrative perspective. In M. White & A. Morgan (Eds.), *Narrative therapy with children and their families* (pp. 85–97). Dulwich Centre Publications.

| ISSN: 1446-5019