

ABORIGINAL AUSTRALIAN RELATIONS PROGRAM FACILITATOR NOTES by Pamela Nathan

Settle Down Country

Kurunna Mwarre "Make My Spirit Inside Me Good"

HOW to FACILITATE

Follow the process of the facilitator's workshop.

- Allow the process of talking about ideas and experiences and feelings to unfold
- Let the dialogue flow
- Open up the questions: WHAT? WHY? HOW?
- Keep the six priotised issues at the forefront of your mind
- Engage delegates, explore issues, guide delegates in their thinking
- Brainstorm with them
- Workshop the main concerns or ideas on a board or whitepaper
- · Prioritise them for recording

Some useful psychology/psychotherapeutic concepts:

- · Look for different understandings and meanings which may be hidden and not known
- Holding and containing the group: like the arms of a mother around her baby and holding men in traditional life can hold anxieties and pain and disturbances and uncertainties
- Emotional experiencing in the here and now can bring about change
- Sharing pain and feelings and ideas can alleviate the pain and reinforce identity, memories, define shared goals and hopes and restore damage done
- Brainstorming is like free associating which can free the mind of rigid and repetitive thoughts and give rise to new ones
- Listening and talking can bring about new understandings and actions and help people find their voice
- Working through ideas and feelings which can inform action takes time, determination, discipline and seriousness and can be like a boomerang that doubles back and then goes forward
- Badness may hide sadness
- Concern and not threat can be experienced and changes and growth can occur
- Relationships of trust can be built
- Look for and restore and preserve the good (inside one, in life etc)
- Loss and grief and pain can be felt and held and thinking can heal the wounds and the spirit can be made good.

Psychic country

- People come for consultations for all sorts of problems. Most feel boredom, fear, paralysis, distress and murderous rage and suffer abuse of varying degrees and kind.
- Mental pain underlies all these states: the pain of traumatic, throbbing losses that assault the mind and body like the sharp piercing of boomerang spearings or a volley of bullets.
- Helplessness, despair and rage are alive but might be buried in unknown country.
- These emotional states are not peculiar to the Aborigine but to the human condition.

CASE STUDIES

I present two cases I think are relevant to the NT Intervention. Giorgio was an adolescent who committed a violent act and Samuel an adolescent who committed a rape (neither are Aboriginal). They both initially deny their crimes. They hide their pain. Then they begin to talk and begin to understand how the past and present have come together in their crimes.

In their backgrounds there are past traumas, mental illness, cultural dislocation and war.

Giorgio

Giorgio came to see me for counselling, as he had committed a serious assault on his girlfriend. Giorgio was an only child. His mum had become depressed and developed schizophrenia when he was a child. She was put in hospital on and off throughout his childhood. At this time his grandmother had looked after him. He said he has always looked after his mum because she is mad. She laughs or screams. He blamed his father for making her sick. His father used to bash her and smash up the house. He saw it happen. His father left home when he was six. He said he found it very sad and very boring growing up, and found school boring too. He got expelled from school for bashing a female teacher. He used to wag school and go home and check up on his mother to see if she was alright. He began to drink and do drugs. His friends did the same. He got into fights at pubs. He stole cars, but he never got caught. Giorgio had girlfriends from when he was twelve. He was sexually active and watched pornographic movies sometimes. He said his current girlfriend was a flirt.

When he came to see me he said he was depressed, didn't feel like doing anything, kept to himself and stayed at home watching TV. He said he could get angry often over stupid things, for example, if "someone pushed him or swore". He said he was "a bit frightened" of his anger when I asked him, and "frightened he could hurt someone bad someday". I asked him what triggered his anger in the assault. He said:

She told me she was pregnant and going to get an abortion. I flipped out. I kept asking her if it was true and she said "yes" and she kept saying over and over, "I am going to get rid of the baby." I wanted the baby. I started hitting and kicking her. It done my head in. She kept going at me and just kept going and going and screaming and blabbering. I had had enough.

I asked him toward the end of the first session, "Why now?", namely what had happened recently that led him to criminally offend? He spoke spontaneously and without prompting. He acknowledged that he had a problem, that he was frequently substance-affected and that most of his friends had been in trouble with the police. He said he "felt like twelve men on the drugs", and that when he is not substance-affected he does not "do crazy things" and that he is usually "real quiet". He said he felt unwanted and alone and had angry feelings toward his absent and violent

father. He acknowledged that there had been family problems that included the financial squandering of some money his grandmother had given his mother. He said at the time:

Bills don't get paid. Rent gets overdue. I got very angry with my Mum. She plays the pokies. No-one is ever home. I think sometimes that no-one cares for me and stuff. It makes me feel sad. Sometimes I think about stuff. I feel unwanted. I think about revenge and about getting back at my Dad. Mum blew my grandmother's money. It was to be a house for us. It took just four months to blow. I had imagined a double-story house, pool, plasma TV, PlayStation. And then there was the gang I was hanging about with. One of them is now in gaol for murder.

Giorgio came to see me for a year or more. In this time he bought to mind his violent feelings and developed a further understanding of what made him so mad and violent. He began to see how frightened he had been of his mum and her screaming outbursts, how he had been goaded by his mum and his girlfriend, how he had repeated his father's violence, how unwanted he had felt as a kid and how he had been tantalised by the thought of a home and baby and felt crushed when both prospects were threatened and destroyed. As he became able to express some of the pain he had previously suppressed he was able to give up smoking dope regularly, although not completely, and has remained out of trouble.

Samuel

Samuel had been charged with the rape of a fourteen-year-old girl. His lawyer stated that he was charged because he had admitted to digital penetration and therefore, regardless of consent, was charged because the victim was under age (Crimes Act 1958—Sect 45). He was seventeen. He denied he had committed rape and said it was consensual. He was born in Somalia, one of five children. His parents separated when he was two years old, when after living for a short time in his grandmother's house, with his aunty and uncle nearby, he fled an outbreak of war with his mother and grandmother. He went to live in England for five years. He said he didn't talk for a year after he left. He didn't know why. They were unable to permanently settle. He said it was hard to move to Australia because he had no other family here, but that now he has "got used" to western life and the opportunities it offers. His mother works long hours. His father lives in Somalia. He said he didn't want to be like his father for his father was now alone, growing old, with no family or anyone to look after him because he had "chased women". He said he wanted to have a family of his own and children. He said he was often bored growing up and lonely without friends. He left school after completing Year 10 and said he was bored at school although he was an average student. He used to get called "nigger" at school, which made him angry. He had just got his licence and was doing pizza deliveries during the week. He binges on alcohol and drugs on weekends.

He has lost count of how many girls he has had sexual encounters with. He said he does not watch pornographic movies now but used to watch them with his mates. He described his sexual social life. He goes clubbing or to parties where he will "hook up" with girls and binge drinks. He said he never has to force a girl to have sex with him as girls are attracted to him. Later in the first session he said he preferred to be with younger girls about fourteen years old, but quickly said that he was not a paedophile. Older girls whom he feels he has to impress make him feel nervous and make him "get shy". I asked him if he felt more powerful with the younger girls and he emphatically

responded, "Yes! Yes!" He can be more open and feel more male with younger girls and feel less pressure. He said that younger girls could be flirts and tease him sexually.

At the outset of the first session, Samuel said he did not want to plead guilty. He was unsure why the victim had pressed charges. He was with a mate who had also befriended one of the girls. He said he was innocent. He described the events that preceded the offence. He and his friend had played soccer. They had been drinking. He was feeling bored. They saw the girls and hooked up with them.

Each session I returned to the offending. I said he seemed stressed and guilty and that if he was guilty it was going to be much worse for him to live with his guilt than if he talked about it now with me. Finally Samuel admitted, with some difficulty, that he might "be a little bit guilty". He said: "my hormones were flying". He spoke about his sexual attraction to younger girls and his sexual difficulties. He said there was no planning and admitted he acted without thinking and that he had sexually raped her. Over time, it became clear to both of us that a state of mind of boredom and loneliness were triggers to his offending. This state of mind was heightened by the disinhibiting effects of alcohol and reinforced by the company of his mate.

Following his admissions of guilt I spoke with his mother, who believed him to be innocent. She spoke of the trauma of Samuel being charged, saying it had destroyed their lives. Half a dozen police had come to her house at six o'clock in the morning to charge her son and she had felt like "a killer". It had reminded her of her war trauma when she was a young mother. She told me about the war. The session became very emotionally charged as she told me and Samuel that she had been raped by warlords in Somalia when Samuel was two years old. She asked how her son could be charged with what the warlords did to her when they were never charged. She inferred that her son was unlucky with the law. A stunned silence followed her admission. Samuel did not know consciously that his mother had been raped, though he had witnessed it. When he left Somalia he became mute for a year. He repeated what had been done to his mother. He had carried the pain unknowingly for years.

I mention this case because it was very hard for Samuel to admit his guilt and because he had reenacted the rape of his mother. His witnessing of that event had left him voiceless. It took a lot of work in many sessions to encourage him to talk. It reminded me of my work with a young Aboriginal boy charged with rape in a country town. He was on parole. He attended every appointment and sat in a corner with his face hidden and averted under a cap. I never asked him to take it off. Instead I spoke to him about his hiding, his shame and even his aversion. He never did take his cap off but he let me know he was listening. He barely talked. Samuel did finally talk. He heard his mother talk. He came to understand why he had become mute and how he had reenacted what he saw done to his mother. He understood he was both victim and perpetrator. He cried.

PSYCHOANALYTIC DREAMTIME

Psychoanalytic ideas can play a crucial role in explaining how an emotional, creative, alive response is possible in the face of pain, guilt and trauma.

VIOLENCE

- Violence is generally understood as an automatic response to danger and can be an act of self-preservation.
- It can be a deliberate act which aims to inflict physical harm or emotional pain on another and also provides the perpetrator with sadistic pleasure.
- Yet violence is often understood only from the side of the victim.
- The violent man is often seen first and foremost as a brute, a sadistic brute.
- Violence, however, can often occur just at the point that someone feels they will lose themselves, go mad (*arert*) and lose their psychic stability.
- Violence can provide psychic relief to the perpetrator. Violence may discharge painful or frightened feelings and even provide a sense of safety and containment in the face of loss of control, madness or intense feelings.
- Often people will become violent when words fail them and give rise to mindlessness. For
 example, it is not uncommon to hear offenders say, "It done my head in", as Giorgio did, to
 describe a situation where thinking is superseded by violent action.
- The violence can help restore a sense of self: a frightened, bad or criminal self but nonetheless an alive one.
- Sometimes, then, violent action can restore a sense of a lost identity.
- Given the massive erosion of the cultural worlds of Aboriginal people it is not surprising that violence flares in the interface between the old and the new.
- Sometimes violent action, an evacuation of the bad, can be a replacement for feeling sadness, for the sorry business itself.
- Sometimes violence can be a covert way to get help and an attempt to provoke the environment to look after one.
- It can be activated by frustration caused by scarce resources, both internal and external, and breaks in the continuity of these resources.
- It is not uncommon to find that those who commit violent acts have themselves been subject to violent abuse in childhood.
- Violence, in the context of catastrophic psychic trauma, may be an expression of a tidal wave of anguish that mounts up and threatens to overwhelm an individual, and may function as a limiting container: the pain is converted into physical pain and is limited to the wounds.
- The experience of pain also is a sign that the body is alive in the face of the person feeling deadened.
- Violent action, in the context of sustained trauma, which may be experienced internally as
 a repeated volley of bullets, may be a way of crashing through the firing, of dramatising the
 internal assaults and wanting to avert or silence the internal and external experience of
 massacre.
- Violence can also arise when a person feels terrified that they will be harmed, especially when they have been harmed before, or felt terrified of harm in the past.

• Usually where there is an aggressor, a victim lives inside. A victim will often want to reverse their status and make someone else the victim and themselves the aggressor.

Hyatt-Williams a psychoanalyst who worked in prisons, attempted to treat inmates who had murdered and those who were thought to be potential murderers. He noted that a constant factor in the development of what he called the "blueprint to murder" was an experience in which the individual had been in fear of his or her own life. Those who had a "blueprint" were terrified of death: as Hyatt-Williams states, in most instances their experience had been one in which they had been forced in a passive position, pinioned, unable to do anything and in a state of terror and fear for their own life.

He believed that the blueprint could become a split-off part of the self—"a kind of time bomb or unexploded bomb that could be detonated into death-dealing actions under certain circumstances"—that could repeat the earlier trauma. In my forensic work I have found his work to be true; every man who has become violent, aside from the psychopath, has experienced a lifethreatening or shocking trauma or intense moment/s of terror. They have been terrified too by acts of violence done to them.

Marcia Langton has spoken about lateral violence and described it as the expression of anomie and rage against those who are also victims of vertical violence and entrenched and unequal power relations. Langton states that those most at risk of lateral violence are the vulnerable members of the family—the old, women and especially children.

The Aboriginal man may not be able to stand up to the daily humiliations of the colonising Whiteman—the station boss, store manager, mining foreman, the govt and so on—and a pent-up rage can be detonated on the nearest and dearest kin over trivial matters. In this way the rage is discharged and a sense of autonomy may be gained which helps him avoid an oppressed reality.

Aboriginal people live with the knowledge of the violence of the Whiteman. They live with the legacies, the memories and the present-day realities of colonisation—dispossession, massacres, the Stolen Generation—and the violence done to them may be numbed and forgotten, only to be detonated in murderous action.

Aboriginal people have also lived with the denial of the violence by the Whiteman, who has been and continues to be a perpetrator of violence, a denial that can widen the gap and further incite violence.

Recently in Alice Springs there has been the trial of five white men who participated in the alleged killing of an Aboriginal man.

And in the Aboriginal world there is the tradition of pay-back, which sets the context for many assaults. According to spiritual belief, every death is caused by someone and requires recompense by strict tradition exacted in the form of a spear thrust into the guilty party's thigh.

SEXUAL ABUSE

What can we make of sexual offending?

Terror, nameless dread and a state of deadness can characterise responses to infantile/child trauma which can lead to sexual offending.

- The trauma is usually severe, prolonged or hits suddenly.
- Sexual offending can cover the pain.
- Sexualisation can replace the lost or absent world of the loving mother/parent/environment, eg the prostitute can replace the mother/wife.
- Sexual offending denies difference between the generations and may occur with the breakdown of kinship relations eg fathers can partner with daughters, mothers with sons, young kids be sexually active, older ones can partner with infants, toddlers and so on.
- Sexual offending reverses what is good in relationships and there can be an addiction to what is bad.

But it can be understood.

For example:

- paedophilia can be an expression of longing by the perpetrator to be the adored child and
 not the neglected child. The perpetrator can truly believe that the sexual attention they
 bestow on younger children can be an expression of love. Their actions can make up in a
 hidden way the anger they have felt about not being the adored child or being the
 neglected one.
- teens experimenting with sex earlier may do so to fill a vacuum of boredom or loneliness or to replace the absent, reliable and loving mother/parent/environment.
- rape maybe an expression of power in the face of powerlessness and impotence.
- exhibitionism may be another expression of male impotence where the offender may shock and humiliate another, affirming their masculinity-I am a man- and reversing earlier humiliation of being laughed at or feeling insecure as a man.
- sexual offending may entail a reversal of perpetrator and victim where once the perpetrator was abused.
- transvestism may also provide a solution to the experienced loss and in dressing like a woman, a man may remain connected to the lost or desired mother/parent.

Sexual offenders usually expresses rage, hatred or despair towards the loving mother/parent/environment who has abandoned them and left them to grow up in a cruel world without love. The sexualised and degrading dehumanisation of relationships can offer protection (a false protection though) in the face of the risks and disappointments of intimacy Sometimes sexual promiscuity is confused with sexual abuse, when it may be only that adolescents are experimenting or initiating sexual relations at a young age and/or with frequent

partners. Nonetheless, sexual promiscuity can also reflect a breakdown in loving relations or cultural life.

It seems that some of the sexual abuse reported in the Territory has constituted adolescents having sexual relations at an early age, some promiscuously and some with girls under age, albeit with consent.

One may say that for Aboriginal people the world has been perverted by the Whiteman and that colonisation has resulted in the loss of traditional roles and identities and kinship relations, obscuring generational difference, which has led to a world of deadened relations and feelings that can all too readily give rise to promiscuity and abuse.

BOREDOM

Both Samuel and Giorgio experienced boredom.

Warrick Thornton in *Samson and Delilah* graphically captures and portrays the anomie of Aboriginal life in the Centre.

Boredom is marked by the standing still of time. Nothing happens. Nothing will happen. Nothing is wanted. Time is slowed to a grinding halt: tick tock, tick tock, tick tock.

All feelings, anxieties and pains are deadened and the terrible despair and terrifying terror is hidden.

But there are silent screams- the wound, the black abyss, the desert emptiness.

This person who feels great boredom can be helped by talk about the nothingness, to recognise it, to give space and understanding to it so the void of nothingness is given meaning and life and the person is not left alone in his/her despair

Don't condemn the nothingness.

Talk to the person and an understanding, and a healing object can fill the gap by providing a sense of goodness, continuity and hope.

The person can be revived and protected from despair.

Eg like the *ngangar* sits with the ill man who has been 'boned' and rubs, massages, or sucks the affected area, taking it into himself and then spitting it out, until the blood is cleaned and the object which has sung the man is removed. He tries to find the dreaming song that made him sick. It is not a simple or easy process. It takes courage to face anguish and suffering. It takes the presence of another person to detoxify and share the pain.

Why would a population who has been dispossessed not experience a pervasive boredom or deadness?

The Aboriginal people have experienced multiple losses. Marcia Langton has written about the post-traumatic stress her people suffer as a result of frequent death and also importantly aggression, saying: "Just as sudden and indeed constant death results in a state of permanent grief so to the constant bullying and humbugging result in a social malaise akin to grief".

To catalogue some of the **losses**, not absolute losses, I draw on a paper by Jonathan Lear who wrote about the American Indians:

- Aboriginal people have experienced firstly a loss or mutilation of concepts; that is, the
 central concepts by which they understood their lives have now become unintelligible as
 ways of living, for example, freely going on a hunt.
- Secondly, they have experienced the **loss of traditional rituals and ceremonies** in the meeting of the old with the new.

• Thirdly, they have suffered a loss of **mental states such as courage and confidence**, which were manifest in hunting or ceremonial life and, finally, they have lost the sense of identity and being associated with the traditional roles such as hunter or gatherer.

MENTAL PAIN AND SORRY BUSINESS

- Loss and pain are part of the human condition and can underlie boredom, violence and abuse.
- No matter what the symptom, there is always mental pain.
- Pain is a direct result of sudden shock and trauma and loss, which cause a wound to the core of the self.
- The pain breaches the protective shield of the self/family/community.
- In these cases the loss is experienced as an attack upon the self and aggression can be mobilised.
- People can do all sorts of things with pain and coping strategies can become pathological:
- Individuals can manically deny the pain and seek solace in narcotics and alcohol
- They can withdraw and retreat from the world and become depressed, overwhelmed with a suicidal sense of futility,
- Can externalise their painful feelings and convert them into violent acts

THE PSYCHOANALYTIC COUNTRY

Settle Down Country

What constitutes a good psychological intervention and what was entailed in finding a voice of self-determination. On the walls of my office are Aboriginal paintings mainly from Central Australia. I have a big painting by Japanangka on honey ant dreaming: his dreaming. I bought a portable fireplace and now have a fire in my office. I am reminded daily of sitting by the campfire on country with Japanangka. I sit with my patients like in the Old Time. When the session starts I wait for the ancestors from the past, the old men (*artwang aywang*) to chant in old time song for their country. Now I wait. I watch the flames flicker. I wait for the people to sing, motion and show the country to be traversed. I wait for them to feel for their country, and sing the dreaming tracks of the unconscious that crisscross the session, which lead them to shift here and there in the past and in the here and now, between their different selves, their defences, their temporal worlds and to settle down in the session.

Put simply, when I think of general psychoanalytic interventions, like other psychotherapists, I think about how the psychotherapeutic process requires a frame, a home, to hold the emotional field of pain, emotional turbulence and destruction and the frame usually comprises a regular time and place like a country camp. A safe place to talk in the presence of another is provided like sitting with the old men (artwang aywang). The traditional understandings of a process termed 'borning' or children being born on country (mer arlaltyek anweren ampa mpwaratyek) can describe a psychotherapy process and the metaphorical birth of the self. In the mid eighties, I was involved, with CAAC, in a project with Aboriginal women, helping them to tell the Aboriginal story of birthing which resulted in the service development of the Alukura; a place for them to give birth. Borning determined by the grandmother's Law and the Dreamtime, is firmly situated in a

tradition or belief about life and death and the relation of people to their origins and the rights and responsibilities of people to kin and country. The birth and ongoing birth of self—note the active voice of 'borning'—requires a valuing of life and an acceptance of death, knowledge of relational origins and responsibility for the survival of the self. Borning has a holistic, purposeful and sacred character and these dimensions of life are carefully interwoven and directed in the borning process. Borning is a symbolic and progressive happening that encapsulates spirit, country and Dreaming and the development of the self is equally progressive and encapsulates spirit, hearth and dreaming too.

Beliefs about being found and coming into being are central to borning. Once found on country the spirit child is made to come up and must be looked after and built up. The baby is born on the ground (ahernel) his or her camp, hearth, country, everlasting home, token place, life source, spirit and centre and much else all in one (Stanner 1968, 44). When patients begin to find the lost, buried, repressed parts of themselves, reliving old wounds and assaults, digging up and weaving together old memories of ancestors long ago, they experience past memories as a living presence and become increasingly grounded. The parts make a whole and they can find in the borning process a home inside themselves. The self emerges, is born, transforms and becomes sacred. The process, however, can often be like a boomerang that doubles back, shifts ground and then goes forward. Hence the self needs a caretaker (kwertengerl) to maintain its internal country, home and spirit.

The work of psychotherapy takes time, a lot of time, for the remembering, the repeating of the repetitions of the past and the working through (Freud 1914, 149) and for the patient to fill in the gaps, make present what has been absent (Gerson 2009, 1342) and take responsibility for themselves and their life. I wondered how anyone could possibly think a dispossessed people could achieve self-determination in 30 years. Courage is required to face the mental pain of suffering and it is not unusual for people to defend against their pain and keep at bay their feelings or even take flight from them. There can be unwelcome truths as destructive behaviour and fantasies come to light. There can be endless repetition in the working through of these beliefs and behaviours. The knowledge is gained on a constant and repetitive basis, in a way similar to the teachings of the Altyerr (Dreaming) through song and dance in ceremonies and corroborees. The therapist has to hold the good alongside the bad and the bad has to be seen, named and understood. In forensic work, for example, many weeks, if not months, can be spent chipping away at the denial of a person who has committed a violent crime. They deny because they are too shamed to face what they have done. It can take a long time for someone to tell their story. Many people, indeed many white people, drown their sorrows, numb their pain or their guilt with grog and drugs or act out violently. The losses and injuries they have sustained have caused such mutilating, sorry cuts and they live with open, bleeding wounds. The primitive terrors, the kwertaty in the mind, can make one go crazy (arert), requiring the therapist (ngangar) to be present to clean the bloodied mind and open sores and restore health to the spirit.

A person does not sit alone on country. They sit down with kin. Relatedness in the Aboriginal world is as fundamental as it is to psychotherapy. Continuity in being, between the Old Time and the present, and between sessions, provides a holding; in the Aboriginal world inseparable from the ancestral Dreaming, which can stand strong against the bad spirits. Beliefs can be explored, reframed and understood. Meanings are found and given to feelings, actions, fantasies and

destructiveness. Concepts can grow like the baby (*ampa akwek*) on his or her country (*mer arlalty*)—the stories woven around this child and its place become central to an understanding of the self, like the knowledge of the owners (*amereh-artwey*) and the managers (*kwertengerl*) of country. Feelings can be named, like the baby is born and named on country, and a dreaming of the self can be found and live on in the Dreamtime (*Altyerr*). The real voice can now be heard, is encouraged to be heard and can become strong.

Hassidic Tale of the Lost Fire: Howard Goldenberg-Raft p.96.

Many generations ago there lived a great mystic Master. This man held secret knowledge of great power. FromTime to time, when his people were in an extremity of suffering, the Master would go deep into the forest. There, in a clearing, he would light a fire, dance, chant esoteric verses and call upon God to save His suffering people. He would return from his seclusion and the crisis was averted; the people were saved.

Time and again he resorted to the isolation, the fire, the dance, and secret song, and each time, salvation came to his people.

In time the Master grew old and died.
Another crisis arose. None of the disciples knew the ceremonial. They made their way into the forest, found the clearing and lit a fire. And they prayed: O Master Of the universe, save us. Save us, even though we are unsure what to do. We have lost the dance and the song. Save us as you saved us in the days of our master. And the people were saved.

In a later generation, the disciples had passed on. Destruction again threatened the faithful, and now with no surviving initiate, the people prayed: O Master of the universe, we have no initiated leader. No one knows the prayer or any of the secret ceremonies. We do not even know where we should light the fire. We remember only that in past times our forefathers lit fire, danced and sang and prayed and You sent salvation. O Father, pray save us again. And once again, the people were saved.

Sometimes the act of recalling something past, of giving voice to loss is sufficient to experience identity. In a time of loss and cultural degradation, shared memory can define the group.

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