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Deep listening and relationality: Cross-cultural reflections on practice with young women who use violence.

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Tamara is a Social Work practitioner, researcher and educator. Her practice-based research is focused on trauma, justice, mental health and intersecting practice perspectives. Tamara is the chief investigator of the Name.Narrate.Navigate program for young people who use violence in their relationships with family, carers, peers and partners.

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Elsie is a Yagel/Bundjalung woman who grew up in Maclean and Yamba. She is currently living on Awabakal Country. Elsie is an acknowledged Local Aboriginal Elder, a professional artist, business owner and operator of Free Spirit Aboriginal art and consultancy (est. 2011) and co-founder and director of Justiz community social justice agency (est. 2016). Elsie is the Indigenous Practice Lead for the Name.Narrate.Navigate program, providing mentorship and guidance in the development and delivery of the program in culturally appropriate ways.

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Louise is the project manager and PhD candidate on the Name.Narrate.Navigate program. Her PhD (Social Work) explores young women's use of violence. Louise regularly contributes to policy analysis in areas of homelessness and domestic violence, bringing a wealth of cross sector experience to her work. Louise is the Chair of the Board for Nova for Women and Children.

Felicity Cocuzzoli (University of Newcastle):

A proud descendant of the Wiradjuri Nation, Felicity is an artist/practitioner. Passionate about mobilising the arts for healing and wellbeing, Felicity's work brings together arts-informed research and strengths-based practice, contributing to innovative approaches to working with individuals and communities who share experiences of trauma.

Deep listening and relationality: Cross-cultural reflections on practice with young women who use violence.

Abstract

Young women who use violence in their interpersonal, family and domestic relationships commonly exist as a cross-over cohort, simultaneously victims and perpetrators, characteristically disadvantaged and disengaged and lacking accessible trauma-informed and culturally-responsive interventions. This paper presents cross-cultural reflections on work with Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal young women who use violence. It explores the tensions in this work of honouring histories and context and acknowledging female agency, choice and control. Informed by Yarning processes the paper intentionally foregrounds Aboriginal knowledge and experience. In doing so it highlights the power and potential of Deep Listening and relational practice for recognising the impact(s) of trauma resulting from intergenerational intersections of gendered oppression, structural racism, and social inequalities as drivers of female violence.

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Implications

- *Aboriginal ways of knowing and doing have important contributions to make to practice with young female perpetrators of violence*
- *Deep Listening and relational approaches can support safety and connection necessary for healing, change and growth.*

We are a group of women who hold numerous identities; grandmothers, mothers, sisters, daughters, practitioners, researchers, volunteers and artists. Two of us are Aboriginal, two of us are not. The interweaving of stories from our personal lives and professional experiences have been core to our conversations. We've been guided by the practice of Yarning each time we come together to talk about our shared work with young women who use violence. We've reflected on how our mothering has influenced how we approach our work, as well as experiences of trauma in our own lives. Sharing of our stories has forged a sense of belonging, rooted in hearing each other and feeling heard. We recognise that sharing this information in an academic journal article is atypical, but these conversations not only form the basis of critical reflection on our shared practice, they encourage the same safe vulnerability that is enacted in our work with young women who use violence in their interpersonal relationships.

Background

Young women who use violence commonly exist as a unique 'cross-over' cohort, simultaneously victims and perpetrators, characteristically disadvantaged and disengaged from systems of support. Young women's use of violence, across cultural contexts, is complex to enumerate, understand and work with. Violence remains overwhelmingly perpetrated by males, toward females who are usually known to them (Batchelor, 2005). While there is some suggestion that young female violence is increasing in incidence and prevalence (Bell, 2019; McFarlane, 2011), this may be an artefact of data collection and reporting processes (Carrington, 2013). In the period January-December 2019, NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics (BOCSAR) report young women (under 18years) represented 35% of all juveniles proceeded against by NSW Police for 'domestic violence related offences' (inclusive of murder; domestic violence related assault; sexual assault; indecent assault; abduction and kidnapping;

intimidation, stalking and harassment; malicious damage to property and breach apprehended violence order). Young women charged with these offences were more likely to be charged with DV related assaults, intimidate/stalk/harass/, malicious damage to property and breach AVO whereas adult women were more likely to be charged with murder; attempted murder; manslaughter; acts of indecency and abduction and kidnapping.

Notably absent in this data is reference to numbers of Aboriginal young women represented in offence-related statistics (Ng, 2014). Despite comprising 6% of the Australian youth population, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders aged 10 - 17years represent 57% of incarcerated youth (AIHW, 2020). Research exploring the scope, scale and experiences of Aboriginal women in the justice system is ongoing (Baldry et al., 2014; Sullivan et al., 2019), but hampered by jurisdictional differences in data collection and reporting categorized by gender or culture, but not by gender *and* culture (AIHW, 2019, Ng, 2014). The invisibility of Aboriginal young women in justice data limits responsivity of policy and practice for *all* young women.

The invisibility of justice-involved Aboriginal young women continues cycles of systemic disregard and denial of care. It also means practice with female violence continues to be informed by colonised assumptions about violence across cultures, contexts and systems. It also inherently disregards the primacy of trauma in the lives of justice-involved young women. While 'trauma' is commonly used as a collective term referencing cumulative and chronic adversity experienced by justice-involved youth, the experience of trauma is not homogenous. In our work we understand trauma (as an experience, rather than an event) to be contextually and culturally defined. We note drivers of trauma – spanning dynamics of disconnection, disempowerment, disengagement and disadvantage are inherently tied to systemic and structural forces, often with compounding effect especially for Aboriginal people (Sullivan, et al., 2019).

Zahn and colleagues (2009), report up to 75% of incarcerated young women enter the justice system with a history of trauma. Impacts of this trauma are evident in reports young female offenders are 20% more likely than young males to evidence symptoms of post-traumatic-stress-disorder, emotional dysregulation and impulse control (McReynolds et al., 2010). Russell and Marston (2010), note these symptoms are linked to increased risks of suicidality, reporting incarcerated young female offenders are 30-50% more likely than male counterparts, and 20 times more likely than non-incarcerated adolescents to attempt suicide. Zahn and colleagues (2010) note scant attention has been paid to this gender disparity when developing evidence-based care for justice-involved young women, particularly in regard to trauma.

Understanding young female violence

Young female violence raises interconnected and challenging questions for practice (Fitzroy, 2001). These questions stem from ways female violence has been constructed and understood. In simple terms, women who commit violence have routinely been positioned as victims, either of biology (with violence stemming from illness or inability) or oppression (where violence stems from victimisation) (Boxall et al., 2020; Chesney-Lind & Eliason, 2006). It is undisputed that many young women who use violence are also victims of trauma (Swan et al., 2008). The relational nature of much of this trauma and most female offending may contribute to a reciprocal trauma/offending process (Azad et al., 2018). This process may be driven by struggles in sharing and engaging, articulating, controlling and tolerating emotions (Pearlman & Courtois, 2005). These struggles may emerge from experiences of trauma, and/or impacts of intergenerational trauma, where attachment between children and caregivers become characterized by cycles of enmeshment and/or detachment (Fenerci & DePrince, 2018). Children and parents may feel frustrated their emotional needs are not met, as they

struggle to avoid being hurt, and fear being abandoned (Williamson et al., 2017). In navigating fractured relationships and trying to bond with caregivers, children can assume behaviours and interactions styles of their parent/carers, and in doing so potentially assume states of simultaneously being traumatized and traumatizing those around them (Atkinson, 2002). In this way, impacts of trauma, including safe-keeping and survival-oriented behaviours, can play out in young women's crime (Kerig & Becker, 2012, White & Habibas, 2005). When these behaviours result in charges, the justice system issues a 'double penalty', not only punishing criminal behaviour but also criminalizing the experience of trauma (Segrave & Carlton, 2010, Stubbs, 2011).

Youth-perpetrated crime (including violence) has also been conceived as a means of regaining control, redistributing power lost (or stolen) and communicating unrecognized needs (Blakemore et al., 2018). Understanding violence as a tool of communication or as an attempt to redistribute power may be especially relevant for Aboriginal young women (Moore et al., 2013). Understandings of victimization as a driver for violence, must recognize past, present and ongoing experiences of structural violence and oppression (Boxall et al., 2020). For some Aboriginal young women interpersonal and community violence has become deeply entwined with collective and cumulative impacts of oppression (White, 2005). Atkinson (2002), explains enduring exposure to colonial violence including dispossession, removal and persistent inequality can manifest into self-abusive and violent behaviour with intergenerational impact. Female violence is also observed to be retaliatory in nature; comprised of acts of self-defence or pre-emptive violence in anticipation of victimisation (Boxall, 2020). While undoubtedly true in some cases, such observations ignore female agency, accountability and the complexity and contradictions of everyday life (Widdows & Marway, 2015).

Existing constructions of female violence have resulted in practice with justice-involved young women oscillating between punitive approaches managing 'bad girls' and

reactive approaches protecting 'vulnerable girls' (Vogel, 2018). This discourse can invariably reproduce the idea that violent women exist only on either end of a victim/bad spectrum (Pomerantz et al., 2013). Because this dichotomy omits notions of choice and purposeful behaviour it can be a significant barrier to acknowledging the agency of young female offenders (Överlien, 2004). Agency is often defined as intentional acts of (contextually prescribed) choice (Gillespie, 2010). Young women's opportunities to exercise agency are constrained by access and control over resources (Kabeer, 1999), relational ties and cultural obligations (Cleaver, 2007) and physical and emotional fortitude (Nguyen, 2005). Geiger (2006), notes female offending has rarely been conceptualised as purposeful action initiated in a struggle against abusive or oppressive conditions. Making offenders' agency visible requires a shift towards what Chesney-Lind and Pasko (2004, p.30) describe as illuminating "the contexts in which an individual moves and makes choices". Honouring and acknowledging contextual histories and agency requires building relationships, trust and a climate of safety.

Relationality in practice

With an inherent focus on relationality and connection, Aboriginal ways of knowing and doing can make a significant contribution to work with young women who use violence. Relationality is "central to Indigenous understandings of kinship" (Dudgeon & Bray, 2019, p.3). Rose and colleagues (2003, p.61) emphasize Aboriginal relationality is "the process of connecting" and ties between people and place. This echoes Chesney-Lind and Pasko's (2004) focus on understanding female violence in its (social and relational) contexts as well as evidence citing the value of the working alliance for youth-justice practice (McNeill, 2006, McNeill & Maruna, 2008).

Ayotte and colleagues (2017) remind us the working alliance between practitioners and clients is an emotional connection, built on mutual trust and respect, creating a climate of safety

and a model of supportive relationships. The deeply relational basis of Aboriginal ways of knowing and doing (Martin & Mirraboopa, 2003) involves mapping and endorsing kinship (or replicated kinship) as an important first phase of work demonstrating respect to inherent cultural obligations and abiding by principles of holistic care-giving (Dudgeon & Bray, 2019). In this work, "connecting and building a relationship is more than just establishing rapport" it is about understanding and honoring history, setting context and whole-heartedly *hearing* the story of another (Bessarab & Ng'andu, 2010, p.42). France and Homel (2006), suggest *hearing* the voices of justice-involved youth is a common gap in existing violence prevention interventions. Listening and hearing is centrally important to Aboriginal cultures (Atkinson, 2002). Bennett and colleagues (2011, p.28), note "strong, purposeful and respectful listening skills" are core to effective relationships in practice with Aboriginal people. The authors stress the importance of time, stillness and silence in being able to effectively *hear* the stories of Aboriginal people. Brearly (2014), describes this process as *Deep Listening*, a concept she notes appears in many Aboriginal languages in Australia and variously referred to as *Dadirri* in the Ngangikurungkurr language, *Gulpa Ngawal* in Yorta language and as *Molla Wariga* by the Gunai/Kurnai people. Brearly (2014, p. 91), identifies Deep Listening as a way of "learning and togetherness", involving listening, being present and developing relationships where listening happens respectfully, responsibly and with reciprocity (Brearly, 2014).

The quality of relationships between practitioners and young people depend on their dynamic and reciprocal nature (Drake et al., 2014; McNeill & Maruna, 2008). Arrigo (2001, p.220), notes that for disenfranchised and oppressed young people, transformative change can only occur when "true words" or authentic accounts of lived experiences inform these relationships. Authentic voice (for both parties) depends on genuineness, trust and confidence (Drake et al., 2014). These dynamics can be supported by effective and skilled use-of-self (Krishnamurthi, 2018) and reciprocal communication strategies (Linehan, 2015). Reciprocal

communication is described as a self-involving, warm and genuine style of practice, most often discussed in the context of Dialectical Behaviour Therapy (DBT) (Lineham, 2015). It requires the worker to "make themselves vulnerable and express this vulnerability in a manner that can be *heard* and understood" (Lineham, 2015, p.95). In colonized practice, 'personal sharing' can be problematic, bound by ideas of professionalism and boundary setting that effectively set the worker apart from (and above) the people and problems they work with. However it speaks well to Bessarab and Ng'andu's (2010) description of 'Social Yarning' as the Aboriginal way of sharing of information and building belonging and trust. The authors note that Yarning is conducive to an Aboriginal way of doing, demanding "human to human interaction, where both are knowers and learners in the process" (Bessarab & Ng'andu, 2010, p. 47).

Method: Reflections for and from practice

This paper presents cross-cultural practitioner reflections drawn from the Name.Narrate.Navigate (NNN) program for young people at risk of, or already using violence in their interpersonal, family and domestic relationships (Blakemore et al., 2020). Collaboratively designed with a cultural reference group, practitioner working party and justice-involved young people, NNN simultaneously explores naming, narrating and navigating violence through work with young people and the sector supporting them. The program for young people involves experiential group workshops exploring emotional literacy; communication skills; empathy; power and control; blame, shame and choice. Workshops involve psychoeducation, skill-building, reflection and learning through movement, discussion and production of visual images using Photovoice (Wang, 1999). NNN has combined appreciative inquiry and collaborative approaches with Aboriginal perspectives and standpoints, to locate facilitators and participants in both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal systems of knowledge (Nakata, 2006). By using interfacing systems in this way, we have

attempted to redress the traditionally privileged use of non-Aboriginal knowledge systems in research and practice (Smith, 2013).

Capturing practitioner reflections is part of the community-based-participatory-research framing NNN. In presenting our practice reflections the authors are mindful (per Riner & Saywell, 2002) of our own histories and the systemic and structural process that shape our practice. Aunty Elsie Randall (a Yagel/Bundjalung woman currently living on Awabakal Country and an acknowledged local Aboriginal Elder) and Felicity (Flic) (a proud Wiradjuri woman) facilitate NNN with Aboriginal justice-involved young women. Tamara and Louise (chief and co-investigators on the NNN project) work with non-Aboriginal participants. Reflections presented in this paper were gathered through a Yarning process facilitated by Aunty Elsie. Yarning is a uniquely fluid, culturally ascribed process of cooperative communication for Aboriginal people (Geia, 2013; Walker et al., 2014), that reaches beyond the limits of casual conversation, to open up deeply relational spaces for connection with others (Lin et al., 2016). Imbued with cultural energy and entwined with shared histories and spirituality (Williams, 2007), Aboriginal Yarning processes are moving dialogues (Geia et al., 2013), that establish relationality between people, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, and facilitate the exchange and sharing of stories, experiences and knowledge (Bessarab and Ng'andu 2012; Walker et al. 2014). Each time we met, and in between we spent time 'Social Yarning' (Bessarab & Ng'andu, 2010). Our latter discussions included 'Collaborative Yarning' (Bessarab & Ng'andu, 2010) where we shared experiences, unpacked problems and transformed the way we thought about our work and the young women we work with. These discussions saw us share raw and vulnerable moments including self-involving and vulnerable spaces in the work. At these times Yarning became 'therapeutic' (Bessarab & Ng'andu, 2010), and we felt supported to voice our story and make sense of it. Collaborative and critical analysis of these conversations and the data they elicited was completed through an iterative process

over many months. Themes were summarized and dissected, often stimulated more Yarning and further reflection. The following sections of this paper present a synthesis of reflections, shared experiences and emerging learnings.

Findings and Discussion

Critical reflection has identified common and distinct experiences in our work Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal young women who use violence. The cultural identity of these young women was sometimes uncertain. Some young women had been told they were Aboriginal, only to be later informed this was incorrect, others knew they were Aboriginal but had limited connections to country and kin. Taking this into account, as well as considerations of privacy among the cohort and the community, we have not reported a numerical breakdown of cultural identity. Commonalities among these young women are pervasive experiences of trauma past, present, cumulative and chronic in their everyday lives. Also common for all young women we worked with (yet distinct in application), was the value of relationality and the potential of Deep Listening (enacted through reciprocal communication and/or Yarning) to support authentic voice. The term ‘Deep Listening’ is being used here instead of ‘Dadirri’ (Stronach & Adair, 2014) as it is more familiar with language from Aunty Elsie’s country. Where quotes from young women we work with are shared they are done so with consent and de-identified using a pseudonym known only to the authors.

Yarning trauma and violence

Young women we work with commonly spoke about their family (including extended family and kin) as a source of hope, loyalty and love but also as a source of frustration, anger, sadness and shame. Consistent with Batchelor (2005), NNN participants report their parents/carers as perpetrators of, or failing to protect them from, violence, abuse,

discrimination and inequity in, and across, settings. Young women we work with frequently live in mother-headed households where fathers are often absent or minimally present and where daily life is characterised by disadvantage, housing struggles, substance abuse, psychological distress and routine exposure to violence. All young female *perpetrators* of violence in NNN thus far (Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal) have also identified themselves as *victims* of violence.

While all are victims of male perpetrated violence, the majority of their own violence has been perpetrated against females. Participants are frequently hyper-vigilant and often hostile toward women not known to them while undertaking group activities in public spaces. Interestingly, they demonstrate similar hostility to imagined females in photo-elicitation activities. A pervasive and collective resentment of other women, particularly those perceived to have more is observed with young women focusing on what was relevant to them as an externalized narrative of what they need or were missing. Consistent with Azad and colleagues (2018), we have observed offending amongst young women as heavily relational; a way to ensure their own safety and/or a means to bond with other young women.

Community (and culturally) endorsed roles among and between young women we work with quickly become apparent. In sharing details of justice involvement with practitioners (and peers) young women were establish individual standing and status in the group. Simultaneously however, many expressed shame and sadness about 'missing out' on normative developmental experiences and milestones they saw directly attributable to their involvement in crime. This was commonly noted in conversations about schooling and social rituals like formals and particularly evident for the non-Aboriginal young women we worked with, for whom finding and forming connections, identity, role and status seemed more important, and often pivotal for their day-to-day wellbeing in the absence of the safety net of kin and community. For Aboriginal young women, practitioners felt how well they were able to balance contrasting

experiences of ‘status and shame’ depended on how strong their ‘mask’ was. Auntie Elsie observed some young women ‘put on a good mask’ and could disguise any perceived vulnerability behind these ‘masks’. The experiential and participatory nature of NNN meant as practitioners we were witness to these ‘masks’ being firmly in place in public spaces as well as the ‘masks’ being cautiously lifted in private (safe) spaces. Per Azad and colleagues (2018), we observed peer pressure to uphold these ‘masks’ and conform to assigned roles to maintain the status quo of antisocial acts and behaviours. However, in the small group, we also got to see these ‘masks’ gradually erode as trust and safety were established with others. When young women felt safe, they were more likely to show vulnerability and fragility but also genuine kindness and curiosity about the experiences of others.

As practitioners we have been struck by the gendered direction of offending, the sense of the inevitability of victimisation and the necessity for self-reliance. These are exemplified by the following quote from one participant:

> *“….you know a man will hurt you, but a woman will always let you down”.*
>
> *(Kylie).*

The sense of not being able to rely on others has been commonly reported by young women who use violence (Baskin & Sommers, 1998, Batchelor, 2005). For the young women involved in NNN, being ‘let down’ by women extended from family and kin to teachers, carers and caseworkers, however it was most consistently voiced in relation to mothers. Young women described their mothers as absent or uninterested but most often as never hearing or plainly invalidating their experiences and needs. Non-Aboriginal young women we worked with identified that not being able to rely on family meant they instead often relied on their access to and control over resources such as money (Centrelink payments), sex and their capacity for directed violence against others, to keep themselves safe, fed and housed. The

frankness with which these realities were discussed were juxtaposed with evident sadness and a sense of injustice underpinning these experiences. As practitioners we observed Aboriginal young women to carry the voices and weight of the trauma experienced by prior generations, yet display little insight into the experiences of these resented women who were also victims of violence abuse and trauma. Instead, or perhaps as a consequence, participants seem to seek refuge and respite from the heavy cloak of trauma – often dismissing the experience of their own and others victimisation, and instead seeking to reassert agency, and respect in ways they see as self-protective.

Deep listening and relationality

Balancing understandings of violence as driven (potentially simultaneously) by impact(s) of prior trauma, complex contextual factors and women's own agency was foremost in our minds as practitioners. From the outset it was important to demonstrate Deep Listening; a willingness to 'hear' experiences without judgement and to prioritise 'hearing' over 'being heard'. This meant relinquishing notions of expertise, authority and needing to be 'in control' of the group. Consistent with Rodd and Stewart (2009), it meant allowing a smoke (or a cartwheel), gently observing with curiosity rather than problem solving and listening with an open heart and mind. This relational approach was supported using reciprocal communication strategies and Yarning. These strategies helped address power imbalances in group dynamics, modelled experiences of vulnerability without shame and supported relationships engendering a climate of safety. For participants this seemed to come as a pleasant surprise. They bonded with us quickly and authentically in a collectivised way. Aboriginal participants came to view and interact with Elsie and Flic as 'Aunties' whereas non-Aboriginal participants organically and unprompted, named their groups inclusive of Tamara and Louise as 'girl gang' and 'YTG' (yeah the girls).

Relationality, reciprocal communication, Yarning and Deep Listening supported young female participants to name and narrate links between trauma, agency and choice in female-directed violence. But this happened in quite different ways. Aboriginal young women responded to Deep Listening and Yarning with observable changes in 'being and doing'. They shifted their behaviours in space and time to listen, be with and be more curious in exploring these connections with the Auntie practitioners. By comparison, non-Aboriginal participants shifted in what they saw, showed, said and shared. Most notable were examples of participants explicitly taking the lead in 'teaching' practitioners about the realities of violence in community life. This is exemplified by the following quote:

> *"....look what you girls need to know, is the most important thing is that you never, ever, ever snitch. Someone will stab you or cut your family, you never snitch". (Amelia).*

As practitioners we heard rich stories of *implicit* power held by and against women in their families and community. Young women we work with recounted (and we were witness to) female 'policing' of what was permissible within the community. These experiences were heightened for Aboriginal young women navigating inherent cultural obligations to kin and community, often in contexts of incomplete or unknown kinship networks. Traditionally, Aboriginal practice passed down through generations helped solidify the importance of kinship systems based on a connection to land, air and sea, clearly outlining cultural obligations to kin and country (Dudgeon & Bray, 2019; Blaser, et al., 2010). However, rich cultural gendered roles have been stolen from Aboriginal women through cumulative impacts of fractured kinship systems, removal and banning of cultural practices as well as ongoing institutional and systemic racism (Fredricks, 2010, White, 2015). Disruption to traditional kinship systems interrupts Aboriginal female systems of knowledge (Moreton-Robinson, 2017; Rose et al.,

2003), undermining cultural obligation and authority of Aboriginal women and the sense of cultural connection that comes with knowing where and how you fit within your kinship system (Dudgeon & Bray, 2019). Drawing on foundations of Aboriginal knowledge, we saw impact(s) of fractured kinship systems and ambiguous states of identity and belonging for *all* the young women we worked with. For some non-Aboriginal young women there was uncertainty around their cultural background but for most a profound sense of 'not belonging' and of being lost between systems without a safety net of family to fall back on. For Aboriginal young women impact(s) were expressed through grief and loss as well as a desire to know more about their Aboriginal culture.

Conclusion

Trauma-informed and culturally-responsive preventive interventions for young women who use violence are critical if we are to interrupt the intergenerational cycles of violence and address the role systems of service and support play in that cycle. This requires critical reflection on the positionality and privilege we bring to our work as practitioners, our assumptions, agendas and worldviews about what is possible for young women who use violence. The process of writing this paper echoed the reciprocal communication strategies used in our work. The Yarning process, embedded with critical and cultural reflection, brought vulnerability and acknowledgement of our own interconnected experiences of personal trauma and trauma-focused practice. We believe there is value in sharing our work and representing the voice of practitioners, particularly Aboriginal practitioners, largely absent to date in the evidence for working with female violence. The reflections shared identify Deep Listening and relational approaches informed by Aboriginal ways of knowing and doing can support and strengthen work with young women who use violence. Further, the reflections shared recognize violence is complex; its use intertwined with trauma and agency and significant gaps in identity, belonging and kinship for Aboriginal *and* non-Aboriginal young women alike.

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