Our Tree of Life in the Field: Locating Ourselves in the Peace and Conflict Studies Field Through the Tree of Life Experience

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One of the challenges for educators, practitioners, and researchers in the field of peace and conflict studies is that it is not always clear what comprises the field, widely recognized to be interdisciplinary or transdisciplinary. For this reason and because of the demands of and nature of peace work, it is important for people to locate themselves in the field. This paper presents an adaptation of the Tree of Life exercise, used extensively by the Dulwich Centre for narrative therapy and community work, as a tool for locating one’s self in the field of peace and conflict studies and for awareness of self in context. The paper reviews the complexity of peace work, describes an exercise called “Our Tree of Life in the Field,” and discusses the significance of the exercise for scholars and practitioners.

This paper addresses peacebuilders and academics in the field of peace and conflict studies and is an invitation to locate ourselves in the field through a story-based exercise that I call “Our Tree of Life in the Field.” This is important for clarifying our connection to the field and as a way to develop our ability to consider the many dimensions of conflict and practice of which peacemakers must continually be mindful. The paper reviews the complexities of peace work, describes the exercise in detail, and discusses why the exercise is significant for scholars and practitioners.
THE COMPLEXITIES OF PEACE WORK

The Field

One of the challenges for people in peace and conflict studies is that it is not always clear what comprises our field, widely recognized to be interdisciplin ary or transdisciplinary.¹ Academic departments are called different names: “Conflict Resolution Studies,” for example, at Menno Simons College at the University of Winnipeg campus; “Peace and Conflict Transformation Studies” at Canadian Mennonite University in Winnipeg; and “Dispute Resolution” at the University of Victoria. Programs considered to be in our field may be located in different faculties. At the University of Victoria, an MA in Dispute Resolution is offered by the School of Public Administration; at the University of Missouri–Columbia, the Centre for the Study of Dispute Resolution is located in the Law School; at the University of Massachusetts–Amherst, the Psychology of Peace and Violence Program is within the Department of Psychological and Brain Sciences; and at George Mason University, Conflict Analysis and Resolution is now a school in itself. My goal is not to set boundaries around the field; personally, I value the range and transdisciplinary nature of our field. Rather, I seek to name that this range can make it difficult for us to know how we fit into the field and how we relate to each other as we may come from different academic and training orientations. Our own connection to the field may be derived from multiple aspects of our professional and personal backgrounds. Many people in peace studies programs received their academic training in a more mainstream discipline such as education, psychology, social sciences, political studies, international relations, linguistics, or social work, among others. Therefore, our connection to the field may not be readily apparent and taking the time to reflect may be significant for charting our path and for clarity about what we are doing and why we are doing it.

Peace Work

There is a broad range to what can be considered work in the field and the names by which that work is called. For example, Johan Galtung distinguishes among “peacekeeping,” “peacemaking,” and “peace-building,” which are generally accepted within the field.² The more general of the terms, “peacebuilding,” is used widely to refer to a range of practices in a range of contexts.³ The 1992 report by then UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, An Agenda for Peace, emphasized the need for post-conflict
peacebuilding and notions of “peacebuilding” became more prominent. A breadth of work that can be considered peacebuilding is identified in John Paul Lederach and Katie Mansfield’s framework, “Strategic Peacebuilding Pathways.” It includes categories for restorative justice, transitional justices, trauma healing, humanitarian action, government and multilateral efforts, nonviolent social change, dialogue and conflict resolution strategies, education, development, dealing with transnational and global threats, and legal approaches that include advocacy and solidarity. This paper refers to professional or volunteer activities in the field—whether research, education and training, or various forms of practice—as “peace work.” The diversity of professional roles that constitute peace work creates a need for clarity around why we are locating our work within the peace and conflict studies field.

For people developing their careers, the lack of certification and clear job roles may create confusion about whether or not they are included in the field or what the professional options and opportunities are for peace workers. This is unlike the clarity around the professional identity of “lawyer” or “physician,” for example. It is clear what it means to be a lawyer or physician. To be a lawyer, one goes to law school; to be a physician, one goes to medical school. For lawyers and physicians, there is a process of certification required for practice that is administered by governments and professional bodies; these certifications can be revoked for malpractice. If we look at a list of job opportunities in our city, there will likely be openings for teachers, social workers, and medical professionals. But will there be openings for peacemakers or peacebuilders?

This is not a complaint. Personally, I believe that this openness and accessibility in our field is necessary for empowerment, inclusion, and innovation. It is simply an observation that there is a lack of clarity, or at least a lot of variation, as to how one fits into the field or what kind of career trajectory one might have. This lack of clarity may create insecurity about our legitimacy in the field or potential livelihoods, which may limit our confidence and ability to move forward in the field. It may close our minds to potential opportunities. That a professional path forward in peace work is not as clear as it would be for someone in other fields may create a sense that work opportunities are less attainable. Despite the breadth of the field, this perception may create what Stephen Covey calls a “scarcity mentality.” Even for peace workers, such insecurity may get in the way of our relating
to each other. Locating ourselves in the field will promote an “abundance mentality” because it may generate insight and ideas and help light a path forward, which may then increase confidence.

Levels of Analysis

Peace workers are called to consider multiple levels of analysis—that is, conflict at the interpersonal, organizational, state, and international levels. Larger social contexts of sexism or inequality shape interpersonal conflicts. Central aspects of conflict resolution, such as separating the people from the problem, discerning positions from interests, and the importance of acknowledgement, are expected to be relevant at multiple levels of analysis, “from the nuclear family to the human family,” as William Ury puts it. Saul Alinsky’s phrase, “Think globally, act locally,” gets at this need to be aware and connected on a macro level and also to be grounded in community. When we locate ourselves in the field, it is possible to see connections between the personal and sociopolitical.

Identity

Peace workers are called to understand the nature and the dynamics of identity. For one, many conflicts are defined in identity terms. Inequality along identity lines that reduces the life chances and/or dignity for one group is structural violence; this includes racism, sexism, heterosexism, classism, discrimination based on religion, or even the domination of nature. The field involves a commitment to understanding different perspectives and cultures because peacemaking values and strives for mutual recognition. Understanding identity is critical for countering the tendency for identity hierarchies to be unconsciously reproduced within the field itself. All of this requires taking the time to examine our own cultural location and to see our identity in complex terms, including values and biases. This will also help us appreciate others’ social locations.

Multi-dimensionality

The causes of conflict are complex. Conflict is driven by dynamics in many dimensions of social life, including demographic, economic, political, historical, linguistic, and psychocultural factors. Further, there is a struggle to understand the degree to which conflicts are caused by psychocultural factors and structural factors, which likely inter-relate in both the development
and dismantling of intractable conflicts in an oscillating dialect. While individual peace workers may focus on a particular area, it is helpful to understand this complexity. When we locate ourselves in the field using the Tree of Life exercise, we will likely see how different dimensions of social life interact in our own professional development and in our work.

**Ethical Practice**

Following Paulo Freire, the peace and conflict studies field values both theory and practice, or a synthesis of the two—praxis. Researchers and academics are expected to be engaged as practitioners or “pracademics.” Importantly, practice must be ethical, respectful, appropriate, and de-colonizing. A concern is that models of practice may be Western-based and ignore, discredit, or appropriate local, traditional, or Indigenous approaches to conflict resolution. There is also a concern that societal power relations and inequality may reproduce themselves within the academic field or peacebuilding organizations and practices. This becomes especially relevant when practitioners come from outside the conflict setting or when teaching and training is conducted in culturally and internationally diverse settings.

Often people in the field are inspired, influenced, and strengthened by those who are not in the field and who may have a cultural identity from subordinated groups. These may be, for example, mothers and grandmothers, fathers and grandfathers, teachers, and other mentors who have shared historical experiences, exemplified standards of compassion and integrity, and have grounded our strengths and passions to do this work. Our Tree of Life in the Field exercise is a time to recognize and honour informal and formal learning. To validate the knowledge makers in one’s own cultural environment or experiences is to validate the identity of that person, which may serve as a bridge between informal and mainstream knowledge. For students coming from different contexts, centering their experience also changes their relationship to the mainstream knowledge, which may help reverse culture shock, internalized colonialism, and self-silencing in professional contexts.

**Reflection and Self-reflexivity**

According to Freire, achieving praxis requires reflection, which comprises thought and action. Self-reflexivity is a kind of meta-analysis where we
think about ourselves thinking, which is also a means of achieving insight about practice. Our Tree of Life in the Field may also provide insight on what informs our work and why we are doing it.

Self-reflexivity is important for research that strives to be anti-colonial and not reproduce power and status inequalities. We must consider how the role of colonialism or longstanding structural violence or circumstances may either silence us in a process of internalized oppression or place us in a privileged position. Further, these dynamics may happen in complex and intersecting ways as we have multiple identities and multiple avenues of potential social status or disempowerment. Our Tree of Life in the Field exercise is a means to awareness.

Trauma

It is increasingly recognized that there are many situations where practice should be trauma-informed. Peacebuilders themselves may go into the field because of their own experiences of conflict and violence and may be affected by trauma. Peacebuilders who are working in contexts of political violence, or with local and domestic conflicts and justice issues, may be affected by secondary or indirect trauma. The Tree of Life exercise has been used with people who have experienced trauma. Using the Tree of Life exercise to locate ourselves in the field may help us to process anxiety and trauma related to our work and provide opportunities to identify resilience and what has been called post-traumatic growth.

Doing conflict resolution and peacebuilding work may require us to manage our stress, anxiety, fear, and panic. We may experience hopelessness when working on social problems that seem immense and immoveable, whether they be war, discriminations, economic inequality, violence against women, or other pervasive issues. Even setbacks after a time of hope or progress can be devastating. Mindfulness practice has been one means for achieving calm during stress. Further, done individually and collectively, Our Tree of Life in the Field can be an exercise of building on strengths by affirming and validating a variety of strengths, resources, experiences, positive relations, and hopes and dreams that make it possible for us to continue in our work.

Walk the Talk

One of the hardest demands of our field is to walk the talk. We have to be
the change we want to see in the world. We have to transform ourselves before we can hope to influence others. Arguably, there is more pressure on us in our field to behave ethically and morally than, for example, on writers, musicians, mathematicians, or physicists.

John Paul Lederach names the dilemma of whether personal change will make structural change, or whether structural change is necessary for personal change as one of the central paradoxes of the field. In other words, while structural change may be a bigger problem than any one of us, we are not off the hook. “Change begins with me” is our mantra.

Self-reflexivity is a means of achieving awareness of self in context. It is a secular version of an examination of conscience. So that we are not too hard on ourselves, mindful self-care must be a part of self-reflexivity. We cannot go forward and learn without making mistakes, and self-reflexivity can help us learn how to fail and to move forward after mistakes.

Managing Challenges

Most, if not all, of what is written here is well known to peace workers in our field. Listed here in this way, it is clear that peacebuilders have a lot to juggle. There is much to be aware of almost simultaneously. In fact, it may be arrogant to believe that we can achieve this task. Furthermore, because we are likely working with people who are not trained in the field and because of the urgency of conflict, we need to do our work in ways that are accessible and efficient. The thesis of this paper is that the exercise, Our Tree of Life in the Field, is one tool that we can use in our work, either with ourselves, in trainings, or in organizational settings, to manage the challenges of our field.

OUR TREE OF LIFE IN THE FIELD

This section of the paper focuses on the Tree of Life exercise. First, the paper reviews recent work with the Tree of Life. Then it describes how the exercise has been adapted as a means of exploring how one fits into the field. Finally, the paper discusses a way of exploring these collectively as The Forest of Life in the Field.

The Tree of Life

In 2003, Ncazelto Ncube began using the Tree of Life exercise, which she had learned from Dr. Jonathan Barkarsh in her work with orphans and vulnerable children at the Christian-based Masiye Camp in Zimbabwe.
2006, during a workshop, she adapted the technique with advice from narrative therapists, including David Denborough, from the Dulwich Centre in Adelaide, Australia. The Tree of Life approach was then widely disseminated through writing, a manual, and the work of the Dulwich Centre. This approach or a variation of it has been helpful for victims of torture in Zimbabwe, the children of sex workers in India, rape victims in the Chinese society of Hong Kong, unaccompanied refugee children settling in Norway, Kurdish families who have survived torture and suffering, families living with traumatic brain injury, and Latino families meeting the challenges of biculturalism. A variation of the exercise, Beads of Life, was used to support young people living with cancer to tell their stories in ways that make them stronger.

The Tree of Life approach involves participants drawing trees where the roots, ground, trunk, branches, and leaves become metaphors for different aspects of a person’s life. The roots represent where individuals are from and what grounds them; the ground represents one’s daily life; the trunk represents a person’s strength; the branches represent hopes and dreams; the leaves represent important people; and the fruit represents the gifts that the person has been given. When working closely with an individual, each metaphor may become the basis of a story. For example, what is the story of a particular strength and where did it come from? Why is someone represented by a leaf important and how would that person feel to know that she or he is on this tree?

This can be stretched out over a day or be more condensed. Sometimes time is spent in advance talking about trees and what people know about trees. In work with children, Ncube spends a morning where the children share their knowledge and memories of trees. At the end of the morning, the facilitators write a song based on the children’s words, and after checking with the children for additions or changes, they all sing the song together. There are different approaches to sharing the story of the tree collectively. A prominent exercise is the Storms of Life, where the trees are reflected on collectively as a forest. The exercise may have a closing ceremony and certificates for participants.

Those who have written about their work with the Tree of Life identify several key attributes of this approach.

Adaptable format. While the Tree of Life exercise is well detailed in the manual by Ncazel0 Ncube, it can also be adapted for a particular culture...
or a particular purpose. Local traditions are incorporated into the Tree of Life. For example, traditional Tamil songs, games, and rituals were used in work with young people in India. Certain considerations may need to be taken into account. For example, in work with torture victims in Zimbabwe, personal safety was enhanced by including people who were from the same community and who knew each other in the same workshop. The approach can be used for different types of issues. The Tree of Life was used to bring Latino families together and as a basis for parents and their children to explore the challenges of biculturalism and identify the commonalities and differences in their experiences.

Culturally sensitive and ethical. Importantly, the Tree of Life approach is culturally sensitive. People will have their own experiences of trees in their culture. People who have resettled may draw trees that they remember from their childhood and heritage culture. Across cultures, trees hold powerful positive symbolism. Everywhere, trees shelter. Further, because the approach validates the person’s strengths and resources, it can be seen to counter internalized oppression associated with a particular social identity, whether that be a cultural identity, a status of victim, or a disease or disability.

The metaphoric aspects of the tree—heritage and history, daily life, personal strengths, hopes and dreams, relationships with important people, and gratitude—are universal in human experience. In many cultures, self-disclosure is frowned upon, as is seeking help from a professional therapist. The Tree of Life offers a discreet way to talk about the self where people can disclose what they want. Facilitators can clarify that people can represent their story in different ways, with images or words or even simply colours and patterns. The Tree of Life may seem more like a natural process of artwork and conversation over which participants have control than a traditional therapeutic session. Because it does not rely on speech, the medium of drawing can also facilitate sharing.

Strength-based approach. The approach draws on one of the key values of narrative therapy, which is telling a more complex and multi-layered story that is not problem-saturated, nor defines people by their problem. For example, rather than being reduced to the label “cancer patient,” a person is seen to be living with cancer. This approach is a way to elicit individuals’ special skills, knowledges, resilience, and responses. Ideally, the approach will also include a way for these strengths to be witnessed, affirmed, and validated. It is important not only to witness the challenges that a person
or community has faced but also to bear witness to how persons have responded to those challenges with special strengths, skills, and strategies.\(^{50}\) This is a process of reversing internalized oppression, and it has the potential to be decolonizing.

**Possibility to talk about difficult things.** The Tree of Life approach makes it possible to talk about difficult things in ways that are not re-traumatizing. Narrative therapists seek to identify ways “to tell stories in ways that make us stronger.”\(^{51}\) Ncube describes how therapists, working with the thousands of young people who were orphaned and traumatized when their parents died from HIV/AIDS and/or from other violence, themselves also experienced despair, hopelessness, and a sense of failure in the face of these overwhelming problems and pain.\(^{52}\)

Ncube relates that fellow therapists asked her what to do when the children “wailed” and would not stop crying when they talked about their lives. The Tree of Life exercise was a powerful and easy way for the therapists to learn about the children's experience while the children were also positively engaged in the activity.\(^{53}\) Sometimes a child might cry, for example, as she or he wrote a name on the tree. The therapist could ask about that person. For example, “Did you have lovely times with this person? What was special about this person to you? Would this person like it that you remembered them in this way?”\(^{54}\)

**Empowerment.** The Tree of Life exercise is empowering because it validates and affirms a person's identity. Enhancing a person's ability to narrate her or his story is seen to reduce self-stigma, that is, internalized stigma.\(^{55}\) The Tree of Life approach was found to help individuals “counter feelings of inadequacy and self-blame” and “retain dignity in the face of loss.”\(^{56}\) For rape victims in the Chinese society of Hong Kong, researchers found that, through a program including the Tree of Life, “subjectivities shaped by discourses of ‘the misfortune of an individual’ were shifted to those of survivors amidst injustice.”\(^{57}\) With survivors of torture in Zimbabwe, empowerment was the main object of a Tree of Life workshop. Based on pre- and post-tests and interviews with participants conducted by non-professionals at low cost, participants using the approach experienced significant clinical improvement.\(^{58}\)

**Connects the personal and social.** The Tree of Life approach is typically done in community. People who share their stories benefit from the witnessing of their story by others. For example, when followed by the Storms
of Life exercise, participants have opportunity to recognize the challenges people face that are not their fault. This is important because self-blame often accompanies trauma and victimization. It is important for the recipients of a story to bear witness both to the challenges that a person or community has faced and to how persons or communities have responded to those challenges with particular strategies, strengths, and skills. As a response to someone’s story of going through hard times, an intentional process of witnessing is important for telling stories in ways that make us stronger and for countering re-traumatization in the telling of difficult stories. Regarding the outcome of a program for rape victims that included the Tree of Life, it was found that “linking individuals to a collective can make individual and social action more likely.”

Is low-tech, doable, and can be done by non-professionals. The World Health Organization defines a complex emergency as a broad social catastrophe where there is a total upheaval of the society’s political, economic, and social infrastructure. Social interventions have been helpful in these situations; the Tree of Life is considered an example of such an approach. Because of the massive scale of complex emergencies and the trauma in their aftermath, there is a need for intervention approaches that are effective, cost-effective, and able to be delivered through community-based models.

The Tree of Life and story-based approaches, in general, are an inclusive and accessible means of social intervention because nearly everyone, including children, can understand and tell stories; stories require no equipment and can be told in nearly any circumstance. At the same time, stories are a powerful and effective way that people come together to make sense of the past, articulate the issues of the present, and envision the future. Culture is encoded in stories and through storytelling people continually recreate and revise socially constructed knowledge.

Participants enjoy the approach. In the context of inexpressible loss, pain, and trauma, the natural and pleasurable process of expressive traditions such as art, storytelling, and music or other media which can be incorporated into the Tree of Life approach, are a source of comfort. Across studies, participants consistently report enjoying the process. In the case of the Beads of Life used with young people living with cancer, one’s life is represented metaphorically with a string of beads that can be taken anywhere, such as in a packet or as a bracelet on one’s wrist.
Our Tree of Life in the Field, The Exercise

The following exercise is an adaptation of the Tree of Life exercise that focuses on one’s peace work. The questions are generally grounded in the process as described in other publications. The Storms of Life exercise looks at the Tree of Life collectively, exploring challenges, strengths, skills, and strategies of resistance. This paper offers an adaptation, Our Forest of Life in the Field.

Introduction. Consider how the exercise might be introduced, for example, by starting a conversation about trees. Facilitators might want to share their own story of their experience with trees and what trees mean in their lives. Children might want to share their knowledge and observation about trees. Others may want to talk about trees that they remember from their childhood.

The trees can be drawn on regular-sized paper or large paper. I like to work with flip chart paper or the large pads that have a sticky edge so they can stick to a wall without leaving a mark. A range of crayons, colored pencils, markers, or pastels can be used to draw the trees. Before we begin, we may let participants know about the parts of the tree that will go into the drawing. We may want to provide the detailed description in stages so that people stop to think about each tree metaphor in turn.

Roots. What grounds you in your work in the peace and conflict studies field? Where do you return to for strength? This might include historical experience, where you are from, cultural traditions and customs, values, and practices. If people are struggling to determine their roots, they may come back and do this section last.

Ground. What are your daily activities in the field? This includes your current peace-related activities.

Trunk. What are your strengths that you bring to your peace work? Include all your strengths, including abilities in music and sports. This gives an opportunity to see linkages between strengths and peacebuilding that may not be readily apparent.

Sometimes children are not sure of their strengths; they may be asked to think about what others say are their good qualities. In some cultures, or for some individuals, it may feel inappropriate to identify one’s own strengths. In this case, people might list the values and skills that they hope to possess.

Branches. What are your hopes and dreams for your peace work and for the field itself? These may be very specific short-term goals and also
large-scale idealistic goals.

Leaves. Who are the important people to you in your peace work? These may include people who have died. You may include people such as writers or leaders who you know about but have not met. You may include legendary or fictional persons who are special and meaningful to you.

Fruits. What are the gifts you have been given in peace work? These may be the gifts of education or more general gifts, such as laughter, friendship, or a sense of accomplishment. An insight from narrative therapy is that the opportunity to serve is one of the most valuable gifts a person is given. A particular role or position held may be seen as a gift.

Our Forest of Life in the Field

After the trees are completed, it can be powerful to ask people to post their trees on a wall, creating a forest. An adaptation of the Storms of Life provides an opportunity to see the collective work of our lives in the field. Personally, what I find very moving are the diverse roots that lead to common hopes and dreams for peace and healing the world. This is done first by talking about forests in general and then talking about work in the field. Because people are talking broadly about struggles faced by people in general, no one is required to reveal her or his particular struggles and challenges.

When the Storms Come. Ncube talks with children about how the forests are affected by dangers, a stage in the exercise that she calls “when the storms come.” This is done as a way to safely transition the children to exploring the ways they are challenged. This also works well with adults.

After admiring the beauty of the trees, the question is raised, “As beautiful as these trees are, are they safe from danger?” Participants list the dangers faced by trees. After listing these, a key question is, “are these dangers the trees’ fault?” This is a key aspect of this part of the exercise where the challenges, danger, and harm are externalized as events that affect children, and not internalized as stigmatizing or the result of one’s personal defects. Depending on the age of the participants, we may explore the ways that forests respond to danger, such as reseeding or bending in the wind.

Storms also affect people in the peace and conflict studies field. What are the challenges and “storms” that may affect peacebuilders? This is an opportunity to identify shared challenges. People are not required to identify their personal dilemmas. My experience has been that participants name numerous challenges faced by people in the field, including trauma, threats
and intimidation, physical and mental limitations, self-doubt, structural and systemic violence, and a lack of opportunities for employment. It might be valuable to explore if these are the peacebuilders’ fault. Or are these the “storms” of peace work?

**How Peace Workers Respond to Storms.** What are the ways that peacebuilders respond to these challenges? What are the strategies? This question will evoke ideas and special knowledges and skills that people and groups use to maintain their courage and work during hard times.

Participants may also want to ponder if storms are ubiquitous or inevitable, and how people celebrate when the storms pass. This is a chance to remember joyful times in one’s peace work and identify the ways in which joy in peacebuilding is honoured and celebrated.

**CONCLUSION**

This paper seeks to introduce a tool, The Tree of Life, that has been used in community and trauma therapy, and adapt that tool for use in our field. The focus has been on how we locate ourselves in the field. This is significant because the path to becoming a peace worker is not prescribed. Further, as Lederach puts it, peace work requires an awareness of self-in-context. Locating ourselves in the field through the Tree of Life, which offers opportunities for “thick description” and the emergence of diverse stories and connections, enhances awareness and mindfulness. Because this is a culturally sensitive and elicitive approach that is trauma-informed, I expect that peace workers may find ways to use and/or adapt the Tree of Life toward other peacebuilding goals or in other contexts.

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ENDNOTES


7. Covey, *The Seven Habits*.


38. Ncube, “The Tree of Life Project.”

40. Ncube-Mlilo and Denborough, *Tree of Life*.


42. Reeler et al., “The Tree of Life.”


45. Ncube, “The Tree of Life Project.”

46. Ncube, “The Tree of Life Project.”


49. Denborough, *Collective Narrative Practice*.

50. Denborough, *Collective Narrative Practice*.


52. Ncube, “The Tree of Life Project.”

53. Ncube, “The Tree of Life Project.”

54. Ncube, “The Tree of Life Project.”


58. Reeler et al., “The Tree of Life.”

59. Ncube, “The Tree of Life Project.”

60. Ncube, “The Tree of Life Project.”

61. Ncube, “The Tree of Life Project.”


63. Hung, “Collective Narrative Practice,” 30

64. Reeler et al., “The Tree of Life.”
65. Reeler et al., “The Tree of Life.”
68. Portnoy et al., “The Beads of Life Approach.”
69. Ncube-Mlilo and David Denborough, The Tree of Life.
70. Ncube, “The Tree of Life Project.”
71. Ncube, “The Tree of Life Project.”