

BECOMING GROUNDED TO GROW: A MODEL OF TRADITIONAL SPIRITUAL
HEALING/CARE IN THE EVERYDAY CONTEXT

BY

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DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Educational Psychology
in the Graduate College of the
University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, 2023

Urbana, Illinois

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ABSTRACT

The present study aimed to develop a model of traditional spiritual healing/care in the everyday Tanzanian context. To develop this model, I conducted 15 in-depth individual interviews with adults living in and around Dar es Salaam, Tanzania; participants also shared proverbs and photos representing the topic. Using a mixed constructivist grounded theory and post-colonial approach to data collection and analysis I developed the Becoming Grounded to Grow process model. Growth in this model is a continuous bidirectional cycle which includes (1) gaining wisdom (2) gesturing towards growth and (3) participating in true growth. Giving context and cultural relevance to the three themes are the guiding principles, which include time/timing, self/community, and mind/body/soul. These are seen throughout each phase of this cycle. In several key ways this model of spiritual healing or *true growth* both converges with and diverges from existent literature on professional and everyday healing amongst Africans. In its use of a non-professional sample, focus on the consistencies and transformations in traditional healing in the everyday context, and intergenerational approach, this study offers something new to psychology, and culturally relevant/informed care more specifically. The study also offers recommendations for counseling psychologists and implications for mental healthcare workers, researchers, and educators more generally.

To the people

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to thank my mother, Dr. Deborah Randle-Butler and my father, Abdul Semiu Adewale Ogunfemi whom I proudly represent and embody. To them, I want to say *thank you* and *e se* respectively. You have given me the space to know I can not only reach but exceed all expectations; and the wisdom to know it is my birthright to do so.

Next, I would like to acknowledge my ancestors, who laid the groundwork for me to be able to complete a project of this nature boldly and without fear. You continue to demonstrate the eternity of life, evidenced thorough your place in my mind and on my lips. I would also like to acknowledge my living elders, who demonstrate the power of knowledge and often remind me of my ability to fly.

My soul-twin Kelvin Bagera, thank you for being healing and brilliance personified. You were beside me every step of this journey with support, assistance, and love. I would also like to say thank you to Dr. Eugenia Kafanabo, without your guidance and endorsement, I would have not been able to complete a dream project in the perfect location. You both offered me the freedom and knowledge to respectfully explore a country that has transformed me from the inside out. Asanteni sana.

Finally, but certainly not least, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my Mwalimu, Dr. Helen Neville, who recognized and nurtured the scholar/healer in me (long before I did) and like only she can. You have introduced me to worlds, knowledge, and potential that I am still wrapping my head around. Thank you to my committee, Dr. Maimouna Barro, Dr. Robyn Gobin and Dr. Carla Hunter who have all in some way supported and/or influenced my journey to this point. I am forever better for crossing your paths.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTON

According to WHO statistics, about 80% of the African population uses traditional healing, and studies have shown that roughly 50% of the population seeks traditional care for the treatment of mental illness before accessing biomedical health care (Burns & Tomita, 2015; Thomford et al., 2015). The rates are similar in Tanzania, where about 80% of the population uses traditional spiritual healing, despite its overwhelmingly Christian and Muslim identifying population (Heilman & Kaiser, 2002; Rushohora & Silayo, 2019). These elevated rates of utilization highlight the need for mental health professionals to know more about spiritual means of healing and care. The endurance of African ways of life are evident, yet mental health care professionals know little about how the function in everyday life.

Although some researchers focus on the losses related to centuries of subjugation and cultural imperialism, the resilience of African cultural beliefs and practices is evident in modern traditional spiritual healing/care techniques. If the term *modern traditional* made you take pause, it might be because what is considered traditional is usually relegated to the past, especially in the African context (Booth, 1975; Kiev, 1974). But the traditional *is* modern, and its survivance is worth celebrating.

I propose celebrating this continuity by studying traditional spiritual healing/care in Tanzania, a country with a rich spiritual culture and tightly held traditional values. Spiritual care refers to the therapeutic use of self and others, the creation of healing environments and the facilitation of a relationship with the divine (Nathan, 1997; Ramezani, 2014; Sawatzky, 2005). Spiritual healing is the use of ritual, herbal healing, or ceremony to address the spiritual needs of the suffering. As a practice, spiritual healing can also be preventative when used with the intention to avoid harm or poor health. Spiritual healing is usually descriptively studied by

anthropologists in remote and indigenous lands. When most researchers discuss traditional as a concept, they mean strictly indigenous, limited by time and space, (Marovic & Machinga, 2017) when the real nature of traditional is non-static and evolving. What is missing in the current literature is traditional spiritual healing/care outside of the medical or anthropology fields of study. Additionally, there is a paucity of research on traditional spiritual healing/care in the modern context.

The experience of traditional spiritual healing/care connects global majority communities. That means that indigenous communities in North and South America, Africa, Asia, and Australia all have the similar practice of respecting living and non-living communities, and a deep respect for nature (Bruchac et al., 2016; Burkett, 2013). These global traditions have also been demonized and attacked by the destructive path of colonizers. While the re-evaluation and continued utilization of cultural practice in the post-colonial context was and is a reality for much of the global majority, there are some distinctions amongst Africans. These are explored further in the literature review.

The continuities of African Traditional Religions (ATRs) in Tanzania are also discussed in the background section. Tanzania specifically has its own history and factors that impact the country's collective approach to traditional spiritual care. First, it is important to note that Tanzanians are known to be deeply religious, but African spirituality remains the ethos of their religious engagement (Fielder, 1996; Heilman & Kaiser, 2002; Lodhi, 1997). This means that many endorse a dominant or colonizer religion, such as Christianity or Islam, but the way and purpose for practicing these religions are inextricably African. The underlying spiritualities of Tanzanians often reflect their indigenous backgrounds or ethnic identities (Lugazia, 2020; Rockel, 2019).

Traditional spiritual care is also conceptually and empirically linked to mental health. It is holistic, this means that it cuts across multiple dimensions of health and is interconnected. There is also empirical support for traditional spiritual care and healing. Researchers have demonstrated the positive association between spiritual healing/care and quality of life and spiritual well-being (Kamaara, 2019; Oji et al., 2020; Okello, 2006; Ramezani, 2014; Sekhavatpour et al., 2020). Empirical studies support the negative relationship between spiritual healing/care and depression (Molzahn, 2007; Selman et al., 2013).

This project was intended to address several gaps in the current literature. First, traditional spiritual healing/care projects are most commonly undertaken by researchers in medical and anthropological fields. Researchers in medicine tend to focus on religions not foreign to Africa (because Islam's history is cemented in North Africa, and Christianity's history is necessarily tied to East Africa), but the versions of the religions that were translated and repackaged for the development of the colonial project. Medical research, for example, tends to see the utility in "alternative medicine" in so far as it can be used to get patients to literally and figuratively buy into their solutions for care (Kleinman, 2022; Munguti, 1997), as opposed to a way to empower, and re-indigenize what Fanon called the *colonial subject*. Without this, piece they are complicit in ongoing systems of harm. More research is needed in counseling psychology and related applied mental health fields to help identify ways to explore and foster spiritual healing in therapy from a strengths-based approach. In Africa, where the population is deeply spiritual (Platvoet & van Rinsum, 2003), this is especially important.

Next, traditional spiritual healing/care, as it is currently explored in the literature often limits indigenous thought and practices to certain locations or past historical eras. For example, data are presented as though only people in remote and rural locations maintain indigenous

practices and ways (Van der Geest & Whyte, 1991; De Wet et al., 2016). More accurately, these practices may look, taste, smell, or sound different in urban spaces but they feel and function similarly, to ignore their existence is to affirm their partial extinction. This is simply not the case in urban African settings, where indigenous practices transform, not die out. Additionally, researchers tend to imprison traditional practices in the past. Anthropologists take on a more historical approach when they limit indigenous practices to antiquity and relate them only to precolonial contexts (Vaughan, 1994; Viljoen, 1999). Indigenous traditional practices existed in precolonialism, they survive in the ongoing colonial context, and will outlive the colonial era. To address these gaps, this project aimed to show the fluidity and adaptability of indigenous practice in the modern context. In doing so, I aimed to advocate for their independent development, their particular potential for healing from colonialism, and their utility in counseling psychology spaces, with client who are hoping to gain a sense of cultural grounding from which they can experience soul healing.

The purpose of the proposed project was to address the gaps in the literature by developing a conceptual theory of traditional spiritual healing/care in Tanzania. My work was guided by the central question: How do Tanzanians today engage in the process of traditional spiritual healing/care? I was especially interested in connecting these processes to cultural traditions within Tanzania and throughout the Diaspora.

I explored the processes of traditional spiritual healing/care among Tanzanians using a mixed post-colonial and constructivist approach to grounded theory (Charmaz, 2014; Chilisa, 2019). The constructivist grounded theory method allowed me to follow the lead of my participants and center their experiences in my theory building. When I thought about the type of data I wanted to ground my theory in, it made sense to expand beyond oral narratives. I

collected diverse data (proverbs, personal images, and narratives) in this qualitative and arts-based method. My methodological approach was ideal for model development because it made space for participants' diverse experiences and explanations, while having an indigenous point of reference enabling me to make connections between what they were saying and well-established indigenous principles. This approach was also appropriate because I aimed to develop a conceptual model that honors indigenous African ways of practicing traditional spiritual healing/care while also providing space to theorize new and underdeveloped concepts.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

I am interested in naming and conceptualizing the process of everyday traditional spiritual care and healing amongst the people of Tanzania by using a mixed post-colonial and constructivist grounded theory study. To orient the reader to the main constructs of the project, I first define key constructs in this research, like spiritual care, spiritual healing, traditional as a concept and the everyday as a context. Next, I discuss global majority spiritual healing/care as a decolonial indigenous tradition before moving to the African and Tanzanian approach to traditional spiritual healing/care. I do this to both show the connectedness of global indigenous thought, and to explore the particularities of the African approach to indigenous spiritual healing/care. Then, I discuss the role of traditional religion and spirituality in Africa, before reviewing traditional spirituality and religion in Tanzania to highlight the diversity of and connection among sub-Saharan practices. In the final section of this background, I discuss and critique the empirical findings related to mental health and traditional spiritual healing/care to show its relevance in the field of counseling psychology.

Defining Key Concepts: Spiritual Care and Spiritual Healing

Spiritual care and spiritual healing are key concepts in this project. According to the current literature, spiritual care is done by medical professionals trained in the west or with western models. In the indigenous context, it is most often called spiritual healing and done by professional healers trained in indigenous spaces or using indigenous models. Although there is some overlap between spiritual care and healing, they are separated by space and cultural context. The construct I am interested in studying is both similar to and distinct from traditional spiritual healing/care as it is most often discussed in research. Importantly, my review of the literature found no name for this concept. I am most interested in soul healing. This concept of

interest is best understood by first discussing it in relation to spiritual healing and care then delineating it from those practices facilitated by professional caregivers and healers.

Defining Spiritual Care

Researchers often discuss three components of spiritual care: Relationship with the divine, meaning making, and spiritual perspective. A core aspect of spiritual care is facilitating a relationship with divine others for the purpose of maintaining well-being (Nathan, 1997; Ramezani, 2014; Sawatzky, 2005). In this, healthcare professionals may respect prayer, honor conversations with ancestors or recognize culturally specific means to maintain these relationships. Another aspect of spiritual care is facilitating meaning making (Burkhart et al., 2011; Edwards et al., 2010; Nathan, 1997). Clients or patients can look beyond their current circumstances and at the bigger picture by connecting themes and knowledge across experiences. A third aspect of spiritual care is the exploration of the spiritual perspective (Carroll, 2001; Niu et al., 2001; Ramezani et al., 2014). When engaging in this aspect of spiritual care, healthcare professional may ask more questions about the patient's spiritual beliefs and development.

From these defining features, we learn that spiritual care is about creating spaces for the ill to gain a deeper understanding of their circumstances, explore their beliefs and relationship in the spiritual world. Based on the literature, these processes appear to take place most often in medical settings (Daaleman et al., 2008; Koenig, 2007; Wall et al., 2007). For example, in a 2008 exploratory study on spiritual care, researchers reported the percentage distribution in professional journals. They found that 61% of the retrieved articles were found in nursing journals, 11% in medicine journals, and 8% in palliative care journals (Hummel et al., 2021).

This study highlights the lack of representation of traditional spiritual healing/care articles in counseling psychology journals.

In focusing heavily on the medical manifestation of spiritual care, we lack an understanding of how this looks outside of the medical context. Focusing on populations that need immediate or long-term care, ignores both the preventative and everyday nature of traditional spiritual healing/care. As articulated by medical professionals, spiritual healing/care is most often done working from Christian principles and philosophies. While there is a budding interest in multiculturalism, healthcare professionals still struggle to grasp and attend to the spiritual needs of indigenous clients (Azarsa et al., 2015; Hathaway, 2009; Plante, 2014). This means that simply attempting to remove “Jesus” and other explicitly Christian concepts from spiritual care models, still does not address the cultural specificities of indigenous populations. This can leave the emotional-spiritual needs of multi-ethnic clients unaddressed even when good intentions of inclusivity are clear. Long before modern hospitals and healthcare systems were developed, ancient humans engaged in the spiritual dimensions of care and healing using their own religious beliefs, doctrines, and practices.

Defining Spiritual Healing

Spiritual healing is multidimensional and collaborative in nature. First, as a practice, spiritual healing is multidimensional (Desir, 2006; Leskowitz 2005; Steyn, 1996). There are many professionals that address the multidimensional nature of spiritual healing. Diviners, who communicate with spirits for the purpose of healing, herbalists, rainmakers, elders, and seers all address different aspects of spiritual healing (Mumo, 2012). This multidimensionality mirrors another aspect of spiritual healing, its holistic nature. Spiritual healing processes utilize herbal

remedies in addition to spiritual modes of therapy and often center the psychological, physical, and social nature of illness (Bignante & Tecco, 2013; Patterson, 1998; Shizha & Charema, 2012). This means that in addressing spiritual needs, healers can positively impact other aspects of life. For example, when a family experiences a tragedy, it is uncommon for them to be left to grieve in solidarity. There are often rituals, ceremonies, and community gatherings (outside of the funeral) that take place to ensure social and spiritual healing.

Another aspect of spiritual healing is the explicitly collaborative nature of the processes (Breast et al., 2020; Gone & Kirmayer, 2020; NiaNia et al., 2016). Even with the help of the spirits, no human is all knowing. For this reason, spiritual healers work in collaboration with clients and the living (i.e., humans, other animals, and nature) and nonliving (i.e., nature spirits, the Creator or ancestors) communities. For example, healers often ask for permission before uprooting or cutting herbal remedies to honor the autonomy of the plants. They also ask many curious and clarifying questions to the client before beginning treatment, much unlike the clairvoyant or all-knowing image presented in media depictions of spiritual healing. These examples highlight the collaborative nature of traditional spiritual healing.

From the literature on traditional healing, we learn that spiritual care is multidimensional, it works holistically, and that it requires collaboration between care seekers, caregivers, and the community at large. Spiritual healing as a concept moves us closer to culturally specific means of care but omits how people implement and cultivate care for themselves and communities outside of the healer's workplace. Additionally traditional healing is often explored in rural settings amongst one ethnic group, but traditional continuity exists in urban and multicultural spaces too.

Defining The Context

The next key concepts I will review are traditional as a concept and the everyday as a context. Spiritual healing/care have both differences and similarities. One difference is their utilization in western care contexts. Spiritual care is seen as the benchmark, while spiritual healing is simply additive or supplementary. This further marginalizes the people with traditional practices place their biomedical model as the *correct* of the two. For these reasons, I define and discuss traditional, pointing out common misconceptions. One similarity of spiritual healing/care as discussed in the literature is the exclusion of the ways everyday people take care of themselves and one another, which often takes place in the everyday context. In the following section, I define and discuss the everyday amongst non-professionals. Instead of referring to nonprofessionals as “lay people”, here, I refer to them as *the people*, who engage in healing and care sans salary. To date, there is a lack of articulation around these everyday, non-formalized practices of spiritual healing/care. This project aimed to not only name this process alongside the people that engage in it, but to build a model around that concept.

Defining Traditional. Most conventionally, traditional is used synonymously with indigenous, or “from ethnic groups descended from the original inhabitants of a given region, who maintain traditions or other aspects of culture that is associated with a given region” (Marovic & Machinga, 2017, p. 35). From this definition, one would be led to believe that traditional behaviors are only found in indigenous lands. This does not recognize the ways indigenous cultural expressions transform when found in new spaces. The Ballroom culture which sprouted from New York in the late 70s illustrates *a new traditional*. A multiracial group of urban youth cultivated a culture that drew from world traditions like Capoeira. These urban youth combined their indigenous cultures, many of which can be traced back to Africa. In

forming a culture based on indigenous and foreign knowledge, they formed what can be considered a new traditional. Phillip Kottak (2015) said:

While certain aspects of the tradition remain sufficiently consistent over time to give people a sense of continuity, it is also obvious that other paths of the traditions changed in structure, details, and interpretation and such changes are not always fully recognized (p. 44).

This definition recognizes the evolving nature of what is considered traditional. It makes room for modern adaptations. The proposed project aims to learn more about traditional in both the conventional and new senses. In this dual interest, I aim explore cultural continuity, instead of overemphasizing disruption.

Defining the Everyday. Moving in this direction leads towards the spiritual healing processes of everyday people in everyday contexts. By everyday, I mean those beyond officially or socially sanctioned sacred spaces, like churches, mosques or temples. Everyday spaces can include parks, beaches, bedrooms, art studios, etc.) (Klingorová & Vojtíšek, 2018).

Understanding spirituality in every context requires recognition of the unbound nature of spirit, it moves freely and costs nothing to access. Everyday spaces are most utilized by everyday people.

The people is a concept explored in depth by liberation psychologist Ignacio Martín Baró. He described the people as a concept that includes historical specificity, political solidarity and socioeconomic marginalization. He explained:

The people cannot be discussed as static, fixed or finite...*The people* are a dynamic opening. In spite of reductionist efforts, the reality of the people is always out there. Its

essence lies in not allowing itself to be fixed, *the people* always escape any attempt to hold back history for the benefit of any particular interest. It is not possible to reduce the reality of *the people* to a specific social class...The people is adequate for application to practice...it offers a conceptual base that can serve as a satisfactory platform for revolutionary work” (Martín-Baró, 1994, p. 184-184).

The people transcend setting and stereotype, they exist and resist all around the world. Upon arrival in Africa, Asia, South America and North America and Australia, foreign colonizers were met extraordinary and everyday people with highly intelligent and advanced societies. These indigenous people and their descendants are the ones that live(d) to see colonization of land, cultural imperialism, and psychological terrorism. They continue to heal from these and other spiritual traumas in diverse ways and from distant lands. The literature is missing their modern everyday spiritual healing/care processes. With this gap researchers and professional miss an opportunity to explore the ongoing resurgence/resurface of the people’s approaches to traditional spiritual healing/care.

Global Spiritual Healing and Care

In this section of the literature review, I explore traditional spiritual healing/care in global contexts. First, I will focus on global majority populations and indigenous philosophies related to healing and care of the spirit(s). I name this knowledge and the practices they inform as anticolonial because they were and remain a major threat to both capitalism and colonialism. I discuss them as encompassed in their respective worldviews, before moving to the African continent and their spiritual healing/care practices. There are both similarities and distinctions between Africa and the rest of the global majority, in this section, I name them. Finally, I discuss Tanzania as its own context, both connected to Sub-Saharan Africa and recognizable is

its own right. I do this to honor the diversity amongst Bantu Africans, and their specific historical/cultural contexts.

Traditional Spiritual Healing/Care of The Global Majority

The majority of the world experienced colonialism and has been negatively impacted by the capitalist ideologies used to justify its atrocities (Dirlick, 2002; Jalata, 2013; Mahmud, 2013). One major goal of colonialism was to replace a sense of pride and continuity with the traditional past, with shame and new foreign traditions (which often served the purpose of colonialism). Yet, traditional healing/care practices continue to develop and evolve. Global majority communities had vast and effective spiritual care practices that far predate colonialism. For example, First Nations people in Australia use traditional spiritual healing to address mental and physical health needs (Dudgeon & Bray, 2018). There, it is seen as “the most efficacious way to assist distressed First Nations individuals due to the inherent potency of these traditions achieved through long pre-contact histories of therapeutic refinement” (Gone, 2013, p. 697). In South America herbal and spiritual healing have ancient roots and continue to thrive today (Buhner, 2006; Dufault et al., 2001; Voeks, 1997). Their sustainable use of natural remedies effectively treats the ailing and threatens the pharmaceutical industry (Boke, 2018). And in Asia the traditional techniques of spiritual and physical alignment continue to inspire and impress healthcare care professionals and patients alike (Gaire et al., 2014; Zhang et al., 2019). These examples speak to the longevity of traditional spiritual healing/care, and their economic, social, and medical applicability across the world.

There are several similarities between the spiritual healing/care traditions in Africa and those of the larger Global Majority. First, the African formulation of traditional spiritual healing/care is similar to traditional spiritual healing/care in the global majority in that they are

both holistic in nature. Indigenous North Americans and South Americans also heal with herbs and see time with nature as a healing form of community building (McCormick, 1997). They see also both physical and spiritual worlds as, sharing the same space, mutually impactful. Because the impact of these physical-spiritual relationships can be negative and/or positive, traditional spiritual healing and care practices work toward harmony between the living and non-living world.

African Traditional Spiritual Healing/Care

I am most interested in theorizing processes of African traditional spiritual healing/care in the everyday context. Traditional spiritual care in Africa adopts many forms and functions. While Africa is not a monolith, there are some similarities across cultures, especially amongst the Bantu people south of the Sahara Desert (Byamugisha, 2018; Elders, 2007; Odak, 1995). One similarity is the social nature of traditional spiritual healing/care. In Africa, these processes require rituals, performances and or ceremonies that also address social needs (Feierman & Janzen, 1992; Mahilall & Swartz, 2021; Mpofo et al., 2011). This speaks to the holistic nature of African traditional healing/care, as it possesses interlocking dimensions of health and wellness.

There are several similarities across African groups regarding the way they engage in spiritual healing/care. A similarity across African indigenous groups is the use of the arts in traditional spiritual healing/care (Davhula, 2016; Schuessler, 2011; Soloman, 1997). For example, in South and East Africa, rock art works a way to remind traditional people of ancient visions and instructions left by their ancestors. They worked more immediately and vividly than even spoken or written directions (Lewis-Williams, 1982). This speaks to the often underappreciated nonverbal nature of traditional spiritual care. Another similarity is the holistic

nature of healing in Africa. “Traditional healers are known to have theories that recognize genetic, social, psychological, and environmental factors in the causation and maintenance of illness. They also embrace spiritual causation, usually ancestral” (Ndetei, 2007, p. 86). The realm of traditional healing often cut across economic and political lines as well, as seen through spiritual based revolutions, and financial strategies throughout the continent.

More than 80% of Africans seek traditional spiritual healing (Amira & Okubadejo, 2007). While there is a consensus about the utilization of traditional spiritual care, there is still some uncertainty around what to do with this information. Often healthcare researchers and professionals want to gain knowledge only to attempt to integrate traditional methods into their modes of thinking. This still centers the Western worldview at the cost of marginalizing the global majority perspectives. The purpose of this project was to instead, support the independent development of traditional spiritual care by freeing it from its pigeon-holed positions and paradigms in Western research. I center the traditional for the sake of advancing the traditional people by investigating its everyday manifestations.

African Traditional Religions in Context

ATRs are the foundation of its traditional spiritual healing/care. These diverse religions have a rich past and colorful continuity. To explore everyday traditional spiritual healing/care in Tanzania, we must go back to the source that connects all living and non-living beings and their caregiving behavior. In the next section, I will first discuss ATRs generally, focusing on both diversity and connection across the multi-ethnic continent. Next, I review ATRs and religion more generally in Tanzania, where this study will take place. In this section, I focus on the African spirit(uality) that is still very evident today.

African Traditional Religions

Unlike many other indigenous societies in the global majority, ATRs are largely deinstitutionalized (Mbiti, 1970; Odejide et al., 1982). While some societies had temples, many used home shrines to pray and communicate with the divine (Chiroma, 2021; Olupona, 2000). This questions the need of large institutions and complicates conventionalized understandings of sacred. Similarly, according to ATRs the dead are generally buried at home (Biwul, 2015; Njobvu, 1969). This form of ritualized spiritual care works against family fragmentation and brings yet another sacred space- the cemetery to the home. Also, ATRs are both sensuous and sex positive. They use praise songs to express, describe, and evoke sexual energy (Makaudze, 2015; Van Wolputte, 2016). They use scent to ward off and welcome spirits and, they use body art, decoration, and scarification to communicate certain spiritual messages (Bird, 2009; Endurance et al., 2014; Rush, 2005). In its deinstitutionalized nature and sensual approach ATRs blur the lines between religion and spirituality in a way that continues to confuse academics.

From above explanation, we learn that the everyday nature of religion in Africa is a more about a lifestyle than a specific place or even person. This more closely resembles what we now call spirituality. In the African worldview, religion, and spirituality merge into a continuous concept. Unfortunately, while traditional spiritual healing/care has clearly articulated individual/community health aims and outcomes, projects related to the topic are most often taken on by Western ethnographers, theologians, and medical professionals. Psychology researchers still need to understand the outcomes of these processes and how they are practiced in today's borderlands of traditional and foreign.

Traditional Religion(s) in Tanzania

One such African society that complicates the religion/spirituality divide is Tanzania. Religion in Tanzania is seemingly clear, but a closer look shows complexity. The easternmost country of the continent has much cultural diversity and religious pluralism. With approximately 61 percent of the population is Christian, 35 percent Muslim, and 4 percent other religious groups (Pew, 2010). Mainland Tanzania has more religious diversity than Zanzibar, which has a 98% Muslim population (Pew, 2010). This endorsement of Islam and Christianity did not quite happen organically. It is believed that Islam was a more palatable option for colonized Tanzanians for two reasons. First, it was more similar to their indigenous beliefs. For example, concepts like *shetani* (or evil spirits) translated well amongst traditional people (Lodhi, 1997). Additionally, during colonialism, this conversion could save a whole family from slavery, as Muslims are not permitted to enslave other Muslims. This practice was not at all articulated or honored by Christians. Christianity gained popularity with psychological manipulation, using education and medical care to promote western ways and demonize indigenous African beliefs (Gabber, 2001). It is by skill and ingenuity that Tanzanian Muslim and Christian converts maintained loving and peaceful spiritual communities under the colonial contexts.

Yet and still, even today many continuities of ATRs still exist. For example, both Christian and Muslim Tanzanians used the word *Mungu* for God. This is a derivative of *Mulungu*, an indigenous East African Bantu word for the ultimate creator, the Sun, or the ancestors (Frankl, 1990). Many Tanzanian Christians have been known to practice a form of the religion that centers African spirituality (Heilman & Kaiser, 2002). Often, traditional healers in Tanzania work in a style called *kwa kitabu* (a colloquialism for the Quran) (Lodhi, 1997). Tanzania has over 100 ethnic groups, all with their own languages and religious traditions, while there are many of the similarities that come with geographic proximity and spiritual

connectivity. The evolution of these traditions is more than their eradicated during colonialism. While political and social incentives to conform to foreign religions are strong, old habits die hard, or in this case, they do not die at all.

Another religious continuity is seen in the traditional spiritual healing/care practices in the country. In their study on the families of homicide victims in Tanzania, Outwater and colleagues (2012) found that while the family of the victim tends to the sending off the departed's soul the community addresses the spiritual needs of the grieving family. This makes death a spiritually infused community process. Among coastal Tanzanians, wellbeing is contingent upon access to sacred sites like rivers and woodlands which function for the healing and the maintenance of good health (Atuoye et al., 2019). Spiritual care in Tanzania also has a political component. Amongst the Kuria ethnic group of Northern Tanzania (and Kenya), clan disagreements often verge violence and threaten many policies designed using western methods and created to maintain peace (Magoti, 2018). For this and other ethnic groups, only traditional spiritual healing/care rituals can address disagreements and maintain peace. From these contemporary examples, it becomes clear that Tanzanians still utilize their traditional spiritual healing/care, even in multicultural and contemporary contexts.

Traditional Spiritual Healing/Care and Mental Health

Empirical evidence also highlights the importance of traditional spiritual care and healing. Almost 50% of the population in Africa consults traditional healers for treatment of mental illness before accessing formal biomedical health care (Burns & Tomita, 2015). This speaks to its accessibility and heavy utilization. Nathan (1997) found the benefits of spiritual care include improved self-control, self-esteem and confidence and resulted in a sense of meaning, resulting in renewed hope and peace of mind, enabling people to accept and live with their problems. Gureje and colleagues (2005) point out that a belief in the supernatural origin of mental illness

may imply the limited utility of Western medical care. These studies point to the fact that more than just integration is needed. Traditional spiritual care has the support necessary for more independent study and development, outside of the medical and professional settings they only partially take place in. In the next section, I will highlight the empirically supported relationships between traditional spiritual healing/care and mental health to solidify their significance to counseling psychologists.

Traditional Spiritual Healing/Care and Spiritual Well Being

Several researchers have found that traditional spiritual care is positively correlated with spiritual well-being (Babamohamadi, 2020; Heilbron & Guttman, 2000; Ramadani, 2021). In a 2020 clinical trial, Babamohamadi and colleagues investigated the effect of spiritual care on the spiritual well-being of patients with acute myocardial infarction. They found that their spiritual care program improved the mean scores spiritual well-being scores by 25%. These patients described feeling more hope and engaging in meaning making as a result of the spiritual based treatment. Similarly, Heilbron and Guttman (2007) used a case study method to study the impact of a traditional aboriginal healing ceremony, called the Healing Circle on the group therapy process. Their results included the heightened sense of connection with self and community members, willingness to fight for justice and appreciation for the wisdom left by ancestors and sense of purpose. These aspects are commonly associated with spiritual well-being. These studies speak to the ways addressing spiritual needs in clinical contexts increase spiritual wellbeing.

Traditional Spiritual Healing/Care and Quality of Life

Other projects reveal traditional spiritual healing/care also positively impacts quality of life (QOL) (Balboni et al., 2010; Chen et al., 2008; Molzahn, 2007; Selman et al., 2013). In a

secondary analysis using the questionnaire responses of 426 elderly patients in British Columbia, researchers found a significant relationship between the spiritual support of caregivers and quality of life ($r = .20$). Relatedly, Hewson and colleagues (2014) used a clinical trial of 25 people with various diseases to show the outcome of engaging in an indigenous community healing ceremony. They found that participation in the healing ceremony both increased quality of life and had a positive long-term effect that persisted at least 4 weeks after the ceremony took place. In the first study, we see the positive impact on QOL in the medical context, in the second, we see how community-based ceremonies have a similarly positive affect. These studies highlight the potential positive impacts of traditional spiritual healing/care on quality of life.

Traditional Spiritual Healing/Care and Depression

Traditional spiritual healing/care is negatively related with depression (Kamaara, 2019; Okello, 2006; Oji et al., 2017). Sankhe and colleagues (2017) conducted a randomized doubleblind study of 110 patients a spiritual intervention. They found that mean baseline depression scores decreased by nearly 8 points at the first follow-up visit and mean scores decreased again by 5 more points at the second follow-up visit. They found that spiritual care not only helped patients cope, but also gave them a sense of hope. In another study, Abbo (2011) aimed to describe outcomes of traditional healing on severe mental health disorders. The researcher used a mixed-method design with 132 Ugandan adults suffering from severe mental health disorders to explore the treatment and outcomes on indigenous healer. Amongst Abbo's findings was the general trend for depression symptom scales to show a 42.0% reduction at the 3- and 6-month follow-ups. Whether the care happens in the hospital, or in the healer's home, these studies speak to the protentional of traditional spiritual healing/care to combat depression.

These studies highlight the empirically supported relationships between traditional spiritual healing/care and mental health to solidify their significance to counseling psychologists. From these empirical articles, we learn that adequate spiritual healing or care, even in hostile western contexts, can be effective. It is also clear that research on spiritual healing/care are concentrated in professional contexts and often explored for the benefit of Western medical systems and practices. However, in all these studies the conceptualization of healing is defined by the researchers. These investigations do not explore how participants understand and practice spiritual healing/care. By centering the voices of *the people* in the spiritual healing/care practices, mental health workers can develop culturally resonate practices to support individuals in this journey, which we know is connected to well-being.

Rationale and Purpose

There are several gaps in the literature related to traditional spiritual care. More than 80% of the journals related to spiritual care are written by nurses, psychiatrists, and other medical professionals (Hummel et al., 2021). This means that much of the literature uses a medical framework, methods and implications most accurately apply to medical professionals. When social scientists do study traditional spiritual healing/care, it is taken up by anthropologists and sociologists (Rekdal, 199; Thornton, 2009). Thus, what is missing is the counseling psychology perspective. This means that counseling psychologists and other mental health workers do not have a model or framework for how to engage in or recognize spiritual care with participants, clients or community members. Additionally, the focus of most spiritual care research is on religions that have a controversial past in Africa. That is why I was most interested in centering traditional spiritual healing/care to address ongoing cultural imperialism related to cultural forms of care and knowledge.

While there is a consensus about the utilization of traditional spiritual care, there is still some uncertainty around what to do with this information. Often healthcare researchers and professionals want to gain knowledge only to attempt to integrate traditional methods into their modes of thinking. This still centers the Western worldview at the cost of marginalizing the global majority perspectives. The purpose of this project was instead to support an African indigenous development of traditional spiritual care. I centered the traditional for the sake of advancing the traditional people by investigating its everyday manifestations.

While this research addresses several gaps in the literature, it also supports the long history of work that has been done by researchers in Black psychology, and those who do work around culturally relevant care more generally. In one contemporary example, Harrell (2022) offered a model of education, named Rising up Rooted. In this theory, wisdom is a starting point for academic and personal growth. The present study stands to support research like Harrell's, while building on past research endeavors centered around using multicultural concepts, in the context of culturally responsive care.

CHAPTER 3: METHOD

Research Design

To explore everyday processes of traditional spiritual healing/care in Tanzania, I used a mixed post-colonial and constructivist grounded theory approach with three forms of data collection: interviews, photos, and proverbs. Below, I first describe constructivist grounded theory, then I introduce post-colonial methodology and how I combined the two. Throughout I discuss my decision to use each method of data collection based on my methodological approach.

There are several aspects of constructivist grounded theory that make it appropriate for this study, including its emphasis on participant's words, simultaneous data collection and analysis, and recognition of multiple truths. First, constructivist grounded theory sprouts directly from the participants' experiences, allowing the researcher to build a theory from their direct quotes. This "ground-up" analysis of data aims to generate a framework that explains the context behind a phenomenon (Tracy, 2019). For my proposed project, that will take place in formally colonized Tanzania, this approach can help to recenter the traditional East African experiences, removing the already displaced western assumptions as much as possible.

Another useful characteristic of constructivist grounded theory is that it calls for simultaneous data collection and analysis, comparative methods, and theory building (Charmaz et al., 2018). Using the constructivist grounded theory method, was flexible enough for me to consult with experts about emergent findings and engage in other community checks. Academic consultation allowed me to use the wisdom experts and elders in my model development. This is both culturally relevant academically and indigenously.

Finally, the recognition of multiple truths is important for a study of this nature. Even in its earlier positivist formation, grounded theory recognized the possibility of more than one truth, but there was an assumption that articulating reality was the role of the researcher (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). The theory has since grown to be more mindful about whom the final say of reality lies with (Tweed and Charmaz, 2012). This means that reality has to be cocreated and allowed to be checked and complicated by communities.

Consistent with the constructivist grounded theory methodology, I used interviews as one form of data collection. Much of the data collected came from these in-person one-on-one interviews. The open ended, yet directive approach to interviews is consistent with the grounded theory method because it is “open yet directive, shaped yet emergent, and paces yet unrestricted” (Charmaz, 2014, p. 55). As the researcher I came with a direction and topics of interest, yet the interviewees had some say in the journey as well. They highlighted missing concepts or pointed to overlooked aspects. I was most interested in a collaborative way to interview participants, where new offerings are shared on both sides.

The constructivist lens addresses the positivist’s shortcomings, by allowing for more flexibility in the methods and recognizing the nature of multiple realities. It also offers a loose research plan that makes room for more cultural approaches. For example, the Ubuntu approach of constructivist grounded theory uses aspects of the African worldview for its data collection and analysis (Schreiber & Tomm-Bonde, 2015). That said, grounded theory still has some limitations when applied in global settings (Charmaz, 2014). For this reason, the combined use of more indigenous frameworks is appropriate. I thus used a grounded theory approach from a mixed post-colonial and constructivist lens.

The post-colonial indigenous paradigm is closest to the foundational aims and interests of this project. This paradigm advocates for decolonization and indigenization of instead of research methodologies. According to Bagele Chilisa (2012):

Indigenization is a process that involves a critique and resistance to Euro-Western methodological imperialism and hegemony as well as a call for the adapting of conventional methodologies by including perspectives and methods that draw from indigenous knowledges, languages, metaphors, worldviews, experiences, and philosophies of former colonized, historically oppressed, and marginalized social groups (p. 97).

I engaged in an indigenization of traditional spiritual healing/care. This included making the method, the way I discuss my findings, and the way that I developed my model all informed by indigenous philosophies, such as holistic health, and *Sankofa*, which explicates the relationship between the past, present, and future.

I aimed to develop a theory that reflects the African worldview and experiences of Tanzanian adults. And adopting post-colonial and constructivist paradigms allowed me to remain close to the ground, or the participants' words and experiences. Post-colonial indigenous knowledge has several merits of its own. As explained by Chilisa in this paradigm:

researchers are free to use new topics, themes, processes, categories of analysis, and modes of reporting and dissemination information not easily obtainable through conventional research methods... researchers are able to unveil knowledge that was previously ignored, and carry out research in respectful, ethical ways, which are useful and beneficial to the people (Chilisa, 2012, p. 96).

This post-colonial-indigenous framework allowed me to not only name the concept of traditional spiritual healing/care *with* participants but made it more likely for them to recognize the concepts and historical relevance behind the resulting theory.

The post-colonial and constructivist paradigms are compatible for several reasons. Primarily, they both recognize that reality is socially constructed and dependent on culture. They both emphasize the importance of the participant's voice, and they both articulate the importance of challenging the assumption that the accurate presentation of reality is the responsibility of the Western trained researcher. With these overlaps in mind, I wove the post-colonial indigenous knowledge with some of the aspects of constructivist grounded theory, including social constructivism, subjectivism, and interpretivism.

The indigenous research paradigm encourages non-traditional means of data collection and strongly endorses arts-based research for its ability to communicate beyond words and access feelings that may otherwise be left unseen (Greenwood, 2012). I also used photo elicitation for one part of the interview. Photos can introduce new feelings; help elaborate experiences or visualize concepts (Harper, 2002). Visual approaches are compatible with indigenous research because they allow for new an inventive way to avoid the limitations of language (Aigen, 1991; Finley, 2011). While photo itself is not indigenous to Africa, the arts-based approach to research has been used in several countries, and photo specifically has been known to work well amongst Tanzanians (Doyle & Thulstrup, 2011; von Hellermann, 2020). For this project, photo played the important role of showing, not telling the processes of traditional spiritual healing/care.

In addition to these, I engaged in oral literature for data collection. This included storytelling and proverb. Proverb is an important aspect of indigenous religion. Existing beliefs

and unwritten theories of indigenous people are often stored in language, proverbs, and folktales (Chilisia, 2014). Many academic professionals in diverse fields use oral literature to uncover assumptions about the world of participants.

Proverbs and stories are ancient technologies in African culture. They teach the young and remind the old about values for any given society. In this research, I asked participants to share proverbs and personal narratives that similarly captured the hidden in plain sight aspect of theorizing. Asking for relevant proverbs also helped remind participants of their cultural technologies.

Study Participants

Research Description

I am a Black woman with Yoruba and African American roots. My doctoral studies are in Counseling psychology at the University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign (UIUC) with a concentration in African Studies. I come from a long line of transnational Black healers and knowers in both America and Nigeria. I see the world through the African worldview, which means that I value collectivity, spirituality, and creativity. I spent much of the last few years believing I was not religious. Due to lack of representation of African Traditional Religions (ATRs), I was never exposed to a religion that felt congruent with my beliefs and worldview. I now know that I am religious in a most African way, that sometimes more resembles spirituality. I understand African religions as using everyday relations, behaviors, and knowledge to create harmony (and dissent when necessary). I believe in the revolutionary power of love, connectivity, and responsibility. History too plays very real part of my present life, a concept that indigenous Twi people of Ghana call *Sankofa*. My professional, academic, and spiritual principles are as inseparable as my personal/spiritual ethic guides my professional

decisions and experiences. Letting my spirit lead has yet to steer me wrong. To maintain a sense of passion for my work, I sought experiences that aligned with my African worldview and understanding of knowledge. I went on two group study abroad trips to

Tanzania before I began to travel to the country alone. While I thought a concentration in African studies would point me in the direction of relevant research articles on Africa, it instead pointed me to the continent itself. I have spent the last four years alternating between living in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania and Champaign, Illinois. In this way, my education on Africa has taken place inside and outside of the ivory tower. I also studied Kiswahili for 3 years to meet personal goals and academic goals. Learning Kiswahili allowed me to connect more deeply with communities in Tanzania.

During early trips to Tanzania, I talked with spiritual healers (or mganga), attended lectures about spirituality, participated in religious rituals and observed spiritual traditions. I feel a deep resonance with some of Sobonfu Some's (1999) and Toni Cade Bambara's (1992) truth that there is power in Black spirituality and many of my important lessons happen in spiritual spaces.

Some of my relevant assumptions with respect to the topic of spiritual care and healing among people of African descent include the belief that Tanzanian people have rich and accessible cultural resources. I believe the spiritual realities of Africans are both impacted by environment and transcend it. My personal experiences in Africa and America lead me to believe that ATRs are no more savage than the religions that justified the genocide, enslavement, and subjugation of its adherents; traditional healers are no less qualified than the western doctors and clinicians that often miss the mark on empathy, love, and soul care.

Participants

I interviewed 15 diverse Tanzanian adults. All participants self-identified as Tanzanian by both nationality and ancestry. They represented the ethnic diversity of the country, which has more than 100 ethnic groups. The sample size for this study was 15. This was an appropriate number of participants because this is the range needed to reach saturation in qualitative research (Bertaux, 1981). I did reach research saturation, which refers to the point at which no new data are presented that cannot be fit into existing clusters.

Table 1: Participant demographics

<i>Participant name</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Ethnicity</i>
Jakinda	Female	60	Kihehe
Deusdedith	Male	64	Kihaya
Mtaganda	Male	40	Kinyamwezi
Wisdom Palace	Female	31	Kisukuma
Catalyst	Male	31	African
Mary	Female	23	<i>Kihaya</i>
Prudence	Male	63	<i>Kichagga</i>
Kija	Female	25	<i>Mixed ethnicity</i>
Conchester	Female	34	Mixed ethnicity
Ras Ndekuonia	Male	26	Kichagga
Gina	Female	21	Mixed ethnicity
Stacey	Female	28	Kikuria
Nelson Mandela	Male	28	Kikuria
Mukimala	Male	33	Kihaya

Table 1 (cont.)

Sima	Male	32	Kinyakusa
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Researcher-Participant Relationship

I established several relationships in the setting. I met with academic experts before and during data collection to discuss existing theories related to traditional spiritual healing/care. I also established relationships with experts in the community, as for the topic at hand, the real experts are rarely in universities. I asked these professionals (which included traditional healers in Dar es Salaam and Bagamoyo) about traditional methods of appropriately connecting and engaging with more professionals like themselves. I learned more about culturally respectful ways to engage with these experts and key informants. Research roles were established early on in my trip(s) to Tanzania. I focused more on my researcher/student and identified myself as someone there to learn from the experts of their own experiences as opposed to an expert simply confirming what I already believe. Because this research was made possible through established relationship on group, some participants I was familiar with, and with some of them, we had our first conversation in the research setting.

Participant Recruitment

I recruited 15 participants using purposive and snowball sampling. Purposive sampling refers to selecting potential participants based on prior knowledge or experience with a topic. I first made connections with several people who are known to be knowledgeable on the topic of traditional spiritual healing/care. Purposive sampling was appropriate for this topic that can be considered culturally or socially sensitive. The stigmatization of traditional spiritual healing/care has resulted in many not being able or willing to discuss the topic. Purposive sampling saved time and allowed the interviews to be more informative.

From those early interviews with intentionally recruited participants, I did a snowball sampling. At the completion of the interviews, I asked participants for other people in their lives or networks that can similarly illuminate the concepts of interests. With more interviews, the network, or sampling snowball grew larger. Snowball sampling allowed me to follow the lead of participants and give me access to more people I may otherwise not reached.

From previous visits to the country, I had access to university professors, students, artists, and business owners to name a few. I leveraged these already established connections for data collection and recruitment in the setting. I asked those that I know to share flyers and information about my project. Tanzania, as the general setting, had much land diversity (plains, mountains, oceans, lakes) and ethnic diversity. I sampled participants based on both existing relationships, places of origin and ethnic diversity.

Potential participants were sent an email or WhatsApp message and asked to respond if they are either interested in participating in the study or have more questions about what participation entails. Once the person expressed interest via email or WhatsApp message, follow-up email/message was sent. Attached to this message was the consent form, which included questions about age, gender and ethnicity. Participants were required to complete this form before participating in interviews. After this, I scheduled participants for an interview time and sent potential interview locations for them to choose based on convenience and privacy.

Sources of Data

In this study, I collected three sources of data from each participant: (a) one-on-one interviews in which I gathered stories about participants' experiences, (b) photos, and (c) proverbs.

Interviews

All interviews were completed in person. They were also conducted in English, while some concepts that cannot be translated were kept in Kiswahili to preserve the language and concepts of the people. The interview protocol included 11 questions. Consistent with the grounded theory methodology, these changed and or got more specific (or general) as I began to analyze participant responses. The goal of these questions was for participants to explore and explain their understanding and processes of traditional spiritual healing/care in the everyday context. Interviews lasted between 1-2 hours long. They were audio recorded and later transcribed. (See appendix for interview protocol)

Photos

A request to come with or identify digital copies of photos was sent to participants before the day of their interview. Participants were asked to describe the photos, focusing on the aspects of the photos that made them relevant or desirable to include in the project. Participants were also asked to, in their own words, explain how the photo depicts healing. They shared personal, researched, and archival images. What was used in the project was personal images, while other, non-original photos were considered as informative.

Proverbs

A request to identify proverbs was sent to participants before the day of their interview. Participants were asked to first state their proverb, then translate it if it was presented in Kiswahili. After saying the proverb, they were asked to speak to the context(s) in which they were exposed to the proverb and what it means to them. Finally, participants were asked to map these proverbs and their meanings on traditional spiritual healing/care.

Recording of Data

Interviews were audio recorded and transcribed using a transcription software. Interviews were uploaded to a password encrypted online location. Transcripts were then reviewed, corrected for errors, expression, timing, and emotion. I listened closely and read for line-by-line accuracy, adding emotional markers like laughing or sighing and correcting transcriptions for errors related to East African accents or dialects of English. Photos were sent to the researcher and placed in the same password encrypted online location as the other data. As participants were asked to discuss their proverbs and photos during the interview, their explanations were also captured on audio recording.

Data Analysis

For this grounded theory study, I used a similarly integrated post-colonial and constructivist data analysis plan. Specifically, Eaves' (2001) data analysis includes a 9-step analysis plan. These steps include line-by-line coding, making shorter code phrases, grouping code phrases, creating clusters, identifying emerging concepts, identifying categories, identifying subcategories, linking categories and identifying subcategories. The first step included underline/highlight key phrases in the informants' own words. In the next step, lists were made of all *in-vivo* codes and shorter code phrases then developed to capture the main idea. Third, coded phrases were reduced by grouping together similar code phrases. In the fourth step, I grouped similar code phrases to create clusters.

Fifth, phrases were grouped together to create clusters which are reduced into metaclusters with labels. In the sixth step, similar concepts were grouped together to develop categories. Seventh, subcategories were located by the characteristics and properties of categories along a continuum. In the eighth step, I made connections among categories that were found, allowing for conceptual order to be placed on the data. Finally, similar concepts were grouped together to

develop categories. This process was highly systematic. Eave’s data analysis was structured but made room for theoretical sampling and methodological adjustment based on emergent themes.

I also integrated indigenous models of data analysis and methodological adjustments as needed. One such theory was the indigenous medicine wheel theory developed from indigenous North American philosophy (Mertens, 2009). This model combined the compass directions with the four dimensions of indigenous medicine to form a theory that resembles the way the body is understood and treated. As seen in the table below, it allowed for me to group findings based on context, mind, body, or spirit dimensions. This holistic analysis framework has been used to develop new theories in indigenous studies and was similarly used with this one.

Table 2. Combined Analysis Plan

<i>Grounded Theory</i>		
Analysis step	Explanation	Procedure
Reading and rereading/looking and re-looking	Researcher immerses themselves in the data or transcript of a single case	Read and corrected transcripts for errors, before reading and looking at images to familiarize myself with the content of the interview
Line by Line (in vivo coding)	Underline/highlight key phrases in the informants’ own words	Identified words and phrases that illuminated soul healing/care
Shorter Code Phrases	List made of all <i>invivo</i> codes and shorter code phrases then developed to capture the main idea	Listed the selected relevant words and phrases on a word document and looked for shorter and more general phrases that could be used to speak to the essence of what participants were saying
Grouping Code Phrases	Code phrases reduced by grouping together similar code phrases	Looked at the code phrases selected, grouped them based on similarity

Table 2 (cont.)

Creating Clusters	Group similar code phrases to create clusters	From list of reduced code phrases, created clusters
Emerging Concepts	Group phrases together to create clusters and reduce clusters into meta-clusters with labels	Reduced clusters into larger meta-clusters, and labeled them using terms offered by participants, or ones that maintain their messages
Identifying categories	Group similar concepts to develop categories	Made groups from the meta-clusters, focusing on combining similar concepts into larger groups
Identifying subcategories	Locate subcategories in characteristics and properties of categories along a continuum	Identified subcategories amongst the groups made in the previous step
Linking categories	Find connections among categories and allow for conceptual order to be placed on the data	Further identified connections and developed conceptual flow, which felt more like a cycle

*Table 2 (cont.)
Indigenous Analysis*

Analysis step	Explanation	Research Procedure
The context	Culture, community, family, peers, work, school, and social history	Made note of the social situations shared between and distinct amongst participants
The body	All physical aspects, such as genetic inheritance, gender, and condition, as well as sleep, nutrition and substance use	Identified the parts of the process that spoke to the physical nature of soul healing
The spirit	Spiritual components such as ancestral information/relationships, the personal and collective spirit and other metaphysical dimensions of soul healing	Identified the parts of the process that spoke to spiritual nature of soul healing
The mind	Cognitive processes such as thoughts, memories, knowledge, and emotional processes such as feelings, defenses, and self-esteem.	Identified the parts of the process that spoke to cognitive aspect of spiritual healing

Note. Adapted from Eave (2001) and Mertens (2009) guidelines

Trustworthiness

Qualitative researchers acknowledge the subjective nature of the research process. The questions that we ask, the participants that we choose or attract, and the intended outcomes of our project are all related to our respective worldviews, experiences, and assumptions about the world. If the subjective nature of reality is neither acknowledged nor explored from the beginning of the study, the research is vulnerable to exposure of over asserting the self into the project. Qualitative researchers have named and conceptualized this key quality to recognize and leverage the subjectivities. They articulate their implicit assumptions and biases using

reflexivity statements (Morrow, 2005). I outlined my assumptions under the researcher positionality statement in this chapter.

In the context of constructivist grounded theory, validity includes rigorous theoretical sampling and staying as close to the participant's words as possible (Charmaz, 2014). For postcolonial indigenous research, this means engaging in community checks, sharing findings with participants to ensure respectful write ups, and making sure the indigenous communities, who contribute greatly to the project, also the ones who most benefit from the effort.

I also used Lincoln and Guba's (1986) criteria for authenticity, which include fairness, ontological authentication, educative authentication, catalytic authentication, and tactical authenticity. I practiced fairness by taking the time to make sense of participant responses and recognizing their expertise regarding their own lived experiences. I also presented participant words in a way that reflects their values. I practiced ontological authentication by approaching each disclosure as a part of a larger narrative of Tanzanian spiritual healing/care- in all its cohesion and complication.

Another way I addressed validity is through triangulation during the data collection and data analysis phases. The combination of photo elicitation and interview was designed intentionally to support or complicate one another. In engaging in more than one form of data collection, I hoped to achieve heightened trustworthiness.

CHAPTER 4: RESULT

Introduction

From my detailed, integrative, and systematic analysis of participant interviews, photos and proverbs, I identified *Becoming Grounded to Grow* (See Figure 1) as the main process that participants engaged in everyday through acts of traditional spiritual healing and care. There are three main expressions associated with this process: (a) gaining wisdom, (b) gesturing toward growth, and (c) participating in True Growth. I first introduce *Becoming Grounded to Grow* as a process of spiritual healing/care in the everyday context and discuss its connection to *True Growth*, a concept participants saw as synonymous to soul healing. Next, I explain the guiding principles that influence every aspect of the process. In the subsequent three parts of this chapter, I detail the main expressions of this process. In doing so, I point to participant narrative, images, and proverbs to further illustrate my co-constructed understanding of traditional spiritual care and healing in the everyday context in Tanzania.

Becoming Grounded to Grow

Becoming Grounded to Grow (BG2G) is a process that in essence has no start or end, but instead cycles into antiquity and infinity. Under optimal conditions, participants expressed the ability to gain wisdom, gesture towards growth, and participate in True Growth throughout their lifespan, before and beyond. Thus, the cyclical nature of the process became evident. The process is both cyclical and bidirectional, in that any stage of BG2G can lead to another.

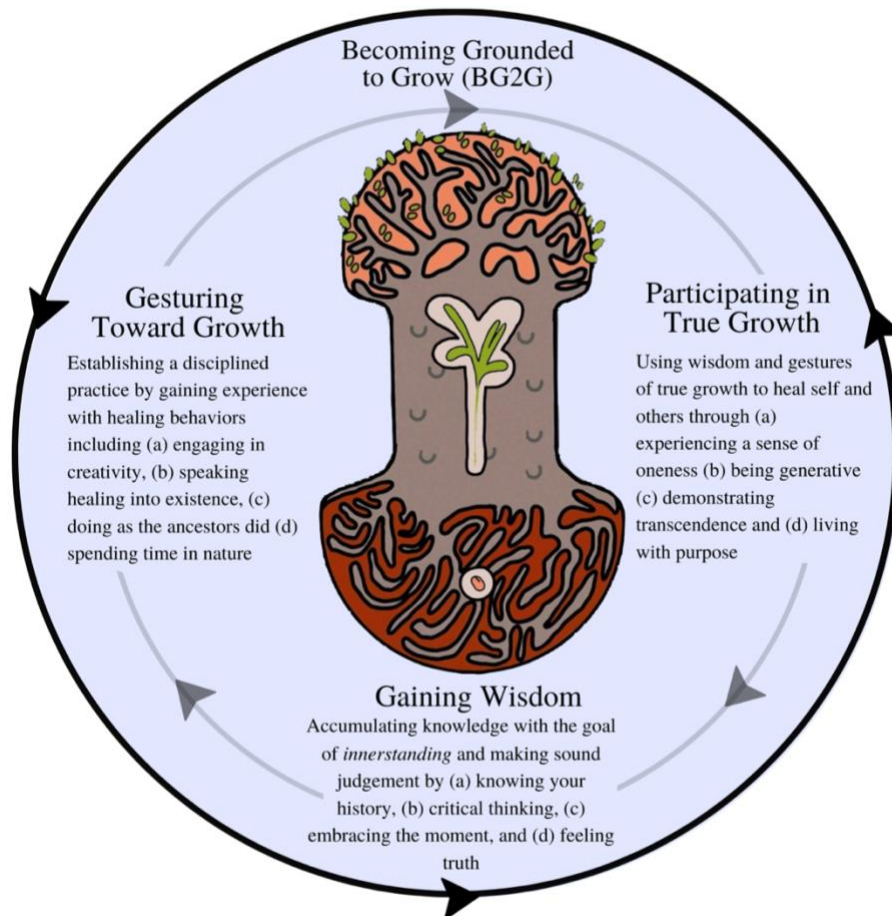
For this illustration of *Becoming Grounded to Grow* (Figure 1), I selected the baobab tree (or *mti wa Mbuyu* in Kiswahili) to reflect BG2G process. This huge tree is the muse for much thought and practice throughout Africa and has inspired symbolism for centuries. What's more, is it has deep spiritual significance within the traditional knowledge still cherished by millions. As one of the largest and most effectively life sustaining traditional healing plants, found

throughout Tanzania, the African continent, and larger indigenous world, the baobab tree is an appropriate symbol to conceptualize becoming grounded to grow.

Each phase of the BG2G process represents the Baobab's growth phases. Like the seed in the ground which uses the roots for nutrients from the Earth, sources of healing information are a means to enrich and ensure life by *gaining wisdom*. Just as a budding baobab plant (barely distinguishable from a spinach plant at this point in its development) weathers the elements, fights off predators, and otherwise welcomes the trials of growth, *gesturing towards growth* among my participants so represents the practice and establishment of more discipline with soul healing behaviors. Finally, as a baobab plant begins to establish itself as a mighty tree, it creates shade, it bears fruit, it stores water all of which welcomes co-habitants and establishes relationships that ensure its generativity. This is reminiscent of the *participating in true growth* phase of becoming grounded to grow.

To highlight the model's bidirectionality, it could be stated that the baobab's life cycle begins in the tree's canopy (as a seed inside the fruit) instead of the ground. In this case, it is *participating in true growth*, like the blooming of the unique baobab flower that feeds the pollinating fruit bats, or the ripening of the baobab fruit that feeds monkeys (and other primates like humans), that begins the life cycle. Through the attraction of a symbiotic community member, the seed makes its way back to the ground, *making gestures of growth* along the way. Once safely nestled in the ground, it gains the nutrients necessary for further growth, which closely resembles *gaining wisdom*. The plant that results, in its either young or mature stage, has the potential to facilitate the True Growth of its surrounding community. Baobab trees can go through this cycle, in either direction for hundreds of years. And even after a tree's "death" its seeds live on. Thus, the baobab and its life cycles symbolize *becoming grounded to grow*.

Figure 1. Becoming Grounded to Grow Model



Ras Ndekuonia spoke well to the process of BG2G in his interpretation of the proverb: *tavuna uliochopanda* (English - you reap what you sow). As this proverb is common in multiple contexts and cultures, Ras Ndekuonia explained how it applies to the growth process:

What I reap in my mind is what I sow in my actions. I think that is beautiful and it is so powerful. So you must be able to carefully examine what you have in your mind to be able to control your actions, your habits, and your destiny. Maybe it's just like a garden, that's more fertile than you ever seen. Yeah, if you plant love, it will grow love more and more, if you plant hate, you do it the same.

From this I gleaned the importance of what we feed the mind, because what we feed the mind impacts what we do, and what we do impacts how *we be* (or our essence/soul), as the soul steers us towards our destiny. As much of traditional Tanzanian culture is centered around nature, and namely the planting process, it becomes a source of reference for several participants. With this proverb, and explanation, Ras Ndekuonia helped put this process in perspective and painted a powerful picture of a person and their healing process as a seed striving for True Growth. He effectively illustrated a cycle otherwise articulated by participants in their own way.

Analyzing the narratives and reviewing the data, I saw a clear pattern that linked everyday spiritual wellness to the concepts of healing and growth; the latter two were used interchangeably. Participants spoke to a process of restoration happening for spiritual wounds/loss. For example, Ras Ndekuonia showed how spiritual healing is a process of growth.

He said:

But if you have failed so much, until you grow, that's healing because you know spiritual growth has stages. And I think when we learn about controlling our mind we can be in the same place during the same session for the same while, but our level of calmness can be different. Even that is a kind of growth that heals the soul.

In this example, Ras Ndekuonia showed how his mindfulness practice enables him to reflect on the ways he fails before experiencing growth. He sees failure as a necessary part of the spiritual growth process, and overcoming different stages of life, or different levels of the same experience (like meditation) can offer the space for growth and healing. In this sense, failure is an expression of being humble, or grounded. For Ras Ndekuonia, his BG2G process can be seen in how he fails with such intention that he heals.

Sima shared his BG2G process, and highlighted how growth is integral to his understanding:

The foundation of a lot of work is what gets me going, just learning everything, whether it's physical fitness, and I'd like to basically just conquer myself each and every day. And just learn and grow and evolve...for me that's healing.

In this quote, Sima noted how growth is a motivating force behind his healing process. For him, waking up daily with a new growth goal in different dimensions of his life enables him to have a daily practice, or ritual of healing. Sima is grounded by a foundation of work that for him, pays off in spiritual healing in the everyday context.

In one final example, Stacey's narrative captured the overlaps between growth and healing:

I think that's why you have so much energy, so that you can heal yourself. You can regenerate, you can, you know-it's, it's magic. You can regrow what you have lost and It's so vast. You can call it magical, or you can even call it Juju (laughs) but it is definitely healing.

In elaborating on her understanding of self-healing and how it relates to growth, Stacey found it real and wonderful that she can replenish herself after taking spiritual losses. This illustrates how participants saw spiritual healing and processes of growth as one in the same. It is for this reason, that I named the larger process of traditional spiritual healing in the everyday Tanzanian context, BG2G, with the destination being True Growth, a representation of spiritual or soul healing. Here, spiritual growth seems to be the optimal outcome, and becoming grounded is the process by which participants can experience that growth.

In the introduction to this section, I named and described the process BG2G. I described the illustrative figure, The Mti wa Mbuyu Model of True Growth, and pointed to participant explanations that help support the conceptualization of BG2G. In the following sections, I first discuss the guiding principles found throughout the process. I spend time discussing the spiritual dimension of mind/body/soul and highlight the specific relevance of the soul in order to set the stage for the frequent reference of the spirit and soul throughout this chapter and the next. I then discuss the three phases of the BG2G Process: Gaining Wisdom, Gesturing toward Growth, and Participating in True Growth.

Guiding Principles in the BG2G Process

Within the BG2G journey of participants, I observed three guiding principles that are interwoven throughout the larger portrait. These principles are presented and understood in a way that emphasizes connection, balance, and harmony. The guiding principles are (1) time/timing, (2) self/community, and (3) mind/body/spirit.

Time/Timing

Each step in this journey of spiritual healing has some aspect of time/timing. One way time was approached in the data was in the context of past, present, and future. Time in this context is multidimensional in that it simultaneously implies some reference to the past, present, and future. It is also interactive. The knowledge of past traditions informs the contemporary expressions of the same traditions, just as the traditions of today will inform those of tomorrow. In this way, for example, tradition is as connected to the past as it is relevant to the future.

Stacey spoke to this synchronicity of past/present/future when she said:

The future past and present is all happening at the same time. As I was telling my past to heal, it was my future telling me to heal at that time. So, you know, the existence of life

and the meaning of spiritual or healing, it's just how you can align your past, present and future for the benefit of yourself and your growth.

In this example, Stacey illustrated a synchronicity with the past/present/future and she discussed the power of her particular moment. She talked about self-healing, and how her past self, present self and future self are all in collaboration with one another to ensure her spiritual healing. In this quote, she illustrated her own sense of divine timing.

Another understanding of time, common amongst participants was *timing*. Kija discussed the power of her being on her own time by taking things slow. In line with the topic of traditional spiritual healing/care in the everyday context, Kija offered the very popular Tanzanian proverb: “*Haraka haraka aina baraka*” or “Hurry, hurry has no blessing.” When asked to explain her understanding of this proverb, Kija emphasized the importance of being in competition with no one. She noted that it is important to stay in your own lane and be grateful for the personal wins which happen in due time. This proverb is used to remind learners/listeners to take things slow and it speaks to the generally preferred pace of life for Tanzanians in this sample.

Self/Community

In addition to time/timing every phase of BG2G shows need for balance between the self/community. In this context, participants explained that to experience True Growth, they must have adequate time embracing the self *and* ample time amongst community to truly understand their place. This process of finding your individual place by way of the community is woven throughout the larger process of BG2G. Stacey talked about how she finds harmony between self and community. According to her, Africans can express individuality in the

context of the community. She explained: “Growth is a part of all life processes. We experience growth personally and witness it happening too.”

In Stacey’s account of the bit of *extraness*, she shared a Tanzanian approach to finding healing harmony between self/community. According to her, Tanzanians express individuality through the special way that they do certain tasks that make the community more beautiful, colorful, tasty, or fun. In the above quote, one can see the harmony between the self and community. She showed how these efforts still complement their collectivistic culture. Is not that people express individuality for separation or elevation from their community, on the contraire, they express their individuality for the purpose of their community.

Mind/Body/Spirit

For participants, the process of True Growth or traditional spiritual healing/care was a holistic one. That means, dimensions of healing do not exist distinctively, but instead represent part of a working and healthy whole. That is to say, every effort to continue the cycle of BG2G requires some aspect of the mind, body and soul, working collectively to achieve spiritual wellness. Ras Ndekuonia illustrated this holistic teamwork when he discussed the connection between the mind body and soul in the BG2G process. Ras Ndekuonia said:

I came to realize that if I can know how my mind operates, I can operate my body.

Because my mind is supposed to control or correct the body. And the spirit will correct the mind. But sometimes the behavior and the actions we take come from the unconscious mind, they don’t exactly link up. That’s where our hurt come from.

Through this example, Ras Ndekuonia showed how he learned the interlocking systems of health which incorporate the mind/body/soul. He talked about how his need for health in one dimension requires that he use the tools of another dimension. It can be important not to look at

these separately, because according to Ras Ndekuonia, they are one, and become actualized only through one another. This is similar to the self/community and time/timing continuum in that way.

The soul was specifically mentioned as critical in the mind/body/spirit connection as an expression of spiritual healing/care. Throughout the collection of interviews, participants spoke about how the mind lends itself to the soul, and the soul collaborates with the body to maintain spiritual wellness in the everyday context. It was clear that from the participants perspectives the soul – a special energetic force – has a specific role to play in True Growth amongst Tanzanians. Participants saw the soul as one of several ethereal entities; they situated the soul amongst a constellation of other spiritual stars, who all shine through the darkness of spiritually difficult times. In my discussions with participants, I learned about the transcendental community, working opposite the veil from traditional spiritual healing and care.

When I came into this project, I referred to spirit and soul synonymously. Participants encouraged me to see these energies as distinct but related. Both the soul and spirits constitute what is more generally referred to as *the spirit*. In the following paragraph, I explain some of the traditional spiritual family, starting with the soul, before saying more about spirits often mentioned by participants, which include ancestors, and the spirits that exist in nature.

According to participants, the “nafsi” or *soul* is the inner part of the self that vibrantly shines when at its best and can appear to be dull when experiencing spiritual wounds or prolonged spiritual stress. For participants, under most healing circumstances the nafsi takes the lead role in directing and informing the inner and outer life of participants. To describe the soul, and its wants, Catalyst shared a photo of what he considered to be beautiful flat land. He further explained:

I will just choose a photo of flat land. Yeah, since I've said, the most things that are valued in my life is freedom, its flat land for me. I think it reminds me of freedom. Even the vision, to be able to see far, lets you see nothing being congested, you know? To see everything, to feel the wind, it reminds me how my soul is supposed to feel. We call soul, nafsī. It represents serenity, right? Sometimes I need time to be alone into my own space, you know, everybody, and every being needs that. I need space just to discover myself, and to just to be able to connect with most of natural elements. I feel my soul is healed whenever I feel free. So, me being in those places, it reminds me of how free life can be.

In this quote, Catalyst described the essence of his soul by discussing what it needs, and when it feels most at peace. For him, he used the image of a vast flat land as a visual representation of how the soul should feel (see Image 1). He believes the soul should have the space to roam and explore, it should be able to feel the beauty of nature and experience peace.

Mandela also explored how nature impacts his soul:

I see nature. If the nature is how it's supposed to be -- natured, nature, natured nature. That's how it's supposed to be, like this. And when I see nature just as it is, my soul feels good, and I feel at peace. I wish I could feel like that all the time. I will show you [shows photo of dense forests and uninterrupted nature] Sometimes it's just like that. There's no better answer to this question than this photo.

In this excerpt, Mandela talked about how seeing nature as it should be makes his soul feel at peace. He spoke to his soul's longing to be uninterrupted, unbothered, and uncorrupted nature.

Wazimu (spirits) are another important aspect of the spiritual realm as understood by participants of this project. One important kind of *mzimu* (singular spirit) is the ancestor (*mhenga* or *mababu*). Ancestors are distant, biological or fictive family who

Wazimu (spirits) are another important aspect of the spiritual realm as understood by participants of this project. One important kind of *mzimu* (singular spirit) is the ancestor (*mhenga* or *mababu*). Ancestors are distant, biological or fictive family who have lost their



Image 1



Image 2



Image 3



Image 4

physical form but live on spiritually and often impact the physical world. Some shared *mababu* named by participants include late national treasure, heroes, and martyrs like Bi Kidude, Julius Nyerere, and John Pombe Magufuli.

Prudence spoke to a knowledge of the *wazimu* (spirits), emphasizing one spirit who is particularly close to his family. Prudence shared the sudden and tragic death of his young daughter. He said his wife agreed to bury their daughter in his family's cemetery. His wife, however, refused to visit the sacred space because she was rejected by her in-laws for being of another ethnicity. One time his wife visited the town of the cemetery where her daughter is buried. In an act of protest against her in-laws that rejected her, she refused to visit the burial site. Not only this, but she also expressed objection to be buried there when she died, further defying Chagga *mila* (custom). Prudence explained:

She had a lot of dreams. You know what was it? The body of her daughter, the body of, of her first child, a lot of videos reacted in her brain for three days continuously. Over the whole night, those videos were asking my wife, 'why do you come to home without coming to our cemetery? Please, never again'. My wife was not worried. Then she came to realize that according to our Chagga tribe, because we buried our child there at home, that will be your permanent residence. My wife wouldn't believe. But after three nights, she has changed her approach. She has decided to accompany those Chagga styles, that if she dies, she has to be brought to the proper cemetery. And if I die, I must be sent there. If our children die, they have to be sent there.

In this narrative from Prudence, readers can see how the spirits of passed loved ones can continue to impact the lives of those still living. In the case of his wife, Prudence witnessed how

spirits can demand recognition, love, and remembrance from those with whom they had close bonds while living.

Wazimu are also found in nature. In this sense, *waziminu* are the energy found in nature, and they have the ability to positively impact people's experiences of spiritual wellness.

Prudence also illustrated the spirit found in nature, namely trees. He said:

Our ancestors were some who were believing that big, big trees represent their world.

When they think they have a problem within their society, for example, they stayed for quite some time without rain, they pick some, some materials and go, they go to a tree, and pray for that plant. They got solutions there. I did too. I was once accidentally struck

with a hoe in the head. Growing up, there was a tree with the big leaves. They [ancestors/elders] picked the leaves. They went to, to prepare them. And then they put it

on the wound. After some time, it was recovered. So it means, medicines are not supposed to come from the hospital only, but medicines are supposed to be come from the trees. So, the traditional people, they didn't go to hospital. They know which one is supposed to cure the stomach because the spirits in the tree told them. They know which one is supposed to cure the wound and so on.

In this explanation, Prudence drew a clear line between the health seeking behaviors of his ancestors and elders during his upbringing. He explained how the recognition of tree spirits in the past evolved into medicine in the trees. Other participants also spoke to the ways that nature, water, minerals, and fire all had the power to heal their souls and calm the spirits.

In this section, I introduced the umbrella concept BG2G and I explained the guiding principles in the process. While I approach mind/body/soul as one entity, I also spoke to the specific relevance of the soul, and the spirit more generally. Next, I discuss each of the three

parts of the cycle of Tanzanian traditional spiritual healing/care in the everyday context, which I will refer to more exclusively as True Growth from this point forward.

Gaining Wisdom

While the process of True Growth has no definite beginning or end, for the purpose of this project I will start with the Gaining Wisdom dimension. For my community of participants, gaining wisdom referred to the process of being exposed to true and useful knowledge than can generate thoughts that reflect insight and *innerstanding*. When gaining wisdom, participants' thought processes were informed by the voice of their ancestors, their living community, and/or themselves. It is through the process of gaining wisdom that participants began to imagine what it means to experience True Growth and to distinguish those contexts that promote spiritual wellness from the ones that deteriorate it. Gaining wisdom can include (a) knowing your history, (b) critical thinking (c) embracing the moment (d) feeling truth. Before discussing these four different ways participants gained wisdom, I describe how this phase interacts with the three continual factors discussed above. Gaining wisdom is connected to the past, grounded in the now and is in service of the future. In this section, I elaborate on how a harmonious understanding *time/timing* impacted gaining wisdom, grounding my conceptualization in the words of my interviewees.

Gaining Wisdom- Time/Timing

Wisdom Palace used a proverb to illustrate her understanding of gaining wisdom in the context *past/present/future*. She shared: “*Wakati mzuu wa kupanda mti ni miaka ishirini iliopita wakati*” (The best time to plant a tree was 20 years ago). Wisdom Palace's father shared this proverb with her, and its message has helped her make better understanding of the need to move with wisdom. She said her father taught her that a wise person does not simply start seeing

growth in their life serendipitously, but instead makes plans for the future long before they can see the rewards. She said in her pursuit of wisdom, she often listened to proverbs like these that helped her better understand how to succeed in life. Through this proverb, she realized that peace in the current moment requires the preparation(s) of the past, and the foresight of the future.

Gaining Wisdom- Self/Community

Gaining wisdom involves the self and requires the community. Participants spoke to the ways that being around others enriches their learning experiences in the *self/community* continuum. They talked about formal and informal learning spaces as some of their most prominent sites of learning. While gaining wisdom, participants often learned about/from themselves and others including nature and everything else with a spirit around us. Stacey shared a beautiful reinterpretation of a beloved Tanzanian proverb that captures this sentiment: “*Asiafunzwa ya mama hufunzawa na uliomwengu*” (If you're not taught by your mother, the world will teach you). She explained how she most often hears this proverb in a warning way.

Stacey’s elders would say this to heed parents from neglecting the role of teacher, less their children suffer harder lessons at the hands of the world. Stacey, who sees the world as a loving and nurturing place reimagined this quote in the context of her emotionally and physically abusive upbringing. She said she found healing in accepting that there were certain things about love and peace that her mother, who is also a survivor of trauma, simply could not teach her. Instead of demanding from her mother what she could not give, Stacey found that the universe blessed her with people and spaces that could teach her how to love and learn other important lessons about love as well. For Stacey, the world has been a great place to gain

wisdom. Jakinda also discussed the impactful ways that people can heal and experience personal growth by being in community with others. Jakinda said:

For example, someone who has been misbehaved but stays with a well-behaved person he loves, it will be easier for him or her to change and follow the well-behaved person's ways. We learn good behavior from example. That's how it works.

Here, Jakinda talked about what she thought was an effective way for someone with poor behavior to learn better ways of being. According to her, a good dose of time spent with people who have healing habits like good behavior is the remedy and route to the kinds of growth considered spiritually healing.

Gaining Wisdom- Mind/Body/Spirit

Much like the larger process of True Growth, gaining wisdom is a holistic process in that it necessitates participatory harmony of mind/body/spirit all working toward the goal of spiritual wellness, or *uzimu wa nafsi*. Ras Ndekuonia demonstrated the holistic nature of spiritual healing by describing the harmony between mind/body/spirit. He said:

And always when you learn about a brain, they don't talk about how to make it work for your body and spirit. We are not taught that we are the master of ourselves and that all starts with the mind. Our mind helps the body and soul. We are taught to depend on someone else, and their secondhand knowledge. And not seeking knowledge and wisdom within ourselves. I learned more about myself through meditation than in school.

Through his words, we can see how each part of the self, or mind/body/soul work together to help him gain wisdom through his meditation process. He instructs us how to master the self and he explained the necessity of equal parts mind/body/soul work to gain the kinds of wisdom that results in True Growth. He also shared photos of his process of gaining wisdom through

meditation (See images 2, 3, and 4). The growth of his locs illustrates the passing of time and is a visual of his dedication to this practice of gaining wisdom through meditation.

Knowing Your History

A key and common way that participants gained wisdom was through *knowing their history*. As interviews were conducted during the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, many participants referred to the wisdom of their collective indigenous healing history in Tanzania. Mandela shared some of how he made it through the pandemic by gaining and using wisdom like this. He said:

I, myself use that traditional knowledge too. Cause if these guys (points to family) get sick, they have a sore throat or anything, the first thing I recommend is ginger, garlic, and honey. I tell them, ‘use that first. And then if that doesn't work, we go to the conventional medicines’. Since this COVID era, 2020, 2021, people have been taking vitamin C a lot. So, some will come and ask me, ‘what do I take? I can't afford Vitamin C cause it's really expensive’. I just take oranges, just take lemon, you know, just take anything that is a acidic, like pineapples. And it's cheaper. You know, like lemon is just a hundred shillings and that’s how we have always done it anyway.

In this excerpt, Mandela talked about his process of understanding and sharing indigenous healing methods with family and friends. He said he tends to recommend using natural remedies and herbs to those feeling sick. This is knowledge that he has gathered from healers of all kinds in his studies. He observed that this wisdom was used to heal during the pandemic, one of the most uncertain times in modern history.

Mandela went on to introduce another indigenous remedy used widely amongst Tanzanians during the pandemic. He described the following: “The *kujifukiza* (self-steaming) is

like steaming, you know, we put this, herbal stuff on hot water. Then like we inhale. It's like how a whole nation can survive on such stuff. It's amazing but it worked for us." Here, Mandela expressed an amazement that was common all over the world at that time. That is, how were Tanzanians and many other Africans across the continent surviving a pandemic that was incredibly devastating in other "more developed" countries of the world? While others rushed to the typical white- supremacist assumptions that any bad thing happening in the west will be much worse in Africa, Tanzanians turned to solutions they knew and trusted to their benefit. Mandela went on to explain how this solution saved many from the distress and debilitation of the pandemic.

Mary shared a photo of this same indigenous healing process, under the name of *kupiga nyungu* (or steam inhalation). Of this healing process, she said:

So, like also people are into globalization so, they were listening to things that are more advanced. But, during this time people are seeking for traditional options of survival you know, so, that's how people now are tending to come back to the traditional ways. You may find kids who never knew about these traditional ways, but now they are seeing and knowing like "Ohhh we do have our own ways and they work!". This increases their knowledge of self and helps their soul because they will now know we have options in order to be sustainable for life and to move on.

This quote by Mary speaks to how knowledge of the past and practical use of this knowledge can heal the soul by easing the anxiety that comes with a global pandemic.

Critical Thinking

Mandela's and Mary's above quotes not only show a willingness to use knowledge of the past, but also a special kind of thought process that requires one to make evaluative judgements

about a topic or experience. These more analytic thoughts represent *critical thinking*. Several participants engaged in critical thinking as a way to gain wisdom. For participants, critical thinking referred to the thought process that differentiates effective from unproductive ways of life, including thoughts, behaviors, and ways of being. Critical thinking for participants incorporated recognizing the source(s) of their pain, oppression, or ill health, they would call them out by name.

One participant that requested to be anonymous for this quote demonstrated the critical thinking they do in their medical profession. This participant said:

Weird fact, Paracetamol will mess your liver in ways nothing else can. And what's the most used drug all around the world? Tylenol. That's weird. So we're back to the point, like, okay, we are telling these traditional guys, 'you guys, you supposed to do this cause we went there and they told us they think we should do it like this'... But then we come, like these guys have been doing this for long. So, who should be telling and who should be doing? I mean the traditional medicine. It's... Yeah, there's something there it's like an unsolved mystery.

In this quote, the participant shared some of the realizations they made about the validity of traditional healing. They shared how they are starting to question if the conventional medical field has the authority to advise, regulate or mandate traditional healing and other forms of traditional life. For them, the process of critical thinking gets them closer to the kind of truth and professional practice that they believe truly heals.

Wisdom Palace shared a story that also spoke directly to critical thinking; she described the experience of a friend who suffered a brain injury and lost her memory. This friend was

instructed by doctors to not return to Dar es Salaam because it was too noisy; they advised her instead to go to her village to heal. She narrated:

There's pollution, not even just in environment, but in everything that you see or read. So, you better go in a very peaceful environment, which can give you energy and healing. So, my friend, when she went back in the environment that was very quiet and peaceful, her memory came back very fast, even though people said the process would be long. But she got healing. So, I believe environment has impacts on traditional spiritual healing as well.

Here, Wisdom Palace showed an ability to think critically about different spaces, think about the pros and cons of the village and the city, and made a decision about which is best for True Growth. Her friend engaged in a meaning making process about the qualities of each space and perhaps even implicitly chose a preferable space for True Growth.

Embracing The Moment

The third way participants engaged in gaining wisdom was through *embracing the moment*. Embracing the moment refers to being deeply connected to the present moment, so as to make and get the most out of time. Participants embraced the moment when they are viscerally aware of their surroundings and when they experience deep gratefulness for their current circumstances. One common approach to embracing the moment was seen in an African approach to mindfulness. Mukimala often embraced the moment in his mindfulness practice, done in the African style. Mukimala explained that for him meditation heals his soul. He shared:

It's amazing because I was unblocking, all these blocked energies and flowing. Cause if it stays stagnant, you get sick. And if it's ever flowing you elevate and then you are.

Everybody does meditation, which helps you flow. Everybody forgets that. It's a personal thing. Everybody forgets that it's a personal journey. Meditation is like one of the hardest

tools in spirituality, it takes a lot of practice. Farming helped me understand not using the senses as pacifiers, because we forget ourselves through the senses, but like being one with the senses *kabisa* so feeling each and every texture – how it feels on your hand or on your feet, like the wind, how it brushes on your, your little hairs unajua and just being present and that's I learned from nature.

In this explanation, Mukimala shared how he feels in moments of mindfulness by talking about the importance of the process for him. He also expressed what happens while he embraces the moment. He embraced the moment through the synergy of his *mind/body/soul*.

Stacey also demonstrates embracing the moment in her meditation practice. She said: People misunderstand meditation to be clearing your mind. But what they actually mean is reduce this juggle of things, that rubbish you have in your head that will not suit you and just gives you worries and everything, but clear your head, go slow. Okay. And look at where you are. Look at the present. Be present. Only when you are present is when you'll be aligned with the universe is when you'll find peace is when you're like, 'oh, so that's why meditating is really healing.' You breathe slowly and you'll be present now. But if you are in a hurry, what time will you be present?

Relatedly, Stacey understood embracing the moment or being completely present as a way to be aligned with the universe, which she earlier described as a place full of opportunities to gain wisdom about healing, and wisdom that heals. She also talked about the natural, necessary pace to be able to embrace the moment. In doing so, she illustrated how embracing the moment can be healing.

Feeling Truth

In order to gain the kind of wisdom that healed the soul, participants developed and

demonstrated the ability to *feel truth*. For them, feeling truth was a way to recognize the truth, and distinguish it from falsities, tricks, lies and other faulty foundations from which knowledge can be built but on which wisdom will not stand. Amongst Tanzanians in my sample, the truth was not simply spoken or heard, it was sensed. Participants talked about how they recognized the truth, how they collected data on what was well and unwell using their own personal databases and search engines, participants felt what was real. One participant, Deusdedith described how he learned how to feel what was real. During his interview, he disclosed some of his mental/spiritual health ailments. He said there was a time in his youth where he would see dead people walking around during the day. He said seeing them was starting to negatively impact his life. Deusdedith narrated:

One day, after being tormented by these dead people, I just decided to show no fear. I remembered the words from people in my village. Once I started going to church, everyone feared the spirits, they were all demonic. But in the village, people saw dead people and it was ok, not so scary. So, I remembered them and just decided, ok I won't be afraid. After showing no fear, life could move on. I would still see them, but it did not negatively impact my life. It was because I was living in another way that I forgot the truth, that I had no reason to be afraid, I could feel that was a fact and it helped me a lot.

In this excerpt, Deusdedith showed how he remembered and felt a traditional truth that helped alleviate some spiritual suffering. He was so upset with the circumstances that allowed him to see dead people; then he remembered this was an indigenous reality. It was not seeing dead people that caused him pain, but rather his fear of them. Once he was able to feel this truth, he could heal.

Kija shared a more sensual approach to feeling truth. She shared a story about a time

going to an island in Dar es Salaam and overcoming her fear of deep water. One day while making continuous, slow and steady movements that mirrored the ocean, a movement she calls *Miyagying*¹, she was able to be carried deeper into the ocean with comfort. In doing so, she overcame her fear and embraced the truth: the ocean *had her*. She shared the following:

That day in Mbudya (the small island in Dar es Salaam), I'm actually able to float comfortably, safely without panicking and just feeling good in the water. The waves are coming and it just felt like I've crossed something- or overcome something in a way. I mean, can I rescue somebody in the middle of the ocean? Probably not. But do I now panic now when my feet aren't touching the ground? No and I feel like that's a big step. I felt more centered or in control of myself. It's like it's protecting me. It's allowing me to go but it's not going to let me go if that makes sense. So, yeah, I felt in control. I felt safe. I felt good. I felt like I'm right where I should be.

In this quote, Kija demonstrated how her feeling truth helped her through a time of great anxiety. Like Deusdedith, her sense of comfort emerged when she recognized the truth that her experience was not one for her to fear, but one for her to understand and experience growth through.

In this section, I described how the three guiding principles mapped on to gaining wisdom, which broadly refers to the diverse ways participants engaged in a thought synthesizing and generating process that gears them towards growth. I then illustrated how embracing the moment, thinking critically, feeling truth, and knowing your history, are concepts developed from a thorough understanding of participants words and narratives. This exploration laid the

¹ This refers to the 1984 film *The Karate Kid*. In this film, a character, Mr. Miyagi, was teaches fluid karate movements, like the famous "grasshopper" stance.

foundation for the following experience of True Growth, or what I call Gesturing Toward Growth.

Gesturing Toward Growth

Once participants are rooted through gaining wisdom, they can start or participate in behaviors that promote spiritual wholeness or True Growth; this is, taking action to promote growth. For the participants, some of the most common gestures towards growth were (a) engaging in creativity, (b) doing as the ancestors did, (c) speaking healing into existence, and (d) spending time with nature. In this section, I discuss gesturing toward growth as a critical aspect of the BG2G process. For participants, these gestures of growth were the animated physical expressions of the wisdom gained and explored in the section before. Now that I have defined the gesturing towards growth and named the common ways that participants engaged in this process, I will discuss how the guiding principles informed participants' gestures of growth.

Gesturing Toward Growth – Time/Timing

Making gestures of growth is connected to the past, grounded in the now and is in service of the future. Because participants shared an appreciation for the good behavior and traditions of the past, they took action to engage in similar behaviors. Participants were interested in doing as the ancestors did and engaged in action to correct bad behavior from the past. This is also grounded in the current moment, because participants often made these growth promoting gestures to relieve ongoing pain. These actions toward growth are related to the future in that they are not just reactive movements, but preventative. One participant highlighted the importance of the past/present/future in making gestures of growth. Prudence shared some about his father's experience after choosing to name him outside of the conventions of their Chagga traditions. Due to his father's misstep, Prudence was sentenced by the spirits to shuffle

the streets aimlessly – a common tell-tale sign of spiritual duress in the Tanzanian context.

Prudence said:

I decided to move from home and walk up to Moshi. It was controlled by the spirits. That is the spirituals were asking ‘why you have given your son a wrong name?’ After my daddy realized that he had made a mistake then he corrected, by slaughtering a goat and telling the spirits some words. And then after this, the ancestors realized that my dad has corrected that, then my challenges and burdens were gone and then everything went right from there.

In this quote, we see how the behavior of the past can resurface to demand resolve.

Prudence’s father made a poor decision in not naming him the proper traditional name. This mistake of the past did not necessarily result in immediate repercussion, but instead put his son in a danger that would not be realized for years after the naming. While Prudence shared this story in retrospect, he described his present at the time of his narrative to be difficult and full of suffering. Though he was unaware of the conflict between his father and their shared ancestors, he believed some action needed to be taken to ensure restoration and recovery in the future. To manifest this future health and to ease current pain, his father had to make a common gesture toward growth such as engaging in an appropriate ritual.

When describing their gestures of growth, participants also highlighted the importance of timing. Timing in the context of this project often referred to participants being on their own time or in their own lane, without comparison of self to others. For many in this community of participants, progress was truly a personal journey. Kija illustrated the importance of timing through the following proverb. *Mapudzi anowira kusina hari* (Gourds fall where there are no pots).

In her interpretation of this Kishona proverb, Kija indicated timing is key. She explained that in rural places, women often harvest the fruits of a common tree using cooking pots. They place pots in the best locations to catch the falling fruits before they hit the ground, and possibly break. Despite their planning and intentionality, they, of course, still miss some of the falling fruits called mapudzi. For Kija, this proverb was a reminder that everyone has their own time in terms of healing and place for blessings. She said that people often demand an explanation for their losses, or maybe even demand blessings when they are not ready to receive them. Reminding herself of the futility of comparison was an effective way to keep her eyes on her own spiritual prizes, and out of the mapudzi pots of others.

Gesturing Toward Growth –Self/Community

Making gestures towards growth is a process that necessitates the self and can often include the community. One of the common ways participants made gestures towards growth with the self and in community was through spending time in nature. Being in the natural environment, participants were able to best articulate and actualize the needs of their soul.

Mandela talked about how he gets into himself, a phrase he used to define the spiritual healing (or True Growth) process in the everyday context of Tanzania. Getting into the self takes place when people engage in introspection and get a better understanding of who they are deeply. This requires some unplugging or a detaching from systems that cause pain. Mandel detailed his experience in nature noted that he feels most like himself when he is in nature.

Naenda kujiliwaza, liwaza (I'm going to free myself) I'm going to think about myself. I'm going to stop thinking about myself. I'm just, I'm just going to have my own revelations and I do this. Best in nature... The water comes out the rock it's like a big rock like a tap and is tasty. I don't do stuff like this- I mean I prefer to be alone, and I have to wash my

hands. If it's water, I have to boil it. But then there, everything was okay, even the germs. I wasn't disgusted by anything in nature that day. So, it really, it really changed my life and helped me see nature more like family or friends.

In this quote, Mandela shared how he understands the process of getting into himself. For him, spending time with himself is a great way to engage in True Growth through self-examination and exploration. Whereas he identifies himself as someone that "likes to be alone", times in nature helped him reimagine what community could mean. To better understand himself, he learned to lean on the diversity in the natural world. He described how he finds harmony in healing alone and with non-human others.

Gesturing Toward Growth – Mind/Body/Spirit

Like gaining wisdom, making gestures towards growth is an expression of wellness that requires working collaboration between the mind/body/soul. Now, I will speak to the holistic nature of gestures of growth. This aspect of the BG2G process is like the hand and paintbrush working together to express the progress of the mind. Both before and after the gaining wisdom process participants made gestures towards growth. In order to take healing actions, you have to identify them, contemplating and choosing good vs bad behavior in order to engage in the kind of behavior that heals the soul. Participant Jakinda spoke at length about the healing nature of working. For her, engaging in work, specifically housework, is a special gesture that gives her a sense of spiritual wellness. Jakinda explains, "Work can be a source of peace for my soul, and my mind. It is a way I clear my mind and feel at peace. I am very happy when I am cleaning". As Jakinda described, work is a source of everyday soul care for her. Her love of work is emphasized by her refusal to accept help, because completing the task (exactly how she likes,

she explained) is the goal. She addresses her healing holistically by using her body as a tool to clear her mind, and give a soul a sense of peace.

Engaging In Creativity

Now that I have discussed the guiding principles as they relate to making gestures toward healing, I will talk about the four common ways that participants demonstrated their gestures of growth. One way participants took gestures towards growth was by *engaging in creativity*. This is a spiritual process demonstrated by participants' sense of relief and soul satisfaction felt when engaging in activities that require creativity. There were two interpretations of creativity. In one approach, participants focused on the arts and in the other they noted a flexibility and willingness to be creative in their approach to healing. Stacey spoke to her understanding of the former in her narrative:

You do not create its creativity that chooses you. It's more like a force of energy that tells me to make art. It needs me to manifest the physical representation of the messages I should share. Every creation you make is a spirit. So, you're just a tool as a creator. This painting, of the sunset and the nighttime is like representing the past and the future, my past and my future all at the same time.

In her words, there is a spiritual side of creativity. Here, Stacey answered a question humanity has had for a long time: where do artists find their inspiration? For her, it's a spiritual process that allows her to express the messages the world needs to know. Through her art (see image 5) she shared information, in this case, related to the synergy between past/present/and future.

Wisdom Palace also talked about the healing nature of her creative practice:

My passion lies in art. I love art. I have been working on my art ever since I was a girl. I

would do a lot more in abstract arts and landscapes and sceneries but drawing down the line in history is a passion of mine too. We were taught back then about, about what happened to our fore fellows, and I think this history shouldn't die. So, I just want to focus and concentrate on those types of art, because we have other generations coming in and they should see great things that have been overcome by our ancestors.

In this quote, Wisdom Palace disclosed some about her motivations to create art. For her, art is a way to keep alive the stories of ancestors, especially in an age where the people are fast to forget the past. According to her, when these artistic representations are missing from schools and art museums, individuals, and whole nations lose important pieces of themselves, which can later cause spiritual stress. Wisdom Palace's art practice is both protective and healing for self and her community.

Speaking Healing Into Existence

Another common way participants gestured towards growth is by *speaking healing into existence*. Participants detailed how they asked, demanded, commanded, and manifested healing by simply speaking it to be. Mukimala explained how he negatively impacted his health with his own words and actions. He said,

Sickness is a manifestation of your emotions- pure. So, most people say it's genetics, it's passed down from past. But it's us, ourselves. We create all sicknesses, cuz I even remember, I made my left knee my bad knee. So, whatever we say it becomes, that's why they say we're spell maidens, what we spell out, it comes *kabisa*. That's why people say, be mindful and be positive in how you speak.

In this quote, he explained what he believes to be the source of illness, our speech or thoughts. When giving some insight into his example, Muki explained that in the past he used

illness to get the attention of his parents and express general frustration with family. He said he did not see this approach as a form of victim blaming, or wrongfully internalizing his sickness. On the contrary, he saw this as a way to reinforce agency and a personal ability to heal, or curse with the tongue. For him, physical sickness was a manifestation of spiritual illness, as demonstrated by his self-destructive language. His narrative is a warning to use words wisely as a way to heal not harm.

Wisdom Palace explained how she used her words to heal her father who was experiencing mysterious health issues for which no doctors had the explanation. Wisdom Palace shared:

There's a way of talking to somebody who lost all their hope. It just brings them back to life, it heals a lot. So, I would always find a word or a spiritual reading. I would do all the care. Like, that's why I said this all can work. He was not able to speak. I had to talk to him by my own wisdom, telling him that this happened for a reason, and it'll just pass. So slowly by slowly, I realized it healed him a lot. I would call this *utabibu au uponyaji wa roho wa jadi* (soul healing using words).

Through her approach to spiritual healing of her father, she used spoken words as treatment. She described using a mixed approach, which included and went beyond reading religious texts to her father. She also used her own wisdom, and word cure to help her father overcome an illness. She noted that her words not only healed her father's broken soul but also empowered hers, by proving that she *could* help her father. This free of charge care allowed her to maintain something she considers priceless, her father's health.

Doing As the Ancestors Did

In addition to engaging in creativity and speaking healing into existence, participants also



Image 5



Image 6



Image 7

engaged in activities that their ancestors did. In this approach, participants knowingly and unknowingly modeled the gestures of those done by generations of elders and ancestors before them. One participant was able to combine doing as the elders did and engaging in creativity.

Conchester described her business of selling handcrafts in one of the most popular markets in Dar es Salaam as an important way that she gestures towards healing. Conchester described it this way:

What is healing for me is having a handcraft business. My soul feels at ease when I make beautiful things that can help my family. I pay my kid's school fees from the market. I can financially sustain myself and my family. Many other women in my country have done this for a long time too.

Through her creativity and skill with the creation and trade of handbags, she can take care of her family, another behavior participants identified as spiritually healing but less often. She referenced the deeply traditional aspect of being a businesswoman in the markets of Dar es Salaam. In doing so, she places herself undertaking a central financially supportive role in her family, as well as places herself amongst a long line of Tanzanian women who have engaged in culturally affirming and empowering work like hers for generations.

Participants also used ritual as a specific way to do as the ancestors did. Ritual, in general, incorporated the mind body and soul for healing. Some rituals included exercise, morning meditation, celebrations, scarifies, and ceremonies. The importance of and intention behind performing a ritual is that it aims to heal the individual and collective soul. Kija spoke about her experiences traveling through Africa and expediting a modern approach to a more traditional ritual. She said:

In Africa we have house music or *kwaito*. I get that people now have *Amapiano*, but you're getting it at like the surface level. Like, get into a South African setting and let the beat drop. Its more than just a beat drop, it's like something has entered your soul and its more than good vibes (laughs). There's no explanation for it. Its more than just hearing your favorite song and being like 'that's my jam!' it's more than that. The song takes over you and cures you. You may not know how to dance but suddenly you got moves. It actually happens with SA music. It reminds me of those old school *Ngoma*, something about the drums still possesses us even today.

In this quote, Kija mapped a modern trend of going to clubs and dancing to *Amapiano* music in South Africa. She talked about the spiritually healing nature of the beat drop, and how *winding* her waist to the beat allows her to release energy in a way unlike other physical tasks. She compared this dance ritual to the tradition of *Ngoma*, which translates to drums literally, and ritual drumming more generally. She named this festive weekend ritual as a cure to the uptight and spiritually constrained nature of her day-to-day professional life.

Another participant, Mtegananda, shared his modern approach to a *Nyamwezi* ritual. He explained how before performances he does a special practice to state his intention and hype himself up, preparing his spirit to rock the microphone. He said:

We used to do moonlight healing. I remember that period when I was young there, on initiation issues. So now coming to the way to heal myself. The ability to do that is like creating my own ritual that I can just take plain water and bless it myself. I am doing *kikwetu* (English: ways from back home or tradition) now. I drink I spit, I drink I spit. You create your psychology that here I am going to do something. I intend that here I'm going to hold the mic.

In his explanation, Mteganada shared how he used ritual in his everyday life. Importantly, this is not a ritual he made up or designed himself. Instead, he referred to a ritual learned during his initiation into manhood/personhood in his tribe. Out of respect of his culture, more details on this ritual will not be described. Instead, I selected the above quote to illustrate how Mteganada named, adapted, and transfigured this ritual into his life to rid his soul of anxiety and share his artistic gift with his larger community.

Another common and notable approach to doing as the ancestors did was eating traditional foods. For participants, food was a way to feel the soul. Participants were very intentional about the foods they eat when taking care of their souls. Mukimala referred to this as the OG diet. He explained:

I would describe the diet as OG, which I would say is organic- something that doesn't deal with stuff that we're not used to. To me, spiritual care is all about connecting to the most natural parts of life, and that includes what we eat. Our food needs to be OG, not GMO and processed and all this. What you eat can heal the soul or kill the soul. It's up to you.

In this quote, Mukimala named the spiritually healing diet and explained its efficacy. For him, eating something from the earth is a more spiritually healthy option than processed foods. His ancestors liked to eat food in its natural form, and he prefers to do the same. While discussing this explanation, Mukimala and I shared a laugh at my African American understanding of OG. Despite our diverse diasporic use of English, this double entendre perfectly describes this spiritually healing diet. From the African American perspective, an OG (original gangster) is someone that comes before you, mentors you, and shows you the way. For Mukimala, his ancestors are OGs that eat. He also shared a photo (See image 6) of what this OG

diet looks like for him. He was not alone in his mention of the importance of diet, especially an organic one modeled by the ancestors.

Similarly, Gina shared a photo (See image 7) of traditional foods and explained how they spoke to her traditional spiritual care in the everyday context. She said:

I think in order to maintain wellness and in order to like fuel refuel ourselves spiritually, physically, mentally we do need to eat. This food probably had little to no preservatives inside of it, it just felt very authentic, you know, it wasn't anything that was just genetically modified I guess it was like whole foods. I felt like, that's something that like is wealth, you can't really trade that for anything else. It is a very big difference and something that you can feel in your body and your mind and your soul.

In this quote, Gina placed emphasis on the holistically healing nature of Tanzanian food. While elaborating, she named traditional staples like *ugali* (traditional dish made from maize) and *ndizi* (cooked bananas). She said when she's living in her mother's home country of Tanzania, she has a similar spiritual attraction to organic food as in her father's home country of Ghana. She contrasted this to the processed foods she finds in her studies in America. She shared a photo that bears similarity to the one shared by Mary. Mary's photo depicts a traditional Haya (Tanzanian ethnic group indigenous to the northwest) way to prepare and present food- in a banana leaf. For her, this food is medicine, she said, "I chose this photo because it shows food as medicine. I believe food is important for the body and it's a spirit cure. It helps you grow up. It helps your spirit". For Gina, Mukimala, Mary and others, the OG Tanzanian diet is the perfect way to incorporate more food for the soul.

Spending Time in Nature

The final common gesture towards growth participants engaged in was *spending time in*



Image 8

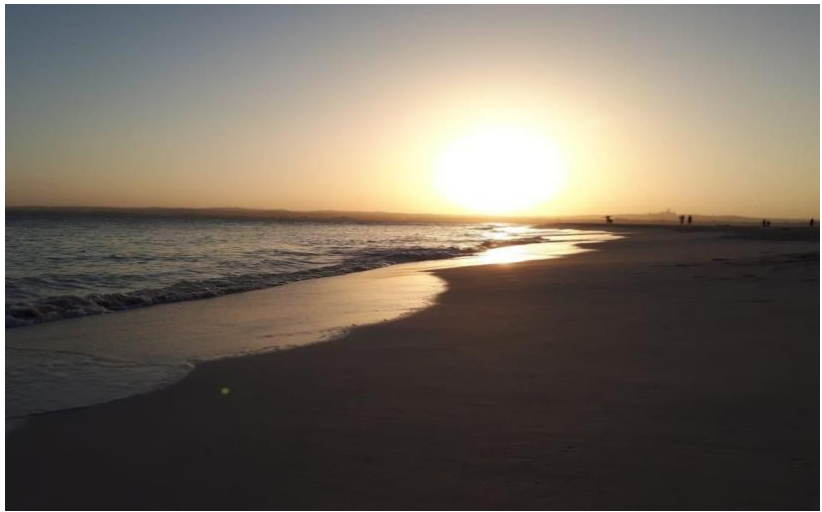


Image 9

nature. For this gesture, participants often had to travel to remote regions of Tanzania, escaping the bustle of the city and finding solace to the "interior" of the country. Participants tendency to refer to these spaces as "interior" locations accurately described the comfort and nostalgia with which they discussed these more remote and natural environments. Participants talked about the different ways they engaged in the natural elements which included water, nature, fire, and minerals. Mary spoke about her love for her own interior region of Bukoba. She explained that what happens there, especially the sacred connection to friends and water. In Bukoba, Mary shared:

It's very green and feels like home. It's safe, its welcome, where my grandparents are, it's where nice nature is. It's a place that helps me have knowledge about what happened in Kagera. It's not really developed; it's still rural and striving to develop but that's what makes it nice. You are welcome to visit. It's a very good place. It has a very familial vibe, like you are at home in the peace of nature. You should go.

In this except, Mary described how she feels about her ancestral land of Bukoba. Because much of her family still lives there, this interior location represents family and healing for her. It

is a place where she can get healthy traditional food, spend time with elders and be surrounded by dense nature. The photo (See image 8) she chose to represent this phenomenon of True Growth also speaks to the impact plants in Bukoba, especially the banana tree, has on her.

In another example, Kija shared an experience she had in nature, this time in the Indian Ocean. She was living in Zanzibar at the time, a location described as spiritually healing by several participants. Kija narrated:

It was spiritual health.com, sun, fresh air. The vibes are immaculate as well because you know environment like spiritually matters. I'd go there and just relax and also take care of my dreadlocks. I would dip my dreadlocks in the water. Apparently, it makes your hair stronger, and mine were still pretty new at the time. I ended up just going to the water and being in the water, digging my toes in the sand. My body would be sticky afterwards, because its salty water, but it felt good. It felt correct.

In her account of living near the ocean, she talked about how she was able to take care of her soul by spending time in nature. She contrasted her preference to be covered in the salt and minerals of the ocean to the standards and conventions of the urban setting when describing her photo (See image 9). For Kija, connecting with the different natural aspects of the beach was a sure way to sooth her soul. And because she lived on an island well known for its beauty, this access to healing was a part of her everyday context.

In this section, I introduced the second of three aspects in what participants named True Growth. When participants made gestures of growth, they most often spoke healing into existence, they spent time in nature, they engaged in creativity and did as the ancestors did. Some particular ways stood out and spoke to the livity²of Tanzanian traditional healing in the

² A Rastafarian concept that refers to natural, righteous everyday living that is thought to sustain long life

everyday context. In the next section, I will introduce the final aspect of the BG2G process, which is participating in True Growth.

Participating in True Growth

Once the thoughts and the actions produced become habitual, they then become second nature like breathing. Commitment to the common behaviors discussed in the previous section have the power to manifest into a general state of well-being or participating in True Growth.

While participating in True Growth, participants felt synergy between thoughts, actions and who they are at the deepest core of themselves. Some of the common ways participants illustrated True Growth was through (a) experiencing a sense of oneness (b) being generative, and (c) demonstrating transcendence (d) living with purpose. In what follows I will discuss how the guiding principles of time/timing, self/community and mind/body/soul are seen in True Growth before discussing how participants personal accounts of True Growth through their narrative, images and proverbs.

Participating in True Growth- Time/Timing.

Being a participant in True Growth is connected to the past, felt viscerally in the present and positively impacts the future. Like the previous two parts of the BG2G process, participating in True Growth is a way to address things that have gone wrong in the past, using the tools of now for the improvement of tomorrow. What differentiates this from the previous two, is that it culminates the wisdom gathered, and healing behaviors practiced into an expertise and comfort in engaging in the healing process.

The importance of having harmony with time/timing was made evident by participants, who often spoke of True Growth discussed it in a way that collapsed time into one event and saw timing as their particular moment to get in the work. Mukimala spoke to the harmony of

time/timing in True Growth with his narrative of participating in the act with his friend who was spiritually struggling with materialism, and the consequences of not following his grandmother's wishes for his professional life. Related to his participation in True Growth, Mukimala said:

I started teaching him how to meditate, to heal some of the things he went through. All that pain started diminishing right there. But he had another thing, he was still attached to materialistic things, which is something he's dealing with now. Because of this, I had to even stray from him. Because I was also absorbing his energy. And I saw myself becoming like him, which I did not want. Once that starts happening, that's like a sign for you, like showing you that your job is done. That's the thing about spiritual healing, you have to know when to stop.

This quote shows the harmony between *time/timing* in several ways. In teaching his friend how to meditate, Mukimala aimed to heal some of the lasting impacts of spiritually painful experiences of his friend's past. This is a practice they did together, from which they were able to see positive results in the moment. From close contact with his friend, Mukimala started to see his own future, influenced by his materialist ways and negatively impacted by mimicking this behavior. With this foresight, Mukimala made a decision about the duration of his care. While he still cared about his friend, he saw this as signal that their collaborative healing practice, for now, needed to end. For him, True Growth included knowing when to step in and when to step away.

Participating in True Growth- Self/Community

Being a participant in True Growth can work toward personal healing, community healing or both, as shown by participants who found harmony in *self/community* when engaging

in True Growth. Participants often participated in True Growth by healing themselves, healing others and some were able to even do both in one experience of True Growth. Jakinda shared an example of the latter when she discussed how her father approached his community with a responsibility to cultivate healing. She shared the following story:

My dad taught us something. He used to go to the interior village where he had his farms to meet people who are so poor. They couldn't afford to go anywhere except being in their home place. He used to mix himself with people who can't help themselves so that they can be valuable and happy. He used to have a lot of visitors who were so poor, but he kept them close enough for them to feel peace and alive. So even I have that spirit of feeling compassionate especially to those who need help. It makes me feel good to help, and he would be happy doing this too.

In this narrative, Jakinda shared how her father took care of the ailing souls of the financially disenfranchised people of his community. When others of his social stature may have found it unthinkable to spend time with people in another class, he saw it as his duty to show due dignity to these members of his community. In honoring their personhood, he not only healed them, but he was also able to experience the personal happiness that comes with doing what is right in the community.

In another example, Catalyst talked about how his membership in a hip hop community heals himself and others too. He understood releasing and listening to music to be like breathing in and out. In this way, his art mirrored life.

We breathe to heal. So, there is different forms of oxygen. As I told you, when I listen to hip hop and rap it's like, is the process of taking and giving, taking, and giving. So even to take something, to accept and to give that's the process. That process is to be able to

breathe in different ways, whether it's knowledge, pain, anger it's a process of pouring out your chest and refilling it with the same things from others.

Catalyst called this creative process *upumuaji* which translates to breathing in English. In this example, he used hip hop – an art form he later discussed in relation to the larger African culture – as the conduit through which he and his larger community can breathe. Through his long term and active participation in his creative community, he addressed healing in a way that recognizes the *self/community continuum*. With his music, he releases or expresses the pain and triumph of his soul.

Participating in True Growth- Mind/Body/Spirit

True growth is a process that requires the cohesion between the *mind/body/spirit*. Participants showed the holistic nature of participating in True Growth when they showed and demonstrated divine awareness, skillful use of their bodies and what some described as a shining of the soul. Participants engaged in a holistic process, which I refer to as *using the mind of Mulungu*, when they (a) quickly identified the true from the false to exclusively engage with the truth (b) used their bodies to participate in the positive development of the cultural consciousness, and (c) engaging in the oneness of souls for the purpose of True Growth. Mandela illustrated how he used the mind of Mulungu to cheer the spirits of his debate team after losing a competition. Overcome by gratitude and amazement at nature, he found and used the perfect words to express what was happening in his soul. In Mandela's words:

When I was there, it was like I was an amplified version of myself. I told them, 'I've never been to a place like this. I've never been to anything like this. So, thank you guys. Thank you, teachers, for being here with me in my experience'. And I also, I also looked at the bonfire. I told the bonfire; 'I wish you would last forever'. Oh, and just like people

started clapping. It was one of my, it was one of the best childhood experiences in my life, in, in school. 'Cause you know, people just cause even the teachers puzzled, like 'who is this?' This was my first time speaking from my soul.

Mandela's amplified version of himself is a good representative for True Growth that honors harmony between mind/body/soul. Despite not knowing what he would say when walking up to the fire, he let his soul lead by using his mind and mouth to articulate the way it (and he as an extension of the soul) felt. Now that I have discussed how the guiding principles inform participating in True Growth, I will discuss the common ways participants expressed their participation in this process.

Experiencing a Sense of Oneness

Participants in this study demonstrated four common ways to engage in True Growth. One of the main ways participants participate in True Growth is through experiencing a sense of oneness. As participants spent time in nature, they began to realize they are one with it. One such account came from Stacey who shared a photo (See image10) of an image that looked like a reproductive system to her. She explained:

What I have in my body, the Earth, he has itself. Also, it's a symbolic meaning of like the birth. It's like a rebirth. Yeah. A rebirth of the earth in me. I was once living as a human being, feeling like an alien on earth. Now I feel like I'm part of the earth itself. I am the Earth, and the earth is me.

In her words, one can see how Stacey grew to see herself as a part of the earth, and the earth a part of her. For her, it was healing to move from feeling like an outsider on her home planet, to realizing she belongs to the earth so much so that they are in inseparable whole.

In another example, Mukimala mentioned how he recognized his oneness with the earth



Image 10

through grounding work. He said:

Being barefoot is so important ‘cause as people, we are one with the earth and the earth has so much energy that it provides for us. And we can only take it up through our feet. The feet are our roots. There are so many minerals that we take up ‘cause we, as people are not only people, we are plants, but we're mobile plants (laughs).

Mukimala’s wellness practice of grounding or walking barefoot is symbolic of his sense of oneness with the earth. According to him, there are necessary medicines in the earth, and our need to connect with them is not much different than plants’ need to take in nutrients from their roots. His opinion that humans are just mobile plants further supports his sense of oneness with the earth and the life that it supports. He shared a photo of his grounding process or walking barefoot (See image 11).

Catalyst’s discussion of oneness was slightly different. For him, he feels oneness through art forms from the African diaspora, like hip hop. Catalyst elaborated on this point:

If we go back to history, the majority of founders of hip hop you know, where like Black people, even though I heard like they were like Latins too, but the majority were Black

people. The first element in hip hop was the DJ. DJ Cool Herc, DJ Flash, they were all Black. And we know all Black people they are descended from the Black continent. So, I connected it, even like the style of dancing, you can just trace back to African tribes, you know, we dance like that. It's a little bit changed, but the roots you can tell it's there. It's the drum, we call it ngoma. And that thing is a Black instrument, African instrument.

In this excerpt, Catalyst followed a common thread in Black music when he focused on the drums used in his favorite kind of hip hop, a style called boom bap. The drum is instrumental in boom bap, and an instrument traditionally used in African rituals, celebrations, and everyday life. Catalyst even talked some about how “back in the day” Africans would do a certain style of rhythmic talking to one another called *magibishana*. In this form, artists may brag about accomplishments or tell stories over the beats of drums. Instead of staking claim over hip hop he shared it with his distant African cousins in America and honors their shared history by keeping boom bap alive in Dar es Salaam.

Being Generative

Another way participants engaged in True Growth was by being generative. Generativity is like creativity, in that it entails a process of creation, or using tools to make something new. It differs from creativity in several ways too. For one, generativity has a multiplication factor. Also, generativity has some implications about ongoing existence, and intentionality around the creation's longevity. Stacey explained the process this way:

You grow a tree, a tree comes from just one seed, right? When you plant that seed, it'll come to be a tree, a tree with maybe thousands of seeds. And when you plant those thousands of seed, you can have a forest. So, one seed can be multiplied to become a forest. One seed can become a forest. That is the wavelength. That is the law. I mean,

yeah, the law of the universe, multiplication, this is happening in every, almost everything.

Stacey's words highlight the specific qualities of generativity. She referenced a tree and observed how a mature tree represented the culmination of successful growth efforts of a single seed. From this seed, many fruits containing their own seeds can go on to produce a whole forest of trees with millions of seeds. For her, everyday traditional spiritual healing/care, or True Growth, looks much like this. She connected this tree analogy into the framework of the human experience and healing. According to Stacey, individual healing can spawn a multiplication process, where one healed person can share their knowledge and encourage others to do the same.



Image 11



Image 12

Mukimala also engaged in generativity through his deep love for farming and helping plants:

I cannot live in a place where I cannot cultivate. So, when I search for homes, that's like my number one priority. Make sure it has like a backyard or front yard or if it doesn't, I'll just get buckets, fill them with soil and grow potatoes. 'Cause like I believe like plants are all our brothers and sisters that need our care and help to create more life. They can attend to themselves, but not as good as they can with our assistance.

In this quote, Mukimala described his perceived role in the web of life that surrounds him. He sees plants as siblings and does what he can to make sure they can undergo their own natural generative processes. In a photo he shared what this looks like for him on a day-to-day basis (see image 12). He cannot live in a place in which he cannot cultivate plant life. Farming, and meditation while farming as mentioned before, is part of Mukimala's daily healing routine.

Jakinda illustrated what this may look for people participating in True Growth amongst other humans. For Jakinda, her father's approach to healing in the community has a ripple effect

of healing. She shared the following story:

Jakinda illustrated what this may look for people participating in True Growth amongst other humans. For Jakinda, her father's approach to healing in the community has a ripple effect of healing. She shared the following story:

People who had seen us when we were young looked at our faces and said 'this kid looks like this person' then you hear 'her parents were people with good hearts' you see a stranger being happy because of your parents. The way we do good things remains as seeds for our kids. So, you find out even this time when we go to the village and those people see us and remember what our parents did to them. they are joyful for the beautiful things or feeling you offered them, something made them peaceful, and this is within the soul and they continue the cycle of goodness and happiness.

In her narrative, Jakinda highlighted the generativity of her father's generosity. His particular approach to the less fortunate in her community was rare, as she said she and her larger community often wondered why a man with such stature would spend his time this way. The good deeds of her father did not stop at the end of each experience spending time with the disenfranchised, but instead multiplied into long lasting relief, happiness and love that was given to her and her siblings, long after their parents had passed. Jakinda said, because she witnessed the generative power of community compassion, she raised her children in a similar way.

Living With Purpose

The next way participants frequently participated in True Growth was through living with purpose. Participants who lived with purpose received a deep sense of direction, earthly affirmation and or and multiple messages from the spiritual world along their journey.

Mukimalla talked about his understanding of a shared purpose. He elaborated on his favorite proverb, which spoke to what he believed to be our collective destiny. Mukimalla shared:

Tunagizo wapendo (English – We are sent here to love) in the following way:

To evolve into love, that's our purpose, to evolve towards love. That's it. That's our purpose. And that's the only lesson we're supposed to learn on earth: stray from the ego and face love. And that's almost in every religion.

In this quote, Mukimalla asserted the larger purpose of beings on this planet. Though he did not speak to his individualize purpose, as we have commonly come to understand. Instead, in his ideas of living in his purpose, Mukimalla is one of many with the same job. He believes when humans rise to this work, and take it on earnestly that is when individuals, communities and societies can experience True Growth.

Wisdom Palace shared what living with purpose may look like in the traditional Tanzanian context in her personalized example of living with purpose. For her, a sense of purpose and destiny was given to her at birth through her name. She narrated:

My traditional name is Nyabusu. I had to ask my father, ‘why exactly he gave me that name?’, because you wouldn't just give a person a name without meaning. So, I wanted my father to explain why exactly he had to give me that. After his own mother deserted him, the woman that took care of him, her name was Nyabusu. To him, Nyabusu means a kind heart, a heart that is always there to comfort you. And that's why to him, he gave me that name to remind me how kind I should be to people; not only kind to myself, but kind to humanity... It was a priceless love that I showed to him. So it was more of a kind heart as always, he named me after the lady who took care of him and I did that too.

For Wisdom Palace, her middle name, a traditional Sakuma name, gives her a mission in

this life. She was named with intention, after a woman that showed her father great compassion in a time of emotional and spiritual distress. To recognize her positive contributions to his life, he honored her in a way common amongst Tanzanians and Africans more generally, he made his daughter her namesake. When Wisdom Palace learned the sentimental meaning behind her name, she had a moment of revelation that gave her clarity. Not only did she understand her place, or role in this world, she lived up to her name by showing her father a “priceless love” later in his life, when he found himself again emotionally, spiritually, and physically distressed. In doing so, she fulfilled her purpose to be kind to humanity like the Nyabusu before her.

Demonstrating Transcendence

Finally, when participants talked about participating in True Growth, they often discussed demonstrating transcendence. While demonstrating transcendence, participants recognized and lived under the direction of the soul within, they overcame obstacles and rose above expectations. One example of demonstrating transcendence came from Prudence who told the sentimental and inspiration story about how his wife responded to in-laws that rejected her due to her ethnicity. He shared,

But later on, my mother suffered from cancer and my wife is the one who went to take care to my mother. From my wife’s good behavior, my daddy realized that ‘oh, I thought my son married a wrong tribe, but a wife can be found from any tribe’. My dad sent somebody From Rombo to Dar es Salaam to seek for *msamaa* from my wife, apology, from my wife. When my mom reached the point of, of dying. She asked my wife that she be the one to take care of her materials, even though she had children still living. My wife’s good ways shocked everyone and changed their mind.

Prudence's wife rose above her situation through what he later called "good behavior." Despite the ethnocentric rejection she and her husband received in response to their union, she still answered the call of daughter-in-law duties. Like Wisdom Palace, she showed a priceless love and was rewarded with the apologies, material goods most importantly, high esteem of her elders. She transcended a long-standing stereotype against women of different ethnicities and turned what seemed like an impossible situation into one of love and growth.

In another example, Mandela shared a story of overcoming his physical limitations to experience spiritual healing. He said:

The whole hike was very, tough. I did not think I would make it. But then once I got there, I was happy with myself, and I realized that in life you go through stuff that makes you feel like 'I give up'. When you get to the results, you 'like dang, this is worth it, and I rose above my own limits to do it'. That makes the soul feel good.

In his experience, Mandela talked about overcoming what he thought were his limits while on a hike to "find himself". On this hike, he talked about two sides of himself – the rational side and the spiritual side – that were in constant conversation throughout the hike. While the rational part of him, with its foreign knowledge often misnamed "modern" reminded him of limits, fears, and impossibilities, the spiritual side of him shared counter messages that won in the end. His inner spiritual voice, or soul worked from a place of being traditionally informed in and tested through time.

By waving away the messages of the moment and getting int tune with more traditional approaches to care, he was able to transcend the part of himself that has been taught to fear nature. By the end of this hike, he was grateful that his soul's messages rang true and won out, because without this transcend of personal and societal limits, he may have missed out on

perspective transformative healing. He also shared photos (See images 13 and 14) that speak to the subjective and often hidden aspect of being transcendental. In Image 13, he is on the hike and feeling as though he could quit at any moment. Image 14 is a portrait photo of him at the completion of this hike. If one looks closer, they can see a slight curl of the lips on the photo that form what he called a smile. For Mandela, these photos represent the internal, oft unrecognized, and deeply impactful nature of traditional healing in the everyday context or True Growth.

In this chapter, I discussed the results of my interviews with fourteen Tanzanians, with whom I discussed the topic of traditional spiritual healing and care in the everyday context. first, I introduced and defined the guiding principles of time/timing, self/community, and mind/body/soul. Harmony between these three factors was shown by many participants and was seen thorough their responses shared here. Next, I discussed each part of the BG2G process that results in True Growth, as articulated by participants. When explaining the three main parts of this process, (1) becoming grounded (2) making gestures toward growth and (3) participating in True Growth. I drew upon participant's shared explanations, proverbs, and images to articulate a community phenomenon steeped in tradition. In the next chapter, I will place this research project in conversation with existent knowledge on the topic of everyday traditional healing and care in the everyday context in Tanzania, across Africa and in the Black diaspora that now spans the globe.



Image 13



Image 14

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

The present study aimed to develop a model of traditional spiritual healing/care in the everyday Tanzanian context. When asked to describe, demonstrate, and educate on their understanding of traditional spiritual healing/care in the everyday context, what emerged was a process of Becoming Grounded to Grow (BG2G). Growth in this model is a cycle which includes (1) gaining wisdom (2) gesturing towards growth and (3) participating in True Growth. Giving context, and cultural relevance to the three themes are the guiding principles, which include time/timing, self/community, and mind/body/soul. These are seen throughout each phase of this cycle. In several key ways, this model of soul healing both converges with and diverges from existent literature on professional and everyday healing in amongst Africans. In its use of a non-professional sample, working in the everyday context, this project offers something new to the counseling psychology and Black psychology fields. Additionally, my focus on the consistence and transformations in traditional healing offers support to Liberation psychology and its work around decolonization//re-indigenization. These characteristics of my project, and the model it produced, contribute to culturally relevant/informed care more generally.

In this chapter, I first explore the proposed model, the BG2G Model of True Growth, and I describe how it supports/defers from existing models of spiritual healing. Then I make a case for the guiding principles and how they are supported by knowledge on African healing. Next, I dedicate one section to each of the three phases of the cycle – gaining wisdom, gesturing towards growth, and participating in growth –showing support for, or naming gaps in other models of traditional spiritual healing.

In each section, I discuss how the themes and subthemes of the model connect my findings to existing cultural knowledge in diverse fields of study, such as philosophy and literature. This aligns with the eclectic approach of participants, who used and referred to transdisciplinary knowledge in their accounts of BG2G. Additionally, I discuss how the present study compares to other models of African spiritual healing. These sections will follow the lead of my participants, who took a collective approach to cultures of healing that well reflected Tanzanian religious and cultural pluralism. This means, at times I connect my findings to models of healing based on indigenous practices in Tanzania, Africa, the African diaspora, and other Indigenous community found in the Global Majority.

Becoming Grounded To Grow

Through a mixed constructivist grounded theory and post-colonial analysis of the participant's diverse data (which included photos, proverbs, and oral narratives), I developed the Becoming Grounded to Grow, or the BG2G, process model. When informants discussed the cycle of growth, they described a rhythmic rotation with no tangible beginning or end, because the process of soul healing is one that predates and outlives the individual. Participants discussed a sense of being tethered to a nurturing source of nutrients, knowledge and or love. These understandings emerged into the gaining wisdom phase of the cycle. Additionally, participants illustrated a process of gaining confidence in their ability to heal through establishing disciplined practices of everyday healing using innovative and prescribed approaches to traditions. This was later named making gestures of growth. Finally, participants demonstrated how they became the source of healing for themselves and others. This developed into participating in True Growth.

BG2G, as process of soul healing was expressed by participants in this study and is demonstrated elsewhere in East African indigenous culture(s). A Sudanese proverb says: “we desire to bequeath two things to our children; the first one is roots, the other one is wings.” This proverb is telling of the importance of being rooted and soaring above those roots in a bidirectional approach to development. When applied to healing, it becomes clear the need to go deep, seek knowledge with which to synthesis wisdom. To begin to practice flying which resembles making gestures of growth, and finally to soar or in this case, participate in growth.

In addition to its literal manifestation, becoming grounded can also happen symbolically. This connection to the ground is similarly seen in *groundation*, a specific kind of ceremony of the Rastafari faith. Groundations are referred to a ceremony for making a connection to a specific location and generating energy/spiritual power to fuel personal and collaborative projects (Wladstein, 2016). This tendency to focus on and seek power from the ground is seen in African ritual across space and time (Begho, 1996; Tiérou, 2013). Traditionally, Africans dance closer to the ground, mimic the percussive nature of the ground through drum (DeFrantz et al., 2019) and connect to the ground in other symbolic ways.

A process of being grounded in order to experience transformation has been articulated in other models of healing as well. For example, Harrell (2022) articulated a method for engaging in research that aims to heal which included three steps of rooting, resourcing, and rising as a means to engage in research that promotes, “contemplative practice as the connection of inner transformation and outer expression” (p. 184). Though the context of the present research is outside of the research lab and into the everyday context, still the concept of being rooted and rising is closely connected to BG2G. Both frameworks see these related processes as a means to engage in personal and community healing.

True Growth

At the center of this project, which aimed to build a framework of traditional spiritual healing/care in the everyday context, was the maintenance and restoration of the soul. For participants, the purpose of engaging in the BG2G cycle was to experience “true” growth. For them, True Growth (which became synonymous to soul healing) referred to the state of transformation, when souls experience rehabilitation from the inevitable (e.g., death of a loved one) and unnecessary (e.g., colonialism) wounds that accompany the human experience. For them, soul healing was as natural as it is supernatural, because everyone has the propensity to be the everyday healer. According to participants, the alleviating of spiritual pain or soul wounds more specifically, could take many forms and direction, but one common thread is that they all lead toward True Growth.

Participants discussed True Growth as the destination of the BG2G journey, a concept that is also found evident in cultural knowledge in East African and beyond. A proverb said throughout the continent (in Kenya, Nigeria, and Ghana) embodies this the utility in True Growth. It advises: We should put out fire while it is still small. This proverb highlights the nuance of growth. That is to say all growth is not good, or in this case, True. This proverb speaks the preventative nature of True Growth and also touches on the power of growth in the wrong direction, or away from healing. The same way a growing fire can devastate and individual and their environment, so can spiritually harmful behavior destructively rip through lives. In this illustration True Growth is the water, sand or salt that so effectively extinguishes flames, and allows new thoughts, practices, and ways of being to take root there instead.

It is not only in indigenous African spiritual traditions that growth and healing are seen as synonymous. This connection between soul healing and growth is also demonstrated in Islamic

theories of healing. For example, Rothman (2019) developed a model for an Islamic psychotherapy. In this endeavor, the researcher described the development of the soul as including *Tazkiyat an nafs* (purification of the soul), *Jihad an nafs* (struggle of the soul), *Tahdhib al akhlaq* (reformation of character) and *Muhlikat and Munjiyat* (Vices and Virtues). Of particular relevance to this project is the need for moral reform included in reformation of character. The researcher discusses the difference between Truth (with a capital T) and truth (with a lowercase t). In this “paradigm of secular generality, everyone’s own truth (small t) is potentially equally valid, with no universal or objective truth (big T) that people are expected to be held accountable to. Many participants talked about the need for moral reform, for a person to work on improving their character, as an integral part of what must happen in the stage of *nafsi al lawwama*” (p. 141).

This finds commonality in True Growth as articulated in this project through its recognition of a subjective truth. Where this theory diverges from True Growth is in its articulation of the Truth and distinguishing between Truth and Truth. While participants made reference to God in several contexts, and recognized the influence/power of God, they did not name this spirit as the grand master of healing, or the one that makes the calls about what is/is not healing. It was, instead a consciousness of God within them, (and at times an divine awareness seen as completely their own) that gave them the power to know in the moment was and was not Truly healing.

Guiding Principles

This study aimed to develop a model with the cultural realities of Tanzanian participants as the foundation of the framework. Three principals were particularly relevant in the accounts of participates who described Becoming Grounded to Grow using their narratives, images, and proverbs. Time/timing, self/community, and mind/body/spirit, and the need for healing balance

between and within these principles were the foundation from which participants could build healing knowledge, practices, and ways of being. Important to note, participants did not use either-or language here, instead, cohesion was more important than compartmentalization in these cases. For this reason, these principles are intentionally written with punctuation that connects as opposed punctuation that separates.

Participants, who demonstrated a cultural foundation from which they understood the world around them, were not alone in this intellectual tendency. The culturally grounded guiding principles are also discussed amongst other holders of traditional knowledge in academia. Specifically, other African professionals have discussed the necessity of culturally grounded care in the helping professions. Thabede (2008) offers several reasons to build theories of healing around a cultural worldview. For his African context, a healer may engage in this work to:

“move away from foreign frameworks and notions used to analyze Africans’ psychological, social and psychosocial problems; to accommodate the Afrocentric perspectives as a significant part of the knowledge base and practice alongside current Eurocentric intervention theories and practices; to predicate the theory and practice of the helping professions in South Africa on African culture, so that the helping professions will reflect the worldview and cultural values of those who mostly are recipients of mental health services in South Africa” (p. 234)

This is parallel to the purpose of including tenets of the African worldview in the present study on traditional spiritual healing/care in the everyday context, or the Becoming Grounded to Grow process. This model accommodates for the participant perspective in its grounded theory

method, and diverse points of data collection. It also reflects the African worldview, which similarly includes a nuanced sense of time, community, and holistic health.

Other scholars have used other indigenous worldviews in their theories of healing. For example, Mifsud (2020) conducted a grounded theory study on community and society level interventions for healing historical trauma. Amongst their findings were how Aboriginal participants used their worldview to inform their interventions. They did this by either adapting “Western therapeutic approaches to make them relevant to the understandings and worldviews of Indigenous peoples” or by applying indigenous based “narrative approaches and blended in cultural-expressive arts such as drama, dance, and painting” (p. 263). This is similar to the results in this project, in that it articulates how healing from a shared cultural center can optimize efficacy and promote the buy in of those engaging in healing. Additionally, both models use the fine arts and literature and a way to access knowledge related to spiritual healing.

Time/timing

At all phases of the Becoming Grounded to Grow process, participants demonstrated the need for harmony between time/timing. When discussing the relationship between time/timing in the journey toward True Growth, informants described the necessarily connected nature of the past/present/future. They saw historical figures as present through their impact and worked on the future in the present. Additionally, they explored how timing was key in Becoming Grounded to Grow, and focused on being on their own perfect time, much like nature itself.

The necessity for harmony between time/timing is expressed by participants and seen as a guiding principle in African culture/society. For example, one Kenyan proverb explains: “Do something at its right time, and peace will accompany it.” This sentiment is espoused to the

time/timing guiding principle because like participants in this project, acting is not as important as taking action at the right time. The necessity for harmony between time/timing is expressed in this model of True Growth and seen in other theories of spiritual healing. This interaction between time/timing and allows participants to make evaluations about time, and nourish the opportunities presented to them in the present.

This project also highlights the harmonious relationship between past/present/future. This relationship is rather controversial across the African continent. Krishnan (2002) posits how:

“Traditional African culture upholds the concept of cyclicity of time in opposition to the linear concept of time in Western societies. For Africans, time does not run into the future, but comes back into the past as to form a part of the cycle of time” (p. 143).

This understating of time is closely connected to how participants understood the past, present *and* future (which was excluded from the Krishna’s understanding of African time) to be intertwined. Amongst participants in this project, the future was a part of their cycle of time. I will illustrate this point using guided imagery. Imagine a circle image, making a cyclical motion in the counterclockwise direction. If you were going with the “backward” flow of this cycle, upon approaching the top arch, coming over the zenith and declining down the circle, you would be moving towards the past. If you were to stop here, this will make a semicircle, or incomplete cycle in this case. As you come down the undercurve and head toward the start of the cycle, you go deep within they go deep before moving upward into the future, only to find yourself going back to the past shortly after. This project completes the full cycle, instead of excluding the reality of the future. In this way, the present espouses a Sankofa approach to past/present/future. More will be said about Sankofa in the section dedicated to knowing your history to gain wisdom.

John Mbiti (2015) laid much of the groundwork for theories of African spirituality and African healing. In his ovulary theory of African Religion, he explained “time is a *two-dimensional phenomenon* – with a long past, a present, and virtually no future” (pp. 16-17). In this project, time was three dimensional, in that the future was both real and definite amongst participants. For example, participants in my study spoke to a faith in the future that contrasted global attitudes during the COVID-19 pandemic (Garcia-Cerde et al., 2021; Huang & Zhao, 2020; Hummel et al., 2021). One participant, Stacey, even spoke to a sense of collaboration with her future self, who she knows wants her to be happy and healthy. In this way, my research diverges from the Mbiti conceptualization of time.

Self/Community

Interwoven throughout participants’ articulation of the three phases of Becoming Grounded to Grow is the theme of self/community. In this context, self, or the individual (as the smallest unit of measurement in the healing universe) played a key role in the larger picture of community healing. Distinctively, community did not simply refer to the people that share a space with participants, but also referred to the spirits that surround them, the animals that collaborate with them, and the nature with whom they aim to have a mutually nurturing relationship. In this approach, informants made no distinctions between themselves and plants at times, and themselves and their environment at others. They used themselves as a yardstick for the spiritual wellness of the modern world. In doing so, they demonstrated the symbiosis between self/community.

Working towards synergy between self/community is seen throughout the diverse data points of participants. This relationship is also cemented in East African coastal culture. One Kiswahili proverb that reflects this larger African concept of Ubuntu. The proverb teaches: *Mtu*

ni Watu or a person is people. The self/community relationship is at the heartbeat of African culture, and the need to find harmony in both is encouraged throughout African literature. The global response to the modern lynching often given the misnomer “police brutality” is a demonstration of this principle. Commonly, Black people experience a trauma response referred to as linked fate when seeing the highly televised images and videos of Black people (particularly, but not exclusively Black men) and realizing that could be the fate of any of the beloved Black people in their family/life (Boynton, 2019). This is because often, when Black people see the mistreatment or just treatment of their fellows, they deeply identify with their individual experience though a sense of shared experiences.

In Tanzania specifically, community and the power of the collective is in large part what enables Tanzanians to stand as exemplary in its peaceful civil history³ and its maintenance of concepts like Ujamaa. This important and still relevant concept was politicized during the independence era by Tanzania’s beloved first president and treasured *mbabu*, (or ancestor in English) Julius Nyerere. In his revolutionary book, *Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism* (1968), Mwalimu⁴ explained:

Ujamaa then, or “familyhood” describes our socialism. It is opposed to capitalism, which seeks to build a happy society on the basis of the exploitation of man by man; and it is equally opposed to doctrine socialism which seeks to build a happy society on a philosophy of inevitable conflict between a man and a man. We in Africa have no more need of being ‘converted’ to socialism than we have of being ‘taught’ democracy. Both are rooted in our own past- in the traditional society which produced us. Modern African

³ Tanzania is one of very few African countries to have never had a civil war

⁴ Nickname meaning “educator” or “teacher” given to the first president of Tanzanian, who was a teacher and build his African socialist platform around education reform

socialism can draw from its traditional heritage in the recognition of ‘society’ as an extension of the basic family unit (Nyerere, 1968, p. 12).

In this famous essay, the first president of liberated Tanzania talked about socialism using rooted in Tanzanian culture. He used the traditional Kiswahili word for this socialism, Ujamaa, which can be understood familyhood. This is closely related to the sense of oneness, one of the ways to participate in True Growth. In his understanding of ujamaa was the role of the individual to help advance society. In his vision of a new country, Nyerere called for his citizens to passionately take up farming, teaching, and healing, using their unique talents and diverse cultural knowledge to bolster national development. This is similar to how participants understood and valued their individuality for True Growth.

The BG2G process is not alone in its emphases of harmony between self/community. For example, Bamidele and colleagues (2019) offered an articulation of psychosocial healing using a grounded theory method. What resulted was a conceptualization of healing developed through close observations of the growth process of Black men in a focus group setting. They offered “the man in the driver’s seat” as central to their model, and taking ownership of their illness, recognizing differences from others healing processes and navigating their journey to be aspects of this cycle. Importantly, the final piece of their model recognized the passengers that may be in the car with the individual men, and how they also inform the healing process through collaboration and simply being there for the men. This conceptualization is connected to the current project because it honors the importance of and interplay between the individual and the community that surrounds him, especially in the context of healing.

Mind/Body/Spirit

Throughout all phases of the cycle of BG2G, participants highlighted how True Growth

requires harmony of the mind/body soul. According to them, healing the soul undoubtedly includes a healing of the body and the mind as well. They described bouts of physical illness that negatively impacted their soul and discussed how a soul in unrest can destabilize the mind. Interlaced in their articulations in which this theory is grounded is the consonance between mind/body/soul.

Achieving equilibrium through the integration of mind/body soul was considered central to participant's understanding of True Growth. This is also the case for how Africans across the continent understand soul healing. For example, Mumo's (2012) analytical review of African traditional healers showed that all traditional healers in his sample explicitly worked with and through the assumption that afflictions of the mind, body and soul are all connected.

Furthermore, many of the traditional healer informants believed that outside forces like spirits and the political atmosphere all have the power to positively or negatively impact soul healing. Similarly, participants in the present study discussed the connected nature of the mind/body/soul and named the influential outside forces of power that were necessarily connected to this holistic system.

Mind/body/soul or a tendency to approach healing from the holistic perspective also has been a salient aspect of other theories of healing. For example, Verginer and Juen (2019) offered an explanatory model of mental illness in Uganda. Based on their interviews, they developed a theory which included articulations of the ways the holistic system is impacted by spiritual ailments, resulting in "a holistic view of peoples' lives in the wider context so as to render the fullest possible portrait of the group under study" (p. 234). Similar to their study, I wanted to explore the ways the whole working system of an individual – their mind/body/soul – was impacted through the growth process. Participants supported this observation in their

inclusion of a holistic guiding principle in their narratives about the interconnection among the mind/body/soul.

Soul. The BG2G model focuses on one manifestation of spirit, the soul. Through structured discussions with participants, it became clear that the true focus of this project was what participants named *nafsi* in Kiswahili, or the soul in English. According to them, their soul was the innermost and essential version of themselves. Under optimal conditions, the soul will be in control, and collaborate with the mind and body to ensure a life of fulfillment and balance. Participants described the soul as eternal, sustained by love, and central to True Growth. The articulation of the soul, and its role in experiences of healing are a large part of the African worldview and shown in larger cultural knowledge.

The significance of the soul is similarly cemented in African healing notions of what it means to be whole and alive. It is important to take care of the soul. And a common Kiswahili proverb speaks to its precious and prized nature. This proverb says: *Roho aina thamani*, or the soul has no price. It is believed that the soul is precious, priceless even. In Africa, people are often reminded to take all necessary measures to save a soul. And traditionally, Africans did just this with the expertise of *waganga* and the healing knowledge of their nonprofessional communities. In the present study, participants similarly talked about the high value of the soul. In their narratives, images, and proverbs that highlighted the distinct and personal nature of the soul.

The significance of the soul is also well documented in Ancient Egypt, Kemet, and Nubya (Clarke, 1984; Guralnick, 1974). In fact, these societies have even gone so far as to examine and articulate the different parts of the soul, thousands of years before European psychologists

named psychology after it ⁵There are several parts of the soul according to ancient Egyptian knowledge. These are the *kha* (body), *ren* (name) *ba* (personality) *ka* (vital essence), *shut* (shadow) *ib* (heart) *akh* (immortal self) and the *sekhem* (life energy) (Ford, 2003). This is a matter of contest, as some say the soul has anywhere from five to up to nine different parts.

Others still see *ba* as the soul aspect of the self. Asante (2014) said:

The *ba*, that is, the soul was understood to be able to visit places the deceased love to visit and to do things the deceased enjoyed in life, like fishing, hunting, riding in chariots, sailing the Nile and so forth. The *ba* was an animating force, able to bring the deceased to his favorite hunting grounds and to visit the homes of special people. Because we are all unique the ancient Egyptians believed that the *ba* was an aspect of this uniqueness that would live so long as it could find the body of the deceased (p. 49).

In this quote, Asante highlighted the importance of the *ba*, our soul. It is an animate, active and powerful force through which life can be experienced beyond the loss the physical body. This is in line with the way my participants talked about the soul, and its ability to move or be still, feel content or in a state of demand, be hurt or be healed.

Ghanian philosopher, Gyekye (1978) shared his cultural Akan understandings, including distinctions and applications. He explained it this way:

The *ōkra* is said to be that which constitutes the innermost self, the essence, of the individual person. Is the individuals' life for which reason it is referred to as *ōkraseasefo*, that is the living soul. The expression is intended to emphasize that *ōkra* is identical with life. The *ōkra* is the embodiment and transmitter of an individual's destiny. It is described as a spark of the supreme being in man (p. 100).

⁵ Psychology is a form of the word *psyche*, a Greek word for the soul

According to the Akan principle of *ōkra*, the soul is what connects the person to their creator, God. The soul is living, breathing and eternal. It speaks to the presence of God and connects us to our larger spiritual family of all beings with the same creator. These notions of the soul articulated by stewards and scholars of African healing knowledge align with participants' understanding of soul in that it is multidimensional and connected to True Growth.

Through conversations with participants, it became clear that I was most interested in the soul for this project. Other theories of healing with Indigenous people/communities have also discussed the importance of the soul in the context of spiritual healing. For example, Niu and colleagues (2021) embarked on a mission to understand spirituality and spiritual care for people of Chinese descent. Their findings traced back to indigenous Chinese culture that emphasized the importance of soul care. While they use language that relates to the soul and included Chinese proverbs that include mention of the soul, they did not explicitly discuss the importance of the soul in their theory. This research team, instead, used spiritual/spirit as an all-encompassing term that incorporated soul. Often, soul is subsumed in the larger category of spirit, but it can be important especially to those in the healing professions. The present project aimed to distinguish the soul from other manifestations of spirit with the assistance of the participants.

Everyday Healers. Participants understood everyday healers to be the friends, parents, ancestors, spaces, environments, and knowledge that heals them. The everyday context for them included their home and work settings, the spaces, and communities they turn to for leisure and a much-needed break for the bustle of urbanization and the metaphoric noise associated with globalization. The everyday healer, according to them was not educated in healing, nor did they make a living from the craft. Instead, participants found inspiration in the responsibility they feel for upholding the cycle of True Growth and incentivized by engagement in the same cycle.

In its focus on everyday healers in everyday contexts, this project offers something new to the field of psychology and holistic healing in modernity. While much is said about the professional healer, as a key player in healing, much less has been said about the everyday healer as the individual, the environments, and elements that take on that role. Historically, it was the traditional healer that stepped in to address concerns that were shrouded in relative mystery to the afflicted or required divination. Issues like a sense of dissatisfaction from a deceased parent, or a strangely frequent tendency to hurt oneself were their realm of the healer, who used divination to connect with spirits causing unrest. When scholars approached the everyday healer, they do so indirectly and without specificity. For example, it is well known that the purpose of the community ritual is to feel and heal with the collective, and be surrounded by the healing energy of moving, dancing or singing in unison for one cause (Cilliers & Weapener, 2007). Participants in the present study also discussed the healing nature of community ritual, but named their friends and non-trained community members as the source of the healing.

Everyday or nonprofessional healers have not been explicitly discussed in the writing on African society and healing. A similar tendency to approach the everyday healer from theoretical distance is also seen in other theories of healing. While less is said about the work and development of everyday healers, there are some similarities in the process to become a professional healer and those to become everyday healers. Egnew's (1994) grounded theory on becoming a healer shows some of these similarities. This theory lists passion, honesty, integrity, and humility, which all converge into Alethia (a Greek word for truth). According to the researcher, "Truth is manifested through competent and compassionate care and guidance of the patient and their family. Truth is important to the healer because by modeling the truth, the healer brings a sense of authenticity to the healing relationship" (p. 192). This connection

between holistic healing and becoming the truth is related to this study's conceptualization of True Growth. Where this project diverges is in its recognition that similar and different healing characteristics can be found in everyday people, not professionally trained but well equipped to care for souls.

Gaining Wisdom

From the perspective of the participants in the present study, gaining wisdom was fundamental to BG2G process. This section is divided into five subsections, where I overview the larger phase of gaining wisdom before discussing its four parts: (a) knowing your history (b) critical thinking (c) embracing the moment (d) feeling the truth. In each of these four parts, I note how gaining wisdom showed up for participants, before pointing to the evidence that this or similar concepts have been discussed in the larger context of African and indigenous healing knowledge. Finally, I place the findings into conversation with other grounded theory studies on related topics.

The major motivation of this project was identifying actionable steps for engaging in traditional spiritual healing and care in the everyday context. In this endeavor, I identified gaining wisdom as consequential to this cycle. According to participants, gaining wisdom is one crucial way to experience True Growth. When participants described gaining wisdom, it seemed separate from gaining information. The latter, as explained by informants, can be achieved in spaces or methods that are not healing. From this kind of knowledge, a lack of confidence, inability to identify the truth, or unhelpfully cyclical logic can be the result. The former on the other hand, gave them a strong foundation from which they can make informed decisions about their healing practices. Through facets of gaining wisdom, they were moved beyond being erudite, and demonstrated sagacity.

Wisdom as a concept and gaining wisdom as a rite of passage are both closely examined in African culture. For example, the Kiswahili proverb - Aibu, *kujikwaa kisiki mara mbili* or it's a shame to fall over the same stump twice – highlights the importance of gaining wisdom. To fall over the same stump twice assumes that one did not learn the necessary lessons to avoid self-harm. In this case, gaining wisdom and behaving in a way that represents wisdom can save the body physical harm, and save the soul the frustration of an avoidable failure. This can be applied in other, less concrete aspects of life as well. In the case of my research, Prudence could have avoided the spiritual pain of having his child fall mysteriously ill by learning the cultural lessons of his father. In not gaining wisdom, he fell over the same stump twice.

“When an elder dies, a library burns down” is another proverb that speaks to the importance of those who most commonly hold wisdom in the African context, elders. The proverb highlights the storehouses of healing wisdom that lie in the minds and hearts of elders. Penn and colleagues (2010) further support this reality of African culture in the context of healing. The findings of their grounded theory study suggest that grandparents play an important role in the process of counseling, especially in the South African context. They are important because they harbor a storehouse of traditional knowledge about causes and treatment of disease and of family, kinship and reproductive issues. They play a pivotal role in family life and decision making and thus have the potential to assist both the genetic counselor and the client in providing mediation, information, and support (Penn et al., 2010, p. 19). This supports the claims in the present study as well. participants were selected intentionally to represent different generations of the same community. Because it is well known that Tanzanian elders hold wisdom that the youth have not been exposed to or lack the wisdom to value, their

inclusion in this study was of particular importance. The elders in the present study helped to bring a cultural richness and deepen the knowledge of soul healing's history in Tanzania.

The relationship between healing and wisdom is not commonly discussed in grounded theories on healing, but some theorizing has been done around distinguishing wisdom from knowledge. For example, Beimorghi and colleagues (2019) exposed the path to gaining wisdom by explaining how life experiences are transformed into learning from life. According to these researchers, synthesizing and making meaning and learning from life later becomes wisdom. This is reminiscent of bidirectional nature of each step in the BG2G cycle. In their model, gaining experience or growing culminates into wisdom which can later heal individuals and communities. BG2G as a cycle adds an explicitly healing component to this and articulates beyond the goal of gaining wisdom.

Knowing Your History

When participants described the gaining wisdom phase of the BG2G cycle, they spoke to the importance of knowing their history. In this study, knowing your history grew to mean showing recognition for the traditions of the past. While they embraced and celebrated the positive aspects of their shared and individual past, they additionally discussed the harmful parts of the past which were absent in their projections of a healed future. For participants knowing their history encompassed knowledge of their familial lineage, national history, and archives of humanity. The importance of knowing your history is demonstrated throughout the extant knowledge of traditional African soul healing.

The healing power that is tucked in a thorough knowledge of one's past is articulated by Tanzanian participants, and also reflected in larger African culture. One example of this is the Twi (Ghanian) concept, *Sankofa* which directly translates to "retrieve." As used culturally, it

refers to an ability to go back and get what was left behind, or in the past. Its adinkra⁶ symbol is a bird with its neck craned and looking backwards, while its feet face forward. In the bird's mouth the viewer can often see an egg, which represents a prized possession, possibly left behind but later retrieved, as the term Sankofa suggests. Just like the African American proverb presented, the individual and collective future is bleak without knowledge of the past.

Sankofa is a principle that has influenced many philosophies (Beale, 2013), arts (Annan, 2015), research (Watson & Wiggan, 2016), and educational practices (Tedla, 1995) examined Sankofa and restoration healing in the urban educational setting. In this case study, the researcher concluded:

Most public schools teach Eurocentric, hegemonic perspectives which undermine nonWhite accomplishments. The students and teachers at CGWA suggest that Afrocentricity is an appropriate response to cultural hegemony generally found in public schools. In order to address the systemic and pervasive damages caused by centuries of racist and irrelevant curricula, schools must aim to reverse miseducation. In the spirit of Sankofa, it is important to “go back and fetch” lost information that students do not receive in traditional school settings. Also, in the spirit of Sankofa, it is important to acknowledge the natural genius in every Black child (p. 115)

Like the student they reference here, my participants spoke to a sort of starvation from their cultural history while in school. When given the space to do so, several of them ran toward elders and other wise people found in the everyday context, to feed their soul healing history. They highlighted how knowing their history was needed to inform their future, how it was their

⁶ Ancient symbols indigenous to the Akan people of Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire. They are still used today and represent principles important in African daily life/culture

right to both bask in the glory of some parts of their past and take a critical stance against others. This embodies *Sankofa*, collecting information of the past to move with wisdom in the present, which enriches the experiences of the future.

The importance of the past, knowing and honoring the history is not exclusive to African indigenous cultures. Waitoki and colleagues (2022) examined a similar concept in their grounded theory on Māori indigenous knowledge and healing work with women. They posited: The following whakataukī (proverb) expresses this approach: Me titiro me anga ki whakamua (Look to the past as we move forward). This whakataukī signifies the need to understand teachings and learnings from the past, historical events, and new circumstances to inform moving into the future. The whakataukī provided the basis for (re)claiming and (re)storing traditional knowledge about how Māori women and their children were kept safe and incorporated their contemporary realities and actions they take to stay safe amid violence within their whānau and relationships (Waitoki et al., 2022, p. 386).

This concept of looking to the past to move forward as a starting point for theorizing and healing is identical to the Twi concept of Sankofa, and the same has the same healing utility as knowing your history as according to participants in this project. Like Waitoki and colleagues (2022), this project also aimed to illuminate how a grasp of the past can heal ongoing and soul struggles and prevent future spiritual pain.

Critical Thinking

When participants made value judgments and distinctions about what was and was not healing in their everyday lives they demonstrated critical thinking. When discussing critical thinking, they emphasized the importance learning *how* to think over learning *what* to think. Participants wanted to use the information they collected to make important distinctions

between what they are told is healing, and what they know to be healing. They reported critical thinking to be their ability to engender their wisdom in opportune times, towards the participation of True Growth.

According to participants, critical thinking is necessary for gaining the wisdom that results in True Growth. This understanding of critical thinking being a crucial concept in healing has been found in approaches to healer training in the western context at Black higher education institutions. For example, Dyson and Smith-Brice (2016) discussed their experiences teaching the first critical thinking course for social workers in training. They observed:

This unique teaching model was designed to assist and support students in unmasking ugly truths, hurts, and unconscious personal negative thoughts by facilitating the confrontation of these challenges and subsequent healing so that students are equipped with the skills to matriculate through the BSW program successfully as works in progress. Consequently, this approach also ensured that students gained the confidence to address any barriers they may face to be effective, competent, and confident (Dyson & Smith-Brice, 2016, p. 115).

Similarly, participants in the present study spoke to the need of critical thinking skills to uncover ugly truths and healing ones too. Without critical thinking, the healers in training at the historically Black institution of higher education and the everyday healers in the present study would be unequipped to engage in True Growth in this world, complicated by distorted histories and exploitive systems.

Critical thinking has also been promoted as a means to soul healing through political and personal liberation. Critical thinking has been used as a tool by African and African descendant people so that they can begin to articulate their oppression and demand their liberation.

Martinique born psychiatrist, Frantz Fanon (1961) once said, “The mobilization of the masses, when it arises out of the war of liberation, introduces into each man's consciousness the ideas of a common cause, of a national destiny, and of a collective history” (p. 93). How one arrives at this conclusion of a common cause, actualization of national destiny and reclamation of cultural history is through a process of individual and community level critical thinking. In this quote, Fanon touched on critical thinking as it is understood in this project. That is, connected to the past, present, and future of liberation and used to relieve the soul of unnecessary or unethical constraint.

Critical thinking is well documented throughout the healing theories of Liberation Psychology as well. One dimension of the Psychology of Radical Healing Framework (French et al., 2019) is critical consciousness, which is closely related to critical thinking. In their quest to articulate a psychology that radically heals people from the Global Majority from the chains of personal and societal oppression, they noted the importance of critical consciousness: We assert a psychological process of radical healing, embraced by relationships that begin with critical consciousness as the first step in raising awareness of oppressive systems. Through that consciousness, POCI can envision a better possibility leading to our second process of fostering hope (p. 6).

Adhering to this radical healing approach to pedagogy would have ensured that Ras Ndekuonia and other participants with similar experiences left formal education experiences with soul strength, as opposed to feeling depleted, misunderstood, and discriminated against for their critical thinking (and personal decision that reflected this thinking).

Embracing the Moment

Participants shared narratives in support of embracing the moment, highlighting how this enabled them to gain soul healing wisdom. Embracing the moment in this context refers to an

immersion in the present moment, or a deep sense of connection to the now. Participants in the present study were able to pay close attention to their mind/body/soul and the sensations that allow them to feel grounded in the moment. When participants embraced the moment, they accepted life as it came, relatively free of value judgements. Despite the temptation or encouragement to hyper fixate on the past, or persevere on the future, they danced, sat, and stayed in the present. While they did not lose their focus in these dimensions of time, as the guiding principle of time/timing posits, they always carry their past and their potential for the future with them.

Participants are not alone in their recognition of embracing the moment as important to healing. Indeed, many Kiswahili phrases like *pole pole* (a warning to move slow/ly) speak to the importance of taking your time and experiencing life, as opposed to rushing through it. It was in the spirit of *pole pole* that some participants offered the proverb *haraka haraka aina baraka*.

Another proverb Kiswahili proverb advises: *Mwenye pupa hadiriki kula tamu* which translates to “the one who eats in a hurry does not enjoy the taste of food”. This proverb teaches how the slow pace of living allows people to be in a more constant state of mindfulness. When eating slow, you can taste the nuances of the food, you can pay attention to how you feel while eating, how full or still hungry you are. You can engage in gratefulness for the chef and their skills, you can generally enjoy yourself. So is the principle applied to life. When moving slow, the body can engage in sensations, the mind can make observations and the soul can experience the moment. In their diverse approaches to embracing the movement, participants demonstrated the power in the *pole pole* lifestyle, which enables them to embrace the savor each second of life.

Embracing the moment is also examined in other theories of healing. For example,

Ozaniec (2022) shared a theory of an initiatory path in ancient Kemet. This researcher described meditation and mindfulness as a particular way to supersede the everyday mind and practices of mindfulness being used by the initiate (here meaning spiritually educated individual). In this ancient African interpretation of embracing the moment, Ozaniec observed:

Paradoxically, once all the senses have come under mental awareness, each sense may become heightened: hearing more attentive, sight more observant, taste more refined, smell more sensitized, touch more sensual. This awareness brings an enriched experience of life through physicality; this is not a path of renunciation but of expansion and increasing engagement (p. 144).

There are key similarities and differences between the Kemet understanding of meditation and embracing the moment as articulated in the present project. First, both projects aim to understand the spiritually aware individual and explore how an awareness of the present moment can aid in the healing process of gaining wisdom. Where they differ is in the assumption that the spiritual mind is beyond the everyday mind. For them, everyday assumes uneducated or uninitiated. While many participants in this project are uninitiated, they have sought out information, engaging in processes of self-education and learning from elders in their community. They grasped at new ways to gain ancient information in the contemporary context.

Feeling Truth

Finally, in their diverse expressions, participants included feeling True Growth as one valued way of gaining wisdom. In their accounts of feelings, participants placed emphasis on an internal, instead of external, meter of reality. Some even spoke to a special sense, or sensation they possess, that signals to them when they are being exposed to information that is related to True Growth. Their ability to feel the truth is what helped participants articulate soul healing as

True Growth. Healing the soul results in a similar sense of veracity that come in waves when engaging in this phase of the BG2G cycle.

Participants' understanding of feeling what is true converges with African epistemology, focused on spiritual subjectivity and knowledge beyond what can be immediately observed. For example, Luyaluka (2016) explained how "The Egyptians teach us that solar science was characterized by an essential resort to the revelatory mode of thinking: dreams, oracles, and revelations played a key role... this followed ancient African travelers on their journey throughout the continent" (p. 515). Amongst the Bakongo, people gained sacred wisdom through initiation rites. This is the African equivalent of higher learning, when individuals leave their homes as boys and girls and return informed and responsible men and women. This spiritually imbued way of feeling the truth is markedly diverges from the European ways of knowing, with its epistemology often limited to the five senses and objective truth. In another example, according to Hamminga (2005), people learn that feeling the truth is how they can make judgements about what is working/not working well for them. Africans feel that their 'gentle approach' to nature is rewarded. If you do not make outrageous demands on nature, you will find out that nature responds with some degree of reliability and even generosity. It will answer your needs if you make your needs modest enough. So, there is no need to preserve food on a big scale. This insight leads to the 'feast or famine' attitude (p. 75).

In both examples, scholars speak to how epistemology in African societies is beyond observation. In the first example, Luyaluka (2016) described an ancient Egyptian way of knowing based on dreams and spiritual sources of information. For them, knowledge was deeply personal, subjective, and based on sacred spiritual experiences, not easily verified by the observations of others. Participants in the present study also used dreams, visions, and spiritual

experiences in a way that is often misdiagnosed as psychosis in other, less spiritually informed contexts (Koenig, 2007). In the second example, Hamminga (2005) discussed how people used nature's response to them as a meter for True Growth. While this can be observed through the senses, often is through spiritual sensibilities that participates in this study felt the truth related the spiritual well-being of their environment. Feeling the truth also allowed participants to know when what the right time to make a move in their lives, feel when an instructor was lying, feel when their mind/body/soul were on the same page, or True Growth.

Gesturing Toward Growth

Gesturing toward growth was identified by participants as necessary to Becoming Grounded to Grow as a journey to experience True Growth. This section is divided into five subsections, where I overview the larger phase before outlining the four parts: (a) engaging in creativity (b) speaking healing, (c) doing as the ancestors did and (d) spending time in nature. In each of these four parts, I first discuss how gesturing toward growth showed up for participants, before pointing to the evidence that this or similar concepts have been discussed in the larger context of African and indigenous healing knowledge. Finally, I connect the findings in the present study around gesturing toward growth to findings in related literatures.

Gesturing toward growth was materialized throughout the narratives, proverbs and images collected. Gesturing towards growth was key to participants' conceptualizations of True Growth or soul healing. Participants considered gesturing toward growth critical to their development of a propensity to facilitate True Growth for self-and/or others. In this model of soul healing, gesturing towards growth is central, because healing necessitates practices to promote healing. Here, gesturing toward growth suggested the establishment of disciplined practices that result in True Growth. What distinguishes this from other phases of Becoming Grounded to Grow is the

constant confrontation of failure, and most importantly, the ability to bounce back into the role of the cosmic student committed to mastering their craft.

In the present project, I actively sought ways to capture participants' diverse practices of True Growth and methods to maintain them. The necessity of practical learning is described by keepers of African wisdom. Several Kiswahili proverbs highlight this. One such proverb instructs: *Achanikaye kwenye mpini hafi njaa* (the person who gets blisters from the hoe handle will not die of hunger); that is to say, to put in work is to reap the benefits. Another proverb advises: *Kazi ni kanzi* (work is a treasure), which reminds the worker that it is a blessing to be able to practice an act of work for spiritual wellness. It was only through this commitment to a practice that promoted True Growth and that participants in this project felt the benefits of spiritual wholeness. This is connected to what participants said about the importance of establishing practices of healing. Outside of the capitalist structure, where work is often used to exploit employees and bolster the financial security of wealth elites, in the realm of soul healing, work is both necessary and highly valued. Here, the goal is not to absolve oneself from the need to work, but instead to engage in work that promotes personal and community growth.

There is emerging scholarship that examines practical learning and healing within everyday contexts. In their grounded theory study aimed at explaining spiritual healing, Rafi and colleagues (2020) proposed that healing requires collaborative practices between the healer and the one that needs healing. They found that the healer would often prescribe a person to undergo an extending practice of prayer, fasting or physical movement to begin the process of soul healing. Their study is similar to the present research in its emphasis on practical learning and healing involving making movements toward True Growth. Where they diverge is in agency of the everyday healer. Participants in the present study designed their own practices and

encouraged future consumers of this research to do the same as opposed to following a prescribed course of healing practices.

Engaging in Creativity

Engaging in creativity was considered principal to making gestures toward growth. When discussing their engagement in creativity and how it results in True Growth, participants drew a sketch of healing that included varied approaches to artistry like dance, musicianship, photography, painting, and even intentional interior design. Participants also discussed cemented cultures of healing in the global Black community (e.g., hip hop). Both the practices and cultures of creativity promote True Growth because they “allow the soul to breathe”, as one participant described, and express feelings that may otherwise become built up and cause harm to the soul.

In participants’ narratives of dancing, painting, curating, weaving and otherwise engaging in creativity for the purpose of soul healing are a peek at a mainstay of African culture on the continent and throughout the diaspora. Engaging in creativity is also closely related to the global struggle for Black liberation. For example, in 1987, Burkinabe revolutionary and martyr, Thomas Sankara said, “*tout homme doit libérer son génie créateur*” which translates to every man must unleash his creative genius. He and Senegal’s first president, Léopold Senghor, believed that it was in part through the arts that their nations would be able to experience economic and spiritual liberation. This connection to creativity and healing is seen elsewhere in documented knowledge on African healing.

As the role of creativity in soul healing is often illuminated, so is the case with theoretical research on soul healing. Sunderland and colleagues (2022) reviewed current literature on soul healing in order to identify common principles for facilitating health and wellbeing. Amongst

their findings were the key roles of creativity in spiritual well-being. They concluded that the arts and creativity help individuals process trauma through helping them restore mind/body/nature/soul connections. This maps onto the findings of the present study, which highlight how engagement in the healing arts can lead to a sense of freedom and satisfaction.

Speaking Healing Into Existence

Speaking healing into existence was a major aspect of gesturing towards growth. According to participants, they possessed the power to request and demand healing and humility to request it. They recounted experiences with the successes of manifestation and prayer. They also recounted the power of encouragement and used all the aforementioned as spoken medicine. In this, participants gave new meaning to the cultural adage: there is power in the tongue.

In referencing the healing power of speaking healing into existence, participants highlighted a principle also found across the content. One popular concept that recognizes this is the Àṣẹ in Yoruba. According to Vega (1999):

Àṣẹ in Yorubaland, depending on the context, has varied translations: "the word ase is variously translated and understood as 'power,' 'authority,' 'command,' 'scepter'; the vital force in all living and non-living things; or coming to pass of an utterance (p. 45).

In this understanding of àṣẹ the reader can see the emphasis on the power one has to make things happen. Whereas a prayer is seen as a request, an àṣẹ is more like an order; it recognizes the power within someone to make things happen. As was the case with Wisdom Palace and using her healing work to cure her father's mysterious disease.

Similar concepts exist across the continent. *Nyama* is a Mande concept, for "a force of speech derives from that of the speaker, and it carried power and conviction, like the nyama of a

person, it is borne alone in the blood stream on the body and finally depends on the water in the body” (Douglas, 1968 p. 20). Like with áşe, there is a recognized power to speak to live or command things to while. While this may seem to be less of a spiritual concept because the power is found in the blood, it instead speaks to the holistic aspect of healing and spirituality. For many, the blood and water are spiritual elements that carry great power. Although not naming them in cultural terms, participants demonstrated the same ability to heal with their words as researchers describe with Áşe and Nyama.

There are a few emerging studies exploring the African concept of the tongue as a healing power. Bosely and colleagues (2022) aimed to articulate a framework of collective healing from systemic racism using a feminist Afro-futuristic lens. While the power to speak healing is more implicit than explicit in this study, the use of Afro-futurism encouraged the young Black women participants to both name and speak directly to a more healed future. They explored what was necessary to ensure this healed future and what it would take to see this future. In the present study, the Afro-futuristic sentiment implicit along with the more ancient concept of spoken medicine explicitly came to the fore.

This act of speaking to and commanding a healed future also defies the commonly agreed upon notion of the African sense of time. This also counters a point mentioned earlier on Mbiti’s understanding of the intangibility of the future. In his theory, it is foolish to spend time thinking about the future and can even cause pain to some that are fixated there. Of course, it is undesirable to throw off the balance of past/present/future by hyper fixating on the future, and yet amongst participants in this study, the future is both real and malleable. This is evidenced through their use of spoken healing.

Doing as the Ancestors Did

Considered crucial to participants' healing or True Growth was doing as the ancestors did. Their descriptions of doing as the ancestors did include modeling their style of dress, approach to parties and other celebrations, preference for an "OG" or organic diet, and attachment to traditional healing practices after their ancestors and living elders.

Participants' emphasis on how doing as the ancestors did can ensure True Growth further supports what other scholars have claimed about the continuation of tradition being healing. Be it fashion, food or music, indeed these all have remnants of the past and are informed by ancestors. For example, the market was a place to engage in and showcase creativity in a communal way. It is as personal, as it is political and professional. Several participants talked about the market, and one spoke directly to how it heals her soul. This is grounded in *mila* (custom), as traditionally the market was a place to take care of spiritual well-being and in contemporary context as well. it In

Tanzania, the traditional is modern. Marsland (2007) captured it this way:

Modernity is defined in opposition to tradition, and from here a series of familiar dichotomies – urban–rural, male–female, knowledge–belief, developed–undeveloped – emerge. Thus, a disjuncture between tradition and modernity present in public discourse makes the notion of a hybrid of the two conceivable analytically. In Tanzania, this discourse articulates with other understandings of 'tradition' defined in terms of ancestor spirits or ethnic identity... Intriguingly, these discourses which combine 'tradition' and 'modernity' sit alongside the discourse that opposes 'tradition' and 'modernity' without apparent contradiction to the actors concerned (p. 752).

As demonstrated by participants in this study and explained by Marsland, the traditional and modern are not dichotomous or at odds with one another. In Tanzania, they instead find near perfect harmony with modernity and ensure ongoing soul healing. Despite some minor changes, like playing Bongo Flava music from large digital speakers, one can still find the Friday afternoon bands that go through popular markets like Mwenge singings and dancing traditional songs in the customary ngoma style.

Evidently, on their journey to modernity, Tanzanian markets were joined by ngoma (dances). On the topic of ngoma, Lewinson (2007) explained:

Ethnic dances (ngoma) were featured at least once at every wedding, and by 2003, some elaborate events even included a full troupe of performers who danced several times, joined by members of the audience. Through the event, the planners created a ceremonial space which fused the geographical and cultural domains of rural-ethnic home areas with globally derived practices and symbols; the resulting civic space was quintessentially urban by virtue of this hybridization (p. 210)

The modern urbanization of ngoma was facilitated by elders committed to the preserving the culture. Bi Kidude, a more recent ancestor from Zanzibar and world renown taarab singer, was recorded doing this facilitation work in 2018. In her old age, Bi Kidude was not only openly celebrating and displaying her sexuality through her participation in coming-of-age ngoma but also encouraging the youth to do the same. Participants in this study similarly spoke of elders who demonstrated the proper ways to engage in and have fun with traditional culture.

Doing as the ancestors did, more commonly seen through the maintenance and manifestation of timeless traditions is discussed in other theories of healing as well. In a constructivist grounded theory study on a coming-of-age ritual for young women in Papua New

Guinea, Maulingin-Gumbaketi and colleagues (2021) discussed the importance of maintaining ancient rituals for modern women. They explained,

‘Making of a Strong Woman’ is a collective process that involves extended family and community members. Isolation, initiation and cleansing ritualized practices provide an opportunity for focused teaching and preparation where immediate and extended female family members are involved (p. 7).

This is similar to how participants in the present study discussed and referred to their initiation processes, which gave them a sense of confidence and place in their indigenous wisdom and roles.

Spending Time in Nature

Another essential piece of gesturing toward growth is spending time in nature. In their illumination of spending time in nature, participants discussed the healing aspects of being amongst the natural elements, which included touching water, absorbing minerals, being surrounded by plants, and other elements of the natural environment. All participants, in some way, spoke to the necessity of constant contact with nature in the Becoming Grounded to Grow process.

When participants described their experiences in and among nature as positively impacting True Growth, they back what has been previously said and written about nature’s role in soul healing. This spiritual connection to nature has also been the impetus for working toward environmental justice and sustainability. Kenyan activist and Nobel Peace Prize laureate,

Wangari Maathai (2010) said:

Close to the earth and directly reliant on its resources is where they happen to be. In the industrialized world, on the other hand, many people have become disconnected from

nature. They may be equally dependent on natural resources, but the chain that connects them to the resources has many more links in it. They may have everything materially—everything the Aka don't have—but they still feel empty spiritually. They search for other forms of meaning or other ways of relating to the world. Some may visit traditional peoples like the Aka, looking for their truth; some will find ways that they, too, can reconnect to the earth, simply by being in nature (pp. 54-55).

Through her words, the spiritual healing connection between the African and their natural environment becomes clear. Maathai was/is not alone in her deep empathy for the natural environment. In her book she described crying for trees cut down en masse. In response, she would come up with a method of environmental justice that would paint the town green and change how the continent (and world) thought about activism. This is a love similar to that displayed by participants in the current study.

In sum, participants in the present study described being in and reflecting on nature as a source of soul healing. While many of the participants in the present study were also living in urban areas, they still have access to lush and dense nature, to which they can and did retreat for True Growth.

Participating in True Growth

Participating in True Growth was identified by participants as necessary to Becoming Grounded to Grow as a journey to experience True Growth. This section will be divided into five parts, where I overview the larger phase before providing an overview of the four specific parts (a) experiencing a sense of oneness (b) being generative, (c) being transcendental did and (d) living in your purpose. In each subsection, I discuss how participating in True Growth showed up for participants, before pointing to the evidence that this or similar concepts have

been discussed in the larger context of African and indigenous healing knowledge. Last, I point to whether this has been articulated in other studies that focus on related topics.

Participating in True Growth came to the fore as paramount to the Becoming Grounded to Grow process. Participating in True Growth is different than gesturing toward growth in that the former speaks to a level of confidence and mastery, while the latter implies a process of still learning what does and does not work and for who. Through their participation in true growth, informants were able to curate practices and predispositions that heals the soul. According to participants, participating in True Growth assumed the practical application of healing wisdom toward the goal of True Growth. Participants defined participating in True Growth as what takes place when they *become* healing tools for themselves and others.

Participating in True Growth is sacred and mundane, speaking not to an anomaly but instead one of the great harmonies of African society. Participating in True Growth is sacred in that it includes the spirit by way of the soul. It is also mundane in that it happens in the everyday context. Edwards (2011) described it this way:

Spiritual healing occurs readily in everyday life and is especially common in ceremonial, ritual, communal spiritual gatherings (umsebenzi)... Men working together in slow motion, physical activity, such as digging a trench, may chant in time to deep abdominal breathing rhythms before taking a breather (ukukhokh' umoya) in order to regain energy and strength. Such spirituality as expressed in deep breathing, rhythm and harmony is also a characteristic of traditional singing and dancing (p. 339).

This excerpt speaks well to what I hoped to highlight in this research. It is not only professional healers like Waganga and therapists that address the holistic needs of people, but also nonprofessionals in the everyday contexts. Such individuals do not have sanctioned training

and often do this work for free. The people that participate in True Growth in all its forms, are the fruit of the African tree of life. They drop seeds of soul healing when they walk the dusty but fertile city and village streets. They keep life moving in a positive direction by enhancing the spiritual experience of life.

The ways that everyday healers participate in soul healing or True Growth represents a gap in the research on spiritual wellbeing. That said, scholars have focused on the reform of professional systems that have not quite convinced their target communities to utilize “conventional” medical services. Law and colleagues (2019) conducted a constructivist grounded theory study on mistrust between patients and providers of healing care in a South African hospital setting. These researchers found that it was only when the care providers showed a sense of trust to the patients, that the patients reciprocated this trust in their services. The mutual trust that professional caregivers must be trained to practice, the everyday healers in this project demonstrate with ease. In the present study, participating in True Growth recognizes the subjective nature of soul healing. Something about the person-person healing dynamic creates a willingness to engage, where the patient-client relationship seems to struggle in the African content.

Experiencing a Sense of Oneness

According to participants, another meaningful way to participate in True Growth was by experiencing a sense of oneness. Here, a sense of oneness suggests connectivity to the people, and the larger world that surrounds an individual. Religious plurality, and a general ability to accept and integrate multi-cultural knowledge into their everyday lives were key to this approach to participating in True Growth.

When participants discussed experiencing a sense of oneness, they highlighted a principle that is aspirational in some parts of the continent, and historically realized in the Tanzanian context. In conclusion of his essay on socialism, Mwalimu Nyerere (1967) said modern African socialism:

Can no longer confine the idea of the social family within the limits of the tribe, nor indeed, the nation. From no true African socialist can look at the line drawn on a map and say, 'the people on this side of that line are my brothers, but those who happen to live on the other side of it can have no claim on me'; every individual on this continent is his brother (p 12).

His ethic and work were about healing the nation from the wounds of colonialism through oneness. He walked the walk by inviting refugees from war-torn nations, mending broken relationships at the borders, and welcoming African American Black Panthers to seek refuge there, safely away from the clutches of their own oppressors in the United States (Clemons & Jones, 1999). Participants also showed a sense of oneness than even took Mwalimu's call further by recognizing Africans beyond the borders of their country, and even their continent. They similarly saw African Americans, Caribbeans, European Blacks to name a few, as their distant siblings, more than welcome to return to the continent they all do/could call home. This also speaks to the Kiswahili concept *umoja* or unity. This sentiment of *ujamaa* is demonstrated in daily spaces through language. Tanzanian people speak to one another relationally, *dada* (sister), *kaka* (brother), *mama* (mother), *baba* (father), *bibi* (grandmother), and *babu* (grandfather), are not names reserved for immediate family, but for anyone that can fit that description based on age and perceived gender alone. In Tanzania, even what a foreigners

might call “strangers” are seen as valued family in the everyday context. This umoja way of life was described as healing by several participants.

This ethos of pan Africanism and umoja was exhibited at the personal and professional levels. Namely, the African mental health field was revolutionized through this sentiment. The first pan African psychiatric fair was held in Abeokuta, Ogun State Nigeria facilitated by liberation psychiatrist, Thomas Lambo. Leighton and Leighton (1962) observed how at this meeting they discussed cultural specificities for psychiatric consideration and invited Africans on the continent and abroad to come learn there in Abeokuta, assuring them a “very rewarding experience it would be” to do so. Pan-African psychology is still being practiced and articulated. The goal continues to be healing through and by a sense of oneness.

Experiencing a sense of oneness, or upholding unity at its most broad manifestation reaches beyond the continent’s boundaries and crosses the oceans in all directions. That is to say, unity was identified as healing to diverse indigenous people living in the same multicultural context as well. As was the case with Litam and Chan’s (2021) grounded theory study on Asian American activists who support and stand in solidarity with the #BlackLivesMatter movement.

The activists in this study found both distinction and similarity in their particular experience with American racism and oppression. In America, these groups that may otherwise feel encouraged to stay amongst themselves use a sense of oneness to collaboratively fight against racism. The same sentiment was displayed by participants in the present study, who saw unity as a way to end the soul pain associated with neo-colonialism.

Being Generative

Being generative was considered a primary way participants demonstrated their participation in True Growth. When distinguishing being generative from other forms of

participation in True Growth, the longevity of the healing was communicated. Being generative was like engaging in creativity, in that there is some connotation of origination and production in both. Where they diverge is in the former's ability to transmute and call new energies, beings, or practices in existence. This took on many manifestations for participants, which included starting and maintaining family structures, sustaining a creative culture that outlives standout individuals, and sowing seeds of healing amongst a community with constantly converging cycles of healing. The generative healing in this effort is twofold in that the healing practice aims to aid in lasting change and transformation for the self/community.

At other times, informants participated in generativity through their connection with nature. Maathai (took her love of the forest and used it to practice a radically healing generativity. Before she and a community of working-class women planted millions of trees across Kenya (Ebila, 2015), she was a professor of veterinary sciences with degrees in chemist and biology. She was known to love plants, animals, and nature more generally. Maathai found value in touching the ground, learning from it, and helping it sustain life and she sees plants as sibling that she is happy to help through being generative.

Along these lines, a qualitative study by Dunston (2020) interviewed 15 Black fathers about their parenting styles and interests. Amongst his findings was generative parenting as a way to heal past wounds. Dunston said:

As black men become fathers, they may look consciously or unconsciously to their childhood experiences for inspiration or to negative learning experiences of 'what not to do', forming piecemeal combinations to form their own parenting practices. A sense of generativity may be central for black men who may look to their parenthood as an

opportunity for redemption on behalf of their childhoods, previous generations, or the black community broadly (p. 11).

In this example, Black fathers are interested in corrected the past and replacing it with new parenting practices that they hope will be established into their current and future family practices. What many African Americans know as breaking generational curses can simultaneously heal the wounds of them. In the law of multiplication that several participants spoke to, this positive behavior has the power to inspire more positive parenting behaviors. In putting an end to harmful family cycles, Black fathers transcend limits and barriers placed on them by society. Participants in the present study approached family building in a similar way. They similarly aimed to instill good character and behavior in their children as a way break harmful cycles or introduce new healing traditions.

The healing power of generativity is expressed through re-telling and re-examining of African cultures of healing. In indigenous communities across the world, being generative is seen as a way to reverse the spiritual degradation of colonialism. Lewis (2022) developed a grounded theory model of healing generativity. In this process the researcher named “Becoming who I am meant to be”, which included early life adversity, maladaptive behaviors, a turning point, reconnection to Alaskan Native identity and indigenous cultural generativity, as expressed through eldership are identified as steps in this process. According to the researcher, filling the expected role of Elder encouraged them to share wisdom cultivated over a lifetime, passing these stories of recovery, strength, and compassion. these are qualities that will keep their traditions alive and ethics in place. This understanding is similar to that of participants in the current study, who saw generativity as a way to keep culture alive and continue cycles of healing into eternity in doing so.

Demonstrating Transcendence

Key to participants' participation in True Growth was demonstrating transcendence. When they showed an ability to rise above their circumstances, comfort in their lives being led by their soul, and expertise in overcoming limits placed on themselves, they demonstrated how being transcendental can lead to True Growth. Participants talked about how the soul itself is a transcendental entity is its immortality, making its maintenance and restoration an act of transcendence.

Being transcendental was articulated as imperative to True Growth by participants of this project, and by scholars of African being/healing alike. For example, Tanzanian youth are interrogating the imposition of western beauty standards. The modern context proves hard for many and requires rising above these standards that cause harm. Another approach to being transcendental in the face of modern oppression is through living by one's own beauty standards.

This can be both healing and dangerous in Tanzania. As Weiss (2002) observed in Arusha: For many, wearing hairstyles associated with global hip-hop (bald heads and dreadlocks in particular) is simply dangerous. In fact, the dangers of hair are a regular topic of conversation in many barbershops. People told me (and more regularly told one another) stories of how guys who shaved their heads faced punishment from principals, if they were still in school, or were likely to be seen as threatening and suspicious in the eyes of the police. On the day before I left Arusha in the summer of 2000, three or four different friends told me the story of how a friend of theirs, widely known for his fabulous dreadlocks, had been misidentified as a mugging suspect by the police, taken in for interrogation and had all of his hair cut off. Indeed,

‘Rastas,’ as they are known, are said to be regularly roused by the police who worry that they project a bad image of the town to the Euro-American tourists (p. 116).

People in Tanzania with locs represent traditional African beauty standards while transcending the physically (Fills & Joshi, 2015) mentally (Bryant, 2013) and spiritual (Ramadan-Santiago, 2022) harmful European beauty standards still forced upon the African. Several participants in their study proudly wore their locs, and discussed them being representative of spiritual strength, and internal sense of self, and transcendence of the spiritually harmful pressures of modern society.

Transcending is a well-articulated aspect of healing in African cultures that have emerged in America as well. Garcia-Romeu and colleagues (2015) conducted a grounded theory study with the goal of developing a framework of self-transcendent experiences (STEs). They found these experiences produced short and long-term effects like increased energy and compassion, and decreased anxiety. Their findings speak to the multidimensional aspect of being transcendental amongst participants in the present study. Participants in both studies engaged in being transcendental for the goal of personal and societal True Growth, as evidenced by positive outcomes like a decrease in emotions often considered negative, and a propensity to heal others.

Living With Purpose

Living with purpose is the final way interviewees described participating in in True Growth. They demonstrated preference for authenticity by standing firm and proud in what makes them individually special or distinct. They also discussed how they have given personalized meaning to names/titles bestowed on them by elders or peers in their community. Most importantly, participants self-defined in a way that allows them to fall in line with and actualize their destiny.

Living in your purpose was evidenced by participant accounts and is present in larger African culture and society. For example, self-definition, authenticity, and living in your purpose are all terms that connect with the larger concept of destiny, as understood in the African context. Destiny, here is not something you are handed without consultation, but instead it is something you choose, as many cultures describe, before you are born (Salami, 2009). Destiny, as it relates to living in your purpose, may at times be inarticulate yet affirmed and at others, completely explicit and achieved. This is also explained through the Yoruba concept of orí. In Nwobi and Nnajiolor's (2022) discussion of this concept of orí, they said:

Ori represents the individuality element in a person. Ori is the element responsible for a person's personality and represents human destiny. Ori, an immaterial entity, otherwise called 'inner-head' is intractably connected with human destiny.¹² It is believed that it is the ori that determines a person's success or failure in life (pp. 3-4).

This explanation of orí underscores the aspect of choice and individual path when it comes to one's destiny. Instead of being given a head, or orí we select our own, much like the decisions in life that get us closer or farther to our destiny. Participants showed comfort in controlling their destiny through their participating in True Growth. Living in their purpose was seen as an appropriate and authentic way to live in authentic and affirming ways.

Another one of destiny's checks and balances is naming. Participants discussed the importance of living up to their name and allowing their name to inform their character. This is how naming is approached throughout the continent; it is a powerful spiritual experience that is meant to set the child up for a life of success, positive contribution, strength, health, wisdom and

so on. Naming and names are also celebrated throughout the continent, with bi ceremonies, rituals and parties. In fact, Yoruba people use oriki, a short poem/song about the many names given to a child, used to remind the child of their destiny, as articulated through their name(s).

Living with purpose is a staple in African healing culture. Living in your purpose has also been articulated in other terms in different models of healing. French and colleagues (2020) touch on a similar concept in their Radical healing framework which includes a facet of authenticity. This deep sense of authenticity can be understood as an emotional signal that one is doing what they are meant to do, called living in your purpose in this project. This maps on to the radical healing framework. French and colleagues (2020) introduce cultural authenticity and self-knowledge in their conceptualization of radical healing. They say, “Radical healing requires this sense of self-definition and cultural authenticity in which POCI are not defined by their oppressors. With radical healing, living authentically is an act of resistance, which offers POCI hope for truth and acceptance” (p. 5) their inclusion of cultural authenticity recognizes the foundation that exists in cultural knowledge, and the loss of direction people can feel when they are living inauthentically. Also, the self-definition piece is key to living in your purpose. When participants in this study could define who they were, they got a better sense of direction in their life journey and fulfilling their purpose.

Limitations

This study had several limitations, mainly related to the demographics of the sample, and the spaces they leave for more diverse voices in future studies of this nature. Many of the participants were living in Dar es Salaam and had so for most of their lives. My mainly urban population provided a fantastic look into the transformations of traditional soul care, *and* more could be examined around how rural people similarly do this or maintain traditions in their

natural form. Relatedly, the mean age of the sample was younger in age, while more of a range would be ideal. Older Africans are known to possess more accurate and first-hand accounts of ancient traditions. Including more of these elders could only enrich the data.

Another limitation of the study was its mostly educated population. In many cases, education as is understood in Tanzania and throughout the colonized world, functions to teach indigenous people away from their traditions, in lieu of advocating for them. Instead of highlighting the relevance, utility and power of traditional practices, western education often denigrates and stigmatizes them. Future studies with more traditionally educated Tanzanians may offer a greater breadth of knowledge and insights that speak to an unadulterated appreciation for their indigenous values and practices. Finally, while the focus of the study was traditional religion, the majority of participants identified with a sect of Christianity. This becomes relevant in light of the fact that people expressed their traditions differently based on the confines and freedoms of their respective religion. The inclusion of more Muslim participants, and participants that explicitly practice ATRs would be warranted in future studies. As Islam arguably makes more space for cultural integration and interpretations of the religion, and ATRs are the true source of the indigenous spiritual knowledge this study aimed to conceptualize.

Implications

Like the model itself, this research should have several life cycles with regard to dissemination and application. This study could be used to farther understand psychological concepts like quality of life, clarity, and a sense of purpose. The dissemination of the research should reach the people that can most benefit from models like these, extending beyond the institution and into more public and accessible spaces. This information can be translated within

professional spaces and for the people, in the everyday context. helping people assess their quality of life, and allowing people to track their own spiritual development in a world where ancient practices are being rebranded as “new age” and people often find themselves in the hands of frauds, and witches with a lack of wisdom into what is real and what isn’t. this will help people better recognize true growth.

The implications of this research are four-fold. First, it shows the nuanced nature of globalization. Many scholars have discussed the irreversible cultural losses and negative mental health impacts associated with globalization and urbanization. This study speaks to how not all has been lost, and the positive aspects of learning about other traditions outside of the clan or ethnicity to which one person belongs. Through interaction with the instruments of globalization, participants in this study show a broadening of their healing toolbox through information of other world traditions, like Indian yoga, and American hoodoo. They showed respect and gave props where they could and used this to bolster a global sense of unity. I believe similar processes are happening across the continent and can be leveraged for collective True Growth. Counseling psychologists can ask more curious questions about the cultural soul healing knowledge clients have acquired through social media, as opposed to discounting them. For example, this could look like professionals doing skills assessments with clients, alongside needs assessments, and remaining curious about the knowledge, wisdom, and practices with which clients already come to session.

Second, it speaks to the power the everyday person has to heal self and community. Capitalism has encouraged the mental health professional to take a sense of personal ownership over the trades in which they are trained. This, primarily, protects their monopoly on care despite the reality that they will not be able to cure everyone based on time and space limitation

(and the growing demand for mental health care specifically). Seeing and collaborating with the everyday healer can enable more widespread care, which is articulated as the goal of many of the oaths professionals take. This has particular implications for counseling psychology in Tanzania, where mental health needs far out-measure trained mental health professionals. I psychologists can use this project in support of their broadening efforts to address the country's mental health needs. Their citizens can be seen as collaborators, who are more than capable of carrying some of the load, as evidenced through the everyday healers in this research.

Third, it speaks to the need to reevaluate how helping professions, like medicine and counseling psychology must approach what they often misname "alternative care". For many across Africa and in global majority communities, like the people in this study, see biomedical healthcare as the alternative. Traditional healing need not be the selling point for buy in, but instead the starting point for truly culturally relevant, and affirming care. This has particular implications for counseling psychology in Tanzania, where mental health is picking up traction through more widespread support. In articulating and practicing their own mental healthcare, counseling psychologists in Tanzanian need not feel shame for their traditionally healing practices, but instead embrace them and welcome their clients/communities to do the same.

Finally, this research also has some implications for education and training. The model can also be used for psychoeducation and training models that aim to address the multicultural and often intersecting identities of learners. As used in training models, it has potential to facilitate culturally informed education, that celebrates the distinct and shared practices amongst diverse cohorts and classes of students. When applied to psychoeducation, it can be a basis from which community learning about mental health practices and wellness promoting behaviors can be similarly mapped onto preexisting cultural traditions.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to develop a model of traditional spiritual healing/care in the everyday context. In this discussion chapter, I placed the Mti wa Mbuyu model of True Growth, which articulates a process of BG2G, in context with existing cultural knowledge and theory found in empirical research. This theory offers new expressions of spiritual healing/care through its articulation of the everyday healer, reimagination of the transformations of the indigenous in modernity, and discussion of the soul. It also supports and builds of existing knowledge, like principles of the African worldview, theories of liberation psychology, and African spiritual concepts.

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APPENDIX A: IRB



OFFICE OF THE VICE CHANCELLOR FOR RESEARCH

Office for the Protection of Research Subjects
805 W. Pennsylvania Ave., MC-095
Urbana, IL 61801-4822

Notice of Approval: New Submission

December 9, 2019

Principal Investigator	Helen Neville
CC	Nimot Ogunfemi
Protocol Title	<i>Construction and Validation of the Global Spiritual Well-being Scale</i>
Protocol Number	20365
Funding Source	Unfunded
Review Type	Expedited 6, 7
Status	Active
Risk Determination	no more than minimal risk
Approval Date	December 9, 2019
Closure Date	December 8, 2024

This letter authorizes the use of human subjects in the above protocol. The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Institutional Review Board (IRB) has reviewed and approved the research study as described.

The Principal Investigator of this study is responsible for:

- Conducting research in a manner consistent with the requirements of the University and federal regulations found at 45 CFR 46.
- Using the approved consent documents, with the footer, from this approved package.
- Requesting approval from the IRB prior to implementing modifications.
- Notifying OPRS of any problems involving human subjects, including unanticipated events, participant complaints, or protocol deviations.
- Notifying OPRS of the completion of the study.

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APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

GLOBAL BLACK SPIRITUAL CARE AND HEALING INTERVIEW CHECKLIST

1. **Schedule Interview**
2. **Confirm Interview (i.e., reminder call/email)**
3. **Arrive at Designated Location Early (at least 10 minutes)**
4. **Make Sure Equipment and Forms Are in Order/Test Digital Recorder**
5. **Greet Participant & Begin Rapport Building**
6. **Give participant gift card**
7. **Spiritual Well-Being Interview Introduction**
8. **Obtain Signed Consent Form from Participant**
9. **Give Participant Resource List**
10. **Begin the Interview**
11. **Process the Interview**
12. **Write Brief Reaction Notes (what were the key points discussed? [be as specific as possible]; did any themes emerge?; what were my emotional reactions to listening to the stories?)**

Introduction

- **Introduction**. Thank you so much for agreeing to participate in a spiritual care and healing interview as part of a larger project exploring global Black spiritual well-being. Your input and insights will be very useful to me as I try to understand what kinds of things help shape how individuals think about spiritual care and healing and the maintenance behaviors related. I am interested in understanding the complexities of how we think about spiritual care and healing and how this understanding shifts or stays the same in different contexts. Just so you know what to expect, I thought I would first outline the interview process, go over the consent form, and answer any questions you may have before we actually begin with the interview or conversation. Okay? By the way, you already know that I am Nimot Ogunfemi and I am a doctoral student in Educational Psychology at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
- **Outline of the interview project**. The interview will last about 60-90 minutes. We can take a break at any point. During the interview, I will ask you a little bit about your family history and your experiences growing up. I will also ask you to tell me your definition of spiritual well-being and stories about your experience as a spiritual person and the meaning you attach to these experiences.
- **Informed consent**. Before we begin, I would like to describe your rights as a participant in this study in more detail. [Give person consent form.] I'd like to quickly go over the main points in the consent form.
 - a) **Participation is completely voluntary** – meaning you have the right to not answer questions in the interview if you do not want or you can stop the interview at any time if you choose.
 - b) **The interview will be audio-recorded** – to make sure that we are able to accurately capture your perspectives, I will digitally record the interview. The digital recording will not have your name on it anywhere. After the interview is completed, I will download the interview and place into a password protected file. The digital files will be destroyed five years after this project is completed.
 - c) **Participation is confidential** – several safeguards will be taken to protect your identity. In the interview, I will not use your name and thus the name will not be on the digital recording. I will not talk about the details of this interview to others. I will, however, have a small group of trained graduate students and research professionals who will be working with me on various parts of the project. This will include activities such as transcribing the interviews and helping me identify themes in the interviews. You will have a chance to review and make modifications to the transcript; I will not report any information that could potentially be damaging to you.
 - d) **Want more information** – if you would like to learn more about your rights as a participant in research feel free to call the University of Illinois Institutional Review Board. The numbers are provided on the consent form; you can call collect.
 - e) **Keep a copy for your records** – please read over the consent form and sign; here is a copy of the form for your records.

- f) Resource list – here is a resource list in case you would like to further explore the issues we discuss in these interviews.
- g) Token of appreciation – as a token of my appreciation for your participation in the study, you will receive a \$10 (US) giftcard. (give participant the card at that point)
- h) Questions We are about ready to start the interview. Do you have any questions before we begin?

□ **[Facilitator answer any questions]**

Thank you. We will now turn the recorder on and begin with the interview questions

Spiritual Care and Healing Protocol

Introduction

This is an interview about your spiritual well-being development—your *spiritual care and healing* journey. I am asking you to play the role of instructor about your own life -- to construct for me the story of your own past, present, and what you see as your spiritual well-being journey. I will ask you to focus your life story on your life as a spiritual being. I understand that how we see ourselves as spiritual beings is complex and many times other aspects of our life inform how we see spiritual care and healing terms of how we make sense of our journey. Thus, as you talk to me about your life, we will most likely cover a wide range of areas. I am most interested in how you make sense of what spiritual care and healing means. I do not assume that there is one spiritual care/healing definition, or that to be spiritual you need to think or behave a certain way. Instead, I believe there are multiple ways of understanding, achieving, and maintaining spiritual care and healing. Through listening to and analyzing people's spiritual care and healing journeys, I want to understand these complexities. I am collecting and analyzing stories of adults from all walks of life from a number of countries (e.g., U.S. and Tanzania), and I am looking for significant commonalities and differences in the spiritual care and healing journeys.

In terms of our conversation, I will often follow-up on something you said, asking you to share more with me. If at any time you feel uncomfortable or would rather not respond to a certain line of questioning, that is okay. Just let me know and I will move on.

Before we begin, what pseudonym (or fake name) would you like to use for the interview?

Okay, let's begin.

Interview

Questions 1. Please introduce yourself and discuss your background.

2. Please explain your photos to me. What do they mean to you? What did you take and/or select them? What do they communicate about traditional spiritual healing/care?

3. Please explain your proverb(s) to me. What does it mean to you? What did you select it?

What does it communicate about traditional spiritual healing/care?

4. When people talk about traditional spiritual healing/care, they usually mean the spiritual ways that healers or doctors address the needs of clients or patients. However, spiritual healing/care also happens outside of these professional spaces. How would you describe and or define this everyday spiritual healing/care?

5. What would you call this process? Why would you use that name?

6. How/when did you know spiritual healing/care (or given name for concept) was necessary? How did you learn spiritual healing/care (or given name for concept) matters?

7. Please, tell me a story about a time you engaged in spiritual healing/care.

8. Please, tell me another story about a time that you knew spiritual healing/care was successful.

9. What are the biggest challenges with engaging in traditional spiritual healing/care?

Dimensions of environment may include natural, social, political, home and others. Is spiritual healing/care

APPENDIX C: RESEARCH IMAGES

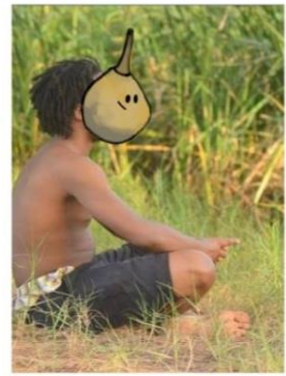












APPENDIX D: COLLECTED PROVERBS

<i>Proverb (in given language)</i>	<i>Translation</i>
<i>*Mkono wa kutoa ndyio unaopata, mkono wa kutoa, ndiyo wenye baraka</i>	The hand that is giving, is the hand that is receiving/the hand that is giving is the hand that is already blessed
<i>***Regret is a grandchild</i>	<i>*Majuto ni mjukuu</i>
<i>**Mapudzi anowira kusina hari (Shona)</i>	Gourds fall where there are no pots
<i>*Utavuna uliochopanda</i>	You reap what you sow
<i>*Kuteleza sio kuanguka</i>	Slipping is not a falling
<i>*Usiwatukane wa kunga na uzazi unganipo</i>	Don't abuse midwives, while you need to recover and/or may be pregnant in the future
<i>*Haraaka haraka aina baraka</i>	There are no blessings in hurrying
<i>*Wakati mzuu wa kupanda mti ni miaka ishirini iliopita wakati Unagizo wapendo</i>	The best time to plant a tree was 20 years ago We are sent here to love
<i>*Asiafunzwa ya mama hufunzawa na uliomwengu</i>	If you're not taught by your mother, the world will teach you
<i>*Mtaka yote hukosa vyote.</i>	The one who wants everything will lose everything
<i>*Haraka haraka aina baraka</i>	Hurry hurry has no blessing
<i>*Asiyesikia la mkuu, huvunjika guu</i>	Those who don't listen to their elders break their legs
<i>*Kuisha kengi kuona meng</i>	To live a lot is to see a lot
<i>Wetin you dey find for Sokoto, e dey for your Shokoto (Nigerian Pidgin)</i>	Why travel to Sokoto to find what can be found in your own pants pocket

**Kuti la mazoea ndiyo umuangusha mgema*

The climber falling is caused by the same
branch he uses to climb

**Donda la kichwa mkaguzi mkono*

The lesion in your head, the speculator is the
hand

**Proverb provided in Kiswahili*

*** Proverb provided in Kishona*

****Proverb provided in English*