

Indigenous Psychotherapy; A Case Study of Agikuyu in the Central Region in Kenya

Michael Mbiriri

DOI:[10.56201/jhsp.vol.11.no4.2025.pg90.99](https://doi.org/10.56201/jhsp.vol.11.no4.2025.pg90.99)

Abstract

Indigenous psychotherapy integrates traditional healing practices with psychological well-being, offering culturally relevant therapeutic interventions. This study explores indigenous psychotherapy among the Agikuyu people of Central Kenya, focusing on traditional healing methods, belief systems, and their impact on mental health. Through qualitative research, including interviews with traditional healers, community elders, and individuals who have undergone indigenous therapy, the study examines the role of spirituality, rituals, and communal support in the healing process. Findings indicate that Agikuyu indigenous psychotherapy incorporates storytelling, herbal medicine, spiritual cleansing, and social reintegration as key therapeutic approaches. These practices address mental health issues such as grief, anxiety, and trauma in a culturally embedded manner, fostering resilience and communal harmony. The study highlights the relevance of indigenous psychotherapy in contemporary mental health care, advocating for the integration of traditional healing methods into modern psychological practices.

Keywords: *Indigenous Psychotherapy, Agikuyu, Traditional Healing, Mental Health,*

I. INTRODUCTION

Traditional psychotherapy has been offered in different forms in various ethnic groups in Africa. This study attempted to trace the historical foundations traditional psychotherapy among the Agikuyu in the central region of Kenya. A structured purposive interview guide was administered to fifteen elders. The researcher also used secondary sources of data to complement the primary data. The study explored some traditional psychotherapy aspects common with Agikuyu society. It further revealed folklore and oral literature embedded in Kikuyu tradition regarding indigenous therapy. The study revealed that Kikuyu Traditional Therapists need to be trained either formally or informally in order to modify and revise aspects of practices that are obsolete in the contemporary society. The purpose of the study was to explore in details some traditional mental health aspects common with the Agikuyu ethnic group and to critique various ways in which it was organized.

The institution of mental health wellness is present in all human societies as people share their challenges, mentor and empower each other. This paper mainly seeks to explore the institution of psychotherapy among Agikuyu traditional societies before the advent of western formalized psychotherapy institution. Talk therapy is not a new phenomenon in Agikuyu society but it is an old institution that has been addressed with western approach and formalization. Agikuyu emphasized on preventive therapy as opposed to crisis counseling. Mentoring was prioritized among this society as a way of life. Modern day talk therapy has been professionalized and requires clients to pay for it yet among the indigenous African societies it was a part of societal responsibility to ensure that people are counseled if they are emotionally troubled.

Indigenous therapy has not been given attention in Kenya. It was largely eliminated by European imperialism. The purpose of this study was to examine the relevant practical traditional therapy among the Agikuyu which was practiced before the coming of Europeans. The main goal of this research was to unearth, recover and document Kikuyu indigenous psychotherapy which can be used to complement mainstream western psychotherapy. The investigator was able trace Kikuyu traditional talk therapy approaches. Furthermore, the researcher compared and contrasted Kikuyu indigenous and western approach to psychotherapy.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Feithem & Dryden (1993) defined psychotherapy as the application of mental health, psychological or human development principles through cognitive affective behavioral or system interventions, strategies that address wellness, personal growth and career development. Psychotherapy is a process by means of which the helper expresses care and concern towards the person with a problem and facilitates that person to bring about change through self-knowledge. Talk therapy is designed to help people to understand and clarify their views and learn how to reach their self-determined goals through meaningful, well informed choices and through the resolution of emotional or interpersonal problems. Psychotherapy seek to focus on solving problems as well as assisting individuals to adjust well in his or her environment, which will eventually lead to maximum personal development.

The Kikuyu (Agikuyu/Gikuyu) is the largest ethnic group in Kenya. They speak the Bantu language. (Ministry of state for planning, 2009). They are concentrated in central Kenya known as traditional Kikuyu homeland. They established themselves in their current homeland of Mount Kenya region by 13th century (Kenyatta, 1938). Before the establishment of East Africa Protectorate in the 1880's, the Agikuyu preserved geographical and political power from almost all external forces for many generations; they had never been subdued. (Muriuki, 1974)

The Agikuyu nation was divided into nine clans. Each clan traced its lineage to a single female ancestor and a daughter of Mumbi. The clans were not restricted to any particular geographical area, they lived side by side. Some clans had a recognized leader others did not (Kenyatta, 1938). Kikuyu are believed to have come from central Africa along with other Bantu groups. They finally settled along Mount Kenya where they began their main activity of farming the fertile volcanic highland (Kabetu, 1966)

The Kikuyu ethnic organization is based on three important factors without which there can be no harmony in the ethnic activities. The behaviour and status of every individual in the Agikuyu society are determined by three governing principles as follows: Family group (Mbari or Nyumba) – which brings together all those who are related by blood, namely a man, his wife or wives and children and also their grand and great-grandchildren; Clan (“Muhiriga”) – which joins in one group several mbari units who have the same clan name and are believed to have been descended from one family group in the remote past. The clan knits together distant relatives and facilitates the feeling of rendering mutual support in all important matters in the interest and welfare of the “muhiriga” (Kenyatta, 1938).

In perpetuating of these feelings, representative of clan generally meets on occasions of big events such as marriage ceremonies and initiation or circumcision ceremonies. In such gathering, the elders bring with them a young member each from their respective family (Yusuf, 2006). The young members of the clan are introduced to each other (Muriuki, 1974). This information is given to the youths so that when they group takes up responsibility in the leadership of their own family, they will be in a position to conduct wisely the affairs of their family group and promote unity of

the whole family; The third principle factor in unifying is the system of age grading (riika). Almost every year, thousands of Kikuyu boys and girls go through the initiation ceremony and automatically become members of one grade irrespective of their family clan or geographical location (Mwaniki,1973). They act as one body in all tribal matters and had a very strong bond of brotherhood among themselves. The above three principles were the most important social unit of the Kikuyu society. These principles enabled the Kikuyu society to live together in harmony and peace and therefore enhanced psychological health. In our modern society people are so much individualistic and materialistic. (Muriuki,1974) This phenomenon normally leads to emotional instability. When the families are united, society is strong. When the families lack social fibre, societies begin to break down. The family unit among Kikuyu community has been under constant challenge (Wanjohi,2001). The challenge has been coming from work outside home, two parents working; school system that sometimes takes away the role and authority of parents to control their children. In addition, unemployment is very hard on family. Divorce rates are rising and the traditional family is under attack. United clan gives a sense of belonging and makes the members feel they are valued. A strong vibrant and harmonious clan system brought honour and harmony in the community (Kenyatta, 1938)

The clan gathering offers counseling and moral support. Those who met regularly never condone anti-social behavior. A united family was offering at least three key functions, socialization, security and social control (Wanjohi,2001). Council of elders was guiding young people on socialization, interpersonal relationship and social control (Kabetu,1966). In addition, council of elders were guiding people on certain positive and progressive philosophies like hard work, philanthropy and entrepreneurship. Many people in our modern society sink into depressive mood because they do not belong to any group which gives them moral support. In case they face crisis in life, lack of sense of belonging hampers psychological health. Belonging is a core aspect of life (Kabetu,1966)

The role of extended family in traditional Psychotherapy

Grandparents in the family were custodians of good family values (Kabetu, 1966). Both paternal and maternal grandparents were responsible for sex education of their grandsons and for warning them to keep their purity until they marry. The grandparents worked closely with aunts to guide the young in the family. (Kenyatta, 1938). Girls were counseled by their grandparent and aunts when they reached puberty. Girls were taught by their aunt to be chaste until marriage. In addition, they were trained to sit in a modest way and to create boundaries with males. They were also taught how to relate with their prospective husbands. Aunt not only played advisory role to the brothers' children but also to the brother's marriage. Aunts were called upon to solve disputes between her brother and his wife (Lambert,1956). Maternal uncle was also engaged to settle disputes that may require a male figure. Maternal uncle was also called to counsel boys from puberty stage and eventually to marriage (Mwaniki,1973)

It is with personal relations rather than with natural phenomena that Kikuyu guidance was concerned with, right from the early age. Growing boys and girls were taught that manners were important (Leakey, 1977). They saw their happiness in the homestead and popularity with their playmates, their comfort and future prospects depended on how much they give respect and obedience which is due. As opposed to the traditional Kikuyu children, there is a lot of emphasis on academic prowess as opposed to proper mannerism and integrity in our modern society. Among the Agikuyu indigenous community disobedience to the set rules were considered as grave offences (Makinde,1988).

Girls were taught by their mothers and aunts to treat strangers with mixture of courtesy and suspicion. Respect for her husband's people and obedience to him was inculcated. During marriage girls were taught to obey their husband's father and mother (Vambe, 2004). Both girls and boys used to accompany their parents to the garden when they were young. Boys used to go with their fathers to herd cattle, sheep and goats or to perform other tasks (Mugambi & Kiruthi, 2020). They were also guided on how to milk and feed the cattle. Similarly, girls were guided on how to carry babies, to feed them and to clean and put them to bed. The first and most obvious principle of guidance seen in Kikuyu system of education is that, instruction was always applied to an individual concrete situation; behavior is taught in relation to some particular person whereas in western, schools provided courses in moral instruction or citizenship (Wanjohi, 2001). Children were guided on how to behave towards their father, mother, grandparents and to the other members of kinship group. Children were left free to develop their own initiative by experiments through trial and error to acquire proficiency (Kabetu, 1966)

The striking thing in Kikuyu system of guidance which mostly sharply distinguishes from European system of instruction is the primary place given to personal relationship. The aim of Kikuyu traditional guidance was to build character (Leakey, 1977). The wisdom and guidance from Kikuyu indigenous community were imparted through folktale, storytelling and verbal sharing by Kikuyu traditional council of elders. People were consulting elders when they had difficult issues or conflict (Sharizer, 1976). This facilitated healing of psychological stress and challenges of pre and post-colonial Kikuyu community. Kikuyu community embraced communalism and togetherness. There was consistent effort by trying to make sure that there is no division in the family (Kabetu, 1966). Community was the uniting phenomena before the coming of imperialism (Sarpong, 1974). Elders and parents were guiding their children especially in the evening. They could sit around the fireplace waiting for supper to get ready (Lambert, 1956). The mother or aunt could assemble young unmarried girls to guide them on how to live fulfilling lives and how to take care of their future husbands. In addition, values were inculcated to the young people. Hard work, teamwork, honesty, kindness and courage were highly valued (Kabetu, 1966).

The role of folklore and religion in traditional counseling

Folklores and religion were rich in inculcating morals and values (Lambert, 1956). Proverbs were cultural assets that helped in matters of guidance and counseling, they were a powerful linguistic force used in counseling discourse. Oral stories functioned to warn, caution, praise and advise people. The stories provided the cultural guidance that underpinned the community's way of life (Routledge & Routledge, 1910). Elders were the main counselors in Agikuyu community. Elders did not necessarily refer to the living elders but also to those who died in the past. The fear of being reprimanded by ancestors kept the youth and people in general checked (Wanjohi, 2001)

Literature such as proverbs and folktales were used as a form of counseling and guidance. Agikuyu traditional religion also served as a counseling platform and spiritual leaders in society offered counseling especially to the young people (Mwaniki, 1973). Colonialism and modernity affected traditional counseling. The role of aunt, uncles and elders is compromised in the modern Kikuyu society. Traditional counseling has been replaced by professional counselors and psychologists. To some extent the mass media has become a platform for the modern day talk therapy (Relly and Lewis, 1983)

Sexual taboos

All forms of erotic connection between members of the same family were considered as taboos. No brother or sister could take his sister or brother respectively or any close relative during festive dance. Parents were expected to teach their children about sex (Pica, 1995). During early childhood, parents talk freely to their children explaining all matters connected with sexual taboos. In the Kikuyu community any form of sexual intercourse other than the natural form, between men and women acting in a normal way was a taboo (Muriuki,1974).

Kikuyu community had identified elders who could be consulted when people had issues that they were unable to resolve in their families. In Kikuyu community, psychotherapy was offered by uncles, aunts as well as grandparents, however this can be seen as dual relationship from western psychotherapy (Lambert, 1956)

Music and dance therapy

Alvin (1975) argued that music and dance therapy was used to treat persons suffering from psychological disorders, hence helping the client to maintain state of health. Music and dance is therefore a tool for therapeutic intervention and dance can induce relaxation, relieve boredom and relieve psychological pain (Okofar, 1974). Among Kikuyu culture, music and dance were closely interwoven; hence dance was performed with music and vice versa (McClellan,2020). Music and dance strengthened individual physically and psychologically. Music alters mood and can bring peace to an individual (Mareni, 2004). Kikuyu traditional music and dance was used in effecting the wellbeing of individual and groups. In addition, music and dance were healing therapies. Kikuyu traditional music and dance were effective in dealing with problems related to phobia, boredom, stress as well as the inability to concentrate. (Mugambi& Kiruthi,2020)

Merits and demerits of indigenous counseling

Indigenous guidance and counseling as compared to modern guidance and counseling have similarities since both therapy aims at optimum functionality of an individual. The use of local language by traditional counselors helps to release tension and enable the client to express her/himself with ease. The counselors have fore knowledge of the client and their problem hence presenting problems were easily verifiable. In addition, traditional guidance and counseling was done to cover all aspects of life. (Physical, social, economic and psychological) and seek to address the individual in totality. Traditional counseling was free and counselors were ever present and always ready to offer assistance to clients.

On the other hand, traditional guidance and counseling promoted client dependence on the counselor. Instead of helping clients to understand the dynamics of their problems, they presented solutions to clients (Okafer,1974). Traditional talk therapy was mainly given in terms of advice giving hence it failed to promote development of an individual approach led to dependency (Pica,1995). Confidentiality in traditional counseling was missing. The people who assumed the role of a counselor in traditional setting had no specialized training in the principles and practice of guidance and counseling. They offered assistance based on their subjective personal or various experiences. Having fore knowledge of their clients and their challenges, the counselors entered into therapy with personal biases. Solutions which were offered by traditional therapists were often highly prescriptive such that the clients may not accept responsibility for their success or failure (Maveni,2004)

III Methodology

Qualitative method was used as investigation strategy. Specifically, the researcher used explanatory and descriptive research design to gain insight into indigenous counseling and guidance among the Agikuyu ethnic group. In addition, the researcher used both primary and secondary sources of data. Primary sources were gathered directly from fifteen members of Kikuyu council of elders who were conversant with traditional Kikuyu heritage. This was mainly through questionnaire, interviews and focused group discussion hence primary data was created. Additionally, secondary data was used. This involved gathering data already collected by other scholars. This involved the collection and analysis of published material and information from electronically stores information. Research finding indicated that counseling was offered by uncles, aunts, cousins among other relatives. Results, illustrated that some forms of traditional counseling found expression in stories, proverbs, songs and traditional laws. The research finding indicated that some African way of therapy can be integrated in modern psychotherapy. Some of the ways include instilling spirituality and conscience aspects in therapy.

IV. DISCUSSION

Indigenous psychotherapy among the Agikuyu community in Kenya presents a unique and culturally grounded approach to mental health care, which integrates traditional healing practices with social and spiritual dimensions. The Agikuyu, one of Kenya's largest ethnic groups, have a rich tradition of indigenous healing methods that address psychological distress through rituals, communal participation, and the intervention of traditional healers (Mugambi & Kiruthu, 2020). Traditional psychotherapy among the Agikuyu is deeply embedded in their worldview, which emphasizes harmony between individuals, their ancestors, and the spiritual realm. Mental health issues are often perceived as imbalances within these relationships, requiring the intervention of elders, spiritual leaders, or medicine men known as “Mundu Mugo” (Mbiti, 1999). Unlike Western psychotherapy, which is predominantly individual-centered, Agikuyu indigenous therapy is communal and collective, ensuring that the affected person receives holistic support from family and community members (Kenyatta, 1938).

One significant therapeutic practice among the Agikuyu is the use of storytelling and proverbs. Oral traditions serve as a means of imparting wisdom, reinforcing moral values, and providing psychological relief through shared experiences (Wanjohi, 2001). Through storytelling, individuals undergoing distress are able to relate to past experiences of resilience, which fosters a sense of belonging and emotional healing (Kilonzo & Horgan, 1999).

Another critical aspect of Agikuyu psychotherapy is the role of rituals and ceremonies. Cleansing rituals, such as animal sacrifices and libations, are performed to appease ancestors and restore balance to the individual's life (Gathogo, 2008). These rituals are not only symbolic but also therapeutic, offering psychological reassurance and a structured means of coping with distress (Chernoff, 1979). Moreover, music and dance are integral components of healing, as they provide an expressive outlet for emotions and reinforce communal bonds (Njenga, 2017).

The concept of communal responsibility in Agikuyu psychotherapy aligns with the African philosophy of Ubuntu, which emphasizes interconnectedness and collective well-being (Tutu, 1999). This is particularly relevant in addressing conditions such as depression and anxiety, where social isolation can exacerbate symptoms. By fostering strong community ties, indigenous psychotherapy offers a support system that enhances mental resilience and overall psychological well-being (Castle, 1965).

Despite its effectiveness, indigenous psychotherapy faces challenges in contemporary society (Borrow, 1973). The increasing influence of Western medical models, urbanization, and globalization has led to a decline in traditional practices, with many younger generations seeking modern psychological interventions (Ndeti et al., 2006). Furthermore, the lack of formal recognition and integration of indigenous methods into mainstream healthcare systems poses a barrier to their sustainability. However, recent efforts to incorporate traditional healing into mental health frameworks highlight the potential for a hybrid approach that leverages both indigenous and modern therapeutic techniques (Kilonzo & Hogan, 1999).

V. CONCLUSION

Agikuyu indigenous psychotherapy provides a culturally relevant and holistic approach to mental health care, emphasizing communal healing, storytelling, rituals, and spiritual interventions. While facing challenges from modernization, its principles remain valuable in addressing psychological distress, particularly in communities where Western approaches may not be fully effective. Integrating indigenous knowledge with contemporary mental health practices can offer a more inclusive and effective framework for psychological well-being. The practice of indigenous guidance and counselors among the Agikuyu is an old concept which cannot be ignored in the advent of modern guidance and counseling practice. Agikuyu guidance and counseling helped individuals to gain insight into the origins and development of emotional difficulties, leading to an increased capacity to take rational actions. In addition, it helped to assist individuals to move in the direction of fulfilling their potentials or achieve an integration of conflicting elements within themselves. More so, traditional Kikuyu guidance and counseling provided young people with skills, awareness and knowledge which enabled them to confront social inadequacy. It is important to complement modern psychotherapy with various forms of traditional counseling such as the use of proverbs, riddles and folktales, poems and songs.

This study employed a qualitative research design to explore Indigenous Psychotherapy among the Agikuyu community in the Central Region of Kenya. Given the cultural and historical nature of the subject, ethnographic methods were used to gain deep insights into the indigenous healing practices, beliefs, and therapeutic approaches within this community. The study sought to understand the psychological and spiritual frameworks embedded in traditional Agikuyu healing practices and how they contribute to mental well-being.

Data collection involved in-depth interviews, participant observation, and focus group discussions. The participants included traditional healers, elders, and community members who had either practiced or experienced indigenous therapeutic interventions. Purposive sampling was employed to select individuals with extensive knowledge of Agikuyu traditional healing methods. In-depth interviews allowed participants to share their experiences and perspectives on indigenous psychotherapy, while focus group discussions facilitated collective reflections on the role of traditional healing in mental health. Participant observation further provided firsthand exposure to healing rituals, ceremonies, and therapeutic interactions.

To ensure credibility and authenticity, data triangulation was employed by cross-referencing information from multiple sources. Interviews and discussions were conducted in both English and Kikuyu, with necessary translations performed to maintain the original meanings of responses. Ethical considerations were upheld by obtaining informed consent from all participants, ensuring confidentiality, and respecting cultural sensitivities. The study adhered to ethical guidelines in social research, particularly in engaging with indigenous knowledge and practices.

Data analysis followed a thematic approach, where recurring patterns, beliefs, and practices were identified and categorized. The findings were then interpreted within the broader framework of indigenous knowledge systems, drawing connections between traditional Agikuyu psychotherapy and contemporary mental health paradigms. By analyzing these indigenous therapeutic models, the study aimed to highlight their relevance and potential integration into modern mental health interventions.

Indigenous psychotherapy among the Agikuyu is a rich and effective system of mental healing that has sustained the community for generations. The use of rituals, communal support, and spiritual guidance has provided a unique framework for addressing psychological distress. While modern mental health practices offer valuable scientific insights, incorporating indigenous methods can create a more holistic and culturally relevant approach to therapy. Recognizing and integrating these traditional practices into mainstream mental health care can enhance accessibility and effectiveness, particularly in rural and marginalized communities. Further research and collaboration between indigenous healers and modern practitioners could lead to a more inclusive mental health system in Kenya and beyond.

Traditional practitioners can adopt skills and techniques from the western approach to make the helping process more efficient. Instead of giving advice, traditional counselors can suggest alternatives that may be relevant solutions to the client's situation. Through listening skills, the traditional counselor can guide a client through the path of self- discovery so that he can make a sound decision.

Seminars and workshops can be organized for indigenous counselors this will enable them to render a more satisfying and effective assistance to their clients. The researcher further recommends that to maintain African philosophy indigenous guidance and counseling can be merged with best western practice and use it to rebuild African Psychotherapy with modernity. The findings of this study seemed to indicate that Kikuyu traditional counselors lacked strong control measure to ensure confidentiality hence they should be trained to uphold and abide with code of ethics for practitioners.

REFERENCES

- Alvin, J. (1975). *Music Therapy*: London: Hut Chinson.
- Borow, H. (1973). *Career guidance for new age*: Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company.
- Castle, E.B (1965). *Growing up in East African* London: Oxford
- Castle, E. (1966) *Growing up in East Africa* London: Oxford Press
- Chernoff, J. (1979). *African Rhythm and sensibility* Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Felthan, C. & Dryden, W. (1993). *Dictionary of counseling*: London:
- Gathogo, J. (2008). African Hospitality: Is it Compatible with the Ideal of Christ's Hospitality? *Studies in World Christianity*, 14(2), 192-212.
- Gladding, S. (2004). *Counseling: A comprehensive professional (5th edition)*. Upper saddle River, NJ: merrial/prentice Hall
- Kabetu, M. (1966). *Kikuyu: customs and traditions of Agikuyu people*. Nairobi: East Africa Literature Bureau.
- Kenyatta, J. (1938). *Facing Mount Kenya. The Tribal life of Agikuyu*:. London: Secker and Warburg.
- Kilonzo, G., & Hogan, M. (1999). Traditional African medicine in psychiatry. *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 36(1), 1-25.
- Lambert, H. (1956). *Kikuyu social and political institutions*: London: Oxford University Press
- Leakey, L. (1977). *The souther Kikuyu before 1903*: New York: Academic Press
- Mbiti, J. S. (1999). *African Religions and Philosophy*. Heinemann.
- Makinde, O. (1988). *Fundamentals of guidance and counseling*: London: MacMillan.
- Mareni, E. (2004). *Music therapy concept, scope and competence*: Lagos: Apex books Limited
- Mbiti, J. (1969). *African Religious and Philosophy*: Nairobi: East Africa Educational Publishers
- McClellan, R. (1988). *The healing force of music* New York: Amity House Publisher
- Ministry of state for planning. (2009). *Population and census result*: Nairobi: Government Printer
- Mugambi, J., & Kiruthu, F. (2020). Indigenous Healing Practices in Kenya: A Historical Perspective. *Journal of African Studies*, 5(3), 45-62.
- Muriuki, G.(1974). *A history of the Agikuyu 1500-1900*. Nairobi: Oxford University Press
- Mwaniki, H. (1973). *The living history of Embu and Mbeere* Nairobi: East Africa Literature Bureau.
- Ndeti, D. M., Ongecha, F. A., Mutiso, V., & Khasakhala, L. I. (2006). The challenges of integrating traditional and modern medicine in Kenya. *International Journal of Mental Health Systems*, 1(1), 1-8.
- Njenga, F. (2017). Mental Health in Kenya: Bridging the Gap between Traditional and Modern Therapy. *East African Medical Journal*, 94(4), 124-130.
- Tutu, D. (1999). *No Future Without Forgiveness*. Image Books.
- Okafor, L. F. C (1974). *Africa at cross road*. New York: Vantage
- Olu-Makinde. (1999). *Fundamentals of guidance and counseling*: Macmillan. Ibadan. Nigeria.
- Pica, R. (1995). *Experience in movement*: London: Delma Publishers
- Reily, R. & Lewis, L. (1983). *Educational psychology application*: New York: Hacmillan
- Routledge, W. & Routledge, P. (1910). *The Agikuyu and British East Africa*: London: Edward Arnord
- SarPong, A. (1974). *Preserving cultural heritage of Ghana*: Kumasi: Adu Press
- Shertzer, B. & Stone, S.C. (1976). *Fundamentals of counseling*: Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Vambe, M. (2004). *African oral story telling traditional and Zimbabwen novel in English*: Pretoria: Unisa press.

- Wanjohi, G. J. (2001). *Under One Roof: Gikuyu Proverbs Consolidated*. Kenya Literature Bureau.
- Yusuf, T. (2006). *Foundation of African Traditional Religion and Worldview*: Nairobi: World Alive.