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By Roseline Uchenna Okeke and Emmanuel Okafor

Abstract
This article posits that though the major religions that pervade Nigerian society are replete with studies of adherents towards caring for and sustaining the environment, little or no attention is being paid to assess the practical attitude of Nigerians to the environment. This is the vacuum this work intends to fill in a discourse that focuses on rebuilding the nation. This task becomes expedient in the present environmental challenges in Nigeria that are manifesting in uncontrollable flooding, erosion, contamination, degradation, littering among others. The work which is premised on theory of environmental ethics as pioneered by environmentalists like Carson, White, Harden Leopold, Baxter, Taylor and Callicots examined the positive and negative attitude of Nigerians to the Nigerian environment. Both descriptive and phenomenological approaches were employed in the context of religious ethics, and it was observed that Nigerians abuse the environment-land, air and water through littering and indiscriminate dumping of refuse, unmindful and illegal constructions, excessive noise in social activities which often constitute noise pollution and undue emphasis on dominion mandate over the environment at the expense of stewardship mandate as espoused by theorists of religious environmental ethics. Consequent upon this, the article suggests that Nigerian government, corporate institutions and individuals should jointly assist in educating and sensitizing the citizens to develop good understanding towards the environment and relating with it in a more responsible way. This task becomes urgent as the contemporary Nigerian environment is almost becoming overrun by flood and erosion which are currently posing threat to human survival in Nigerian cities.

Keywords: Religious ethics, Attitude, Nigerians, Environmental ethics

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Religious and Ethical Evaluation Of The Attitudes Of Some Contemporary Nigerians To The Environment: An Issue In Nation-Building

By Roseline Uchenna Okeke and Emmanuel Okafor

Introduction

The various religions practiced in Nigeria are replete with duties of human beings towards caring for and preserving the environment. This has been buttressed by many environmental movements such as Greenpeace and Earth First who have successfully raised public awareness of the various dangers to the environment posed by industry, development and population growth (Hoffman, M.W 2004:367). From the Christian standpoint, individuals and church leaders have borrowed much leaf from Church traditions to herald man's role in the responsible management of the environment (Brown Taylor, 2000). In spite of these efforts, little genuine attention has been made to evaluate the daily attitudes of Nigerian citizens to the environment as to assess how truly they hold tenaciously to the environmental ethics so emphasized in the Bible, the Quran and tradition of elders. This is the gap this study is poised to fill. This task is considered important and timely in the contemporary environmental problems which include Global Warming (the heightened warming of the Earth's surface temperature due to anthropogenic or human related activities ranging from industrial activities to deforestation(Microsoft Encarta,2005).Responding to the seriousness of environmental problem and its concomitant implications, Olanisebe remarks:

> Environmental degradation has been one of the banes of the Nigerian society. There have been a lot of health crises as a result of the pollution of the environment through emission of dangerous chemicals that are hazardous to human health. In another vein, there has been destruction of lives and property as a result of erosion occurrences leading to collapse of buildings…..Yet, majority of Nigerians care less about the way they treat the environment as if it has nothing to contribute to their development and achievement in life. Similarly, many religious people do not understand the connection between the worshipping of the creator and the environment which accommodated all created things. The situation seem not to be getting better as the religious leaders who ought to call the attention of their followers to the importance of taking care of the environment probably do not understand the uniqueness and sacredness of the environment(2008).

One of the inferences we can draw from Olanisebe's observation is that most of the environmental problems Nigeria is facing is purely anthropogenic. Neither God nor the devil; and not even the nature (as it is commonly called natural disaster) is culpable. Therefore, if we must avert dangers that are associated with it, we need to examine how individuals have deliberately and inadvertently aggravated environmental problems so that the entire society would work towards preventing further damage as well as finding solution to the existing ones.

Religion is one of the most active social institutions. Its relevant functions in addressing environmental challenges are not in doubt. However, whether Nigerians who are supposedly pervasively religious are contributing to the abatement of the contemporary environmental problems or they are culpable in its degenerative condition is one of the issues this article is poised to investigate. Furthermore, how religious ethics will instill changes in

the attitudes of Nigerians for a better environmental management will be the concern of this study as well.

Conceptual Framework

In this article, three basic concepts are going to be discussed as our background to the study. These are religious ethics, environmental ethics and nation building.

Religious Ethics

In simple language, religious ethics is the conception of good living and right conduct that are derived from and influenced by religious beliefs. Ethics generally is the science of what is morally good and, right or wrong (Lillie, 1961). Living a life that aims at maximizing goodness and rightness that has the capacity of producing what is good, helps one to the realm of living a moral life. Religious ethics is a set of rules and principles concerning duties incorporated in religion. It gives the religious perspective of moral issues.

Every religion has embedded in it, value frameworks in respect of personal conducts that should guide adherents in determining between right and wrong, good and bad, virtues and vices. For instance, in Islam we have the Sharia as the moral framework; in Judaism the Halacha, in Catholicism the canon law, in Buddhism Eightfold Path, and in Zoroastrianism, the Good Thought, Good Word and Deeds concept. These frameworks are interpreted and outlined by various sources such as holy books, oral and written traditions and religious leaders. So what constitutes good or bad conducts are contained in religious scriptures or traditions, hence, we have religious ethics. While some scholars argue that morality is a product of the society (Mbiti, 1969) others believe that religion gave birth to ethics (Ayantayo, 1999). This later view is conceived by some religions like Judaism, Christianity and African traditional religion on the conviction that God made man in his own image and gave him some qualities that are inherent in Him.

One of these qualities is the sense of moral values which St. Paul refers to as the conscience and explains it as God's law that is written in man's heart (Romans 2:5). Religious ethics therefore sees God as the absolute source of moral values and the supervisor of every moral action of man. Religious adherents take religious ethics as a divine obligation which must be tenaciously clung to in every human activity ranging from political, social, religious or economic endeavour. This implies that religious ethics is relevant to every form of human activity, be it political, economic, religious or environmental.

Religious ethics holds that every human conduct is of importance to God as well as to fellow humans. So, good conducts like respect, honesty, kindness, tolerance, generosity and the rest attract reward from both God and men in the form of blessing and praise respectively. Theoretically, religious ethics is generally deontological in the sense that it holds that an action is right if it is consistent with the divine rules and fulfillment of duties. Relating it to the environment, religious ethics dictates that humans are stewards in the caring for creation or the natural environment which the Creator designed, owned and handed over to man to oversee. There are divinely stipulated rules that guide humans regarding his relationship to the natural environment. Living in compliance to them is considered right conduct in Christian Environmental Ethics (CEE) as well as in other religions; and living in the contrary is regarded as bad conduct and wrong attitude toward the environment. The latter is responsible for most of the environmental crises experienced in the globe today

Environmental Ethics

The study of the environment over the years has caused the emergence of theories of the environment, especially from the view point of ethics, hence we have environmental ethics. Environmental ethics is a field in applied ethics which is concerned with the issues that arise

when human beings interact with the natural environment. It also evaluates human conducts towards the natural environment (Okeke, 2014). Environmental ethics does not only seek to evaluate past and present attitudes and practices, but also aims at offering guidance on how people ought to think about and conduct themselves in their relationship with the natural environment (Ayantayo, 2009). Environmental ethicists use their theories to drive home their views and give considerably objective guidelines ranging from the debate as to whether or not the natural environment is an exploitable resource for man's pleasure to the view that the natural environment has an independent intrinsic value. Some of these theories include Anthropocentricism which is concerned with the place of human beings as objects of moral consideration in every environmental issue. It is on this premise that environmentalists like John Button could argue that 'we own the earth, nature is just there to serve us'(Park C.1991).

This implies that self-centered lifestyle underlies the attitudes and values that man has for the environment. It has however, been alleged that such philosophies which hold that nature exists solely for the purpose of serving man are responsible for the present environmental degradation we are experiencing globally (Derr,T.S 1995:379) .On the other hand, Ecology theory places emphasis on the fundamental interdependence of all biological and a-biological entities and their essential diversity. On the basis of this view, Francis of Assisi practically treated animals as his brothers and sisters. By this, The Libertarian theory extends human rights to non-human beings, especially animals. From this emerges the theory of animal rights in which Jeremy Bentham in the 19th Centuries, maintained that animals have rights because they are sentient creatures which feel pains (John Stott,1995:). More recently, Peter Singer in his conventional book, Animal Liberation, remarks: 'Though there are differences between humans and animals, there has to be an extension of the basic principles of equality to human and non-human animals. On this account, the idea of speciesm must be rejected as racism is vigorously rejected (Peter Singer,1990).

For Peter Singer, the question of human dominion over all the creatures of God should be considered obsolete and unreal. The conservationist appreciates the worth of the environment in terms of its usefulness to humans. A more embracing theory is the holistic ethical theory, which holds that people have moral responsibilities to collection of individuals rather than (or in addition to) those individuals who constituted the whole. A critical examination of these theories has brought to the fore, the works of environmentalists like Aldo Leopold, Lynn White and Rachel Carson. (Des Jardins, 2001). Against this background, environmentalists of some religions have come up with questions such as: should human beings deliberately cause the extinction of species just for human pleasure? Do we have any environmental obligation for the future generations? Should we continue to deplete the vegetation and forests for human consumption without adequate effort for replacing them? Should human beings continue to vigorously pursue technological advancement at the expense of the existence of other life forms in their natural habitat?

Drawing on biology, moral philosophy and environmental science, Taylor defends a biocentric environmental ethic in which all life has value. There is a rational justification for conceiving all living things as possessing inherent worth. Taylor holds that human beings, plants and animals have moral rights; a conception that offers a reasoned alternative to the prevailing anthropocentric view which holds that natural environment and its wildlife are valued only as objects for human use or enjoyment. Taylor goes further to posit that where there is respect for nature, there will be a comprehensive view of the complex relationship between humans and the whole of nature. Thus if we will not ask "what is human being good for"? We should not ask "what is nature good for"? (P.W.Taylor, 2011). In environmental ethics, we value ecosytemic stability as an end as well as valuing the ecosystemic diversity as a means. Environmental ethics also maintains that by diminishing the natural systems and

species, we diminish the enjoyment and the fulfillment that might be available to us, our neighbours and our posterity. These are moral issues that environmental ethics addresses.

Nation Building

To understand the concept of nation building, one needs to define what a nation is. Early conception of nation defined it as a group or race of people who share history, tradition and culture, sometime religion and usually language. Among people of the same nation, there is usually a sharing of common identity ranging from common origin, common tradition and lifestyle and often common goals. According to I.A Gambari, 'Nations are built by exemplary men and women and sustained by institutions that promote good governance and socio-economic development (Gambari, 2008). Earlier in history, societies were divided in kingdoms and empires. In the modern period, societies are divided into nations or nation-states as the basic human political organization.

Nigerians are concerned about nation-building because they lack most of the original ingredients of a nation. Nigeria neither shares the same history nor tradition and culture. She neither have the same religion nor a common origin. Building a solid nation out of these diversities has to be the product of concerted and determined efforts. Nigeria constitutes an integral part of the modern world. Nation –building does not just happen. It requires the conscious efforts of men and women with vision to achieve stability and development for their citizens. Nation building involves many aspects which include building a political entity which corresponds to a given territory which upholds some generally accepted rules, norms and principles and a common citizenship. It is also about building institutions like economy, judiciary civil organization etc. In addition, nation building is also about building a common sense of purpose, and building values that make nations viable and sustain the collective community. Unfortunately, nation building is not just about the size of the population, nor is it about the abundance of its natural resources; otherwise, Nigeria would have passed for a built nation.

In the case of Nigeria, there are different levels of challenges to nation-building. They include the historical legacies of colonial rule that divided the nation into two blocks (or countries) within a country - the blocks of northern and southern administrative regions and the challenge of socio-economic inequalities. In an entity that claimed to be a nation, some areas are marginalized and denied their basic rights. Consequently, citizens are not motivated to support the state and the society. Some members of the society feel neglected and that the society does not care about their welfare. They have to struggle to survive with the raw provisions of nature that are available to them; even if it means stripping the natural environment. Nation-building is about national development. When people are not adequately catered for, their commitment towards national development is impaired. Today, many Nigerians are aware that logging degrades the environment, yet trees are steadily felled for commercial purposes without minding its effect on the land.

Attitudes Of Some Nigerians To The Environment

In Nigeria, religion, health and economic factors sometimes influence the attitudes of people to the environment. Thus, some Nigerians are environmental friendly, while the perceptions of some towards the environment are clouded by disregard. In recent times, certain Nigerians who are Christians indiscriminately cut down trees on the belief that they are evil. While some road contractors and construction Companies sometimes after destroying trees and moving earth with bulldozers, abandon the road construction, without completion, thereby exposing some Nigerian roads, and communities to the ravages of erosion.

The activities of local farmers who see bush burning as a means of preparing the land for tillage are posing a threat to the Nigerian environment; so are some Nigerians whose

means of livelihood is hunting. Illegal exploration and refining of crude oil, and the emission of carbon monoxide into the air by some oil companies, especially, in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria, are also devastating the Nigerian environment. Onyema (2016:19-20), anticipates this position when he writes thus:

In the Niger Delta, the environment crawls with the devastation of the oil firms whose enormous profits mock a people whose bowel of the earth has become an oblation for… companies in alliance with our government. The result is that our farmers cannot farm, the hunter's guns are now shy for lack of game, the fisherman can neither swim nor catch fish in its former rivers that teemed with life.

The major attitudes of Nigerians that constitute environmental concern in this study include the act of littering, inappropriate erection of structures and bill boards, and thoughtless decimation of forests and vegetations. Both in the cities and rural areas, it is observed that Nigerians are obsessed with littering. Collins English Dictionary defined littering as carelessly dropping small refuse or waste materials especially in public places. In Nigeria, people drop cellophane and other types of wrappers after eating their snacks either from the moving vehicles or as they walk along the road. During celebrations, the party venues are usually defaced with disposable plates, spoons and cans. Households dump their trash by the roadsides, waterways and nearby bushes. Market women bring out their refuse when it starts raining so that the flood will assist them to convey it to 'the unknown' destination. Various members of the society including men, women, children, educated and illiterates are all guilty of such attitudes.

Other attitudes that are inimical to the environment include unplanned citing of structures to constitute built environment. Such structures are not compliant to the prescription of the urban developer. They therefore result in blockages to the drainage systems and water ways. These attitudes have great negative impact on the environment and on the members of the society. Beyond littering and blocking the water ways with irregular citing of structures, another attitude of Nigerians that abuses the environment is that of greedily felling down trees to make wood coal for domestic use. Normally, a tree takes about twenty-five years to mature. It is cut and burnt into coals that would be used up in just three weekend parties. Unfortunately efforts are hardly made to replace the cut trees by planting new ones. Consequently rain forest zones are speedily turning to desert lands.

The effects of littering and unplanned development include blockage of water ways, land and air pollution and de-beautification of the environment. Littering of inorganic substances like polythene paper bags, and other domestic disposables constantly block the gutters and sewage system in urban areas resulting in the terrible flood we are now experiencing in almost all the urban centers in Nigeria.

Nonetheless, there are certain Nigerians whose attitudes to the Nigerian environment are really commendable. In some states of Nigeria, every last Saturday of the month, the citizens are encouraged by their leaders, at the state and local government levels, to clean their surroundings. This is to make sure that their health conditions are not tampered with. There are some Nigerians, also, who use the clean-up periods to plant trees around their houses.

Environmental ethics and the attitude of Nigerians towards the Environment

As was earlier established, environmental ethics has to do with moral principles that guide human behaviour towards the environment. If this is the case, then the relevance of the natural world, in the sustenance of the lives of people, animals and plants cannot be overestimated.

Bowie in Manus (2008:307-308), corroborates the said view when he writes:

> Value ethics prescribes that we humans must respect our environment through the preservation of species the conservation of habitats, the non-depletion of biodiversity and natural resources, the Ozone layer…

The position of the Infinite (God) in the establishment of man's environment (Gen. 1:1-2-25), makes the natural world an invaluable asset. Our environment must be treated as such. The divine mandate given to man to dominate the natural world (Gen. 1:26), makes him (Man) an active participant in the development and protection of the ecosystem. Therefore, any attempt by man to relegate his environment to the background, endangers his relationship with the Creator, nature and humanity in posterity.

Ademola (2008:232), agrees with the aforesaid idea, when he states:

> Then God said, let us make man in our image, in our likeness, and let them rule over the fish of the sea and the birds of the air, over the livestock, over all the earth and over all the creatures that move along the ground. Though God is the creator, He gave humanity the responsibility of being the ruler under God's sovereign supervision.

Still on this, Danny (2004:116-117), opines that God said that men and women (both young and old) must rule over and take care of the natural world; failure to do this is disobedience.There is no gainsaying the fact that the practices of certain Nigerian citizens are antithetical to environmental ethics, from the Christian perspective. Even the African traditional religion, which the Nigerian indigenous religion is part of; and Islam frown at environmental degradation. This is simply because it threatens the health, socio-economic and religious status of man. Bakut in Best (2012:241), makes this point clearer as he posits that:

> Environmental degradation, if it continued unchecked, would lead to disasters in the world with great consequences. For example, the impact of global warming caused primarily by pollution linked to … industrialization … has led to the emergence of new forms of cardiac related diseases and the rising of the sea levels. This in turn, results into floods, washing away coastal cities… destroying lives or rendering the inhabitants refugees. It also leads to hotter climates which contribute to drought, desertification, as well as soil erosion – common problems in Africa.

A critical look at the above stated positions indicates that as long as religion is concerned, it is absolutely immoral to abuse the natural world. The beauty of Christianity, Islam and African traditional religion lies in the fact that they match word with action (Uche, 2006: 27-28; Anyanwu, 2013: 46-47 & Opoku, 1978:8). For this reason, all genuine religions must directly and practically respond to the plaguing issues in the society.

Nigerians, both in the traditional and contemporary situations, are highly religious (Parrinde, 1954 & Kanu, 2015:405). Little wonder traditional religion, Christianity and Islam are seen in almost all the nooks and crannies of Nigeria today. It is really worrisome that the Nigerian environment, currently, is suffering from noise pollution. A horrendous situation created mainly by the nefarious activities of certain contemporary Nigerian Christian, and Islamic leaders, whose megaphones and loudspeakers are often turned to the highest pitch, in order to attract new members, and increase the numerical strength of adherents.

Each of the afore-stated religions preaches the salvation of man. How can one be saved, when the oil that lubricates the wheels of the environment, which refurbishes the lining

of his soul, is frozen solid, by some "Liberators"? True religion that can save man from eternal condemnation is the one that is ready to liberate his mind, body and spirit from the clutches of all forms of forces of suffocation.

In every state in Nigeria, there is a department that takes care of town planning. It is quite unfortunate that some Nigerians build their houses, without following the directives of the authorities of the said department, thereby exposing some Nigerians and their environment, to the menace of flooding.

The Way Forward

The importance of religion in social cohesion, integration, solidarity, etc., cannot be overemphasized. So, religious leaders in Nigeria must live up to expectations. God is pure and divine. He is an epitome of perfection. For this reason, there is an element of perfection in all His creations. If this is the case, then the natural world and its contents deserve some respect.

Again, it is absolutely immoral to abuse any of God's creations. The aforesaid facts or truths must be properly drummed into the heads of Nigerians by religious leaders in Nigeria. Failure to perform this divine assignment amounts to negligence of duty; a crime and sin which demeans man's dignity and pedigree.

The natural world, must, at all times, be treated with respect because it critically showcases the magnanimity of God's love for man, and His position on the relevance of order and beauty. To indiscriminately destroy any of its components for whatever reason is highly inimical to the interests of the Nigerian society. Every Nigerian citizen must be adequately informed, as regards this. For example, trees provide man with oxygen (a gas that is present in air and water) and takes in carbon dioxide from man. Therefore, its abuse and destruction will cause man severe pain and sorrow. Similarly, the essence of town planning is to promote beauty, order, harmony, etc., in the society so that the quality of man's life will be improved. For this reason, Nigerian citizens must always be advised to build their houses, churches, mosques, etc., according to the directives of the authorities of the town planners in Nigeria.

Permit us to state at this point that the religious authorities in this section of the globe must, through their homilies, sermons, etc., call to order some of their members who are involved in illegal exploration and refining of crude oil, in Nigeria. Those of them that work in some oil companies in Nigeria that are directly or indirectly involved in the emission of harmful gasses into the Nigerian environment, must also be admonished to follow the part of wisdom.If the aforesaid ideas are properly adhered to, God, nature, etc., will be pleased; and when this happens, Nigerians will experience poise and peace. Again, if religious authorities in Nigeria introduce the use of soundproof devices in their churches, Mosques, and other public places, noise pollution which has subjected some Nigerian Citizens to partial or complete deafness will be drastically reduced.

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Subalternity and Resistance in the Kenyan Political Autobiography: A Critical Look at *Not Yet Uhuru* and *The Flame of Freedom*

By Stephen Mutie and Nicholas Kamau Goro

Abstract
An interrogation of the autobiographies by leaders who write from the margins of power show that subaltern political autobiographies inhabit a privileged position that enable one to see the effect of power on subaltern subjects. Their writings, thus, resist and mount a challenge to hegemonic structures that encroach and sustain the materiality of domination. In this regard, their political autobiographies can be said to be engaged in the quest for dismantling the silence of being the "Other." This paper contends that the Kenyan subaltern political autobiographies are not merely literary but political acts, and examining these texts will lead to a better understanding of the current political frameworks that help in the conceptualizing the Kenyan nation. The unit of analysis will be two Kenyan political autobiographies, particularly Jaramogi Odinga's *Not Yet Uhuru* and Raila Odinga's *The Flame of Freedom*. Biographical method of analysis will be employed. The perspectives and experiences of Jaramogi and Raila are used as the basis for a critique of the dominant discourse of the post-independence political elites. In particular, the emergence of these autobiographical works are interrogated here as counter-narratives of Kenyan politics and society, alongside the persisting elite structures of politics and culture extending from the colonial through to the post-colonial eras. The analysis of the autobiographical reflections of Jaramogi and Raila demonstrate levels of resistance which have not been recognised until now.

Key words: Subalternity, autobiography, representation, self, autobiographical pact

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1.0 Introduction

"The book is a collection of memories, and memory is, of course, imperfect, but I have rendered this story of my life the way I remember it…"
Raila A Odinga
"Truth depends not only on who listens but on who speaks."
Birago Diop

In the recent past, the Kenyan literary stage has witnessed an upsurge of political autobiographies. What is clearly notable in these productions is the political quest that they are engaged in. Fronting the self, the genre of autobiography becomes a privileged source of information about the past of a country like Kenya. This is so because the genre provides a personal perspective on information that cannot be mined from the official history. This is, in a way, to argue that stories about detention and political assassinations would not be found in official history textbooks because the education system and curriculum are sanctioned by the state and therefore children would only be taught what the government would want them to know. The autobiography, thus, complements historical records as it offers the unofficial history of a nation in the making.

The genre of autobiography has always elicited a flurry of debate in literary circles, and especially in the current critical and theoretical space. Autobiographies have increasingly become popular literary documents which calls for sustained interrogation and analysis of the narratives produced. The Kenyan political autobiography is not only the story of the narrating subject but can be read as a quest for resistance in the society within which the subject writes or lives. This paper interrogates the autobiography as a historical document written by a representative individual which serves more purposes than just a historical record. Historians, like autobiographers, are writers assembling a story about the past from archives available to them. However, as Muchiri (2014) argues, while historians place themselves outside or at the margins of the historical picture, autobiographers are at the centre of the pictures they assemble and are interested in the meaning of larger forces, conditions, or events for their own stories.

2.0 Theoretical Underpinnings

The advent of the twentieth century saw the dawn of an era, which presented the fertile ground for autobiographical writings (Smith & Watson, 2001; Weintraub, 1972). Autobiography is a genre that tries to capture such complex, complicated and elusive phenomena called life and self. Its patterns change, its formal qualities change, the contours and textures change from one life to another, from one self to the other. Misch (1950) notes:

> Autobiography is unlike any other form of literary composition. Its boundaries are more fluid and less definable in relation to form. In itself it is a representation of life that is committed to no definite form. It abounds in fresh initiatives, drawn from actual life: it adopts the different forms with which different periods provide the individual for his self-revelation and self-portrayal. (p. 2)

However, attempts have been made to define the genre, to describe the common threads to be found in the genre called autobiography. Autobiography usually denotes the story of one's life written by oneself (Lejeune, 1989). Lejeune identifies four elements constitutive of autobiography: prose as the medium, real life as the subject matter, author as narrator and retrospective as the point of view. The autobiographies of Mahatma Gandhi (*The Story of My Experiments with Truth,* 1927*)*, Jawaharlal Nehru (*An Autobiography,* 1936), and Kwame Nkrumah (*Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah*, 1957) formed a new dawn in autobiographical writing by public figures, more specifically, political leaders in the third world societies. These autobiographies went beyond a sub-genre of history and attempted to introspect and reflect on personal dilemmas and crises. They take to an explication of "the self" in their autobiographies and portray a self that is knowledgeable. In this regard, the autobiographies can be thought of as the attempt to forge a national self.

The history of autobiography has almost always pointed to the elusive fallacy that most autobiographies are a docket of men who belong to the public sphere and enjoying a prime status in society. This tradition neglects the autobiographies of the downtrodden. The determinants of class, race and gender are excluded from the record of autobiography. The autobiographies of the marginalized have been silenced in the historical process; their narratives have been sucked into the metanarratives of the state. This paper endeavors to recover the lost tradition of the nationalist leader's autobiographies, leaders who reigned but never ruled.

The autobiographies of the leaders who reigned but never ruled, just like the gay and lesbian autobiographies, autobiographies of the disabled, autobiographies of geisha and sex workers, autobiographies of ethnic minorities and so on attain complex magnitudes; for, they question not only political hegemony, heterosexual, patriarchal, normative regimes but also bring an alternative sense of the self and identity, worldview and perspective into existence (Pascal, 1960; Olney, 1980; Gusdorf, 1980, Freeman, 1993). Analysis of works like these necessarily makes autobiographical criticism transdisciplinary. Marginalised groups reside in a negative relationship to power. The degree and kind of power and powerlessness may differ, but they do inhabit structures of power. An interrogation of the spaces that the subaltern autobiographies inhabit enables one to see the effect of power on subaltern subjects and the element of resistance written into them. This makes the subaltern autobiography not merely a literary act but a political act.

Subaltern autobiography is synonymous with survival literature, and is thus, narrative of resistance. The state of subordination of a community/ group entails that its identity is conditioned by the dominant community/group. In this context, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga's (here after referred to as Jaramogi) and Raila Odinga's (hereafter referred to as Raila) autobiographies are subaltern political autobiographies, and as such, are narratives of resistance. Janice Morgan argues, ". . . to be marginalized to a dominant culture is also to have had little or no say in the construction of one's socially acknowledged identity**"** (Perkins, 2000: 44). What Valerie Smith speaks about the African-American autobiography becomes pertinent to all those who occupy subaltern position and attempt to construct a narrative of the self:

> Simply to write the story of his or her own life represent[s] an assault' on the line of reasoning that assumes and perpetuates the construct that African Americans do not live…as fully imaginative, significant, intellectual, and complex lives as the dominant American community, 'since to make oneself the subject of a narrative presumes both the worth of that self and its interest for a reader. (Danahay, 1991:67)

Basing our argument on the conceptualization above, this paper contends that Jaramogi and Raila are autobiographers who "re-write" selfhood, in their description of their lives and the life of their community. Hence the act of writing autobiographies by these leaders becomes a measure of resistance against oppression and hegemony. It is an act imbued with political connotations. These autobiographies thus call for more complex and equipped critical and reading strategies. They are not mere explications of the self, but intricate platforms of political performance. Autobiography as a genre has an important place in subaltern ideology as it proves that there are many versions of reality:

> Autobiography now has the potential to be the text of the oppressed, the culturally displaced, forging a right to speak both for and beyond the individual. People in positions of powerlessness – women, black people - have more than begun to insert themselves into the culture via autobiography via the assertion of the personal voice… . (Swindells, 1995: 7)

Autobiography is thus a platform for the exploration and explication of the self. The subjects of subaltern autobiographical narratives speak from marginal locations. Subjectivity of subaltern autobiography is constructed in the encounter between power and powerlessness, domination and subjugation. The leaders who reigned but never ruled have been relegated to the margin, being treated as "the other" by the political rulers. There has always been a political line drawn between "we" the rulers and "they" the leaders who reigned but never ruled. This demarcating line not only divides people into two categories but also implies a hierarchy. Their "self" often remains effaced or defaced.

3.0 Resistance in the Kenyan Political Subaltern Autobiographies

Resistance is a term that is largely associated with Edward Said in his groundbreaking work, *Orientalism* (1978). In this paper we argue that the autobiographies of Jaramogi and Raila are texts that are involved in political resistance, reconstructing the Kenya's political past, and in a way sanitizing the political image of the writer. *Orientalism* is mainly interested in showing the existence of political ideology that governs and uses orientalism to rule and impose hegemony over the orient. "Hegemony" as referred to by Said is pertinent in this study. Said shows how orientalism distributes assumptions and prejudices about the orient to the western audience, without a corresponding challenge from the "Other" (209; 324). It also demonstrates that every agency involved in the production of orientalism is guilty, either by association, or by themselves is central in the making and sustaining of imperialism. Judging from this, Said felt it was warranted to claim "Orientalism is fundamentally a political doctrine willed over the Orient because the Orient was weaker than the West" (204). Jaramogi and Raila are thus weak, and we argue, thus, they write to reject this position.

As we are going to show in the course of this paper, the writers explored here assert an independent or "an oppositional critical consciousness" (Said, 1978: 326-7). The aspect of "oppositional consciousness" was identified by Ashcroft & Ahluwalia (1999) as a strategy of resistance. Wan-Ahmad (2010) contends that it is a strategy of "writing back" to the orientalists by exposing their political connection disguised under the academic pretension of pure knowledge. In writing their autobiographies, therefore, Jaramogi and Raila subvert what is commonly regarded as oriental muteness that has led to more oppression of the orient in this power relationship. For this reason, the potential for resistance is present when "the history that resisted its ideological as well as political encroachments" is brought into life. In short, it requires the revival of repressed or resistant history that can mount challenges to hegemonic structures such as orientalism (Said, 1985: 93-94). This means that studying the autobiographies of Jaramogi and Raila as documents of political resistance and providing an

alternative history is very important, especially so, when Kenya is undergoing various political cultural, social, and economic changes.

3.1 The Politics of Betrayal: *Not Yet Uhuru* and *The Flame of Freedom*

In this paper, the study gravitates towards interrogating the way writing has been used by the leaders to deconstruct the Kenyan elite narrative. In it, Jaramogi's and Raila's autobiographies are contextualized within the narratives of politics of betrayal. The phrase is borrowed from the title of Khamisi's (Khamisi was the Member of Parliament for the coastal constituency of Bahari from 2003 to 2007) autobiography *The Politics of Betrayal: Diary of a Kenyan Legislator* (2011) which explores the leadership betrayals that he believes are responsible for the political, social, and economic rot that are pervasive in Kenya.

Politics of betrayal in Kenya is one of the major themes that define the country since independence. According to Branch (2011) and Hornsby (2012) political betrayal in Kenya began even before the Union Jack was lowered and the Kenyan flag hoisted in the midnight of 12th December, 1963. Specifically, Hornsby observes that the narratives of betrayal are discernible when Kenya's alternative history is interrogated. This is the history of popular resistance to an alliance of comprador elites and foreign rulers. This history was sustained by academics, socialists and nationalists, who believed that the leadership had made fundamental errors from the beginning. This narrative begins with resistance to the colonial conquest, then the struggle for land and identity leading to the Mau Mau war. It challenges the concept of 'development' as growth and argues that Kenya has been exploited and abused by the comprador elite. After independence, the victory of the conservative 'home guards' was a betrayal of independence, and attempts to reverse this civilian coup led to repression and murder in the years after independence.

The attempt to change this state of affairs is followed up by Kenya's novelists, poets and playwrights. After *uhuru*, an upsurge of new novels, poems and plays that examined the postcolonial betrayal in Kenya and the role that the comprador elite played to cause this situation emerged. Examples of these are novels, which Manghan-Brown identifies as "novels of Freedom" (1985: 206), include Meja Mwangi's *Taste of Death* (1975), G. Wachira's *Ordeal in the Forest* (1968), and Charles Mangua's *A Tail in the Mouth* (1972). All were written between 1967 and 1975, reflecting a time in Kenya when the neocolonial bourgeoisie consolidated its power.

Jared Angira's poem "No Coffin, No Grave" evinces a critical concern with social injustice in post-independence Kenyan society. The poem is a chronicle of events that marked the death of a traitor-ruler who was "buried without a coffin" (line 1) and whose post-mortem was carried out by scavengers, vultures in the open, outside a place where people go to celebrate and have fun. A night club! (line 6). This gives a sense that his death may have been wished and when it came, it was a necessary party for his people. The poem records that politics was for the "experts" while the common man was cursed to brood on books, think about schoolgirls and hunger, sleeping under torn mosquito nets (lines 15-22). And if our politician should step into a bar, he is the lord (line 24) and woman magnet (line 25) who speaks the language of money; the people's money. The masses are portrayed as powerless and can only cover the darkness of their mouths and tell their prayers to the devil for all the post-independent politician cares. This poem is thus an insight to the wanton theft and betrayal of the masses by the leaders after independence.

Angira's poem reads into Kresse's (2016) examination of *Sauti ya Dhiki* (Voice of Agony), a collection of poems by Abdilatif Abdalla written in 1973. This scholar rightly observes that Abdilatif's poetry condemns what he sees as dictatorial features of Jomo Kenyatta's KANU government. The poems in *Sauti ya Dhiki* illustrates a fundamental turning point in Kenya's early postcolonial politics, and bears witness to the demise of

democratic structures and processes that had been implemented only five years after independence. One of the vices that bring about the demise of democracy and thwart development in Kenya is tribalism.

The same line of argument can be raised and sustained in Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1988) *I Will Marry When I Want*, a play that critiques politics, corruption and economic exploitation in postcolonial Kenya. The play became an interrogation of 'the poisoned gift of independence' and an examination of political betrayal through land grabbing, arrogance and the greed of the political 'big-wigs.' Notably too is Francis Imbuga's (1976) *Betrayal in the City* in which the author examines the wanton betrayal of the masses through exploitation, nepotism and inefficiency that characterized the post-independence state.

Looking at this post-independent literature in Kenya, two levels upon which betrayal in Kenya occurred, thus, can be discerned. The neocolonial elite betrayed the masses through the failure to provide frameworks within which Kenya would forge ahead and attain an all-round development. The post-independent Kenyan elite laid the foundation of negative ethnicity and advanced it within the contexts of ideological differences. This is because by the end of 1965, Kenya had restored the 'command and control' system that the British had tried to replace as independence dawned. A system of state regulation would dominate an otherwise capitalist society, with the President at the apex of power. The tension between Kikuyu and Luo that had begun before independence had deepened, and the foundations of Kikuyu dominance had been established (Opondo, 2014). Negative ethnicity became the lenses that defined Kenya's future. Political structures and economic institutions would continue to mirror the pre-independence model, with a new elite at the apex rapidly arrogating to itself the wealth and privileges that the Europeans had enjoyed, and calculatingly isolating the other ethnic groups who could threaten their hegemony.

Additionally, betrayal occurred among the neocolonial elites themselves. After independence, Hornsby (2012) reiterates that Kenya African National Union's (KANU) leadership was becoming more conservative and Western oriented. According to Opondo (2014) class, power and ethnicity became increasingly intertwined and thus displaced race as a factor in the political process hence the Kenyan society became deracialised but not de-ethnicised (Kanyinga, 2007: 86). Kanyinga asserts that at independence, "the concept of tribe became more important as the new elites turned to their ethnic groups for support in their competition with each other" (86). Subsequently and for the sake of power, ethnicity became a toll for political survival. There was variance between key policy decisions made on land, defense and Western investment during 1962–5 between the ruling elite and the masses. The masses felt alienated by the policies made by their leaders and this brought out a section of leaders among the ruling elite who started championing the interests of the masses. This chapter delves in the literature that interrogates this betrayal of the masses by the post-colonial elite leaders.

The paper contends that ethnicity provided the historical context that gave an impetus to the rise of subaltern political autobiographical writings in Kenya. Imbued in this objective is the assumption that Jaramogi's and Raila's autobiographies are a critique of the Kenyan nationhood. The argument advanced in the chapter is that Kenyan nationhood has slid into ethnicity, and this has given birth to the avalanche of political autobiographies in Kenya. The paper gets its thrust from the ability of the genre to engage the concept of negative ethnicity from a personal perspective, and how this vice has been perpetuated in successive regimes and how this impinges on development and unity. However, the term ethnicity is used synonymously with the terms tribalism and negative ethnicity in Kenya, and this study has adopted this Kenyan view.

In their autobiographies, Jaramogi and Raila are involved in constructing a single narrative: that Kenya as a country has been betrayed since 1963. The common man, the

wretched of Kenya has been betrayed by the ruling class. As we read through *Not Yet Uhuru* and *The Flame of Freedom*, we learn the clarion call that Kenya as a nation has undergone four political miscarriages. The first miscarriage happened in 1963, independence and the first republic, 1992, the second republic and the reinstatement of pluralism, the exit of Moi and the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) dream of 2002 and the new constitutional dispensation of 2010. Michael Wainaina argues that all babies die at birth the political class entrusted to midwife the process of the birth of modern Kenyan state is too invested in the primitive tribal state to give the new, modern Kenya a chance for survival (Wainaina, 2016: 12).

The four missed chances have, therefore, not been by default but by design. The political class midwifing the process has deliberately strangled the baby to protect the status quo. They have consistently squandered the opportunities for renewal. In most cases politicians are given the job of midwifing the modern state because people think that they are statesmen and not just regular politicians. These leaders are so heavily and hopelessly invested in politics of ethnicity, impunity and mediocrity for them to midwife a modern Kenya. In their autobiographies, Jaramogi and his son Odinga, present themselves as leaders whom Kenya should regret for not having. In their texts, they are the statesmen per excellence.

In his autobiography, *Not Yet Uhuru*, Jaramogi comes out from the pages of his autobiography as an unrepentant patriot at heart, a pan-africanist, a staunch anti-white domination in Kenya's pre-independence politics, a genius, a father, a writer, and a leader whom we would regret for not having (Nyairo, 2015). Reading through the text it becomes clear that Jaramogi seems to be fighting what he takes to be a misrepresentation by many a modern scholar. In this authoritative, sometimes brutal autobiography, the author re-writes the Kenyan history; the history often times meticulously contorted to suite British Imperial propaganda; the history that is guilty of vilifying saints, and exalting villains; the history whose dying embers must be rekindled. (Odinga, 1)

Not Yet Uhuru recounts that although many of his British-Sponsored early scholars (through the several church missions) succumbed to the allure of the colonial staggering material wealth, prestige, and promises of overnight riches, Jaramogi remained steadfast in his resolve. It highlights his contribution to the welfare of the Kenyan scholars by sourcing for scholarship opportunities, and highlighting the plight of Kenyans.

In the text, it is recorded, when James Gichuru (in alliance with Mboya, Moi, Ngala, through KANU) joined forces with the self-proclaimed settler minority led by Blundel and company, it was Jaramogi who remained unmoved with Kenya African National Union, especially with respect to KANU's demands of 'Kenyatta na Uhuru.' It was Jaramogi who, through endless petitions, conferences in London, trips overseas, public speeches, engineered the release of the Kapenguria Six. These assertions make Jaramogi stand out. The assertions aim to counter the misrepresentations of the Kenyan past by the mainstream state-sanctioned narrative. In this regard, Jaramogi's autobiography serves the function of self-clarification and self-justification (Gusdorf, 1980; Freeman, 1993).

As it appears from the text, Jaramogi amplifies what he has done to the Kenyan state, the roles he has played and the sacrifices he supposedly done for the Kenyan nation. For the sake of Kenyans, and Kenya's unity, Jaramogi ignored countless attempts made by KADU technocrats (on behalf of their Imperial Masters) to wage a rift between him and Kenyatta once the latter would assume office, first as Prime Minister in 1963, then later as President in 1964. And when he couldn't take it anymore, like a gentleman, Jaramogi left KANU without causing a scene (Odinga, 1967: 29; Ogot, 1996: 198). The text profiles Jaramogi as a nationalist leader who has always been consistent patriotism. His personal interests only came after the interests of the nation.

This type of profiling points an accusing finger to the other leaders, especially the then President, Jomo Kenyatta, who, as the author seems to suggest, was a self-seeking oligarchic capitalist and a budding dictator (Muigai, 2004). That he had to part ways with Kenyatta (a fellow Kenya African Union member since the early 1920s, a mentor that he had cordially welcomed in Nyanza years prior to the State of Emergency in 1952, a friend whom he had consulted about Kenya's readiness for independence), as he portrays in the text, was by no means a product of selfishness, but rather a clear sign that he was not going to throw out of the window his patriotism.

We need to note that in *Not Yet Uhuru* Jaramogi amplifies what he has done to the Kenyan nation, the roles he has played and the sacrifices he did for the state. For the sake of Kenyans, and Kenya's unity, Jaramogi ignored countless attempts made by KADU technocrats (on behalf of their Imperial Masters) to wage a rift between him and Kenyatta once the latter assumed office, first as Prime Minister in 1963, then later as President in 1964, and when he couldn't take it anymore, like a gentleman, Jaramogi left KANU without causing a scene (Ogot, 1996: 198; Odinga, 1967: 300). In his resignation letter he stated:

> I have a conscience and this in fact does prick me when I earn public money but with no job to do. I consider this a waste of public money and I am worried lest the future generation questions my sincerity, when they would learn that I allowed myself to hold a sinecure post in the midst of poverty and misery in our country. With this realisation, I cannot continue to hold this position any longer and I hereby tender my resignation. (300)

As it will be recalled from the foregoing, the rift between Jaramogi and Jomo Kenyatta had started few years into independence. This paper notes that to understand these two leaders' differences it is illustrative to interrogate the ideological frameworks within which they operated. According to Jaramogi, the rift between him and Kenyatta was caused by the operatives that surrounded the Presidency. This group of politicians opposed him because he had earlier on advocated for Kenyatta's release from detention (292). Ideologically speaking however, Jaramogi and Kenyatta's rift could have been caused by their differences in their ideological persuasions.

Not Yet Uhuru, therefore, is a portrayal of Jaramogi's frustration with Kenyatta's turn-about that had turned fellow Kapenguria Convicts such as Bildad Kaggia into his foes. Kenyatta, like KADU political stooges, had betrayed the people, and there was no way Jaramogi was going to be a part of such grand betrayal. The formation of Kenya Peoples Union (KPU) and his resigning from the Government are narrated here to highlight his patriotism. The same argument can be raised in regard to Raila Odinga, Jaramogi's son.

The Flame of Freedom chronicles the remarkable journey of one of Africa's leading politicians and statesmen. Raila's life-story mirrors the triumphs and tragedies of Kenya's struggle to entrench multi-party democracy and the rule of law into the fabric of the State. The book is a testament to his courage, determination and sacrifice in the cause of peace, development and public service. It is a bold call to action for all African leaders.

Raila's autobiography takes an in-depth look of how the former prime minister of Kenya has struggled to end corruption and bring freedom. It reveals the life journey of Raila (His family and political life) and gives an account of how he, Raila suffered while inside the government. In his autobiography, Raila paints an image of how Party of National Unity (PNU) used every means to frustrate and humiliate him and his coalition party Orange Democratic Movement (ODM). Odinga reveals of how the ODM ministers were undermined by PNU associates. The autobiography also indicates how PNU machines used propaganda to politically kill him. It mostly talks about Raila's time in the coalition government with Mwai Kibaki and the

betrayals he has undergone all through to bring him down. *The Flame of Freedom* also gives a history of Odinga's challenges since the death of his father and how he managed to overcome the challenges. It gives a slight hint of his role in the 1982 coup.

Raila's autobiography (re)brands him as the intellectual custodian of Kenya's pro-democracy struggles, and the founding father of democracy. The photographs he selects, the stories he tells, the way he tells them and the stories that he does not tell, seem to establish Odinga as the authority on the making of Kenya. Raila's story gives clear justification for the constitutional changes that this country finally made. The text portrays how Raila stands tall against terror of a dictatorship where sycophancy, fear and silence reigned supreme. It is an examination of "the government's long vendetta against the Odingas" (Nyairo, 2015). Successive governments have successfully isolated the Odingas from power. As one reads through the text the refrain *tumeonewa* lingers in the background.

Without doubt, this is a story of courage and determination but in the end, it fills one with an overwhelming sense of pity. The humiliation that Raila has suffered is partly in the brutality of detention, so he gives very few details of his second and third stints therein. Understandably, there is an even more harrowing pain. You hear it in the number of times Raila reports, "[they] attacked Jaramogi". As one reads through the text, the weight of his father's unfulfilled dreams is evidently on Raila's shoulders. The two autobiographies are, without doubt, classic examples of subaltern political autobiographies. They deconstruct history, subvert common knowledge and vilify the main stream state narrative.

The Flame of Freedom is a continuation of a journey has to end when the Kenyan dream is realized. This dream is tied to the Odinga family. In one of the moving instances in *Freedom* Raila writes:

> The task of keeping the flame of freedom burning had been passed to us, and already, down the years, we had fought so hard and come so far. But I knew there was still a long and difficult road ahead. As I spoke on that day in 2007, I rededicated my life to travelling that road, so that, one day, the Kenyan dream, in all its glory, would become reality. It is the dream of a fundamentally transformed society, not only in our land but across the entire African continent. (p. 4)

Although the two autobiographies the study has examined here are written by representative individuals, Jaramogi representing the old guards, and Raila standing for the new brand of Kenyan leaders, the two presents their authors as leaders who are down to earth, working closely with the masses and leading normal lives. This portrayal is a case of autobiographers presenting only the version of history that favours the subject and erasing that which is not in their favour. This is the case for instance with Njenga Karume's autobiography which allows him to erase certain aspects of Kenyan history such as the Mau Mau war and projects himself as a successful businessman. His narrative as Muchiri (2014) argues demonstrates the possibility of convenient truths in autobiographies; it would be an inconvenient truth for him to state that the mere closeness to the ruling elite predisposes one to opportunities not necessarily available to other citizens. By narrating his story and highlighting his efforts in business, Karume camouflages the truth that opportunities are often aided by how close one is to power. The same can be said in respect to *Uhuru* and *Freedom*, especially as regards the truth in their autobiographies. Although Jaramogi and Raila try hard to convince the reader that they are subalterns, their elevated status in the society cannot be wished away, they are privileged more than the masses they claim to represent. They are as ethnic as the leaders they vilify.

4.0 Conclusion

This paper has clearly shown that there is a consensus among the autobiographers interrogated here that they feel misrepresented by previous and subsequent writings, by friends and critics alike. These autobiographies seem to follow the same creed that people have failed to unravel the real person behind Jaramogi and Raila. These autobiographies are therefore narratives of resistance. In them, these leaders refuse the misrepresentations of their lives and construct images of who they think they are. This desire to self-explication seems to be the central goal of penning the Kenyan subaltern political autobiographies. As we have succinctly shown in this paper, the writers explored here assert an independent and "an oppositional critical consciousness" as a strategy of resistance. They write back to the mainstream narrative, deconstructing it, subverting it and constructing, for themselves identities that are consistent to what the masses need in an ideal leader. They present themselves as the best alternatives of the leadership. They are the most wise, consistent, intuitive, ideologically wealthy and incorruptible. In writing their autobiographies, therefore, Jaramogi and Raila subvert what is commonly regarded as oriental muteness that has led to more oppression of the orient in this power relationship. For this reason, the potential for resistance is present when "the history that resisted its ideological as well as political encroachments" is brought into life. In short, it requires the revival of repressed or resistant history that can mount challenges to hegemonic structures such as orientalism (Said, 1985: 93-94). This means that studying the autobiographies of Jaramogi and Odinga as documents of political resistance and providing an alternative history is very important, especially so, when Kenya is undergoing various political cultural, social, and economic changes.

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"Immoral in Dress": Children, Clothes, and Cinema in Colonial Kenya

By Samson K. Ndanyi

Abstract
British administrators in colonial Kenya employed clothes as an article of institutional and social control, but African children viewed them as symbols of modernity and, by extension, elements through which to protest against imposed notions of fashion and modesty. Children defied the authority by refusing to conform to regulations that offended their fashion sensibilities. They routinely escaped from state-sanctioned institutions that dressed them in uniforms meant to regulate their social behaviors and mobility, ignored repatriation orders requiring them to vacate urban spaces providing material wealth and knowledge in the latest sartorial trends, and continued to consume censored commercial films glorifying American fashion biases. Neither the government nor the children vacated undergirding elements informing their idealized notions of fashion and clothes. Consequently, tension arose between the two sides. This essay examines this tension to make the point that African children protested against colonial programs and participated in the social transformation taking place in Kenya. As a sartorial study of power that employs clothes as a lens through which to historicize and document African children's contributions to societal change, the essay frames them as protesters, situates them at the center of colonial discourse, and exhorts us to critically (re-) evaluate our socially constructed notions of children in spaces that tend to ignore their presence and minimize their relevance.

Key words: children, clothes, cinema, Kenya, history, African studies

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"Immoral in Dress": Children, Clothes, and Cinema in Colonial Kenya

By Samson K. Ndanyi

Institutional Control

British officials in colonial Kenya employed clothes as an article of institutional and social control. Specifically, they targeted Africans, but they also extended authority to Indians residing in Kenya, especially Indian political prisoners. In Nairobi, Kenya's political and economic capital, government officials asked local chiefs, employers, and policemen to ensure that all African migrant wage laborers arriving in the city to be decently clad. Without providing specific guidelines of what constituted decency, they recommended that the new arrivals "wear a belt or use other means of keeping their blankets or pieces of Americana in such a position to prevent the undue exposure" (Ridout, VQ1/28/13, KNA, NRB) to European women and children. They singled out African men, including boys working as migrant laborers, and were determined to protect a "white man's wife and daughters" considered as "patterns of purity and virtue" (Bell, *The Times,* 1926). Significantly, they constructed a black masculinity less likely to offend White women's and children's sensibilities, and they hardly relented in their pursuit to regulate black bodies.

Extending the control beyond labor institutions to other regulated spaces that brought the colonizer and colonized into close proximity—such as public schools, prisons, detention centers, Approved Schools, and juvenile remand facilities for children—the government mandated Africans in these spaces to wear uniforms that would identify them and bring them under effective control (PC/NZA/2/6/32 KNA, NRB). Multiple scholars have examined institutional control in schools and prisons and, therefore, this essay will not reproduce their assessments. However, it is worthwhile to point out that detention camps for African adults and Approved Schools for children, facilitated control by regulating individual movements and social interactions. Established in 1926, adult detention camps held what colonialists described as "destitute" African "inmates" who defaulted on their "tax payments" (Heaton, PC/NZA/2/6/32 KNA, NRB). Mostly men, these individuals arrived at camps in "shabby personal clothes," and were expected to work on infrastructures that harnessed Europe's dispositions enshrined in the colonial ideology. Consequently, the men's clothes wore out quickly, turning the wearers into "a deplorable sight" (PC/NZA/2/6/32 KNA, NRB). Faced with the shortage and high cost of clothes, the government failed to remedy the situation (indeed, the high cost forced the administration to consider buying secondhand clothes for military personnel). Instead, officials asked detention superintendents to make "gunny bags with arm holes" for the detainees. Embracing the twisted logic as innovative, they considered gunny bags "as adequate apparel and appropriate," and they even suggested adding "a pair of cheap shorts [that] might be necessary to accompany such issue" (PC/NZA/2/6/32 KNA, NRB). The government made no provision to issue the Africans new clothes and hoped to keep "a small stock of shorts and shirts" to be issued to them "where necessary." The uniforms' distinct features—khaki shorts and shirts bearing similar colors—made the task to separate the wearer from the general public an easy undertaking.

By imagining African offenders in improvised clothes, colonial officials exercised a long-standing tradition of dehumanizing black bodies and undermining their dignity. To them, tax evaders diminished the revenue required to finance local development projects, and dressing their bodies in this manner served to remind the wearers of the existing power dynamic. As a form of dress code, gunny bags constituted the economy of punishment, and they served as a control mechanism that deterred future offenses against the state. In other words, and, as Michel Foucault (1977) has correctly pointed out, "the memory" of

psychological shame "must prevent a repetition of the crime" (p. 94). In what Foucault characterizes as the "rule of lateral effects," the "penalty" administered to the body "must [also] have its most intense effects on those who have not committed the crime" (p. 95). By adorning offenders in gunny bags and taking them into public spaces for unpaid labor, colonial officials intended the spectacle to be a teachable moment to Africans harboring nefarious intent against the state.

Similarly, government officials in Approved Schools used clothes as a control mechanism against African children (a few Indian children were also detained). Colonial administrators overseeing these institutions dressed African children in uniforms, especially during official visits by senior heads from Nairobi, and they expected the children to observe strict institutional codes governing the facilities (Figs.1 and 2). In the same way that scouting and its military garb "offered a means of controlling young males who threatened to slip the bonds of generational authority" (Parsons, 2006, p. 362), Approved Schools sought to control delinquent African children.

Fig. 1. An African boy in uniform at Wamumu Approved School, Kenya. Wamumu Approved School (March 1956), INFO 10-168, The National Archives, Britain (TNA).

Fig. 2. African boys at Wamumu Approved School in uniform making a human pyramid during a physical training session. Wamumu Approved School (March 1956), INFO 10-168, The National Archives, Britain (TNA).

The two photos from Wamumu Approved School reveal the grandeur of an orderly institution, complete with smartly dressed boys. Both photos were taken during an official visit to the school, and they expose the quintessential image of clean, reformed, and organized children. Indeed, these images display the portrait the government wanted to portray to the outside world. In the first photo, a boy, in a fez cap, neat khaki shirt and shorts, stand behind a decorated art exhibition table. A bay at the left side is set aside for clothing, "washed and ironed by the boys" (INFO 10-168, TNA). The boy strikes a submissive posture lacking emotional expression, suggesting that uniformed bodies submitted to the external power that informed their external outlook, collective presentation, and mien. The boy's inscrutable stare and overall demeanor reveal an elaborate scheme on the colonial officials' part to choreograph photography sessions. The second photo highlights the institutional control much better, with African boys adorned in physical education (PE) uniforms constructing a human pyramid for the visitors. Others sit in an organized manner and assume a posture that embodies reformed African children in an orderly and regulated environment. Together, the photos encapsulate the idealized image of an African child embedded in the colonial rhetoric and imagination of the time.

With increased commercial activities in urban spaces—such as Nairobi, Mombasa, Nakuru, and Kisumu—and access to material goods stemming from a capital-oriented economy, cities experienced a surge in the number of African children seeking to integrate themselves into a capital economy. Consequently, the surge exerted pressure on the modest social infrastructures (like public toilets, housing, and roads), creating unwarranted environments that incensed the officials. To solve the problem and allow the towns to grow according to their allotted annual budgets, officials instituted several measures, one of them being the removal of African children from urban spaces.

Moving with speed to remove child "loiters" from the streets, the government rounded them up and detained them in Approved Schools or Juvenile Remand Homes. These institutions promised to turn delinquent boys and girls into what officials romanticized as

"useful citizens of Kenya" (Moss, BY/12/44 KNA, NRB)**.** Dotting the country's landscape as early as 1917, Approved Schools detained even stranded children in urban towns seeking protection from the state. Little African boys and girls who approached police stations for protection were "kept in the police station for two days" and later transferred "to a Remand Home" (Ndugu, GSBB/78/ NMK, NRB). Those without a criminal record were repatriated to the reserves, but "spivs and thugs" (BY/12/44 KNA, NRB) were detained "for a maximum of seven years," (Moss, BY/12/44 KNA, NRB) after which the government repatriated them as well.

However, repatriation efforts proved problematic for government officials and social organizations concerned with the welfare of children in the colony, as most children ignored repatriation orders and drifted back into urban spaces. Infuriated colonial officials complained that the "number of little boys (ages between 8 and 11), who having been repatriated, still keep returning to the Nairobi streets, [then are] picked up by the police and brought here again" (BY/12/44 KNA, NRB). Doubting whether the children drifting back to towns identified themselves correctly to policemen after being apprehended the second time, the officials (while ignoring the colonial intrusion into the African everyday life and its adverse effect on familial and societal structures) wondered why "they continually" left "home" in the first place. An exasperated official lamented that "yesterday, one little boy, made a quite a scene, because he did not want to go with the police escort to his village. He told us he had already been repatriated once from Mombasa" (BY/12/44 KNA, NRB). Without evidential data to support his claim, the officer added that "each time these little boys return to the streets of the town, they will become worse and worse from every point of view," and he recommended that they "should be punished if they have homes, or their parents should" (BY/12/44 KNA, NRB). Of course, African children came from homes with solid economic and social foundations that faltered and underdeveloped during the colonial aggression (Rodney, 1982).

Controlling urban populations also required controlling socially repugnant activities taking place at street corners. In particular, officials identified African girls as the enablers of prostitution activities in large towns. Consequently, they "picked" them "up in various locations," (GSBB/38/CCK/ NMK, NRB) sent them to Approved Schools for girls—such as Kirigiti and the Roman Catholic Mission at Kalimoni that had been gazetted as an institution for girls—and later repatriated them. Like their male counterparts, girls drifted back to towns, and the cycle, which unnerved officials and social organizations assuming patriarchal and matriarchal responsibilities over their lives, continued unabated. "What," inquired the Women and Girls Committee, a social organization set to improve White women's living conditions in the colony, "are we to do with the young [African] girls . . . [who] disobey the court and return to the town?" (GSBB/38/CCK/ NMK, NRB). Persistently, and without data supporting their generalized observation, the Committee insinuated that African girls in Kenya's urban towns, some as "young as 9 years of age," had "been prostitutes in Nairobi ever since the town began to grow," and casually concluded that "most of these girls contract V.D" (GSBB/38/CCK/ NMK, NRB). To a generation of Africans born in the colonial period, the social vices to which the Women and Girls Committee alluded stemmed from a capital economy that eroded Africa's pre-colonial social fabric. The alien economy, they argued, required everyone, including children, to exchange their labor for wages. Wangari Maathai (2006), a Nobel laureate, captures this observation well in her memoir, *Unbowed,* in which she laments that wage labor "introduced negative phenomena such as prostitution, absent fathers, and sexually transmitted infections that were unknown until then and persist as significant challenges in society today" (p. 14).

Although the Women and Girls Committee applauded the police for rounding up "at least 50" girl prostitutes annually, they also assisted in alleviating the problem by establishing

sewing and dressmaking classes for girls between the ages of ten and twelve years (GSBB/38/CCK/ NMK, NRB). In addition, they trained the girls' mothers in dressmaking and asked them to pass the skills to their daughters. "My mother," Maathai writes, "attended classes for adults that taught her sewing, ironing, and some agricultural practices" (p. 13). Generally, officials and settlers saw the cloth as the first article of civilization to Africans, and maintaining this civility required teaching Africans the art of dressmaking. Europeans in Africa applied this view almost universally to other parts of Africa. In Ghana, for example, "cloth served initially as a means for comparing levels of civilization among the colonized, and then as a colonial index by which to measure the march toward civilization of the 'wild' and 'naked tribes of the northern frontier" (Allman, 2004, p. 147).

The idea to teach mothers how to teach their daughters the art of dressmaking sounded good in theory. In practical terms, however, it proved problematic, as young African girls rejected the long dresses that extended below the knees (Fig. 3). In any case, the girls had developed a sharp taste for fashion, and wearing long dresses and headscarves was antithetical to their conceptual view of modernity. Girls visiting urban towns, like Maathai, yearned for the new material articles displayed in stores, not homemade clothes cut from cheap materials that offended their fashion sensibilities. "For me," Maathai (2006) observes, "a rural child, going to town was very adventurous. In Nakuru, I would see cars, lots of people, and *clothing* and other goods for sale [emphasis added]" (p. 25). Maathai and her peers understood too well the elements undergirding fashion, and they coveted stylish dresses with short lengths, cotton or woolen material (not nylon), and color, for example. "Nothing," the white-owned *East African Standard* newspaper rhapsodized, "looks more unsuitable than a too-long frock on a little girl."

Fig. 3. *Ushonaji wa Nguo (*dressmaking). These women are learning the art of dressmaking for their children. Standing on the left is their instructor, who made for herself the dress she wears. GSBB/82/East Africa Women League, NMK, NRB.

To understand why African children acted the way they did and made institutional control problematic for the authority, one has to consider the forces that triggered their actions in the first place. First, although Approved Schools dressed them in uniforms, African children, especially boys, loathed khaki shorts and shirts that hurt their masculine pride. It is

unclear whether the boys understood the meaning of khaki—that is, dusty in the Urdu language—but it is clear that wearing them meant substituting their romanticized notions of fashion for an alien view. It is one thing to voluntarily vacate a belief, but it is a different thing to relinquish it under coercion. Put differently, coerced dressing is "symbolic of enslavement" (Jenkins, 2003, p. 89). Whether or not the children equated coerced dressing with slavery is beyond our present discussion, but it is worthwhile to mention that they considered uniforms, together with the institutions' strict rules that curbed their movements and social interaction, as impediments that impugned their fashion imagination. Therefore, it is not surprising that the first thing they did as soon as they made dramatic escapes from these institutions was to discard the outfits "in the gloomy light," where they hid "themselves in the bush in the adjacent reserve until opportunity offered to make escape doubly sure" (BY/12/44 KNA, NRB). In haste to shed their institutional identities and assume new ones, the runways substituted the uniforms with anything readily available to them on their way to freedom, leaving behind, in nearby bushes, the conspicuous symbols of control, subjugation, and identity.

Secondly, the institutions' deplorable conditions forced children to escape from their White tormentors who, while speaking about the "civilizing mission" and reforming troubled African children, harbored hatred and patronizing attitudes stemming from racial theories and overtones. To African children, the streets offered hope, and the promise of free uniforms was hardly enough to convince them that the colonizer had their best interests at heart. Indeed, as the children stepped into the institutions and found them lacking basic facilities—such as beds and blankets, food, and toilets—they promptly decided that Approved Schools and Remand Homes were *jaili za watoto* (children's jails), a characterization that irked government officials (K/364/36 KNA, NRB). As sanctioned spaces of psychological and physical control, where corporal punishment and "reduction in quality and quantity of food" (Garner, BY/12/44 KNA, NRB) constituted disciplinary measures, Approved Schools and Remand Homes tended to be overcrowded and lacked proper hygiene. Quite frequently, external auditors reported multiple cases of infectious diseases and observed that children slept "on the floors in the dormitories as there [were] insufficient beds available" (Waddicar, BY/12/44 KNA, NRB). Unwilling to subject themselves to multiple years of mental and physical humiliation, "inmates," meaning children or young people in an Approved School, "escaped from custody . . . within hours and [went] back to the towns" (BY/12/44 KNA, NRB).

Finally, compared to their White and Indian counterparts, African children lacked material wealth (especially clothes), and urban spaces, which provided access to articles commonly associated with thriving economies and expanding middle classes, offered a decent shot for upward social mobility. Maathai (2006) informs us that a typical fifteen-year-old White girl had "a compartment full of clothes. More than twenty dresses" (p. 24). Maathai's family squatted on a settler's farm, where she peeped into the settler's daughter's bedroom and saw a "completely stuffed" closet. "'How can anybody have so many dresses,' I asked myself. It was as many dresses as I had seen in my whole life. At that time, I think I had two dresses, maybe three" (P.24). To acquire the material articles that their parents were unable to provide, and which could hardly be found in the village, African children drifted into urban towns for wage labor, some voluntarily and others involuntarily.

Children integrated themselves into an alien economic system, negotiated the constructed urban spaces, and ignored heightened surveillance and repatriation orders. Entry into the labor market, however, did not always guarantee decent pay. White settlers and factory owners controlling the means of production tended to underpay child wage laborers (Ndanyi, 2016). Therefore, they worked longer than usual to accumulate enough money for new shirts or a pair of shoes. According to Abosede George (2014), in colonial Nigeria children worked long hours to "save money just to be able to purchase essential consumer

commodities, and the process to save enough for something as essential as a *shirt or dress* took time [emphasis added]" (p. 34). Saheed Aderinto (2015) recently made the same essential point more precisely when he emphasized that child workers in Nigeria's newspaper industry depended on "income from newspaper distribution "to feed, *clothe*, and educate themselves [emphasis added]'" (p. 277). Perhaps Timothy Parson (2006), writing about Boy Scout uniforms in colonial Kenya, made the point best when he observed that "*new clothes* not only induced African [children] to work for wages, but also opened channels of communication between the colonizer and the colonized that introduced Western notions of respectability, morality, and legitimacy into subject societies [emphasis added]" (p. 364). In South Africa, the older generation of Sotho women received money from their fathers, brothers, or husbands to buy clothes, whereas their daughters worked in farms to earn money for their own purchases (James, 1996, 46). On seeing smartly dressed boys return home for short labor breaks, Sotho girls "began running away from home to work on farms" (ibid) to save enough money for clothes that would bolster their social statuses. Similarly, in colonial Brazzaville, when young boys and men "entered the labor market for the first time, hats were among the first items that they bought" (Martin, 1994, 412). In the same manner that dress among Sotho girls augmented their fashion statuses, hats in colonial Brazzaville, whether new or secondhand, "gave status and had the added benefit of enhancing an outfit with a flamboyant and personal touch" (Martin, 1994, 412).

Generally, clothes were an expensive consumer commodity in colonial Kenya. Even White settler women with enhanced socio-economic statuses complained about their prohibitive prices (GSBB/81/ NMK, NRB). The East Africa Women's League wrote to White women in Europe planning to make their lives in Kenya to caution them that "ready-made clothes are very expensive in Kenya for all the family, and the new-comer will do well to bring as much as possible of her summer wardrobe" (GSBB/81/ NMK, NRB). Advising them to "bring at least one tweed or cloth suit, not too heavy, for the colder months, a light-weight skirt or two and plenty of cardigans and shirts," the women also reminded their peers to bring hats "as prices are high and choice limited even in Nairobi" (GSBB/81/ NMK, NRB). Those who could make their own and their children's clothes were encouraged to do so. Local groups targeting African children, such as the Girls' Scout, emphasized the "thrifty" message, but such calls did not dissuade the children from spending their hard-earned savings on clothes. In Oginga Odinga's (1967) not entirely reliable autobiography, at six years old he sold "sim sim" in colonial Kenya for "about 25 cents" to buy "a length of material to be used as a loin cloth" (p. 3). Although Odinga does not reveal the cloth's price, he probably saved over a long period to realize his dream.

"Celluloid Butchers": Social Control

> Censorship: the suppression or prohibition of any parts of books, films, news, etc. that the government considers obscene, politically unacceptable, or a threat to security.

Extant scholarship examining the intersection of child labor and children's spending disposable income on clothing items often fails to reveal how African children developed a sharp sense of fashion taste that vexed officials in colonial Kenya. R.W.B Blackall, Acting Crown Counsel in Kenya, theorized that the African conceptual view of fashion taste stemmed from their "contact with Europeans," (AG/1/587 KNA, NRB), a theory informing Parson's influential study on the consequences of uniformity in Kenya. Parson (2006) observes that:

> . . . the Africans most likely to covet, appropriate, and reinterpret European *clothing* tended to be those who had the greatest contact with western material culture. Generally speaking, these were the mission converts, *school children*, wage laborers,

> and urban migrants who most worried the authorities because they had the capacity to challenge the fragile social order in the colonies [emphases added] (p. 364).

Blackall and Parson are correct in pointing out that contact with Europeans increased Africa's awareness of Western clothes, but visual culture, such as cinema, also played a key role in fostering this awareness, especially among African children patronizing cinema venues in urban spaces.

Unlike their adult counterparts who tended to reject Western notions of civilization, African children readily embraced Euro-American clothes and other consumer commodities depicted in Hollywood films. In the view of a colonial officials in Kenya observing African audience reactions to cinema, "even six year old African children themselves only recently acquainted with clothes" understood fashion and "snigger[ed] at the sight of [a] garment" portraying a "semi-nude" actor in a loin cloth (Hayes, HAKI 13/288 KNA, NRB). American films inspired in child audiences a sense of style and modernity. Thomas Burgess (2002) captures this inspiration well when he writes that "young people" sought "to dress and display themselves according to the latest film styles" (p. 287). In large measure, children responded to American cultural imperialism in ways that forced colonial governments in Africa to rein in on other popular culture items from America, such as magazines and cosmetic products (Burke, 1996).

Hollywood films exhibiting Western clothes endeared themselves to children and instilled in them the idealized sense of fashion embodied in American motion picture actors such as Charles John "Jack" Holt Jr. Imitating "Jack's" fashion and swagger, African children, "*dressed in home-made paper* 'chaps' and *cowboy hats*, and carrying crudely carved wooden pistols," were "seen running about the native quarters of any industrial town . . . shouting 'Jèke, Jèke, come on Jèke [emphasis added]'" (Franklin, 1950, p. 85). Supposedly, Jèke was the African pronunciation of "Jack." Scenes like this one imitating America's movie heroes and their dress codes were common throughout colonial Africa. In Belgian Congo, "The Kinshasa tropical cowboys," to use Ch. Didier Gondola's (2016) phrase, "commandeered the urban" space "and performed their own tropical version of Hollywood's Far West" (p. 72). Young people watching Hollywood films in Congo's emerging commercial towns formed gangs known as Bills (after Buffalo Bill, aka William Frederick Cody, the Bills' eponymous hero) and KK (Gondola, p. 72). In a similar manner, South Africa's Pretoria and Durban towns had "young street toughs" calling themselves "Frisco Ranch, Texas Ranch and the Upper-Cut Ranch" that "ruled the streets" (Reynolds, 2015, p. 116). Largely influenced by cowboy films, the boys informing these groups usually wore "Western fashion: a colorful handkerchief around the neck, cowboy hat perched on the head, and pants tied below the knee to imitate breeches. Often an acoustic guitar or harmonica completed the image" (ibid). Boys in Central Africa wore "black masks over the eyes and a wooden dagger in the belt" (Franklin, 1950, p. 85). In the 1950s in Lamu, a coastal town in Kenya, "there was a craze…for cowboy styles," where children calling themselves "Americans" identified themselves in "bright shirts hanging out of their trousers" (Ranger, 1975, p. 78).

Examples abound, but the aforementioned are sufficient to make the point that African children in colonial Africa consumed cowboy films and appropriated America's fashion. However, officials observing children's imitations and behaviors tended to misrepresent the facts. For example, the paper hat and wooden dagger observation describes improvised costumes and props, mostly made by unemployed little children. In the real sense, however, working boys and girls acquired genuine clothes and makeup. In particular, boys bought *mabunga* (bell bottoms), decent shoes, fitted shirts, and hats. Not to be outdone, girls dotted urban landscapes in mini-skirts and lipstick (Burgess, 2002, p. 307).

Children's new identity and representation bothered government officials and the members of various social organizations in the country, such as the Women and Girls Committee. Composed of mainly White women who believed the new forms of identities promoted prostitution, the women observed, rather condescendingly, that "the immediate problem is that of the young girls who are coming into Nairobi and earning money as prostitutes" (GSBB/38/CCK/NMK, NRB). Exhibiting a corrosive contempt toward non-Euro-Americans, these women linked social vices to wage labor, but other "concerned" colonialists blamed American films for corrupting children's "moral welfare and progress" for which they "and other European nations" had "undertaken responsibility"(Bell, *The Times,* 1926). The tendency to explain the children's declining morals through American cultural encroachment justified the severe censorship of Hollywood films. Acutely aware of the immense "educational potentialities of the cinema, for good and evil," colonial officials throughout Africa insisted on "the proper *control* of such a powerful influence on primitive peoples," and advocated for the control as something "of the highest importance [emphasis added]" (Bell, *The Times*, 1926).

Film censorship officials in colonial Kenya promptly identified "objectionable" scenes to cut from American films, but "the question of what is, or is not, immoral in dress . . . perplexed"
(Blackall, KNA, NRB) them and the government they eagerly wanted to impress. To them, right or wrong in matters concerning dresses "largely depend[ed] on convention," and they doubted "if the cause of true morality" would be realized by focusing only on "ideas of propriety in dress"
(Blackall, KNA, NRB). This perplexity lingered on for a while, revealing the complexities informing film censorship and the government's inability to define what constituted immoral dress, in general, and in commercial films, in particular. Without meaningful legislation on this issue, overzealous censorship officials employed conjecture to cut films.

The uncertainty surrounding immoral dress, what to cut, and the depth of the cuts informed the confusion surrounding censorship in Kenya throughout the colonial period, especially beginning in 1912, when film censorship in British East Africa Protectorate (present-day Kenya) began in earnest following the publication of The Stage Plays and Cinematography Exhibitions Ordinance in 1912. This ordinance marked the first time the government considered regulating stage and cinematic performances in Kenya, and it came into operation as soon as governor Sir Henry Conway Belfield placed notice in the gazette. Broad in scope, the ordinance defined stage plays as tragedy, comedy, farce, opera, burletta, interlude, melodrama, pantomime, dialogue, prologue, epilogue, "or other dramatic entertainment, or any part thereof," and explained cinematograph exhibition, rather shallowly, as "pictures or other optical effects presented by means of a cinematograph or other similar apparatus" (Ordinances and Regulations, Vol. XIV KNA, NRB). The ordinance gave licensing officers the power to inspect all films before issuing a license. Appointed by the governor, licensing officers wielded the power to:

> refuse to grant a license in respect to any stage play or . . . cinematography exhibition or may grant it subject to any rules made under this ordinance or subject to such special conditions and restrictions, to be specified in such license, as to him many seem fit (Ordinances and Regulations, Vol. XIV KNA, NRB).

Designed to bring on board other colonial watchdogs besides licensing officers, the ordinance empowered policemen, or officers appointed for the purpose by the governor, to enter exhibition theaters at "all reasonable times" to enforce its provisions, and any person

obstructing their entry was subject to prosecution. Only the governor could revoke a license once it had been issued. As punishment for violators who breached its spirit, the ordinance empowered judges to impose a fine or jail them for a term not exceeding ninety days. Although the new law targeted commercial films, officials paid particular attention to American westerns and hardly bothered themselves with locally produced films for overseas markets and "educational" films meant to "civilize backward" Africans in the colony.

Ambiguous in every sense, the new law inaugurated much of the confusion informing the film industry in Kenya (then and now). To begin with, the government dispensed the new law without a staff in place, and censorship officials and licensing officers received no training in film review and in basic cinematograph techniques. Indeed, the government did not require censorship workers to demonstrate superior academic qualifications or prior experience in film. Police constables and volunteer European women looking for "something" to do in their spare time qualified as "celluloid butchers" (Ambler, 2001, p. 83). Members of the Criminal Investigation Department (CID), religious leaders (an American missionary, the Rev. Ray Phillips, was a notorious censor of films shown to Africans), and women groups, sat on censorship boards (Burns 2002 p. 7-15; 2013, p. 168). The Board of Film Censorship, a national body that oversaw censorship activities throughout the country, did not admit Africans until after WWII, when Board members agreed to the amended Cinematograph Films Censorship Rule of 1930 allowing for the "appointment of two Africans to the panel of the Board of Film Censors" (PC/NZA/2/7/92 KNA, NRB). Their appointments reflected the government's increased concern that the large number of African soldiers returning from WWII had been exposed to divergent viewpoints and were likely to challenge discriminatory policies at home. Officials also considered the increased scrutiny in the press about the question of discrimination against Africans by the Board (PC/NZA/2/7/92, KNA, NRB).

Short on cinema vocabulary and training, censorship officials, especially European women sitting on district censorship boards, arbitrarily cut films so deeply that other government officials took notice. These women, wrote a concerned official, took "an old fashioned view" of censorship and "ban[ned] too many films for Africans" (PC/NZA/2/7/92 KNA, NRB). Undoubtedly, the women responded to the government's central approach to censorship; that is, to cut unpleasant scenes or ban films that "put undesirable ideas into the heads of Africans" (Hartwell, DC/KSM/19/155 KNA, NRB). Even then, other colonial officials, like Hesketh Bell, lamented that censorship was "not sufficiently strict." Bell recommended that films that had passed censorship in Britain be re-censored for an African audience. Bell did not stop there. Aware that the push for deeper cuts was likely to engender "discontent," he asked film producers to prepare two versions of the same film story concurrently—one for general exhibition and the other for display in countries where restrictions [were] advisable. The bulk of the two editions would be identical, but in the one for tropical exhibition, objectionable scenes and episodes might be replaced by innocuous pictures tending to the same climax. One wonders how far censorship officials and advocates would have manipulated the films had the Photoshop technique existed during their time.

The Stage Plays and Cinematography Exhibitions Ordinance (1912) did not define unpleasant scenes or undesirable ideas, and it left open the question of "immoral dress." This loophole allowed colonial officials throughout the colony to imagine competing categories of social vices they considered unacceptable to African viewers, especially to African men and boys, who Europeans in Africa believed had "a higher sexual drive than white men and could pose a danger to white women" (Hochschild, 1998, p. 210). Consequently, the officials paid close attention to scenes depicting sex and prostitution, which they argued offered "false representations" of the Western life that should not be shown to "primitive" African audiences "unable to distinguish between the truth and a travesty of it" (Bell). What bothered them the most were films that showed nude White women. In their views, White bodies, especially

White women's bodies, exemplified purity, and films tarnishing this image by displaying "prolonged osculatory performances and general immodesty" were designed to have "a shocking and dangerous effect on colored youths and men . . . who [had] been led to consider the White man's wife and daughters as" (ibid) quintessential symbols of purity. Consequently, they fed Africans with a steady diet of films whose romance had been blotted out (Maathai, 2006, p. 81). Even scenes where boys and girls held hands in courtship were cut from the main story. Concerned about the possibility of reverse ethnography—where White civilization was placed on display into the gaze of the colonized—(Burns, 2002, p. 13), censorship advocates—settlers and church leaders—argued that films displaying undesirable ideas had the potential to undermine the "prestige and authority of the white governing races" (Bell). They amplified the chorus asking for tougher censorship laws, and they asked colonial administrators to consider increasing the number of censorship workers in order to keep up with the high influx of undesirable films in the colonies.

Other scenes that unnerved them included those that glamorized criminal activities. Without evidential data, officials complained about criminality among Africans, especially children, creating a justified way for detaining the children in controlled spaces that effectively separated them for a society seeking a progressive guise. A horrified colonial official observed that a "potential criminal gets 'good ideas' from crime films, which he then tries to put into practice" (Beale, 1948, p. 17). Employing this logic as a guiding principle through which to curb criminal behaviors among Africans, the government restricted commercial films portraying theft, fights, burglary, shooting, and "gangsterism being depicted as a virtue" (ibid). They also cut scenes depicting people blowing up trains or bridges, like in *The Great Alaskan Mystery* (1944), which attracted the scrutiny of the colonial officials who discovered—much later, after issuing a license for public viewing—that the film had a scene depicting a staircase being blown up while a man was descending it. Although this particular film reached audiences in Kenya a decade after its release, the War Council recommended that films showing such scenes should not be exhibited at the "present time [during the Mau Mau war]" (Hartwell, DC/KSM/19/155 KNA, NRB), further demonstrating the administration's obsession with insulating Africans from imagined dangers. As the Mau Mau war of land and freedom took center stage in 1950s, censorship officials paid attention to gun fights and shooting scenes and put less emphasis on White bodies, petty criminal activities, and brawls in saloon bars (ibid).

Needless to say, arbitrary cuts distorted plots, obscured narrative continuity, and stripped the films their temporal and spatial sensibilities. The cuts, however, hardly stopped African children from consuming American Western films. Increasingly, children drew useful fashion lessons from disturbed pictorial storylines. Whether or not distorted stories made sense to them, the "amazing imbecilities" (Penton, 1931, p. 1931), as British critics tended to say to characterize American films, mesmerized African children, increased their fashion sense, and enlarged their spatial imagination beyond territorial boundaries. Perhaps Judith Musiga's story sums it all up. A fourteen-year-old girl at Limuru Girls' High School in colonial Kenya, Musinga ably captured African children's fascination with Hollywood and American films in a short essay appearing in the school's magazine. In "Hollywood, Here I Come," Musiga provided an image that illustrated the extent of the American Western's influence over African children's conceptual view of fashion (Fig. 4). She depicts herself in a miniskirt, fitted sleeveless top, over-the-knee boots, and afro hairstyle epitomizing the "black is beautiful" movement commonly associated with the African Americans, especially the black female dancers and jazz singers of the time. She strikes a pose in front of a busy "Hollywood" cinema crew, complete with gigantic cameras, freewheeling actors smoking long cigars, poised actresses adorned in gaudy dresses, music, flashy cars, and local dailies valorizing a "new star." Like other African child consumers of America's popular culture,

Musiga idolized fictitious American movie heroes, and she left no doubt about her intention to be "just" like "one of them."

Textually, Musiga wrote how she "begged" her father to let her "to go Hollywood, because nothing else in life would satisfy" her "but to become an actress" (GSBB/78/ NMK, NRB). She imagined herself in Hollywood, where she, like the women appearing in Hollywood films, would look "poised and elegant." She painted a flattering portrait of Hollywood dotted with taxis, hotels, film studios, producers, secretaries, and, of course, "good pay." Although she hardly revealed where she first watched Hollywood films, or the specific films informing her romanticized notions of America, Musiga's essay illustrates that African children imagined fictitious characters and geographical spaces beyond what the colonialists had imagined and constructed for them. Interpreted this way, the essay suggests that African children did not always share the colonial conceptual view of the world.

Fig. 4 GSBB/78/Schools in Kenya, NMK, NRB.

Conclusion

In examining the intersection between African children and sartorial power, this essay has weaved together two significant themes. First, it has demonstrated that African children were active participants in social discourses taking place in colonial Kenya. Far from being passive actors and marginal members of their societies, children emerged as active players who, like other categories of African protesters, protested against colonial programs, imposed views, and control over their bodies. By refusing to conform to regulations conceived to control their social behaviors and sartorial tastes, children defied the authority and set in motion a national conversation about their place in urban spaces. They rebuffed repatriation orders and the idealized notion of appropriate and modest dress, forcing the central government to consider their relevance and role in the discourse on modernity, urbanity, nudity, and, to a large extent, control of personal spaces in the form of individual bodies. Perhaps Foucault made the point best when he pointed out that "the body serves as an instrument or intermediary: if one intervenes upon it to imprison it, or to make it work, [or to dress it], it is in order to deprive the individual of a liberty that is regarded both as a right and as property" (Foucault, 1977, p. 11). As a form of protest against the authority, the choice each child made "was not an innocuous sartorial fad but a subversive infraculture that challenged administrative authority [and] defied the police" (Gondola, 2016, p. 86).

Secondly, clothes became a political language, "a language that tells political stories of…differentiation, challenges, and domination" (Allman, 2004, p. 1). Expressing the racialized logic portraying Africans as docile and malleable, in general, and African children, in particular, the government mobilized its intellectual and economic clout to display power through coercion and perfected the political language of clothes against the colonized. In all this, government officials hardly expected African children to comprehend the grammar of control and domination embedded in the act of dressing them in uniforms, removing them from urban spaces, and censoring popular media that bolstered their fashion tastes. When the children demonstrated understanding, the officials, together with European settlers in the colony, acted surprised and exasperated, and they turned the fury into social programs (censorship and dressmaking) to further undermine children's appreciation of modern cultural tastes. In this regard, the government used clothes to harness power, but African children used the clothes as a means through which to challenge, and perhaps subvert, that power (Bastian, 1996, p. 124). The sustained effort to articulate power through clothes did not always yield favorable outcomes. As Parsons (2006) correctly points out, institutional uniforms were not a particularly effective instrument of control (p. 362). However, Parsons errs in suggesting that African children "voluntarily subjected themselves to incarceration in reform schools to gain the educational and vocational training the state accorded to western juvenile delinquents" (p. 362). Contrary to this assumption, this essay has demonstrated that children routinely escaped from these institutions and drifted back to urban spaces. By rejecting prescribed notions of fashion and control, African children were, by extension, rejecting the self-appointed colonialists as moral guardians and avuncular figures.

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Poverty eradication through motorcycle (Boda boda) as emerging business for the poor in transport sector in Kenya

By Gilbert Nyakundi Okebiro

Abstract

Poverty is defined using different criterion or parameters, in different regions in the world. In Africa, poverty is regarded as a situation where a person cannot meet the cost of basic needs in the household, such as foods, clothes, proper shelter, cost of health and education. The situation is common in third world countries in Africa, Asia and South America. However, poverty exists in developed countries, it cannot be serious or compared to developing countries. The problem is governments have struggled to eradicate or alleviate poverty through policy planning but the problem persists, till recently when *boda boda* business emerged for sustainability of youth's self-employment in Kenya. The objective is to study how *Boda boda* business has emerged to be business for the poor and eradication of poverty in transport sector and sustainable development in Kenya. The research employed survey method through descriptive research design. Data was collected by use of questionnaires from 500 *Boda boda* riders through purpose random sampling. The finding indicate that poverty eradication can be approached into three levels as: poverty eradication in level one by *Boda boda* as emerging business for the poor. The article concludes by stating that people sell their land to purchase *Boda boda*(Motorcycle) for use in transport industry and eradicate poverty. It is recommended county governments to assist the *Boda boda* riders to access loans from the banks and use to purchase more *Boda-boda* and lead to sustainable development and eradication of poverty.

Key words: Poverty eradication, emerging business, transport sector, sustainable development

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Poverty eradication through motorcycle (Boda boda) as emerging business for the poor in transport sector in Kenya

By Gilbert Nyakundi Okebiro

Introduction

There has been persistent poverty in African states since they became independent. Poverty in Africa persists because of the poor leadership which resists the transformation of the poor through policies and programmes for sustainable growth and eradication of poverty. The term poverty is relative but it is defined in various ways in different regions of the world. Poverty is defined using different criterion or parameters, in different regions in the world. In Africa, poverty is regarded as a situation where a person cannot meet the cost of basic needs in the household, such as food, clothes, proper shelter, cost of health and education. The situation is common in Developing countries in Africa, Asia and South America. However, poverty exists in developed countries, it cannot be serious or compared to developing countries.

Poverty can be eradicated in Africa through strong leadership implementing policies and programmes geared to assist the poor to transform from poverty, such as *Boda boda* business emerged for sustainability of youth's self-employment in Kenya. However since independence leadership has been the main factor for persistent poverty, which recently led to emerging of *Boda boda* business in transport industry to eradicate poverty among the unemployed youths. In Kenya which have had four state leaders since independence, and the big man notion suggests that a nation state develops when a leader committed to economic growth emerges to impose personal will upon the entire society (Gray&McPherson, 1999; Dorna, 1998; Katumanga, 2002). This has been contrary commitment by leaders in Africa especially in Kenya since independence. In Kenya, leadership has given rise to "Cycle of employment of known family members" and making it retain wealth while the poor eligible for such appoints are denied the opportunities though qualified for employment due to being "Unknown" family. "Cycle of employment of known family members" refers to the process where the present government appoints the members of selected family of the political leaders who were known since independence into key positions in the government. The person retires from the civil service and joins politics and is elected into parliament and later when loses by being rejected by the will of the people. The person can be brought back by the president in appointments into key positions and it becomes "changing designation of work stations in the government". However, according to Katumanga and Omosa (2007), leadership take time to develop and involves commitment, sacrifice, programme development, discipline and ability to organise and stimulate solidarity.

Sincerely, leadership is geared towards a societal purpose rather than towards the satisfaction of self-interests (Katumanga and Omosa, 2007). Since there is poor leadership, failing to secure political stability and continuity socio-economic growth, sustainable development and national integration for the benefit of the present and future generations. Ochola (2007:105) argues that "in modern knowledge-based world, it is in the interest of the present political leadership in Africa to accept that an undergraduate degree now constitutes the basic education that would enable a country to be competitive and to survive in a globalized world". When youths acquire degrees and become unemployed makes many to think the Jubilee government plays games in giving empty promises in election campaigns that it will generate million plus jobs for youths. This plan has failed leading unemployed youths in Kenya. The unemployment situation and tough economic climate in Kenya has made degree holders youths to embark in *Boda boda* business in transport industry as it is booming and a state of eradicating poverty through self employment.

The leadership which cares for the employment of the youth, will lead to sustainable development and eradicate poverty. But what type of leadership and what policies followed by leaders will determine the magnitude of poverty eradication in Kenya. How can leaders be rebelled development-oriented if they cannot identify where the real development priorities lie? (Ochola, 2007: 106). There is a question posed why some countries have managed to lift millions of their citizens from poverty while others millions remain poor like Kenya (Kanyinga, 2017). In Kenya "The poor always remain to be poor" in spite of many development programmes designed and implemented by the government and other agencies. Many countries were successful to reduce and manage poverty depended on leaders in government have been playing an important role in transforming people's lives (Kanyinga, 2017). This evolves on what type of leadership and what policies they pursue to address poverty.

We need to have some lessons in what happened in Southeast Asia governments, where some were democratic at times of transformation from poverty, others were dictatorship and as corrupt as many governments in Africa, but their leaders had a long term view of development and wanted their presence to be felt everywhere to action and had chosen policies that focused on rural development where a majority of the people lived with poverty. They chose to improve rural incomes by expanding agricultural production. The governments complemented pro-poor agricultural policies with basic industrialization. The value addition agricultural industries followed up in countryside and cottage industries popped up in rural areas. These were labour intensive and created employment opportunities in villages, which impacted on household incomes and by that helped reduce poverty levels in a significant manner (Sunday Nation, 2017). In Kenya, leaders recognize the significance of their role in development, but they have done little in transforming the poor. The persistent poverty in rural poor in Kenya led to the unemployed youths to engage themselves in *Boda boda* business in transport industry to sustain and maintain their lives through the incomes from the business and eradicate poverty in their families.

According Okebiro (2016), Motorcycle business known as "*Boda-boda*" eased transportation problem of connecting urban and rural areas in Kenya. "*Boda-boda*" originated early 1990s from Uganda through Busia town in western Kenya and spread to adjacent towns, subsequently other towns and all towns currently are crowded with *Boda boda* in Kenya (Okebiro, 2016).The "*Boda-boda*" is term which originated from its usage along board of Kenya and Uganda. It is derived from the English word "boarder" which means a boundary of two countries. In this aspect, the businessmen transported passengers and goods within the border town from the side of either Kenya or Uganda across the boundary of the two countries. The pronunciation of the term "border" changed to *boda* as it was pronounced by the peddlers in Busia and Malaba border towns. Initially bicycles were used as means of transportation in plains which were flat and peddlers could transport goods and people with no difficulties but as the introduction of motorcycle had afforded prices, businessmen shifted and used them as means of transport to the highland regions because they used fuel and not human energy as in case of bicycles (Okebiro, 2016).

The statement of the problem

The problem is governments have struggled to eradicate or alleviate poverty through policy planning but the problem persists, till recently when *boda boda* business emerged for sustainability of youth's self-employment in Kenya.

The objective of the study

The objective is to study how *Boda boda* business has emerged to be business for the poor in transport sector and eradication of poverty leading sustainable development in Kenya.

Literature Review

The causes of poverty in real sense are believed to be either *endogenous* or *exogenous*. Brady (2009) documents shows that poverty is the result of politics more than individual characteristics and abilities. He used data from eighteen countries over more than thirty years to provide an institutionalized power relations explanation rather than examine individual problems or labor markets. Variation in poverty rates is shaped by variation in generosity of countries' welfare policies (Dobratz et al, 2012). Endogenous are those factors emanating from within the people (Mulwa, 2013; 38), and exogenous are those factors which originate from outside to the people and make them to be poor.

Exogenous factors according to Rodney (2001), by any standards, labour was cheap in Africa, and the amount of surplus extracted from labour was great. The employer under colonialism paid an extremely a small wage-a wage usually insufficient to keep the worker physically alive-and, therefore, he had to grow food to survive. This applied in particular farm labour of plantation type, to work in mines, and certain forms of unemployment. At the time of the imposition of European colonial rule, Africans were able to gain a livelihood from the land. Many retained some contact with the land in the years ahead, and they worked away from their *shambas* in order to pay taxes or because they were forced to do so (Rodney,2001:138).In Kenya things worked in a different way because the Africans lost their land the white and this was known as White highlands. The Africans became squatters after losing their land. According to Leys (1994: 46), squatters were (and are still) people living on, cultivating and generally also grazing, land that does not belong to them. In the early years of European settlement they were sometimes the original inhabitants of the land which had been appropriated by the colonial administration and 'alienated' to a European settler. More often they were landless people or owners of very small plots, who would have moved on to some unused and unowned land but who now found that the only available unused land was in European ownership. In this sense, squatting provided the *ahoi* or landless kikuyu with land, sometimes on a scale which allowed them to accumulate considerable wealth from farming, normally in form of sheep and goats (Zwanenberg, 1971).

According to Mulwa,(2013;38),in the context of *endogenous*, poverty is seen as emanating from factors that border with "carelessness" or "ignorance" among the poor who do not understand "the things of development". Such include over population, laziness, laggard attitude leading to low adoption of modern technology which again leads to under utilization of natural resources, people's primitive way of life, low education or illiteracy as the people do not make use of available opportunities for education, inadequate physical structures and infrastructures, insufficient exports for example, the poor do not readily cooperate with agricultural extension workers who promote cash crops; or the lack of money, for example the poor do not want to work and neither do they have relevant skills for salaried employment (Mulwa,2013;38), However, recently according to the Daily Nation Newspaper November 20th,2014,the *Boda boda* riders have broken the chains of poverty in their own way by forming a Sacco through a contribution of only ksh.100 and emerging to be owning their own estate in Kitengela near Nairobi. This affirms that they observed a very strong association between savings and investment and gross domestic investment ratios and long-term growth (Ochola, 2007; 119).

It is argued that the East Asian experience brought out the role of capital accumulation and savings in growth, however little it may look in the eyes of the investor.Ochola (2007:119) noted while East Asian countries had opted to save now in order that higher

consumption may be enjoyed by future generation, Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) countries had regrettably opted to consume now and impose an unbearable burden on the future generation. That is why in Kenya the government is not concern about youth employment but instead it is concern with the employment of retired civil servants and paves way for recycling of wealth among few individuals in the government and some extent from one ethnic tribe.

The publication, *pulling Apart: Facts and Figures on inequality in Kenya* (2004) by society for international Development (SID) indicate that income distribution was heavily skewed in favors of the rich and against the poor. The country's top 10% holds control of 42% of the total income, while the Bottom 10% controls less than 1 %.that is, for every one Kenya shilling earned by the poorest 10% households, the richest 10% earned more than 56 Kenya. These figures indicate that 40 years of development had only widened the gap between the rich and the poor to an unacceptable level (Ochola, 2007:125). Bauer (1981) and Krauss (1983) have argued that, since developing countries face enough problems of achieving the imperative of development and growth, they should not be distracted from capitalist path of development by the naïve concept of social justice. There is no social justice if the appointments into high posts are made from one tribe and region, definitely it will create regional imbalance because poor leadership. That is why the experience in south Africa shows that since capitalism is based on self-seeking inequality and conflicting individual and group interests, the legal system that protects it, maintains inequality in the distribution of property rights and opportunities in the capitalist system (Terreblanche, 2002).That exactly happening in Kenya where the some cabinet secretaries siphon government open daylight and there is none accountable for! Will there be eradication of poverty in such situations? There can be no social justice in such wide income disparities, which end up destroying economic growth and development (Ochola, 2007; 124) in Kenya.

In the spirit of comradeship, 200 members of *Boda boda* riders in Nairobi decided start to contribute Kenya shillings of one hundred (Ksh.100) to pay the fines charged by the police to set their colleagues free. As they contributed ksh.100 daily with a membership of 200, they started a Sacco known as Kitemoto Sacco banking ksh.20, 000 daily or 7.3 million annually. The members realized they could do something bigger with sh.100 they contributed daily. As the contributions had grown to Ksh.600, 000, the Kitemoto Sacco started loaning Ksh.80, 000 to their members who used rented motorcycles (*Boda boda*) to: One, use to purchase their own at an interest of sh.10, 000.Two, the Sacco paid for their members driving or motorcycle riding courses and licenses. Three, other members acquired loans to pay fees, rent and other expenses.

The Kitemoto sacco became self-reliant and after early noticing that the members were asking for loans to pay rent rather than to develop themselves financially, some members floated the idea of investing their money in housing. Some members agreed and others rubbished the idea as a pyramid scheme which would fleece their saving and 100 of them withdrew their membership. Although it was a challenge, the 100 members who remained in the Kitemoto Sacco were determined to continue and were inspired by thought of their savings what they paid in rent would be channelled towards their very own, beautiful and attractive affordable homes. With that noble objective, the members identified a five-acre piece of land in Kitengera for the project and started approaching banks to finance them. Most of the banks declined and had no interest in financing them, but they approached National Cooperative Housing Union (NCHU) and they had to have 100 members to qualify for a loan.

In the poverty reduction strategy paper (PRSP), the government has recognised that corruption and mismanagement of public services are cause of poverty in Kenya (Njeru and Njoka, 2007: 42). The NARC government has expressed commitment to reform public services but actual results have not been realised. Poverty rose from 11.5 million in 1994 to 12.6 million in 1997 (Ayako& Katumanga, 1997). Moi regime and so called opposition

therefore failed the lest of leadership and brought the state on the blink of collapse. The leadership lacked a sense of trust and credibility and ability to hold the country together (Katumanga and Omosa, 2007).In this sense Keating (1982:13) notes that "Leadership is service, in the sense that it seeks to meet the needs of another group or of the group by performing needed functions. Sometimes strong directive power is effective leadership, such as when a group has lost its sense of direction or purpose; with another group, or at another time when the group is functioning well in its relationships and has its directions clear, non-directive styles of leadership are needed. Sometimes the group needs to be encouraged and supported; at other times it may need to be reoriented.

Leadership serves the needs of the group". The Integrated labour Force Survey (ILFS, 2002), showed that the education level of average unemployed man was higher than that of the women. The draft session paper No.3 of 2003 on Development and Small Enterprises for Employment Creation and poverty reduction notes that women's access to skills acquisition and credit is more restricted than that of men, and cultural and social norms still influence women's access to land and credit(ROK,2003).in individual perspective to reduce poverty, through Kitemoto Sacco, women were approached owning small-scale businesses such as vegetable vendors(*Mama imboga*),charcoal sellers, *Jua Kali* (Open sunlight)artisans, salon owners, and construction workers to fill the deficit created by the members who withdrew to be members when Kitemoto Sacco by *Boda boda* group was formed.

In Nigeria for instance, despite the strong condemnation of the Nigerian bourgeoisie and despicable behaviour as an agent of imperialism, Osoba's position may easily provide an ideological platform for rising Nigerian bourgeoisie which has no inhibitions in using nationalist and anti-imperialistic rhetoric (Bjorn Beckman, 2004).Osoba's argument is vulnerable on both counts. There is a heavy outflow of legal and illegal profits to foreign capital which a more efficient and nationalist government could reduce.Still,partly through nationalisations and partly through increase in oil prices the government has had exceptional resources at its disposal for national development. Yet this massive expenditure has little to remove mass poverty. It is generally agreed that social injustices have been greatly enhanced. This means that the suggestion that the Nigerian State promotes capitalist development does not necessarily mean that it does so efficiently. Nor does it mean that such development provides a useful answer to the problems of mass poverty and deprivation facing the Nigerian people.

Methodology

The research employed survey method through descriptive research design. Research design is a plan and the procedure for research that span the decisions from broad assumptions to detailed methods of data collection and analysis (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2006). . Descriptive research design will be used because this is a method of collecting information by informing or administering a questionnaire to a sample of individuals (Orodho, 2003).Also Kombo and Tromp (2006), noted, concerning descriptive design, that such studies are not only restricted to fact finding, but may often result in the formulation of important principles of knowledge and providing solutions to significant problems. Data was collected by use of questionnaires from 52 *Boda boda* riders through purpose random sampling.

Survey designs are procedures in quantitative research in which the investigator administers a survey to a sample or the entire population, to describe attitudes, opinions, behaviours and characteristics of the population According to Creswell (2011), survey researchers collect quantitative and numbered data using questionnaires and statistically analyze the data to describe trends about responses to questions and test the research questions. It usually uses questionnaires and interviews to determine the opinions, attitudes, preferences and perceptions of groups of people of interest. Questionnaires are used to collect basic

descriptive information from a broad sample (Kathuri and Pals, 1993).The advantages of questionnaires are; the cost of conducting research is sufficiently low, because the researcher will spend on printing the questionnaires and use them. Secondly, under this method, a much larger sample may be drawn and people dispersed over very long distances will be contacted without any extra cost. This data collection instrument is suitable for this study because the respondents are scattered in the villages. Questionnaire method has also been found to be more useful where information when using questionnaires. Some people (respondents) become more frank in giving replies or answers to questions in the questionnaires

Key findings

The findings indicate that poverty eradication can be approached into three levels either by World Bank initiated projects (International), the government initiated projects (National) or individual initiated projects such as: poverty eradication in level one by *Boda boda* as emerging business for the poor. Development economists use the concept of 'Absolute poverty' to represent a specific minimum level of income needed to satisfy the physical needs of food, clothing, and shelter in order to ensure continued survival (Todaro&Smith,2015:62). Riders and the owners make income from the business and the money which is a surplus after spending in the basic physical needs is used in economic development.

Historically Kenya's poverty originated from colonization as colonizers took the African land and subjected the African owners into squatter system. This marked the first phase of poverty in Kenya. After the Africans struggled for independence in Kenya and independence was attained, the European colonizers handed over the land on the white highlands to the government and some were given to *shamba* boys and African security guards as a reward. Under the leadership of the first president of Kenya Jomo Kenyatta (Johnstone Kamau), instead his government rehabilitating the indigenous people of the land from squatters into their original land, Kenyatta took over the "white highlands" and owned them. The people (especially, Kikuyus) remained squatters, and that became the second phase of poverty in Kenya.

In the national level, the government and the leaders causes the persistent poverty in Kenya and Africa at large. The current jubilee government, under the leadership of president Uhuru Kenyatta, appoints cabinet secretaries, permanent secretaries and ambassadors selectively from few ethnic communities in Kenya and sidelines other ethnic tribes in the opposition (NASA) and leading to regional imbalances in economic growth and development. In this sense Development economists therefore, have also increasingly focused on ways in which poverty and inequality can lead to slower growth (Todaro&Smith, 2015:62), in Kenya. Refer to the interview schedule in appendix 1.The following are the findings from the analysed data and interpretation:

ANALSIS OF DATA AND INTERPRETATION

Table 1: Towns of data collection

Town

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Kitale	5	9.6	9.6	9.6
	Moi's Bridge	5	9.6	9.6	19.2
	Eldoret	2	3.8	3.8	23.1
	Nakuru	4	7.7	7.7	30.8
	Kisii	4	7.7	7.7	38.5
	Nyahuhuru	6	11.5	11.5	50.0
	Busia	5	9.6	9.6	59.6
	Kisumu	5	9.6	9.6	69.2
	Kericho	6	11.5	11.5	80.8
	Kapenguria	3	5.8	5.8	86.5
	Lodwar	7	13.5	13.5	100.0
	Total	**52**	**100.0**	**100.0**	

Bar Graph 1: showing Towns of data collection

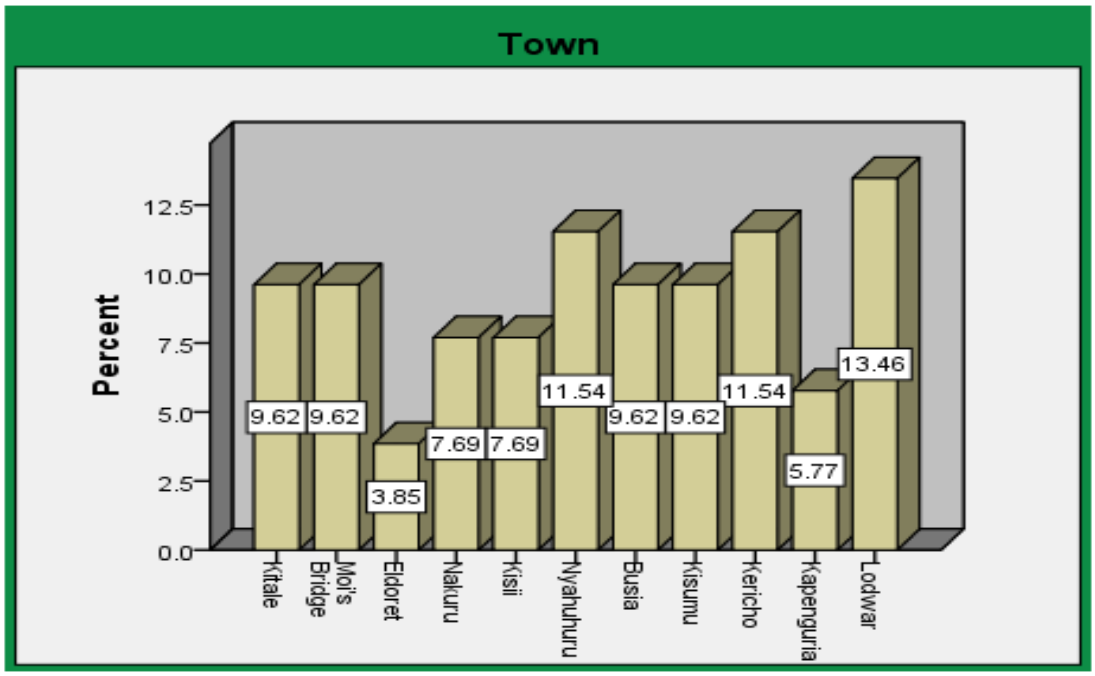


Table 2:Age of respondents

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Below 20 years	1	1.9	1.9	1.9
	20-29	30	57.7	57.7	59.6
	30-39	21	40.4	40.4	100.0
	Total	52	100.0	100.0	

Table 2, Shows the age of the respondents and 57.7% are between 20-29 years, 40.4% between 30-39 years and1.9% below 20 years. This indicates that most of the youths are engaged in the *Boda boda* business because of unemployment after graduation from colleges and low percentage of youths below 20 years are in either in primary or secondary level of education system as illustrated in bar graph 2.The youths engaged in *Boda boda* business use the earning in economic growth for sustainable development and eradicating poverty in family level. It is evidenced youths involve in *Bodaboda* business for twenty four hour that means no time for resting.

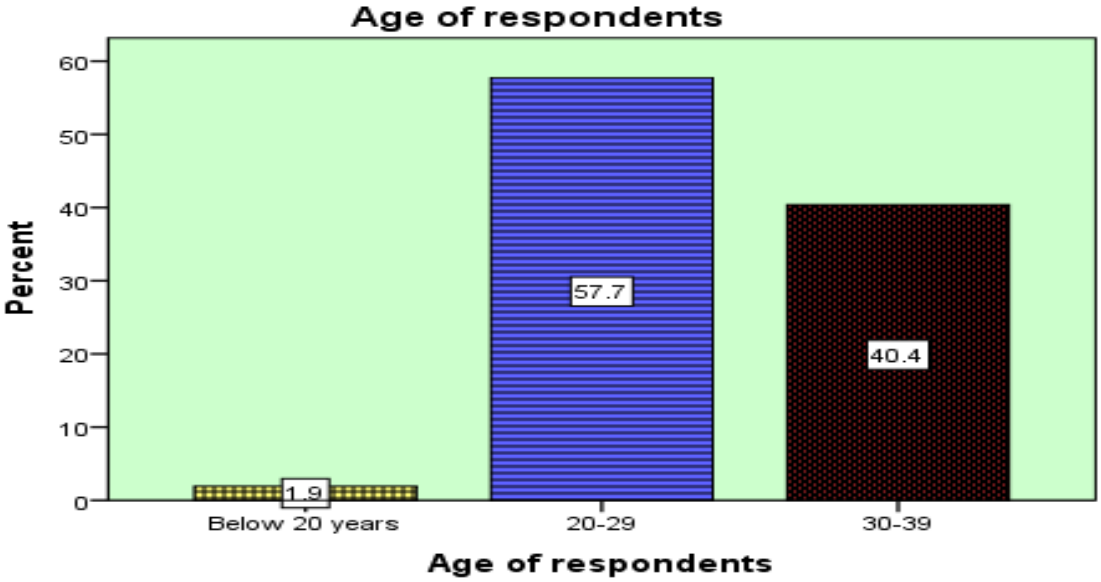
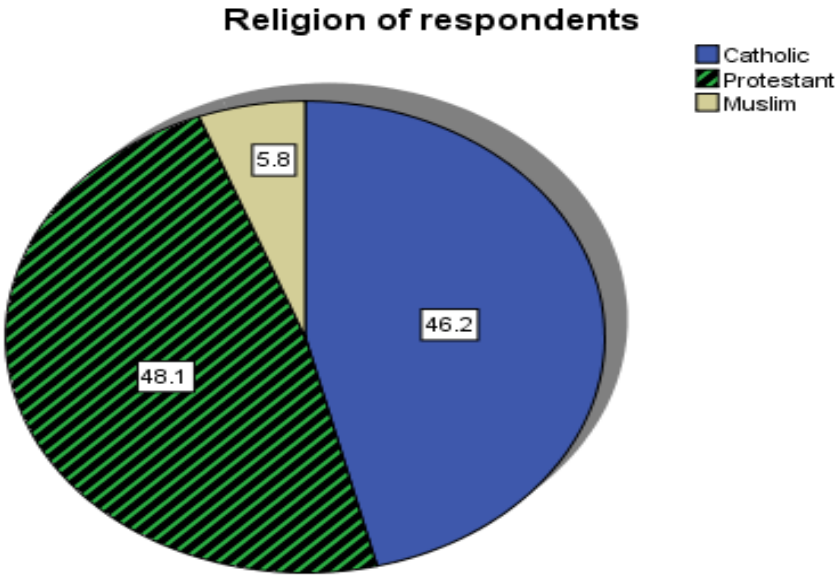


Table 3, shows the religion of the respondents and 48.1 % were protestant, 46.1% catholic, and 5.8% Muslim and illustrated in Pie chart graph 3.

Pie chart graph 3.



Most yourths in muslim oriented regions do not engage in *Boda boda* business because of religious reasons and persistent harsh climatic conditions .

Table 3: Religion of respondents

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Catholic	24	46.2	46.2	46.2
	Protestant	25	48.1	48.1	94.2
	Muslim	3	5.8	5.8	100.0
	Total	52	100.0	100.0	

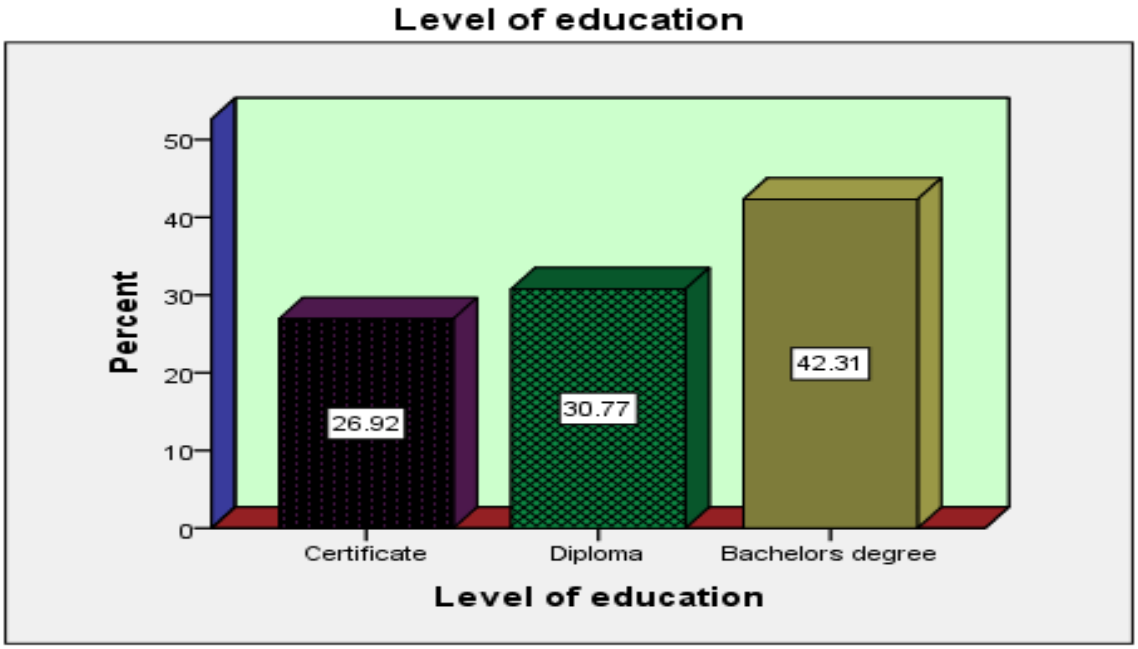
Table 4:Level of education

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Certificate	14	26.9	26.9	26.9
	Diploma	16	30.8	30.8	57.7
	Bachelors degree	22	42.3	42.3	100.0
	Total	52	100.0	100.0	

Table 4 shows the level of education of the respondents and 42.3% are holders of bachelor's degree, 30.8% diploma and 29.9% certificate. There is high percentage of graduates from universities and colleges, due to unemployment syndrome. They have embarked in *Boda boda* business to earn a livelihood through self employment, leading to sustainable human development and eradicating poverty as illustrated in bar graph 4.The highest number of

degree holders are *Boda boda* riders due to unemployment and don't value the knowledge acquired without source of earning income.

Bar graph



4.

Table 5:Motorcycle belongs to me because I own it(self-employed)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	27	51.9	51.9	51.9
	Agree	3	5.8	5.8	57.7
	Strongly disagree	15	28.8	28.8	86.5
	Disagree	7	13.5	13.5	100.0
	Total	52	100.0	100.0	

Table 5, shows the ownership of motorcycle as personal or self employed and 51.9% strongly agree that they own it, 28.8% strongly disagree that they do not own it, 13% disagree and 5.8% agree as illustrated in bar graph 5.The *Boda Boda* riders who own (self employed) generate a lot of income from the business given the fact that it generates Ksh 500 to 1500 per day as illustrated in Bar graph 11.This improves the standard of living of the youths who are self-employed since the government cannot generate job opportunities for graduates churned out yearly from universities and tertiary institutions in Kenya.

Bar graph 5.

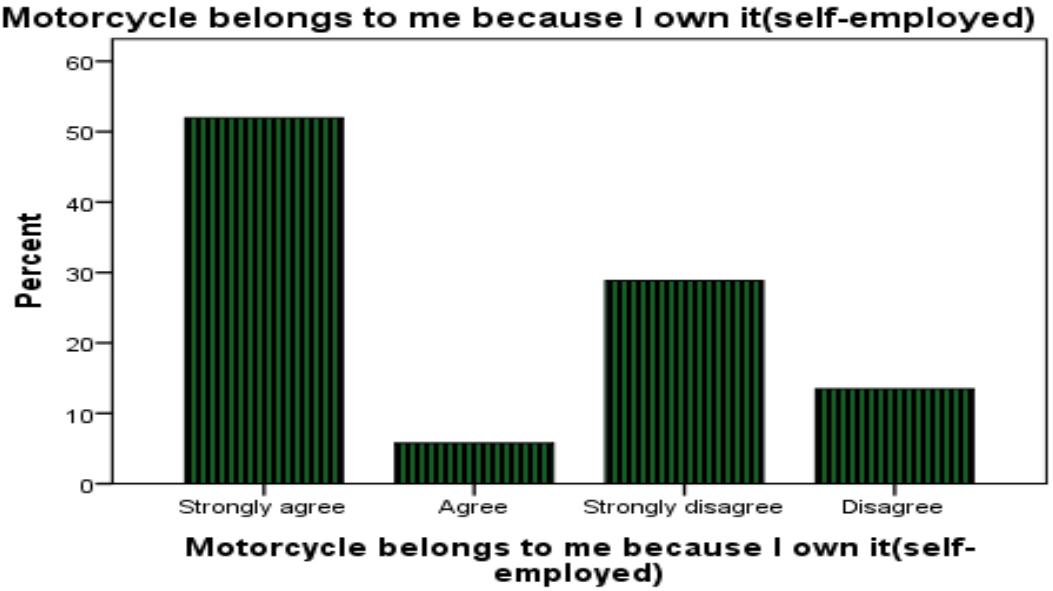
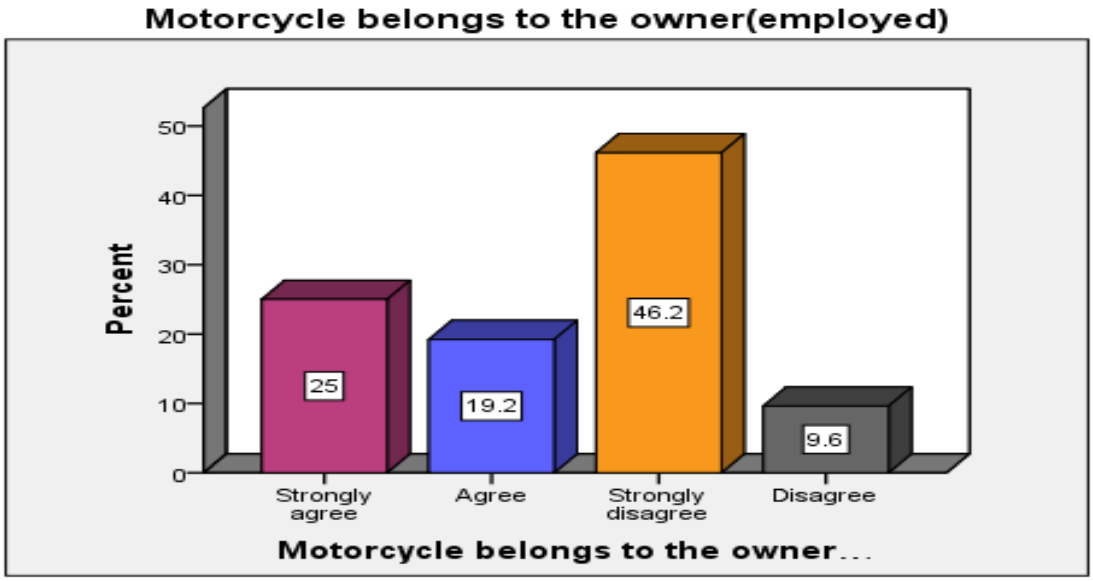


Table 6, shows the motorcycle belong to the owner and rider is employed and 46.2% strongly disagree, 25% strongly agree and 19.2% agree and 9.2% disagree, as illustrated in bar graph 6.It is important for the *Boda boda* riders to form SACCOs to enable them access loans and have money to purchase their own motorcycles and stop being employed by other *Boda boda* owners.

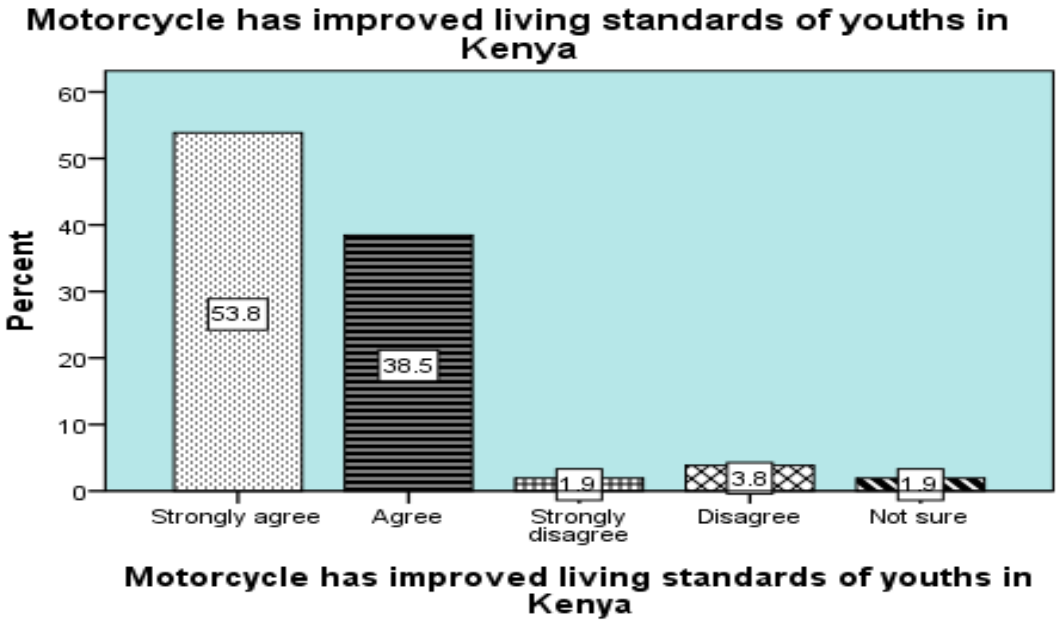
Table6:Motorcycle belongs to the owner(employed)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	13	25.0	25.0	25.0
	Agree	10	19.2	19.2	44.2
	Strongly disagree	24	46.2	46.2	90.4
	Disagree	5	9.6	9.6	100.0
	Total	52	100.0	100.0	

Bar graph 6



Bar graph 9



Bar graph 10

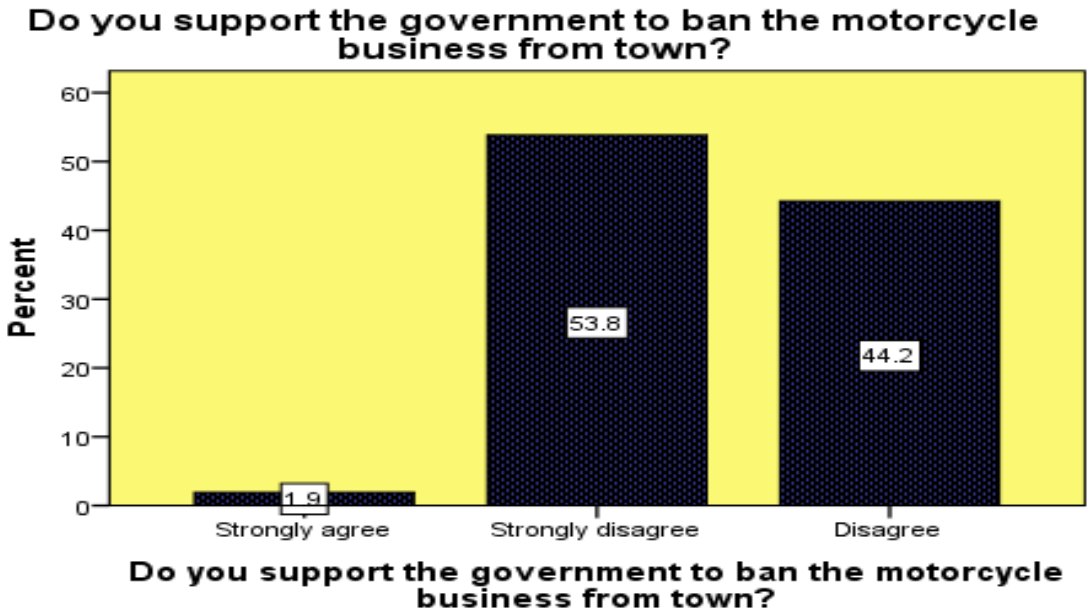
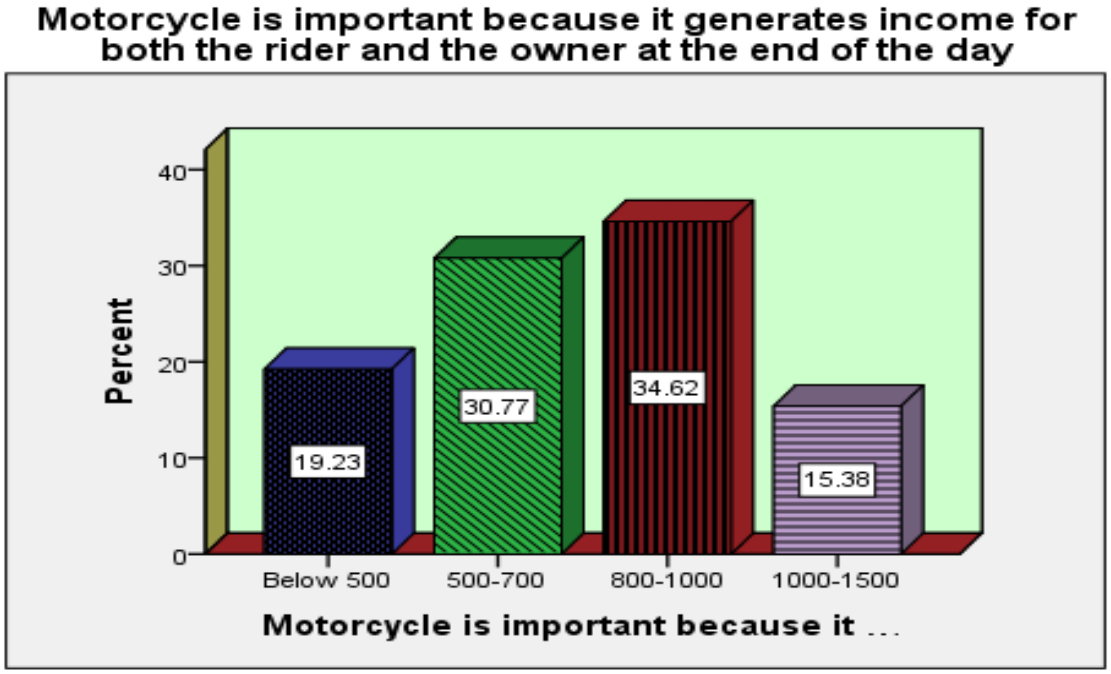


Table 9:Motorcycle has sustained my life because of the income for education, medical care, and other expenses in the family

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	24	46.2	46.2	46.2
	Agree	20	38.5	38.5	84.6
	Strongly disagree	4	7.7	7.7	92.3
	Disagree	4	7.7	7.7	100.0
	Total	52	100.0	100.0	

Table 9 shows motorcycle has sustained my life because of the income for education, medical care and other expenses in the family and 46.2 % strongly agree, 38.5% agree.7.7 % strongly disagree and disagree respectively. From this expression from *Boda boda* riders, it indicates that the business not only assists the owner but also becomes a source of poverty eradication at the grassroots.

Bar graph 11



Bar graph 11 illustrates motorcycle is important because it generates income for both the rider and the owner at the end of the day and 34.6% indicates Kenya shillings 800-1000, 30.77% get shillings 500-700, 19.23 % get shillings below 500 and 15.38% shows get shillings 1000-1500.This indicates that through *Boda boda* business in the transport industry will assist individual groups eradicate poverty for example the Kitemoto Sacco group.

Discussion

There is evidence suggesting that agriculture-led growth in Kenya is more than twice as effective in reducing poverty as growth led by industry. The key to better performance in agriculture lies in boosting smallholder productivity and developing non-farm activities. By making financial services widely available to rural communities to enable the growth of smallholder enterprises, the Government of Kenya aims to stimulate the rural economy (IFAD, 2015). The *Boda boda* investment started as a small show of comradeship to bail out their friends in trouble, but the members realized they could do something bigger with Ksh. 100 and started Kitemoto Sacco which paved way for the birth of own houses development at Kitengela and now innovative group is shifting their investment into construction of houses for commercial purposes, to sale for non-members.

The ksh.100 which members contributed daily and a membership of of 200, kitemoto sacco was formed and banked Ksh 20,000 daily. The Ksh.450, 000 is what a member is advanced as loan owner a starter home in Kitengela to cover the small house and a piece of land and members are allowed to extend their houses to a maximum of three more rooms at the back. The money is charged a 14 percent interest on a reducing balance and payable within a period of seven years. Also, Ksh.700, 000 is the amount the Kitemoto asks non-members for a three-bed roomed unit in a commercial phase they had constructed next to their starter homes. The process is in progress in building more houses in phase two of the development.

The benefits of *Boda boda* riders built own estate include: One, the infrastructure is developed in the estate as the water, power and sewage lines are in place. Two, the members have moved from the crowded informal settlements in limited space, with no drainage, poorly built to beautifully lined, well-lit estate homes of the same design and with all necessary utilities in place. Three, the *mama mboga* members now grow some of the vegetables they used to buy in the market on the open patch behind their house units. Four, they use the vegetables for barter trade when they need milk and other household commodities from small scale owners in and around Kitengela. Five, members' lives have transformed from poverty to wealth through the Sacco's activities as they get affordable loans and economically knowledgeable from the capacity building activities conducted by the Sacco. Six, the mother title deeds is with the Sacco to prevent the members to sell their houses after getting the title for their parcel, but the issue share certificates and prevent them from selling their land. Photograph 1 shows the built estate in Kitengela.

Photograph 1.Source: *Daily Nation* Newspaper November 20th2014

We conclude that people sell their land to purchase *Boda boda* (Motorcycle) for use in transport industry and eradicate poverty, they do not al succeed in their mission. Although Boda Boda causes traffic jams and accidents in many towns, it is a source of livelihood of unemployed graduates' youths in the towns in Kenya. Therefore, it is concluded that *Boda Boda* business has led to social, economic, technological, environmental, structural or organized and human resource sustainability as a consequence of national development.

According to Okebiro (2016), *Boda Boda* business has been a source of sustainable development in the recent past. Sustainable development has become an article of faith, a shibboleth: often used but little explained. Does it amount to a strategy? Does it apply to renewable resources? What does the term actually mean? In broad terms the concept of sustainable development encompasses;(1)Help for the very poor because they are left with no option other than to destroy their environment;(2)The idea of self-reliant development within natural resource constraints;(3)The idea of cost effective development using differing economic criteria to the traditional approach; that is to say development should not degrade environmental quality, nor should it reduce productivity in the long run;(4)The great issues of health control, appropriate technologies, food self-reliance, clean water and shelter for all;(5)The notion that people-centered initiatives are needed; human beings, in other words, are the resources in the concept(Tolba,1987).Kenya has a better opportunity for development today. The new constitution and policy framework "demand" that the national and county governments provide good and sustainable development. But the real opportunity for development lies with county governments, because it does not matter how much resources they have but it matters how effective and focused the county leadership is. The counties even with limited resources can utilize them and transform the rural economies for example supporting the *Boba boda* riders to access loans from banks and use them for sustainable individual development and eradicate poverty as a consequence. Therefore, the county governments require effective and focused leadership for poverty eradication.

Recommendation

To curb or eradicate poverty in Kenya, the government should give chances to youths qualified to be appointed into cabinet secretaries, permanent secretaries and ambassadors basing regional balancing. And stop recycling the old people and retired from civil service, politicians and others to head commissions in Kenya.

We also recommend that county governments should assist *Boda boda* riders to access loans from the banks and use to purchase more *Boda-boda* and lead to sustainable development and eradication of poverty. The article recommends *Boda boda* Sacco's should be formed in all towns of Kenya for the purpose of conducting capacity building seminars with other motorcycle groups for the objective of eradicating poverty.

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APPENDIX 1

Poverty eradication through motorcycle (boda boda) as emerging business for the poor in transport sector in Kenya

NOTE: The information needed will be used for academic purpose only and therefore the information will be kept confidential. You are NOT required to indicate your name but please provide objective responses as possible to be used in concrete results.

SECTION A: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Sex of the respondent

Female [ ]
Male [ ]

2 Age of the respondent

Below 20 years [ ]
20-29 [ ]
30-39 [ ]
40-49 [ ]
Above 50 years [ ]

3. Religion of the respondents.

Catholic [ ]
Protestant [ ]
Muslim [ ]
Hindu [ ]
Other [ ] specify……..

4. Level of education.

Certificate [ ]
Diploma [ ]
Bachelors degree [ ]
Masters degree [ ]
PhD [ ]

SECTION B: SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

1. The motorcycle belongs to me because I own it [self-employed].

Strongly agree [ ] Agree [ ] strongly disagree [ ] Disagree [ ] Not sure [ ]

2. The motorcycle belongs to the owner and am [employed].

Strongly agree [ ] Agree [ ] strongly disagree [ ] Disagree [ ] Not sure [ ]

3. Some riders of the motorcycle do not have license and train locally for one day and start ridding.

Strongly agree [ ] Agree [ ] strongly disagree [ ] Disagree [ ] Not sure [ ]

4. How long did you take to train in the driving school?

1 week and below [ ]
2 - 3 weeks [ ]
1 -3 months [ ]
4- 6 months [ ]
6 months and above [ ]

7. Motorcycle causes accidents in the highways/towns/villages.

Strongly agree [ ] Agree [ ] strongly disagree [ ] Disagree [ ] Not sure [ ]

8. Has Motorcycle improved the living standards of youths in Kenya?
Strongly agree [ ] Agree [ ] strongly disagree [ ] Disagree [ ] Not sure [ ]

9. Do you support the government to ban the motorcycle business from towns?
Strongly agree [ ] Agree [ ] strongly disagree [ ] Disagree [ ] Not sure [ ]

10. Motorcycle has sustained my life because of the income for education, medical care and other expenses in the family.
Strongly agree [ ] Agree [ ] strongly disagree [ ] Disagree [ ] Not sure [ ]
11. Motor cycle is important because it generates income for both the rider and the owner at end of the day:
Below 500 [ ]
500 – 700 [ ]
800 – 1000 [ ]
1000- 1500 [ ]
1500 – 2000 [ ]
Over 2000 [ ]
12. Suggest ways to be used to stop or minimize regular accidents by motorcycles.

Thank you for your cooperation and God bless you to foster the business to help in National development and eradicate poverty in modern Kenya.

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Comparing methods for processing NASA and Russian airborne data

By G. M. Jefwa, B. D.O Odhiambo and N. S Nethengwe

Abstract
Results of processing airborne observational data (optical thickness and single scattering albedo) obtained from NASA's Goddard Space Flight Centre (GSFC) in the cloudy atmosphere in accordance with the algorithm for solving inverse problems of cloud optics is analyzed. In this article, experimental data used for solving inverse problems is described and short analytical method for cloud optics inverse problem solution is stated containing basic formulas for processing experimental data obtained from measurements above, below and within the cloud layer is discussed. The presented method successfully calculates and provides results that are adequate and close to values found in nature. The used method does not demand a priori limitations and overlaying connections on unknown parameters, contrary to the methods used by earlier researchers. Much attention has been focused on the effects of measurement uncertainties and retrieval parameters on the results obtained. Finally, this article presents a comparison of optical parameters obtained from NASA and Russia airborne radiative observations. Described also are the results of calculations of shortwave radiative inflow, cloud layer heating rate and water content evaluation of the atmospheric cloud layer as well as regularization of the results.

Keywords: solar radiation, intensity, inverse problem, cloud optics, regularization

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Comparing methods for processing NASA and Russian airborne data

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Introduction

The main goal of this article is processing observational data, obtained from NASA GSFC in the cloudy atmosphere according to the algorithm for solving inverse problems of atmospheric optics (ISRSE 2009). A considerable volume of observational data obtained from various geographical sites exists at NASA GSFC (King, 1987) and (King, et al., 1990).
In section 2, observational data are described and the formulae for processing experimental datasets above, below as well as within the cloud layer is presented. In section 3, the approach for retrieving optical parameters (optical thickness, single scattering albedo, scattering, and absorption) of cloud and their vertical profiles is realized and results for retrieving optical parameters are considered. In section 4, the comparison of optical parameters obtained from NASA's radiance and Russian irradiance observations is also presented.

Observational data and theory

Airborne NASA data obtained below, above and within a cloud layer during the "Southern African Regional Science Initiative 2000", on 13 September 2000 off the coast of Namibia (Southern Africa), at latitude 20.0–21.7°S and longitude 13.0–13.7°E (Genya, 2010). The solar incident angle θ_0 was about 37.6°. The flight altitude ranged from 354 to 1170m with altitude levels below cloud layer from 343-404m, within cloud 405-790m and above cloud 800-1178m. There is extended Stratus cloudiness with geometrical thickness 400m; cloud base and top at 400m and 800m, respectively.

Observational data include radiance values in viewing angles from 0 to 180° (from zenith to nadir) with a step of 1°. Measurements were obtained in 8 spectral channels: 0.340μm, 0.381μm, 0.472μm, 0.682μm, 0.870μm, 1.035μm, 1.219μm, 1.273μm using Cloud Absorption Radiometer (CAR) (Genya, 2010). For each scan, data consist of geographical coordinates of the observation site, local time, solar zenith angle θ, viewing azimuth angle ϕ, the altitude of the observation, and 182 values of radiance in reflectance units I_i in zenith viewing angles θ_i from -1 till 181° at 1° intervals. For every 12 scans at each altitude, results regularization is done. Data inside cloud were obtained close to the top (altitude from 800 to 600m) and do not satisfy the diffuse domain conditions. Nevertheless, a retrieval attempt for optical parameters inside the cloud for viewing angles close to the zenith and nadir turned out to be successful for most sublayers between the measurement levels.

Data Processing approach

Earlier researchers (King, 1987), (King, et al., 1990) and (Rozanov & Kokhanovsky, 2004) proposed different approaches for obtaining the cloud optical parameters (optical thickness τ_0, single scattering albedo ω_0, scattering coefficient and absorption coefficient). These approaches assumed significant limits for desired retrieval parameters: semi-infinite optical thickness, single scattering albedo equals to 1 for conservative scattering, the absence of optical thickness spectral dependence etc., only one optical parameter could be retrieved (either optical thickness or single scattering albedo). The strict analytical approach proposed and used for obtaining the above-mentioned cloud optical parameters (Genya, et al., 2010) makes it possible to obtain both optical parameters for every wavelength independently. This approach has been applied to satellite data and ground-based intensity observations as well as aircraft flux measurements of reflected and transmitted solar radiation. Measurement data at cloud top and base separately and in combination, and within the cloud is used in this article.

An algorithm for the problem solution is applied directly to the optical parameters measurements:

$s^2 = (1-\omega_0)/[3(1-g)]$ is the similarity parameter (1)

$\tau' = 3(1-g)\tau$ is the adduced optical thickness (2)

Formulas for multiangular data of reflected radiance at the cloud top and cloud base have been derived by earlier researchers (Jefwa, et al., 2010), therefore, only expressions for optical parameters retrieval within clouds are presented.

The advantages of analytical solutions for the cloud optics inverse problem in this study include:

(a) ability to define at once two optical parameters (optical thickness and single scattering albedo or volume scattering and absorption coefficients) for each wavelength or spectral channel independently,

(b) in the absence of certain restrictive assumptions (about the conservatism of the scattering of light in the sky, on a semi-infinite optical thickness of the cloud layer)

(c) limiting relationships between parameters (equal optical thickness in different spectral bands).

An analytical apparatus, partially obtained by the author, which is the basis for solving the problem is also presented, particularly, the formula for determining the similarity parameter

$$s^2 = (1-\omega_0)/[3(1-g)] \quad (3)$$

where ω_0 is the single-scattering albedo and g is the asymmetry of the scattering indicatrix, takes the following forms:

- For processing measured data of reflected radiation above cloud layer

$$s^2 = \frac{[\rho_0(\varphi,\mu_1,\mu_0)-\rho_1]K_0(\mu_2)-[\rho_0(\varphi,\mu_{2,}\mu_0)-\rho_2]K_0(\mu_1)}{[\rho_0(\varphi,\mu_{2,}\mu_0)-\rho_2]K_0(\mu_1)\left(\frac{K_2(\mu_1)}{K_0(\mu_1)}-\frac{K_2(\mu_2)}{K_0(\mu_2)}\right)-\frac{1{,}91a_2(\mu_0)K_0(\mu_1)K_0(\mu_2)}{2q'(1+g)}[\mu_1-\mu_2]} \quad (4)$$

where ρ_1 and ρ_2 are measured intensities of reflected radiation at two viewing angles $\arccos\mu_1$ and $\arccos\mu_2$ and $\rho_\infty(\mu_2,\mu_0,\varphi)$ – reflection coefficient of a semi-infinite conservative atmosphere ($\tau_0=\infty$, $\omega_0=1$), $q' = 0.714$; $K(\mu)$, $K_0(\mu)$ and $K_2(\mu)$ – output function and its expansion coefficients over small parameters of s; $a_2(\mu)$ – the second factor in the expansion of the surface albedo.

The form of these functions are well-known (Minin, 1988) and (Melnikova & Vasilyev, 2004) and the values of the solar, as well as viewing angles, can be taken from tables or calculated using approximation formulas.

- For processing measured data of transmitted radiation under the cloud layer

$$s^2 = \left[\frac{\sigma_1 K_0(\mu_2)}{\sigma_2 K_0(\mu_1)}-1\right]\frac{1}{\frac{K_2(\mu_1)}{K_0(\mu_1)}-\frac{K_2(\mu_2)}{K_0(\mu_2)}} \quad (5)$$

where σ_1 and σ_2 are measured intensities of transmitted radiation at two viewing angles $\arccos\mu_1$ and $\arccos\mu_2$

- For combined processing of measured data of reflected and transmitted radiation above and below the cloud layer:

$$s^2 = \frac{\overline{K}_0(\mu)^2(\rho_0-\rho)^2 - K_0(\mu)^2\sigma^2}{\overline{K}_0(\mu)^2\left[16K_0^2(\mu)K_0^2(\mu_0)s^2 - \frac{a_2(\mu)a_2(\mu_0)}{6q'}(\rho_0-\rho)+(\rho_0-\rho)^2\left(2\frac{K_2(\mu)}{K_0(\mu)}-9q'^2\right)\right]-G}, \quad (6)$$

$$G = \sigma^2 K_0^2(\mu)\left[27\overline{q}'^2 + \frac{2}{\overline{K}_0(\mu)}\left[\frac{A}{1-A}\left(12\overline{K}_0(\mu)\overline{q}' + 12q'\frac{A}{1-A} + a_2(\mu) + n_2\right) + \overline{K}_2(\mu)\right]\right]$$

Formulas for determining optical parameters from measured data inside the cloud are as follows:

For the sub-layer adjacent to the upper boundary of the cloud, indicating $J_1 = I_1^{\downarrow} - I_1^{\uparrow}$:

$$s^2 = \frac{(\rho_0-\rho)^2 - 4J_1^2K_0^2(\mu)/9\mu^2}{16K_0^2(\mu_0)K_0^2(\mu) + (\rho_0-\rho)^2\left(2\frac{K_2(\mu)}{K_0(\mu)} - \frac{a_2(\mu_0)a_2(\mu)}{6q'(\rho_0-\rho)} - 9q'^2 - 9\mu^2\left(1-\frac{4I_1^{\uparrow}I_1^{\downarrow}}{J_1^2}\right)\right)} \quad (7)$$

For the sub-layers inside the cloud, indicating $J_i = I_i^{\downarrow} - I_i^{\uparrow}$, obtaining:

$$s^2 = \frac{\left(J^2(\tau_i) - J^2(\tau_{i-1})\right)J^2(\tau_i)J^2(\tau_{i-1})}{36\mu^2\left[J^2(\tau_{i-1})I(\mu,\tau_i)I(-\mu,\tau_i) - J^2(\tau_i)I(\mu,\tau_{i-1})I(-\mu,\tau_{i-1})\right]} \quad (8)$$

For the sub-layer adjacent to the lower boundary of the cloud:

$$s^2 = \frac{1 - 4\overline{K}_0^2(\mu)J_{n-1}^2/9\mu^2\sigma^2}{27q'^2 + \frac{2}{\overline{K}_0(\mu)}\left[\frac{A}{1-A}\left(a_2(\mu) + n_2 + 12\left(\overline{K}_0(\mu)\overline{q}' + \frac{q'A}{1-A}\right)\right) + K_2(\mu)\right] - J_{n-1}^2\left(I_{n-1}^{\downarrow} + I_{n-1}^{\uparrow}\right)^2/\sigma^2} \quad (9)$$

Analytical representation of the inverse problem solution provides formulas for the uncertainties caused by data processing procedures that are used for the regularization of the final results in the algorithm processing program.

Cloud horizontal heterogeneity

Cloud top horizontal homogeneity increases the proportion of diffuse radiation illuminating the cloud, therefore, should be considered when calculating the functions determining the geometry of the problem K(□), K(□$_0$), a_2(□), a_2(□$_0$), □$_0$(□,□$_0$) (Genya, et al., 2011).

$$\rho(\mu,\mu_0) = \rho(\mu,\mu_0)(1-r) + ra(\mu a,$$
$$K(\mu_0) = K(\mu_0)(1-r) + rn, \quad (10)$$
$$a(\mu_0) = a(\mu_0)(1-r) + ra^{\infty},$$

where, spherical albedo a□, plane albedo a(□$_0$) and the value n are determined as cosine weight-averages of the viewing angle □, of the corresponding functions.

To determine the parameter of horizontal heterogeneity cloud top, r, optical thickness is calculated on the assumption of conservative scattering, which is provided for in the data processing algorithm. The inhomogeneity parameter is given by:

$$r = \frac{1}{N\bar{\tau}}\sqrt{\sum_{i=1}^{N}\left|\tau_i - \bar{\tau}\right|^2} \qquad (11)$$

where, N is the number of considered viewing directions, and optical thickness is obtained by the assumption of the conservative scattering in the first step of data processing.

Solution regularization

As mentioned earlier, random angle variations define a plane flight that affects measurement uncertainty while provoking the angular dependence of errors. The calculation of such uncertainties is facilitated by 6-10-fold repetition of the registration of scans at every level measurement. The resulting errors were used in the regularization of results based on the inhomogeneity measurement procedure and retrieval on the above formulas. This involves the use of formula (12) (Vasilyev & Melnikova, 2009):

$$x = \frac{\sum_i x_i \frac{1}{(\Delta x_i)^2}}{\sum_i \frac{1}{(\Delta x_i)^2}} \qquad (12)$$

where, x_i is the required parameter for i of the value of the viewing angles, and x_i is calculated by the formula for indirect errors, obtained based on suitable formulae for retrieval of the required parameter.

Evidently, only the retrieval of optical thickness from the measurements above the cloud practically does not depend on the viewing angles (as ideally should be). The regularization in this study gives the value 0.011652 for parameter s^2, when simple averaging is done without accounting for the errors' dependence on the viewing angles gives the value to 0.013034. The difference of 0.001382 is quite significant: the corresponding values of the fraction of absorbed radiation (radiant flow) in the layer is estimated as 0.217 and 0.237.

Results of data processing

A detailed description of the algorithm for data processing for each case: observations above the cloud, under a cloud, and the combined processing of observations within the cloud at each level is presented. The results for these cases of processing measurements above, under a cloud and combined processing are shown in Table 1.

Figure 1 below shows the vertical profiles of the optical thickness and single scattering albedo for 2 spectral channels 340 and 870nm obtained from data analysis within the cloud. A point to note is that errors in these results are significant since the measurements were obtained close to the top of the cloud. Geometric thickness of the lower sub-layer of clouds is 130m whereas all the upper sub-layers' thickness is around 10m. Sharp variation of optical parameters is correlated with height for different spectral channels, indicating that the results reflect the true vertical

Table 1. Results for determining cloud optical parameters from airborne radiation observations.

λ, microns		0.340	0.381	0.472	0.682	0.870	1.035	1.219	1.273
$\tau_{Conserv}$	Base	28.0	18.2	21. 84	13.0	11.1	11.7	13.9	15.3
	Top	9.8	11.7	16.4	22.3	23.8	36.5	20.0	18.2
	Top+Base	13.2	11.3	16.1	28.9	14.1	18.44	13.8	12.0
τ	Base	41.9	33.9	29.6	25.4	26.7	27.4	21.1	18.7
	Top	10.0	11.9	16.8	23.3	25.2	10.30	5.62	7.41
	Top+Base	24.6	28.2	29.7	26.5	16.6	18.8	24.0	21.4
MSD τ		0.002	0.003	0.002	0.002	0.002	0.002	0.002	0.002
σ km^{-1}	Base	104.8	84.6	85.0	72.29	63.6	68.5	67.0	72.0
	Top	25.2	29.7	42.0	58.3	63.0	91.2	52.7	46.9
	Top+Base	61.5	70.5	74.2	66.3	41.5	47.0	60.0	53.5
R	Base	0.067	0.064	0.066	0.063	0.053	0.061	0.053	0.056
	Top	0.009	0.01	0.004	0.006	0.007	0.012	0.010	0.004
	Top+Base	0.0150	0.015	0.015	0.017	0.022	0.060	0.0155	0.0169
ω_0	Base	0.996964	0.996529	0.996435	0.996194	0.996004	0.995422	0.995393	0.995828
	Top	0.999796	0.999733	0.999718	0.999670	0.999624	0.999632	0.999621	0.999640
	Top+Base	0.970319	0.989642	0.996325	0.99649	0.99786	0.99683	0.999555	0.99547
$1-\omega_0$	Base	0.003036	0.003581	0.003565	0.003806	0.003996	0.004578	0.004607	0.004172
	Top	0.000264	0.000267	0.000282	0.000330	0.000376	0.000368	0.000379	0.000360
	Top+Base	0.029681	0.010358	0.003675	0.00361	0.00214	0.33134	0.000445	0.00453
κ. km^{1}	Base	0.3182	0.3031	0.3029	0.2813	0.2541	0.3135	0.3086	0.3005
	Top	0.0066	0.0079	0.0118	0.0192	0.0240	0.0336	0.0200	0.0169
	Top+Base	0. 9813	0. 2931	0. 2726	0.1687	0.0937	0.1196	0. 0267	0.1638
MSD ω		0.0008	0.009	0.004	0.004	0.004	0.004	0.024	0.006

heterogeneity of a cloud layer. Smoothing procedure, taking into consideration the variations that repeat in different spectral channels helps to obtain values that are more reliable. Results of the retrieval parameters of cloud layers derived from airborne radiation measurements of

hemispherical solar radiation performed at Leningrad State University (the current St. Petersburg State University) in 1974 in the Atlantic Ocean off the northwest coast of Africa, and in the TROPEKS experiment in 1985 over Lake Ladoga are considered for comparison with the obtained values of optical parameters.

A specially engineered and calibrated spectrometer was used in the airborne experiments for solar radiation measurements in the atmosphere were obtained in the range 3.35-0.95µm with a 0.002µm spectral resolution. The GATE (GARP Atlantic Tropical Experiment; GARP for Global Atmospheric Research Programme) experiment carried out in two flights off the northwest coast of Africa at altitude 16^0 and 17^0 north on 12^{th} July, 1974 (cloud layer thickness 0.90km) and 4^{th} August, 1974 (cloud layer thickness 0.30km) above and below the cloud after a sandstorm from the Sahara. The surface albedo was calculated from measurements of reflected and incident radiation flux on the lower levels of the flight obtained from the experiments. Figure 2 below shows spectral dependencies of optical thickness and single scattering co-albedo obtained from Russian airborne spectral measurements and the results from NASA airborne measurements. Results of measurements below cloud are indicated by rhombus, measurements above cloud are represented with triangles and from the combined measurements (above and below cloud) are shown using squares.

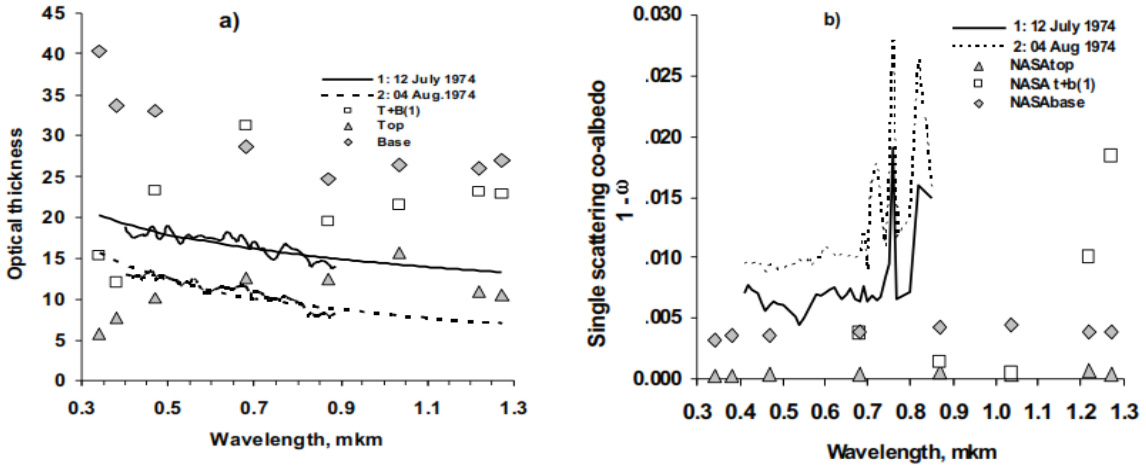

Fig. 2. Comparison of values of spectral parameters obtained from different airborne measurements

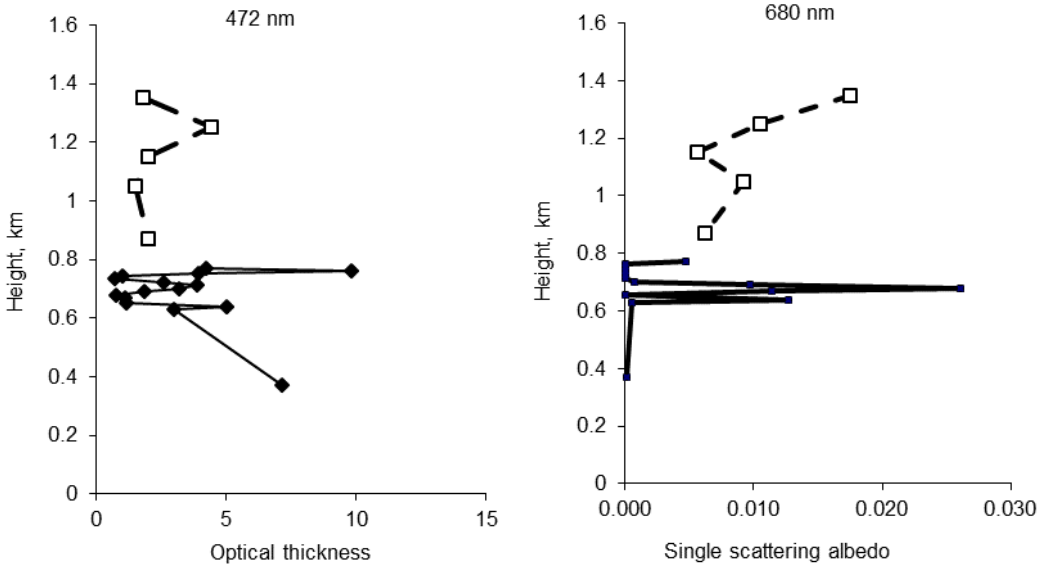

Fig. 1. Vertical profiles a) optical thickness in channel 472µm and b) 1-single scattering albedo between measurement levels in channel 680µm retrieved from NASA measurements in 2000 (solid lines) and from measurements over Ladoga lake in 1985 (dotted lines)

It should be noted that the results of this study agree very well with the values obtained from earlier experiments (King, 1987), (King, et al., 1990) and (Rozanov & Kokhanovsky, 2004). Thus, the similar values of single scattering albedo and optical thickness, as well as their spectral dependence revealed in different airborne experiments, were differentiated by time (1974 and 2000), place (northwest and southwest Africa), instruments (spectrometer and multichannel radiometer) and measured characteristics (hemispherical flux and intensity). Results of processing measurements of reflected radiation intensity above cloud show weaker absorption and small optical thickness than during processing transmitted radiation below the cloud layer. This circumstance may serve the fact that there are less absorption radiation aerosols on the upper part of the cloud, hence, less scattering and absorption coefficients. Similar analytical results were obtained for measurements within the cloud as shown in Figure 1 above. Surface albedo is shown in Figure 3a together with the results obtained from the

GATE-1974 experiment and measurements above the water surface of Ladoga Lake in 1985. Notice that in the UV (Ultra-Violet) interval, all the presented results demonstrate the influence of the under cloud layer of the atmosphere in the UV region; this is associated with Rayleigh scattering. The spectral dependence in the case of GATE-1974 shows the influence of the under cloud atmosphere and the oxygen absorption band 0.762μm. The measurements over the ocean both in 1974 and 2000 were carried out at altitude 400-500m and values of albedo on the lower levels of measurements characterize the surface-under cloud layer albedo system of the atmosphere. Lower level measurements in 1985 were at 100m; therefore, the under cloud atmosphere influences are weaker and do not increase the surface albedo. High contents of dust aerosol provoke strong scattering and much high values of albedo system of the underlying surface and below the cloud layer. Attention must be given to the almost identical results of the ocean surface albedo in the case of the measurements over the Atlantic on 4 Aug 1974 and 13 Sept 2000.Calculation for the radiation absorption values (radiative flux) in the cloud layer is carried out using formula (13) (Melnikova & Vasilyev, 2004):

$$dR(\mu_0) = [(F^{\downarrow} - F^{\uparrow})_{top} - (F^{\downarrow} - F^{\uparrow})_{base}]/\Delta z \qquad (13)$$

where $F^{\downarrow}$ and $F^{\uparrow}$ are the hemispherical downward and upward flux above and below the cloud boundaries respectively.

Corresponding results are shown in Figure 3b by solid and dotted lines. In the case of the NASA observations, radiative flux is calculated using the Eddington Method (Ivanov, 1976) and (Tihonov, 1943) on the basis of the obtained optical parameters of cloud indicated by the black squares.

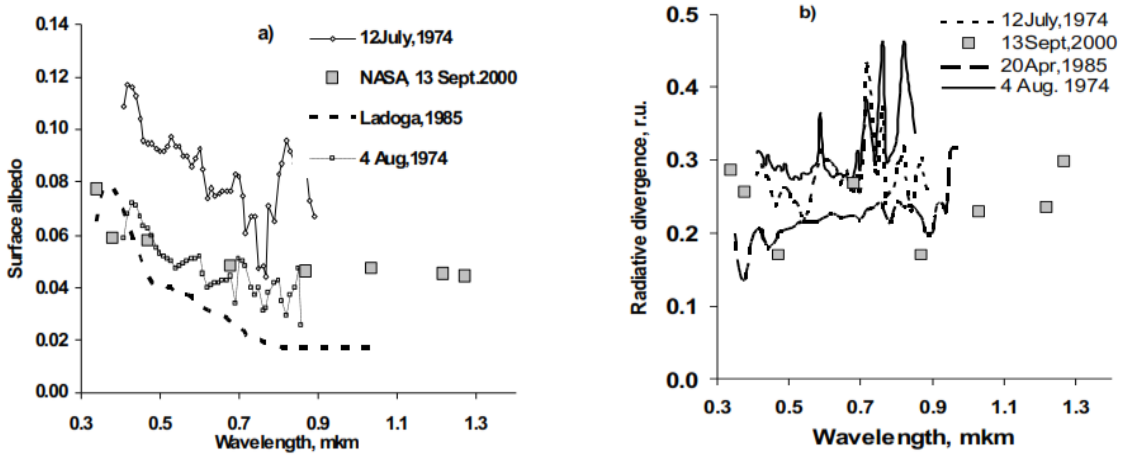

Fig. 3. a) Spectral dependence of water surface albedo: Atlantic Ocean 1974, 2000 and Ladoga lake 1985 b) Radiative flux of shortwave solar radiation in 1km layer in relative units from incident solar flux

The heating rate of the atmospheric layer containing the cloud layer in the shortwave spectral range can be estimated by formulae (14):

$$\left(\frac{\partial T}{\partial t}\right)_p = \frac{S_\lambda}{rC_p}\frac{dR}{dz} \qquad (14)$$

where, dR/dz – radiative divergence in the 1 km layer. (assumed to be $.2x10^{-3}$); ∂T – temperature changes during the day; S_λ = 1000 J/(s m^2) – solar constant in the shortwave spectral range (0.3 – 1.0μm); r = 1kg/m^3 – air density at 800mb; Cp = 1005 J/(kg deg) – specific heat of the dry air; Cp = 1952 J/(kg deg) – specific heat of water vapour at constant pressure; Cp = 4218 J/(kg deg) – specific heat of liquid water at 0^0C (Wallace & Hobbs, 1977); Cp = 2392 J/(kg deg) is the average value accepted for calculations.

An approximate heating rate of the 400m thick cloudy atmospheric layer at the expense of the shortwave solar radiation during the day (12hrs – light time) yields ΔT~3.61 deg/day.
The determination of the optical thickness enables the estimation of cloud water content, which is indeed necessary for the quantity of precipitation forecasting. A simple known relationship between these values is as shown in equation (15):

$$W = \frac{Q10^3}{\Delta z} = \frac{\tau r \rho}{1{,}5\Delta z} \qquad (15)$$

where W is cloud water content (g/m^3); Q is cloud water (kg/m^2); Δz is the geometrical thickness of a cloud; r – mean effective radius of water drop; ρ is water density.
Since the determination of the optical thickness of measurements below cloud has the smallest error and almost does not depend on the viewing angle (as in an ideal case), we then choose a value of optical thickness at a wavelength of 1 μm with τ=25. The mean size of water droplets in the cloud depends on the lower boundary cloud temperature (ºC) and the height above the cloud lower boundary (km) (Mazina & Hrgiana, 1989) estimated by approximation (16)

$$r = 5\left(1 + 4.8\times10^{-2}\theta + 2\times10^{-2}\theta^2\right)\times\left(1 + 0.165z + 0.105z^2\right) \qquad (16)$$

Taking the temperature of the cloud lower boundary as 15ºC, and bearing in mind that the altitude of the lower and upper cloud boundaries - 400 and 800m respectively, we obtain the mean radius r = 9.1μm. Since the cloud thickness = 400m and the water density is 1g/cm^3, then the water content W = 0.375g/m^3 and the cloud water Q = 0.15kg/m^2. The estimations for the formula contained in the manual "Clouds and cloudy atmosphere"

$$Q = 0.13\left(1 + 3.7\times10^{-2}\theta\right)\times\left(1 + 5.0z - 6.0z^2 + 2.1z^3\right) \qquad (17)$$

gives the respective values: W=0.385 g/m^3 and Q=0.143 kg/m^2 that agree well with the obtained results.

Conclusion

The airborne observation data presented and analyzed in this study represents rich material that allows a comprehensive cloud analysis of strict radiation transfer theory. In conclusion, the measurements of intensity are strongly influenced by random variations in the orientation of the plane than measurements of hemispherical fluxes, which greatly affects the retrieval results of the desired parameters. However, registration of several scans at every altitude allows estimation of the random errors, and a large number of viewing directions allows for the regularization of the results.

Furthermore, retrieval of optical parameter errors for airborne radiation measurements is influenced by measurement errors and the method of inverse problem solution. Note that an analytical approach for solving the inverse problem (getting cloud optical parameters and their vertical profiles) has advantages compared to numerical methods of solving the inverse problem. In particular, it does not put additional restrictions on the desired parameters, hence, provides results closer to nature. Formulas for calculating uncertainties directly originate from the formulas for determining the desired parameters.

Results obtained when applying the analytical method of inverse problem solution for measurements of the intensity of diffuse solar radiation from NASA, agree well with those previously obtained from spectral measurements of cloud spherical fluxes, reveal similar spectral dependencies of optical thickness and close values of single-scattering albedo.
It is reasonable to suppose that calculations of short-wave radiant heat and the heating rate indicate a significant influence of clouds on the thermal regime of the atmosphere. The evaluation of moisture content and cloud water (Wiegner & Raschke, 1987) agrees well with data from other studies and may be useful for predicting the probability of precipitation (in this case for the drylands of Africa).

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Governance and Diplomacy in Nigeria: a critical appraisal of Olusegun Obasanjo's administration, 1999-2007

By Mutiat Titilope Oladejo

Abstract
From International Monetary Fund (IMF) to Paris Club and other relevant creditors, Obasanjo's governance was of a shuttling type between the local and foreign interests. The ideology underlying this was of the debt burden which entangled and encapsulated Nigeria's political economy at the threshold of democratic governance. Diplomatic encounters in the philosophy of Obasanjo were associated with the belief that external commitments will solve domestic problems. All nations of the world and from various continents mattered in Obasanjo's governance because international diplomacy was a governing instrument to negotiate debt burden, therefore, bilateral and multilateral relations featured. This article elucidates the diplomatic politics that recurred during Obasanjo's administration. It analysed the factors that accounted for various initiatives and the aftermath. The historical method was used to develop a narrative of the thematic events that constitute international diplomacy from 1999 to 2007. Of the period, sources abound in newspaper reports that analysed the events as it were, the analysis were supported with policy books, biographies and autobiographies.

Keywords: Obasanjo, administration, diplomacy, governance, debt burden, political economy

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Governance and Diplomacy in Nigeria: a critical appraisal of Olusegun Obasanjo's administration, 1999-2007

By Mutiat Titilope Oladejo

Introduction

> On the international finance front, Obasanjo saw early in his two-term tenure that debt relief was the key to economic rejuvenation. His government thus ensured its single-minded pursuit through unrelenting shuttle negotiations with creditor nations until the objective was realised for Nigeria, and by implication for many other African nations. Obasanjo's effort in this direction, along with those of his other African colleagues, have afforded our continent a new window of opportunity for economic growth at the beginning of the twenty-first century.
>
> Nelson Mandela (Oladipo Akinkugbe et al 2013)

Frantic efforts were made between 1999 and 2007 to court international system for domestic national governance in Nigeria. Altogether, Obasanjo's presidency was a practise of diplomacy for economic liberation, by which there were integrated realities of international activities which actualized Nigeria's superpower position in Africa. This chapter analysed the context of events that featured as the era of shuttle diplomacy in Obasanjo's regime.

Diplomacy is an act that has featured in the political history of human existence. It is a system that explains the interactions between states. At the Congress of Vienna of 1815, diplomatic interactions among states pre-existed across continents. Apparently, the perspectives of diplomacy in Africa featured in the dimensions of Trans-Saharan and Trans-Atlantic trade. Then, African traditional rulers symbolized authority of nations they represent and personally or indirectly by their representative they engage diplomatic interactions to negotiate support for political, military and economic initiatives and interventions (Ade-Ajayi and Espie 1965).

Obasanjo's concept of diplomacy is embodied in personality and understanding of power. As Reuben Abati wrote:

> Obasanjo is effectively a man of power. He radiates it, He looks it … He became exceptionally sensitive to the location of power, whether in international affairs or at the streets of Nigerian cities (Guardian, 2004).

Sensitivity to power and detail for international affairs reflected in Obasanjo's perception of governance. Aided by this, was his Yoruba heritage of intellectualism, of his generation which involved ideas and innovations from larger world.

Invariably, Obasanjo's practise of diplomacy is a synthesis of varieties of being a Christian and a Yoruba, where western education was pronounced. Then, his thirst for travels was a feature of training to love books and mainly the career of military engineering in Nigerian Army. For a new form of civilisation for the Nigerian polity, Obasanjo deemed it of necessity to engage international diplomacy to restore the image of Nigeria. He commented thus that:

> This is a country that has been isolated, this is a country that needs to come into the mainstream of international community … and you don't sit at home to do that, you need to go round and say we'll look, we have a new Nigeria and I am the epitome of other new Nigeria (Newswatch, 2000:19).

Optimistic about his missions in governance, Obasanjowas convinced about Nigeria having ruled accidentally from 1976 to 1979 due to the demise of General Murtala Muhammed. Despite being out of power for twenty years, he knew the strengths and weakness or fall out of government policies and its implication in international fora. For him, his diplomacy was an offshoot of the years of General Sani Abacha's reign, which adopted an isolationist policy in Nigeria's foreign affairs.

Having been thrown into prison in 1993, all international personae attached to Obasanjo's activities crippled before emergence as President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria in 1999, he discovered that his foreign reputation could be exploited to enhance his governance. No doubt, Abacha's isolationist policy was meant to foster arbitrariness of dictatorial tendencies enjoyed before his death in June 1998.

Two Decades of International Diplomacy, 1979-1999

Even out of government, after retiring from the Army and after being the Head of State, (1976 to 1979), Obasanjo believed that he does not have to occupy the government house before contribution to society, that even out of public office; the world is a large constituency. (Obasanjo, 1990) To him, international activities were a learning process and also an avenue to teach. Considering the fact that Obasanjo was not prepared for governance, he continuously interfaced his understandings of development in international engagement since he left office in 1979. Purposely, the analysis of Obasanjo's shuttle diplomacy was neither sudden nor eventual at the threshold of 1999 democratic dispensation; it was rooted in the twenty years, out of governance. Thus, his diplomatic engagements after 1999 were a continuum. Of prominent intervention in two decades was his involvement in South African Crisis. Precisely in 1981, he was involved issues related to disarmament and international security (Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues, *Common Security: a program for disarmament* London, 1982). Named after former Swedish Prime Minister, Olaf Palme, the need for Palme Commission's mandate on disarmament was an offshoot from Helsinki Conference of 1975. The Commission and the Helsinki process there in showed Obasanjo the way to the end of nuclear war in Europe and its resolutions were proposed in United Nations Security Council (UNSC). Altogether, he was an international expert because by the mid-1980s, he was well involved in security issues at the United Nations (UN), also on other issues that involved World Health Organization (WHO), Inter-Action Council of Former Heads of Government (d'Orville, 1996)

More profound, is the case of South Africa, which created an avenue for Obasanjo's international engagements. For crisis and conflict on South Africa at the Third World Common wealth in October, 1985, it was impressed on former British Prime Minister – Margaret Thatcher to form Eminent Person Group (EPG) (Illife, 2011:121). Through EPG, Obasanjo imprinted a diplomatic concern for Africa, as his position depicted Africanisation by freedom and liberation. By series of negotiations, he was once allowed to visit Nelson Mandela in prison on EPG platform. (Mandela, 1994) Obasanjo's view of the intricacies in South African crisis was just a freedom that is devoid of racism which he expressed:

> For me, the first contact was an encounter never to be forgotten. I saw in Nelson Mandela a South African indeed an African and a world leader of no mean order. He towered physically and metaphorically above all leaders we met inside South Africa (Illife, 2011:122).

Before emergence as democratically elected president in 1999, Obasanjo's role in the EPG accorded a status which already prepared him for national governance. His display of international diplomacy in South Africa's politics as described by Pik Botha went thus:

> General Obasanjo stood as the dynamic Kernel of the EPG, its heart and its brain. There was a quiet authority about him. He spoke in a conciliatory tone, avoiding petulance. He reacted to tension with composure. He was mild without being weak, relaxed but by no means lacking in concentration. He was self-possessed, unruffled, striving to sooth heated discussions and able by his presence and manner to do so. He discreetly explored every possible avenue of reconciliation in attempting to bring opposing views together (South Africa: Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Proceedings vol. 171, pp. 9-10).

The resolution of South Africa's crisis marked a turning point for his profession in international diplomacy. Unlike General Abacha's regime, Obasanjo practiced diplomacy out of office. For General Abacha, his stance in international diplomacy was of a closed-door system with little interest in foreign affairs, except for few, such as the inauguration of Nelson Mandela in May 1994, and attendance at OAU summit in June 1994. Obasanjo created a bond of friendship through South African crisis, because he worked as an international conciliator and in the process, he worked out procedures for the formation of African Leadership Forum (ALF) (African Guardian, 1986:16). The formation of ALF was informed by the level of Japanese modernisation which he found adaptable for Africa's development. By negotiating international interventions for local development, he organised Farm House Dialogues from Otta Farms to discuss Nigeria's public policy, from 1988 to 1993 (Illife, 2011:127). Obasanjo's imprisonment by General Abacha's administration in 1993 deactivated ALF activities at the Farm House. The dimensions of international involvements before 1999 was enormous, that it was difficult to dismember and also, the era of military rule that closed applications to international activities sufficed for Obasanjo's shuttling in diplomatic affairs. Moreover, Nigeria's debt quantum warranted appellations for domestic economic recovery.

Obasanjo and War Times in West African States

ECOWAS military arm – ECOMOG was fully involved in the war in Sierra Leone, of which Nigerians were about 12,000 troops, with over one thousand deaths, he tactically used his diplomatic skills to gradually withdraw Nigerians. (This Day, September 26, 1999) Attempt at withdrawal occurred in phases, the first, involved 3,000 troops. Constantly, the withdrawal was targeted at reducing financial burden on Nigeria, because the debt levels had spiralled. The troops left in Sierra Leone were tactically placed on UN plans for peacekeeping to ease financial commitments of Nigeria's government (Adebajo, 2002: 90). Obasanjo's indictment of the UN yielded positively when the force was formed in April 2000. Thence, about 4,000 Nigerian troops were funded by UN.

Generally, Obasanjo, in his characteristic display of power projected Nigeria's authority over the entrenchment of civil and peaceful rule in other African nations. This occurred in Liberia as he offered Charles Taylor exile in Nigeria in August, 2003 (Adebajo, 2002: 234). However, on a security intelligent instruction that the continued stay of Taylor in Nigeria could mean doom, Obasanjo strategically let him out. He had to work against, his

earlier view point that: "If we say come here, we will give you security, we should be able to do so." (This Day, July 23,2004) A caveat to this statement was that he was prepared to hand over Taylor at the request of an elected Liberian President. However, Taylor escaped via Maiduguri and was handed to war crimes tribunal in 2006. By the performance of Nigerian troops at Liberia and Sierra Leone, deficiencies in the army were obvious. Then, it became imperative to retrain and further professionalise Nigerian Army. Virtuous to resolve this, and being a retired Military General, international diplomacy was sought to achieve a new military system. In a form of diplomatic interdependence, Obasanjo requested USA to train Nigerian military, while America depended on Obasanjo to solve the crisis in the Gulf of Guinea because of oil resource there in.

The perspective of Nigerian-American relations was optimal as President Clinton visited Abuja in August, 2000. Understanding the web of interdependence could be described as that of mutual assistance by support to the military and debt relief. Within West Africa, American support for Nigeria, strengthened Nigeria's super-power position and in fact in Africa. At this point, Obasanjo's intervention in the removal of Taylor from Liberia, added value to America's interest, after a period of cold relationship because Nigeria, South Africa and Senegal issued letter of warning against America's invasion of Iraq (*Daily Trust*, September 1, 2003).

All nations of the world mattered in Obasanjo's ideology of governance and the maintenance of how he felt diplomatic visits could resolve domestic economic problems. Within the realm of London Club, Britain was the largest creditor. Therefore, the Commonwealth, which previous government dissociated with was recourse. First, Obasanjo attended the Commonwealth conference in November 10, 1999 and also hosted one in 2003 (Times, December 4, 2003). In a way, the West regarded Nigeria as a mediator to resolve its differences with other African nations. For instance, Britain took interest in Nigeria to court Obasanjo to mediate in the British – Zimbabwean crisis. But Robert Mugabe was assertively authoritarian and adamant to grant the wishes of Britain. Also, in spite of three visits, Obasanjo did not succeed in persuading Mugabe out of government or share power. Yet, attempts and efforts shaped Nigeria's image as pivotal in global politics which subsequent shaped African international relations.

International Dimensions to Debt and Governance

To the international community, Obasanjo pronounced liberalization as a means of tackling corruption and he declared in 2001, that he believed in market efficiency. Yet, the nexus between corruption and economic recovery did not yield anything when Transparency International declared Nigeria, the most corrupt country in the world. (*This Day*, September 14, 2000) For, Obasanjo, economic recovery is plausible by adequate public sector management. Invariably, there was no straight forward economic policy, all that there were circumambulated in the concepts of socialism, capitalism, nationalization and so on. In reality, and from the outset, Obasanjo's governance was less perturbed about expert economic teams, he believed so much in his international diplomatic shuttles. Few days before his assumption of office on May 29, 1999, American Treasury Secretary asked him to introduce his economic team in Washington (This Day, April 19, 1999). The focus on an economic team, probably at that international level was a reserved estimation and/or projection into the futuristic downfall imminent in his administration.

Amidst dwindling economic situation before 2002, International Monetary Fund (IMF) offered a policy for abolition of subsidy as a panacea to financial accountability for debt relief. Removal of oil subsidy meant dis-enrichment of the few merchant and capitalist class and by proper management there would be wealth redistribution. However, labour movement always plunged into actions of resistance. By Nigeria's debt status, it was glaring

that public funds were almost impossible for federal and state institutions. Obasanjo set up the National Council on Privatization (NCP) but the government rejected World Bank's policy to privatise the oil sector (Africa Confidential, April 14, 2000). The NCP move was step to answer the question foresighted by American Treasury Secretary in Washington, as he set up an economic team, headed by Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala who had garnered experience as World Bank Technocrat in West Africa, Middle East and East Asia (Illife, 2011:209). Courting World Bank officials to tackle Nigeria's debt burden, in itself was a diplomatic move to involve international financial interventions. In furtherance of this, Obasanjo appointed Obiageli Ezekwesili of Transparency International to work out the economies of corruption through Budget Monitoring and Price Intelligence Unit, (known as Due Process). The Due Process targeted wasteful spending on contracts.

Obasanjo attempted and even struggled to negotiate debt relief. Hence, his diplomatic mien juggled between the domestic and foreign. For a cogent reason, he chose international experts to monitor Nigeria's economy and rid it of wasteful spending.

Notable in the facts of debts was that Nigeria owed Paris Club. Of the member countries in the Paris Club, Nigeria owed Canada, Britain, Italy and the United States, among others. Efforts to achieve substantial debt cancellations did not reach the desired. Rather, the IMF spelt out conditions to improve Nigeria's economy to make debt payments (Guardian, May 18, 2001). Of the creditors, Canada, Italy and United States cancelled their debts, while the substantial creditors held on and insisted on debt payment (This Day, November 23, 2000). In January 2000, a standby credit granted, afforded negotiations with Paris Club with debt rescheduling at $1.7 billion per annum (Illife, 2011: 211; Economic Intelligence Unit, 2002). Conspicuously, the debt burden was an opportunity for IMF to intervene in Nigeria's economy, but Nigeria could not meet the conditions which made Obasanjo to express dismay in March 2002 at the United Nations Conference on Financing for Development that:

> I have tirelessly toured the world, and especially donor nations, with one overriding objective: to obtain tangible relief from the crushing debt overhang burden built up in two decades of mismanagement and corruption. I was encouraged to do so by many world leaders, from whom I obtained sympathetic statements and promises of support for Nigeria's new dawn of democracy … Despite warm wards of encouragement and sympathy, I have been unable to obtain even a single cent of debt relief that could be re-allocated for the crying needs of my people (Lewis& Bratton, 2007).

It was obvious that Nigeria's expectation in the diplomatic friendlies was a doom, yet, there was an emergency to salvage the economy. A strategy used to express the grievance was withdrawal from IMF monitoring. At least to succor Obasanjo's domestic political ambition to vie for a second term in 2003, the creditors also chose to be passive and subsequently, formal relationship with IMF were renewed, though, to douse, tension, there was agreement to suspend discussions on debt relief after April 2003 presidential elections.

After 2003, presidential elections, Obasanjo reduced the international friendlies by shift to the organization of the domestic economy. The National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) was introduced, it was a policy framework developed from National Economic Agenda (2003-2007) (Post Express, October 29, 2002). NEEDS was a requirement of the IMF to prospecting debtor countries to enter negotiations. Its implementation was aimed at reducing spending and averts oil income as the dictator of public expenditure. Apparently, all sectors of the economy were subjected to shake ups, for instance the banking sector to regulate financial and capital flows that challenged corruption. Coupled with privatization, NEEDS were a strategic tool used by the national economic team

to engage international persuasion for credit and debt relief. Within the domestic economy, inflation reduced from 11% in 2003 to 6.4% in 2007, which was significant, at least, there had been devaluation for two decades. Thenceforth, the nigh level of macroeconomic stability and foreign reserves was an avenue to re-enter negotiations with creditors, headed by Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala (Illife, 2011:270). In a complex and precarious web, Nigeria's international relations was of debt, which subjected it to the dictates of the creditors.

By 2005, Nigeria owed $ 34 billion to mostly, the Paris Club (*This Day*, March 19, 2005. It became a clog in the wheel of national administrators. But, the status of Third World Countries differs in the perceptions of the west and international agencies. Nigeria was not considered for concessions. Paris Club did not consider Nigeria for loans because the World Bank did not classify it as qualify for loan in International Development Agency (IDA). However, in 2004, such concession was given to Iraq because of America's occupation. For this, Nigerian negotiators used it as an opportunity to pressurize World Bank to consider Nigeria. At a meeting of G8 industrialized countries, the forum which afforded the finance ministers to deliberate became a landmark which allowed debt relief from Paris Club. In June 2005, reluctantly, Nigeria's proposal was accepted. Thus, Nigeria paid outstanding areas of $6.4 billion, $16 billion was written off and the remainder $8billion of the debt was bought for $6 billion. (Moss, Standley, Birdsall, 2004) Nigeria's ability to cope with the IMF conditions at least to that level was leveraged from Excess Crude Account which eventually actualized in October, 2005 which made IMF give certified approval. Unlike the first term, Obasanjo's leadership goals metamorphosed as he held on to the implementation of NEEDS.

Prior to 1999, Nigeria's position in international community was worse off, because Abacha's government ignored all external interference and warnings. Being a military government, it was imperative that its existence was out fashioned and the western powers disliked the system which delineated Nigeria from major international gatherings. The lacuna was inherent for Obasanjo to fill, because the previous government was neither keen nor apologetic.

At the African Union, Head of Government Implementation Committee (HSGIC) was chaired by Obasanjo. HSGIC worked out the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) to advocate the policies in NEPAD. Under Obasanjo's leadership of the implementation, a diplomatic step involved Emeka Anyaoku's personality to serve as the chairman of the UN Secretary General's Panel on International Support for NEPAD (Akinkugbe et al, 2013:345).

For the British interest in a renewed Africa under Obasanjo's government, Fola Adeola was selected to represent at the United Kingdom Commission for Africa, based on Tony Blair's initiative for African development. (Akinkugbe et al, 2013:545) Ties with the British were fostered by Emeka Anyaoku's position as commonwealth, a position which was eventually restored May 29, 1999. Major reasons for the suspension were human right abuses and military governance. Obasanjo offered to hold Commonwealth Head of Governments Meeting in Abuja, 2003. By principle, (CHOGM) had the plan that the host nation would produce the chairperson, thus it was a reason to Nigeria to hold on the Chairperson of CHOGM which was biannual and Obasanjo served as the chair. Emeka Anyaoku tagged Obasanjo's effort as a new economic diplomacy, aimed at debt relief (Akinkugbe et al, 2013:342). Economic diplomacy was in practice a process of frantic shuttles across the world, not only Obasanjo was involved; his ministers of Finance and Foreign Affairs were also involved.

The basis of IMF endorsement of Nigeria's debt relief in a report went thus:

> The emphasis on these areas in the NEEDS shows that the authorities have identified those reforms that will improve the investment climate and correct past policy mistakes … The main challenge facing Nigeria's policy makers is to persevere and implement the reform agenda consistently (Anyaoku, 2013:349).

Even before the initiation of NEEDS, within internal governance, the National Council on Privatization (NCP) had been established to ensure transparency and accountability in public business procedures.

Obasanjo's Projection of African International Relations

Obasanjo's intervention in South African Crisis, British-Zimbabwe Conflicts, ECOWAS-UN Peace Operations, among others were underlying factors that sharpened the need for some more articulate international relations within Africa. In the course of the struggle for debt relief, Obasanjo and mostly the President of South Africa – Thambo Mbeki developed a lot of initiatives as a bargaining tool to dress up for IMF and World Bank. The Nigerian-South African Bi-National Commission was formed to advance the common grounds for Africa's cooperation. (Adebajo, Adedeji, Landsberg, 2007: 224) Undoubtedly, Organization of African Unity (OAU) had outlived its pressing relevance, of which redeemed African states from colonialism. For a new African collective, Obasanjo re-stimulated the Kampala document of 1991 and presented it for consideration at the OAU summit in Algiers, 1999,(Illife, 2011:220) though it was sidelined initially but at another OAU summit hosted in Libya, Muammar Gaddafi was interested to entrench Libyan relevance in Africa. Thus, the African Union (AU) was formed. In the programme of AU was Obasanjo – Mbeki initiative of the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) which was to impress the G8. NEPAD was a working plan requested by the G8 to foster the neo-liberal orthodox economic approach conditioned for debt relief. NEPAD, Launched in 2001, it was an initiative for African Renaissance, which meant differently to African leaders. To Obasanjo, it was to create an impression for IMF. According to Martin Meredith, what the leaders of Nigeria, Egypt, Senegal and South African wanted were:

> In exchange, they asked industrialized states for an improved package of trade, investment, aid and debt relief measures. In particular, they wanted western governments to dismantle trade barriers directed against African products such as textiles and agricultural goods; to increase their development aid to an equivalent of 0.7 percent of their GDP, in accordance with United Nations targets; and to encourage greater western private-sector investment … The slogan for this endeavour was 'Better Africa, Better World'(Meredith, 2005: 679).

The Gulf of Guinea Question

British interest in the Gulf of Guinea rested on Obasanjo's diplomacy to tackle the crisis. In August, 2000, Obasanjo impressed Sao Tome and Principe to create a Joint Development Zone. There in, there was a maritime border where Nigeria was expected to enjoy 60% of the oil, also boundary definitions were sorted with Equitorial Guinea and Gabon (Frynas et al, 2003: 62-80).

Once debt relief was secured in 2005, partnership with South Africa to impress western powers was no longer emergent. Also, conflict over Zimbabwe, fell of Obasanjo's interest thus, there was the latitude to concentrate on the Gulf of Guinea which its oil resource was vital for Nigeria's economy and even of global relevance. It was convenient for Obasanjo

to concentrate because 12% of oil was exported to America which ably supported the economy, also it afforded the opportunity to seek new relations with Asian economies particularly China, which Obasanjo visited frequently before 2006. For domestic growth, Obasanjo held on to control the Gulf I order to increase oil that served not only western powers, but also Asians. Subsequently, China was important because it enabled negotiations for infrastructural deals (Illife, 2011:281).

To foster the strategic diplomacy of oil resource at the Gulf, Obasanjo engaged in interventions in the politics of Gulf States. The resolutions of African Union, then, were that any nations headed by the military were disallowed from membership. However, the military took advantage of president Menezes of Sao Tome's visit to Nigeria in July 2003 to organise a Coup. Obasanjo's swift intervention was aimed at the oil interest, because the coup meant Sao Tome's removal from membership of AU, which if allowed lingering might complicate issues. Hence, Obasanjo, being a former military general took the President back to entrench his control of the Islands. Generally, it seemed that the military in the Gulf region were dissatisfied with the power and governance system of democracy, and also, possibly they had less grip of control of oil-resources. The discontent also occurred in Guinea-Bissau when the army ousted, but impressed the idea of democratic governance by allowing elections (African Research Bulletin (Political), September, 2003).

Diplomatic Strategies in Bakassi Peninsula

The International Court of Justice (ICJ) at The Hague allotted the disputed border area of Bakassi to Cameroon in 2002. But, he responded or acted slowly because of his second term ambition. After the 2003 elections Obasanjo declared Nigeria's withdrawal of troops from the Peninsula at the completion of border demarcation. Also the affected populations were to be treated with developmental alternatives. Crisis of interest erupted as the National assembly insisted that withdrawal could only be made by Senate Approval. In a counter reaction, the executives used a High Court ruling that the verdict of ICJ over rules other authorities (*Guardian*, March 24, August 13, 2008) Arguments of the National Assembly was that the Bakassi was strategic to Nigeria's defense but Obasanjo jettisoned the fears and implemented ICJ's ruling at a pact signed at Green Tree in New York to show border demarcation (*This Day*, August 14, 2008). The pact was impressed on the Senate for approval which made possible the withdrawal of Nigerian troops in August 2006. Nigeria-Cameroon border problems were amicably settled in a diplomatic manner because, to Nigeria, there was no need to engage constitutional changes and at a parade to celebrate the withdrawal, Obasanjo said:

> We have set a lesson for Africa and the world. We have shown that it is possible to resolve a difficult border problem without war and unnecessary loss of lives and property (Illife, 2011:285).

Privatization

To set up a liberal economy attuned to the capitalist structure of the Bretton Woods, Obasanjo's economic system was programmed towards a privatized formula to project an image of compliance. All aspects of social services, such as telecommunication, electricity, and so on were placed for private intervention. Specifically, in November, 2004, Transnational Corporation (Transcorp) was created by businessmen including Aliko Dangote. Transcorp was aimed at acquisition of public enterprises. Also, Obasanjo Holdings Limited bought about 200 million shares in the corporation which was financed by bank loans (Nwabueze, 2007: 394-396). The argument for the establishment of Transcorp was that it was a way to circulate capital in Nigeria by mobilizing local and international finance. Also, that it

was a way of offering public service investment to be located in Nigeria and managed by Nigerians. Subsequently, two oil refineries were bought. (This Day, August 9, 2006) However, bearing the effect of over dependence on macro-economic strategies, which absolved the question of poverty, the government resorted to poverty eradication measures such as the National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP).

In the privatization process, Obasanjo's plan was aimed at using Nigeria's oil resources to motivate Asian governments and businesses to invest in Nigeria. (Nigerian Tribune, May 22 2008) Then, it was a period of industrial boom among the Asian Tigers as prominent in China, South Korea and India. In the process, precisely between 2005 and 2007, 26 oil blocs were offered in return. Nigerian government got promises to reconstruct Lagos-Kano railway, improvement of Kaduna refinery under the Chinese Three Gorge's project construction of hydro-electric complex at the Mambilla Plateau among others (Illife, 2011: 275). Internationalization through Asia was a form of strategy to redeem a country that had been tied to new contexts of capitalism associated with IMF procedures. Yet infrastructural development was desirable but rarely materialized substantially because Asian firms discovered that the political and business environment was less conducive mostly the problem was of corruption.

Table 1: Proposed Asian Interventions in Infrastructural Development

S/No	Asian Country	Description of Intervention
1	China	Lagos-Kano Railway Kaduna Refinery Hydroelectric Complex in Mambilla Plateau
2	India	Large refinery, power plant railway from Lagos to Niger Delta
3	South Korea	Gas Pipeline from Ajaokuta to norht4ern cities Gas-fired power stations in Abuja and Kaduna, renewal of the Port-Harcourt-Maiduguri railway
4	Malaysians and Taiwanese	Small scale undertakings.

Source: Compiled from John Illife 2011, *Obasanjo, Nigeria and The World* UK: James Currey p. 275.

The Nigerian merchant class and businessman were mostly interested in the privatization process. Of course, they could ably afford to buy. Between 2005 and 2007, the population of international investors procedures proved worthy of the investment for profit.

According to the Bureau of Public Enterprises (BPE), about 115 transactions occurred in the privatization process from 2000 to 2007. For example, foreign investors such as Blue Circle Industries of UK bought WAPCO and Ashakacem, Eleme Petrochemicals was acquired by Indorama from Indonesia, Sancem acquired CCNN. Rusal from Russia acquired Aluminium Smelting Company; O'Secul from Canada acquired Nigeria National Fertiliser Company (Chigbue 2013: 55-56). Privatization management in Nigeria was also placed on international spectrum to gain the confidence of foreign investors, this bearing the fact that, international donors also provided funds, it was easy to use international advisory groups such as Booz Allen and Houston (USA) in telecommunications; Pricewater House Coopers in finance; Adam Smith International; CPCS Transcom of Canada in infrastructure, BNP Paribas International Investment Bank, KPMG, Netpost of Netherland in Postal Services, Mecados Energisticos of Spain for electricity regulation and International Finance Corporation (IFC) for Infrastructure financing (Chigbue 2013, 29-30).

Conclusion

Many problems remain untouched during Obasanjo's presidency, particularly other sectors of development because, more attention was placed on a shuttling movement across the globe to manage debt. But in the process, real economic recovery was not achieved. As Okonjo-Iweala, who headed the team, practically admitted that there was need for accountability at state and local levels, resolve unemployment problems, improved business opportunities, Niger-Delta problem, infrastructural development and improved social spending (Okonjo-Iweala and Osafo-Kwaako, 2007: 21-25). In spite of the problems, it was obvious that the NEEDS strategically, as an IMF conditionality was successful. Inflation reduced, the banking sector was consolidated and the country was not a debtor as at 2007 which ended Obasanjo's second term.

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The depth of deep ecology in question: reflections on environmental ethics theory

By Kibaba Makokha

Abstract
This article is premised on the idea that a theory provides a framework of dealing with practical life issues. A theory in environmental ethics would therefore help us not only to articulate the ethical dimension of human-nonhuman nature relationship but also provide normative prescriptions of how human beings ought to treat their natural counterparts in the natural world. Now for a normative theory to successfully achieve this task, it must be rational and defensible and its principles and beliefs translatable in practical conduct. It is in view of this, that this article examines the suitability of deep ecology paradigm. The choice of deep ecology is obvious because it is a revolutionary attempt to transcend shallow ecology that is anchored on anthropocentric concerns. In a nutshell deep ecology is an attempt to articulate a nature-centred theory of environmental ethics. Hence the idea of deep ecology in contrast with shallow ecology. The purpose of this article is essentially to question the depth of deep ecology. It is our contention that deep ecology is more apparent that real. To demonstrate this we have done a thorough critical review of four writers in this field. The first one is Albert Schweitzer, whose central idea is the principle of reverence for life. The second one is Aldo Leopold whose principal idea is the concept of the biotic community. We have considered these two as precursors to deep ecology theory. Inspired by the works of two are Arne Naess and Paul Taylor who have attempted to articulate a formal theory of environmental ethics on the principles of deep ecology. Arne Naess has anchored his theory on the concept of biosheric egalitarianism, while Paul Taylor on the principle of respect for nature. The common thesis in all arguments by the four authors is the attempt to expand the domain of ethical community beyond human beings to include nonhuman beings. To this, they have all made a case for intrinsic moral standing in all beings in nature. In their considered view therefore a suitable ethical theory to articulate and guide human –nonhuman nature relationship must be nature not human centred.This is revolutionary and has been likened to a Copernican revolution in ethics. This article has subjected the basic assumptions, principles and arguments of the four writers reviewed to test the feasibility and viability of a nature-centred ethics and therefore the depth of deep ecology. It has been shown by way of arguments that while deep ecology makes invaluable contribution to the theory of environmental ethics, its revolutionary streak is more apparent than real. The article has endeavored to show that these writers and deep ecology in general has not been able to shed off anthropocentrism. And it is in the opinion of this article that the whole endeavor of a nature-centred ethics is not possible. The article is part of the efforts not only to keep the debate alive but to continue with the search for a rational and defensible normative theory of environmental ethics.

Key Words: Biocentrism; Biospheric egalitarianism; Biotic Community; Deep ecology; Ecocentism; Ecosophy; Respect for life; Reverence for life

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Introduction

One of the main challenges of environmental ethics is to articulate a rational and defensible ethical theory to articulate the ethical dimension of man nature relationship. In the short history of environmental ethics attempts have been made by scholars to work out such a theory. In the course of doing this enormous literature has come up yet the issue remains of serious philosophical concern. A quick glance at the enormous literature on the subject reveals two broad theoretical paradigms, namely, shallow and deep environmental approaches. The two paradigms present a polarized view of human – nonhuman nature relationship in ethical terms. The two perspectives essentially differ on one main question, what sorts of beings have intrinsic value and hence moral standing

Shallow ecology perspective is anchored on anthropocentric principles and beliefs which essentially put human beings at the centre of ethical concern. This perspective is in line with the human-centred traditional ethics which concerns itself with the human to human relationship as its *raison d'etre.* In this paradigm nonhuman beings have lack intrinsic value and therefore have no moral standing in the primary sense. Accordingly human nature relationship in ethical sense is Deep ecology on the other hand is an expression of biocentric and ecocentric principles. This paradigm is an attempt to transcend shallow ecology and its myriad inherent limitations to articulate a nature-centred ethics. In this new paradigm nonhuman beings enjoy moral standing and are therefore legitimate members of the moral community. Thus deep ecology is an attempt to surmount the inherent weaknesses of shallow ecology and seeks to put environmental concerns on a new theoretical trajectory. But how suitable is deep ecology and does it succeed in supplanting shallow ecology?

This article seeks to contribute to the debate on theory of environmental ethics. In this article we focuss on deep ecology with the main objective of question its depth and therefore its purported difference with shallow ecology. The article subjects the main principles of deep ecology as postulate by its leading lights to serious critical analysis with the view to pointing out the structural and conceptual inconsistencies. This article is broadly guided by the awareness that humanity, particularly owing to developments in science and technology can and have impacted on nonhuman nature in alarming proportions. This necessitates a re-thinking in ethical perspective to guide the human-nonhuman nature interaction. This notwithstanding, the article is also aware that we cannot without the risk of inconsistency deny that morality is agent-centred and therefore in the apt words of Vermeersch (1994:283), humans "must have the advantage over all other animals, possessing the ability to anticipate the catastrophe". Thus, to quote Sylvian and Benett (1994:14), "the environment remains---mere backdrop to actions of agents." Finally and unavoidably, therefore any ethic must take into cognizance the fact that "it involves practical as well as theoretical changes in human treatment to the environment, hence the principles for doing this are both theoretical and practical" (Sylvian and Bennett, 1994:14).

Biocentrism and Ecocentrism

In characterizing the deep ecology movement, the concept of intrinsic moral standing is central, for depending on what sorts of beings are thought to have it, a distinction is made between biocentrism and ecocentrism. Biocentrism, in its literal meaning, limits intrinsic moral standing to beings in nature with biological life; hence the criterion for membership to the moral community is being alive. Ecocentrism on the other hand views all beings in nature

as having intrinsic moral standing. For ecocentrism therefore the ecological community equals the ethical community. It will however be evident shortly that the proponents of deep ecology movement often use biocentrism and ecocentrism interchangeably. This makes any distinction between biocentrism and ecocentrism superfluous.

Although deep ecology as a clearly formulated theory of environmental ethics is a very recent development, its roots are present in earlier writings by thinkers concerned with the nature of the relationship between human beings and nonhuman nature in ethical terms. This article explores thoughts of two such thinkers for illustration.

The Roots of Deep Ecology: Albert Schweitzer and Aldo Leopold

Albert Schweitzer is one of the pioneer writers on the subject of the possibility of extension of ethics beyond the familiar human-to-human category. Reflecting on the issue of human – nonhuman nature relationship in ethical terms, as early as 1915, Schweitzer tried to work out on ethic that went beyond the human-human category of relationships. In his search for his basis, he concluded that such an ethic must be anchored on the principle of reverence for life, posting passionately that "reverence for life did not end with human beings" (Schweitzer, 1993: 185). To arrive at this position, Schweitzer postulated that all organisms possessed the will to live. This will to live put a moral obligation on humans as moral agents towards nonhuman beings. Accordingly, he saw a morally good action as obtaining in "giving to every will to live the same reverence for life" (Schweitzer, 1993: 185).

To bolster his argument, elsewhere, Schweitzer wrote, "the ethical person shatters no crystal that sparkles in the sun, tears no leaf from its trees, breaks no flowers, and is careful not to crush any insect as he walks" (1923: 254). It is out of this conviction that Schweitzer faulted conventional ethics regretfully observing that "the great fault of all ethics hitherto has been that they believed themselves to have to deal with only the relations of man" (1933: 185). In an attempt to marry theory and praxis Schweitzer in his daily life experiences and encounters endeavored to live his ethics. He would for instance in a rather desperate move help insects and worms that he found struggling in a pool of water and so on (Nash, 1989:61).

In our view, Schweitzer's contribution to environmental ethical theory and praxis lies in two fundamental points: the first is the recognition of intrinsic moral standing in other beings other than humans. This is captured and expressed in what Schweitzer calls 'a will to live' that he recognizes in all living beings. The other is a logical consequence of the above, namely that we humans have to re-think our relationship with the rest of nature in ethical terms. The poignant point raised here is that boundaries of legitimate moral concern extend well beyond the human category. Thus, ethics must take into account the intrinsic moral standing of nonhuman beings, which puts a moral obligation on humanity. Nevertheless, as a program of action dealing with human to nonhuman nature relationship for instance from the perspective of conflict between human beings and nonhuman beings, we find Schweitzer's theory limited in a number of respects.

To begin with, Schweitzer's idea that all life forms are equally valuable has come under heavy criticism by commentators on environmental ethics. Reacting to this position, Roderick Nash poses two rhetorical but challenging questions. How would Schweitzer eat, and as a doctor, how would he justify taking lives of germs? (Nash, 1989: 61). As if he had anticipated these challenges, Schweitzer had already written:

> In the process of living, one did on occasion kill other forms of life. But this should happen only with a compassionate sense of responsibility for life, which is to be sacrificed (Schweitzer, 1933: 271).

Schweitzer went further to justify the killing of animals for medical research, but as he said "only when really and truly necessary" (Ibid). The challenge raised by Nash in the above questions tacitly poses the question of possible conflict between human beings and other beings in nature. For instance, eating and killing other living beings in nature obviously curtail their well-being as postulated by Schweitzer and hence a source of conflict between the two. The dilemma then is: If all beings in nature were to be equally valued, how would we resolve conflicts that would inevitably arise in the ensuing interaction between the different and competing categories o beings?

Schweitzer's response is that we can justify undermining, even killing of other animals for human purposes when 'really and truly necessary'. This is quite justifiable, as human beings cannot meet their needs otherwise. In view of Schweitzer's ethic, however, the question is: How do we determine when it is 'really and truly' necessary to take away another life that is equal in worth as our own? The option is that the notions of compassion, necessity and so on, on which Schweitzer seems to ground his response are familiar ethical precepts that justify a human-centred rather than a nature-centred approach to ethics. In the final analysis, therefore, Schweitzer does not succeed in justifying a nature – centred ethic that he endeavored to construct.

In addition, one can also see the impracticability of putting into practice Schweitzer's theory as a program of action. Consider for instance Schweitzer's own effort to mitigate conflict with nonhuman nature by avoiding to step on insects, worms, and so on. To have any meaningful impact, Schweitzer's approach should be such that it can be adopted by the majority of moral agents. Pragmatically however to demand of moral agents such a conduct would not only make live simply impossible but also morally unjustifiable, as this would alienate humanity from nature.

Aldo Leopold

The other and arguably better known and more influential thinker in environmental ethics circles is Aldo Leopold, whose views are highly acclaimed and directly linked to what has later come to be known as biocentric ethics (see Nash, 1989: 70ff). Leopold, unlike Schweitzer before him was neither trained in philosophy nor theology. He was science-oriented, having trained in forestry and pursued a career as a manager in forests (Nash 1989:64). It was however during his acquaintance with studies in ecology that Leopold developed his ideas concerning the ethics of environment. These ideas are basically contained in the 'Land Ethic' a belated chapter in his seminal book, *A Sand County Almanac*, 1949. This book, or rather the chapter referred to is highly acclaimed by environmental ethicists of his persuasion for what is thought to be a forceful articulation of the case for extension of ethics beyond the human domain.

Leopold's theory presents an organic view of nature, which revolves around the notions of the earth, which he preferred to call land, which he perceived, like living organism. The theory further emphasizes the relationship of different elements of nature as a unity or totality. The different elements of this whole, humans included are sub-ordinate to this totality playing different roles towards the good of the whole in the same way a living organism functions. This totality is what Leopold called the biotic community.

It should be pointed out that Leopold's sense of biotic community extends far beyond the conventional conception, which limits biotic to the biologically living as evidenced say by the process of growth. Leopold's sense of biotic community like Naess' (we shall come to this in a moment) sense of living being includes even landscapes, mountains, rivers, rocks etc. It is to the above broader meaning of biotic community that Leopold places the locus of moral considerability and therefore the boundary of moral concern. On this, Leopold differed with his predecessor, Schweitzer who emphasized the place of the individual in his moral scheme.

To develop the thesis of extension of moral concern, Leopold uses the analogy of Odysseus a Greek-god like being, who although morally conscious still hanged a dozen slave girls because in Odysseus sense, slaves were properties and therefore not within the bounds of morality. Thus, we humans in the same way as Odysseus, Leopold observes, "…abuse land because we regard it as a commodity belonging to us; (but) when we see land as a community to which we belong , we may begin to use it with love and respect" (Leopold, 1949: 203).

Thus convinced, Leopold argued that human obligation to land must transcend self-interest to be "Grounded on the recognition that humans and other components of nature are ecological equals" (1949: 204). Hence, Leopold's supreme principle of ethical concern is that "a thing is right when it tends to preserve the integrity, stability and beauty of the biotic community---it is wrong when it tends otherwise" (Leopold, 1949: 224).

Leopold was however, not oblivious of the fact that technological development in human civilizations set humans apart from nature, hence the further conception of ethics as self-imposition of limitations on the part of humans arising out of the realization that they were integral parts of a larger community of mutual interdependence.

In response, we see that Leopold's theory of extended ethics not only re-affirms the moral standingness of nonhuman nature but also the mutual connectedness and interdependence of the different elements of nature, humans being an integral part of that mutuality. This interconnectedness plays a major role in bringing humanity closer to nature, and thus shaping their attitudes and sensibilities towards the natural environment. These, in our sense provide crucial recipes in articulation of human-nonhuman nature ethic. For instance, humans refrain from treating the rest of nature as mere means to human ends; taking a leap into recognizing that nature has a purpose of its own, which cannot simply be reduced to human good. This reminds humanity of their obligation to maintain a balance and harmony in the ecological system. Nevertheless, as a comprehensive platform on which we can address specific human –nonhuman nature ethical dilemmas, such as conflicts, we find Leopold's theory inadequate in a number of respects.

In the first place, Leopold's sense of community is problematic. We find the assumptions on which Leopold's sense of community is anchored to conveniently ignore fundamental differences between humanity and nonhuman nature. The points is that apart from some physiological and biological similarities between human beings and some nonhuman beings, there are crucial differences emanating from the fact that humans are rational and cultural beings, which must be incorporated in any conception of a community that includes humanity. To bring this to realization, we necessarily need human standards, and hence a human-centred ethic. In view of this, Leopold's sense of community cannot engender a nonhuman-centred ethics it proposes.

Reflecting on Leopold's idea of community, Passmore (1974: 116) maintains, "It does not generate ethical obligation". In his view, the idea of moral obligation is predicated on two conditions, which Leopold's sense of community fails to satisfy. These two conditions are, common interests among members and recognition of mutual obligation between the parties.
While we concur with Passmore that Leopold's sense of community is problematic as argued above, we do not agree with the two conditions on which he grounds his denial for moral obligation to nonhuman nature. While acknowledging crucial differences between humanity and nonhuman beings as pointed out above, we believe that there exist commonalities between human beings and nonhuman beings sufficient to generate a sense of moral obligation on the part of humans as moral agents. Principally, these commonalities derive from the principle of inherent worth that human beings possess simply by virtue of being human. Specifically in addition to a common origin, living beings in nature have a continued interest in well-being and so on, which impose on humans, as moral agents, a responsibility.

The second condition on the other hand implicitly raises the question of reciprocity, in the sense that one's right is another's duty or obligation. Reciprocity implies a two – way or give and take sort of relationship, it is a mutual relationship. In general, we observe some sense of mutuality in human – nonhuman nature interaction. For instance, if you treat animals, both domesticated and even wild in a good way, for example by giving them food, helping them out of difficulties, they do respond appropriately by identifying with you, appreciating what you do for them. A kind of reciprocity is quite evident in their actions.

The important point to note however, is that, this reciprocity is not in the moral sense. It is only rationally conceivable that a moral action in respect of human – nonhuman nature is a one-way affair. This is because morality presupposes a moral agent of which nonhuman nature is incapable. Hence, actions by nonhuman beings directed at human beings or any other being including their own kind cannot be characterized as moral. This also means that nonhuman beings are not under moral obligation, towards human beings, for this is to say the least inconceivable. But those of us who are moral agents owe moral obligation to those amongst us who are incapable of entering into a relationship of mutual obligation with us. Thus to predicate moral obligation on reciprocity would preclude from moral standingness not only all nonhuman beings but also a good percentage of human beings.

Further still on Leopold's problematic sense of community, Taylor, whose ethics of respect for nature is inspired by Leopold's writings, argues that Leopold's conception undermines the place and good of individuals within the context of the community. In Taylor's view, "unless individuals have a good of their own that deserves the moral consideration of agents, no account of nature-as-a-whole can explain why moral agents have a duty to preserve its good" (Taylor, 1986: 118). In this article we argue that moral agents owe duties and obligations to both individuals and collectivities. In our view it is individuals who have interests, rights, and a good of their own in the primary sense that put moral obligations upon moral agents. Nonetheless collectivities such as communities, species and so on have these qualities in the secondary sense, arising from recognition of the same qualities in the individual entities that comprise them. In is in this sense for instance, that one can speak of rights of indigenous people or communities, gay community and so on.

Further still, taking a similar line to Passmore's attack on Leopold's sense of community, Artfield poses the problematic in the following:

> If the sole moral criterion is the preservation of the integrity, stability and beauty of the biotic community, then suffering will count as an evil where its effects are ecologically bad and where they are held to be good(e.g. culling) in will not even count as a negative moral factor at all (Artfield, 1991: 180).

Additionally, "neither individual creatures (humans or otherwise) nor their states will of intrinsic value, and their value will consist solely in their relative contribution to ecological stability" (Ibid). In our view, and in addition to Attfield's foregoing observations, the part – whole problematic posed by the Leopoldian conception of community as pointed out earlier on, leads to a lack of clearly spelt out mechanisms by which to relate the different entities of the community. In the case of conflict between the elements, say between human beings and nonhuman nature, it is difficult to see how they can be surmounted. This is confounded by that fact that on Leopoldian formulation, one deals with collectivities rather than individuals and hence if humans violated nonhuman nature without significantly interfering or altering the biotic community, then such actions would not be morally wrong. This would be contrary to the hallmark of a nature-centred ethic, once again putting the depth of Leopoldian biocentric ethic in doubt. Having explored the roots of deep ecology in the works of the

preceding writers, let us now interrogate two main proponents of deep ecology as a theory of environmental ethics. These are, Arne Naess and Paul Taylor, beginning with the former.

Deep ecology proper: Arne Naess and Paul Taylor

Deep ecology as an environmental philosophical system proper was formulated in the 1970's by Arne Naess, a Norwegian philosopher. In spite of the use of the term 'ecology' which is a scientific terminology, Naess was clear in his mind that deep ecology was a normative rather than a scientific principle (Naess, 1995: 154). The philosophical basis of deep ecology is rooted in the notion of '*ecosophy'* a concept Naess coined from two Greek words, *'ecos'* meaning household and '*sophia'*, meaning wisdom. Thus, ecology in Naess' own words is "the philosophy of ecological harmony or equilibrium" (Ibid: 154). This philosophy is rooted in Naess' intuitive believe that "all living things have a right to blossom that is the same for all" (1995: 223). By living beings, Naess, like his predecessor, Leopold, refers to a category larger than the conventional one (beings that are biologically alive), to include such beings as landscapes, rivers, wildernesses, mountains and so on (Ibid: 124). All these in his formulation are internally related. Naess, however, probably aware of the conundrum posed by his egalitarian principle above insisted that "the right to live is one and the same for all individuals, whatever the species" (Ibid: 223), but added the rider, "but the vital and interests of our nearest have priority" (Ibid). Naess (1995: 68) presents his deep ecology theory in an eight-point platform as follows:

1. The wellbeing and flourishing of human and nonhuman life on earth have value in themselves. These values are independent of the usefulness of the nonhuman world for human purposes.
2. Richness and diversity of life forms contribute to the realization of their value and are also values in themselves.
3. Humans have no right to reduce this richness and diversity except to satisfy vital needs.
4. The flourishing of human life and cultures is compatible with a substantially smaller human population. The flourishing of nonhuman life requires a smaller human population.
5. Present human interference with the nonhuman world is excessive and the situation is rapidly worsening.
6. Policies must therefore be changed, affecting basic economic, technological and ideological structures to realize a deeply different state of affairs from the present one.
7. The ideological change is mainly that of appreciating life quality (dwelling on situation of inherent value) rather than adhering on increasingly higher standard of living will be a profound awareness of the difference between big and great.
8. Those who subscribe to the foregoing points have an obligation directly or indirectly to try to implement the necessary changes.

The eight-point platform above outlines both the theoretical as well as practical actions that ought to be undertaken in order to actualize his philosophy of harmony and equilibrium of nature which in Naess' theory should culminate in what he terms as "self-realization". Naess' idea of self-realization requires a little elucidation. Naess used the tem self-realization to mean an expanded and broader sense of the self. Self-realization in Naess is the self-transcending the traditional progression of the self from the ego to the social-self. The self in Naess' formulation reaches maturity only when it identifies with the nonhuman living beings, hitherto, ignored by a narrow sense of self. It is this sense that Naess speaks of ecological self

(Naess, 1995:226).Self-realization therefore means ecological self which is the highest form of consciousness, emphasizing the essential, internal connectedness of all beings in nature.

On deep reflection, Naess' notion of self-realization is presented both as an ontological as well as a normative concept. As on ontological notion, it is rooted in the view that human beings are integral part of nature, thus calling for human identification with nature. As a normative process on the other hand, the development or progression of the self from ego, to the other, to the social and finally, according to Naess, to the ecology is an expansion of the domain of morality, of the ethical community. An ecological self is therefore achieved when humanity recognize (and practically actualize) their rootedness in nature, nature as having inherent worth and living in harmony and equilibrium with nature. Naess called resultant theory biosphric egalitarianism.

Naess' contribution to environmental ethical theory and discourse is enormous. First the theory not only reiterates the view of earlier writers, two of whom we have discussed in an earlier section in this article but provides profound ontological and normative grounds for affirming the intrinsic moral standing of nonhuman nature. It thus emphasizes an expanded scope of morality; by showing that nonhuman nature rightly belongs to the ethical community.

Second, Naess, is deserves the honor of providing the first coherent and systematic formulation of a theory of environmental ethics on the principles of deep ecological movement. While the depth of his system is in my view problematic, as we shall try to point out shortly, the formulation itself is a major attempt to articulate an understanding of human-nonhuman nature relationship that addresses both theoretical as well as practical considerations.

The foregoing notwithstanding, an analysis of Naess' deep ecology or biospheric egalitarianism theory, raises a number of theoretical and practical difficulties. For example trying to account for how to deal with conflict between human beings and nonhuman nature within deep ecology framework, Naess appeals to what he terms the "principle of vitalness and nearness". He writes:

> There are two rules which manifest two important factors which Operate when interests conflict; vitalness and nearness. The greater vital interests have priority over the more remote in space, time, culture and species (Naess, 1995: 223).

Now, by a cursory reflection on this prescription, one is left wondering whether Naess is still answering to or has abandoned the biospheric egalitarianism; and by extension, deep ecology. To implement Naess' advice on how to deal with conflict between human beings and nonhuman nature as prescribed above, one would necessarily require a standard or criterion by which to determine not only what priority is, but what is vital and nearer. To determine such a standard or criterion is to necessarily rely on human judgement. The point of reference is humanity and the nearer and vital are accordingly defined in human standards. Further still, the nearer and vital as used are exclusive criteria, which makes the theory inconsistent with the principle of equality of all beings in nature. In this regard, and Naess has alluded to this in his prescription humans would be justified to practice what Taylor would later call speciesism. This is the favoring of members of our species because by Naess' logic they are near and more vital to us.

The foregoing would be antithetical to the anti-hierarchical vision of Naess' biosphric egalitarianism and deep ecology in general. Thus, Naess' prescription cannot be relied upon to provide criteria to surmount human-nonhuman nature conflict, consistent with the basic principles of deep ecology he has endeavored to articulate. It is against this backdrop that we

are inclined to support Attfield's sentiments to what he refers to as the "mystical depth of deeper movement of Naess' characterization" (Attfield, 1991: 160).

On a different note, we also find Naess' notion of ecology as the ontology on which he anchors his thesis of self-realization as the ultimate norm of his moral consciousness and concern problematic. On this, Naess (1995: 80) writes, "Ecology T has only one ultimate norm: Self-realization (which) embraces all forms of life on the planet together with their individual selves". The problem with this ontology, is that it tends towards reductionism, in which the individual or the self is sort of lost in the invisible, ecological self. This ontology in our view therefore ignores fundamental differences that exist between human beings and nonhuman nature. Naess' own eight-point formulation recognizes these fundamental differences, which cannot be so to speak lost in the invisible ecological self, without absurdity. The eight-point platform on which Naess develops his deep ecology ethics is in a way negated in this ontology. There is a further inconsistence in the sense that Naess' theory insists on the "supremacy of the individual rather that the collectivity" (1995: 215). In view of the above inconsistence, Vermeersch (1994: 279), though without elaboration has dismissed it as a "vague metaphysics".

The inconsistence is also discernible in the view of ecosophy as a normative principle in which the self transcends the ego and the social to the ecological self. This is progression makes sense only from the point of the human person, it is a purely human endeavor, which implies improvement and refinement of human values toward the realization of this new consciousness and hence the desired goals. This way it is apparent that the core of Naess' biospheric egalitarianism is in fact an anthropocentric rather than a deep ecology principle and program. Once again, serious doubts are cast on the depth of Naess' theory of deep ecology.

Paul Taylor

Finally, let us consider Paul Taylor's version of deep ecology theory, which is anchored on principle of respect for nature. To arrive at his idea of respect for nature, Taylor postulates and defends important theoretical and practical considerations. According to Taylor, respect for nature comes as a natural adoption of what he prefers to call, a biocentric outlook as guided by moral standards, which ought to be adhered to by all moral agents. In a rhetorical question, Taylor asks, why should moral agents accept the four principles (to be discussed below) that make up the biocentric outlook? In his view, the answer lies in the fact that "moral agents are rational, factually informed and have developed a high sense of reality awareness, (hence) they will find those principles acceptable" (Taylor 1986: 100).

Paul Taylor's version of biocentrism is therefore predicated on four main principles, which we now wish to examine (Ibid: 99ff). The first principle views humans as members of the earth's community of life in the same sense and terms in which other living organisms are. By this principle, Taylor postulates and underscores the idea of biotic egalitarianism, i.e., equality of human beings and other organisms. In other words Taylor propagates the idea that all beings in nature are biological equals.

The second principle, states that human species along with all other species are integral elements in a system of interdependence such that the survival of each being as well as its chances of faring well or poorly are determined not only by the physical conditions of its environment but by its relations to other beings. This principle lays emphasis on the mutuality and commonality of the different elements of nature. This interconnectedness undergirds a balance and harmony, such that any disruptions to any, potential or actual, causes disharmony and imbalance to the entire system. In other words, this principle derives from the view that 'things in nature hang together' and human beings are essentially integral elements of nature.

The third principle views all organisms in nature as teleological centers of life in the same sense; that each is a unique individual pursuing its own end in its own way. In essence, what this means is that "its internal functions as well as its internal activities are all goal oriented, having the constant tendency to maintain the organism's existence through time to enable it successfully perform these biological operations whereby it reproduces its kind and continually adapts to changing environmental events and conditions (Taylor, 1986: 121-122). This principle is in line with Schweitzer's position that emphasized the distinctive nature of individual organisms as having moral standing worth of respect from moral agents. The principle can further be interpreted as an attempt to guard against reductionism in which individual self is lost in the collective self.

Finally, the fourth principle is that humans are not inherently superior to other living things. This is an explicit and unequivocal denial of the fundamental assumption of anthropocentrism. In a spirited argument, Taylor endeavors to show the illogicality of arguing that human beings are superior to the rest of nature on account of possession of certain capacities, principally, rationality, aesthetic creativity, individual autonomy and free will (Taylor, 1986: 130).

According to Taylor the logical implication of granting superiority to humans on account of their peculiar characteristics and capacities such as the ones mentioned in the preceding sentence would be to also acknowledge the superiority of nonhuman beings on account of their unique qualities or the capacities that they possess in greater propensity in comparison with their human counterparts. Taylor singles out for illustration, the capacity of birds to fly, the speed of the cheetah, the agility of monkeys and the power of photosynthesis in plants (Taylor, 1986: 29). Taylor concludes that the capacities mentioned for both humans and nonhuman beings are merely distinguishing characteristics rather than the measures of superiority of one species over the other. This view is as radical as is contentious, as we shall see in a short while.

To translate these theoretical formulations into a practical platform and program to guide human conduct in relation to nonhuman nature, Taylor presents what he terms as five priority principles. These principles, Taylor believes would give guidance for example towards solving conflicts between human beings and nonhuman nature within the biocentric paradigm. They rest on biocentric egalitarianism, which emphasizes that:

> As moral agents, we see ourselves under an ethical requirement to give equal consideration to the good of every entity, human and nonhuman alike, that has a good of its own---- when the good of one conflicts with that of the other our approach to finding a way to resolve the conflict. Since all are viewed as having the same inherent worth, the moral attitude of respect is equally due to each (Taylor, 1986: 158).

The five priority principles are as follows:

1. The principle of self-defense, which defends the view that it is permissible for moral agents to protect themselves against dangerous or harmful organisms by destroying them (Taylor,1986:264-265).
2. The principle of proportionality, which holds that in a conflict between human values and the good of (harmless) wild animals and plants, greater weight should be given to the basic than non-basic interests, no matter what species human or other competing claims arise from (Taylor, 1986:278).
3. The principle of minimum wrong, which permits humans to pursue values that may be harmful to nonhuman nature only so long as doing so involves fewer wrongs

(violation of duties) than any alternative way of pursuing those values (Taylor, 1986: 282/3).

4. The principle of distributive justice, which provides that when interests of the parties are all basic ones and there exists a natural source of good that can be used for the benefit of any of the parties, each party must by allotted an equal share (Taylor, 1986:292).
5. The fifth is the principle of restitutive justice which emphasizes the idea of restoring the balance of justice after a moral subject has been wronged (Taylor, 1986: 303).

Taylor's theory, consistent with other deep ecology, re-affirms the view that nonhuman beings have intrinsic moral standing and have a good of their own. Logically, therefore, their good deserve respect by moral agents. Taylor's theory like other deep ecological versions discussed earlier on, does not in our view however succeed in its endeavor to completely shed off anthropocentric assumptions. And in our view the endeavor to shed off anthropocentrism is not possible. Let us now critically unpack Taylor's version of deep ecology as expressed in the foregoing principles

In the very first instance, for acceptance of his biocentric outlook, Taylor appeals to human rationality, knowledge and consciousness (Taylor, 1986: 108). This appeal in our view is an explicit affirmation of the human-centeredness of morality and therefore to purport to present a nature-centred ethic amounts to contradiction. Further to this, if acceptance of the theory is dependent on the rational nature of humanity, as Taylor posits, then how could he without logical absurdity sustain the argument that human rationality is not superior to say the agility of a monkey or the speed of a cheetah?. If that were the case then why not predicate the moral consciousness on agility or say physical strength.

Taylor is however right in positing that human beings are in the biological and probably physiological senses integral parts of nature in the same way as are other organisms. Humans, however, by nature of their capacities, principally rationality, which Taylor himself relies on for acceptance of his biocentric outlook, stand apart from nature. We cannot therefore without inconsistence, negate this crucial fact of nature. On the whole, Taylor's theory does not satisfactorily convince us on the mechanisms and modalities of how some of the priority principles can be affected in real practical life. Let us do a quick analysis and evaluation of the principles to illustrate our point.

On the principle of proportionality, in particular, to define what is basic and what in non-basic is a rational and therefore a human judgment. Therefore what qualifies as basic and non-basic may vary from one being to the other. Thus what counts as basic for human beings may not be basic for nonhuman animals and vice-versa. The point is that the criteria to be used are necessarily human- centred. These standards, measures or criteria cannot therefore be realistically the same for the two categories. This is in accordance with anthropocentricism or better still, the great chain of being and the resultant theory cannot therefore be nature-centred.

The main argument in this article is that, the principle of proportionality should focus more on restraining the amount that humans ought to take from the natural environment rather than on the rhetoric of basic versus non-basic interests. This way, the principle of proportionality together with that of minimum wrong can act to restraint to human excesses that impact negatively on nonhuman nature individually and collectively.

The principle of distributive justice on the other hand assumes and presupposes equality of all beings involved. This, in the case of human beings vis-à-vis nonhuman beings as previously pointed out is problematic. To assume equality of humans and nonhuman beings may ignore morally relevant differences making a just relationship in the distributive sense of justice untenable. This therefore calls upon deep ecologists to accept the principle of

gradation in which we have levels of worth. This would however severely undermine the foundations of deep ecology. And predictably so, the view is repudiated by deep ecologists as hierarchical, chauvinistic thinking, which negates the principle of equality they try to articulate. But this repudiation does not resolve the issue. In any case, even common sense shows the indefensibility and impracticability of the idea of equality of all beings in nature. The basic example is found in our subsistence habits, which involve humans slaughtering and eating other animals. This is quite a natural practice, which in our view cannot engender the principle of equality of all beings in nature.

Finally, on the principle of restitutive justice, we see the very notion of restitution as presupposing a claimant to the right so violated. Now in the case of a wrong or harm done to nonhuman nature, one wonders how the compensation is to be worked out, who makes the claim and who gets compensated.

We are therefore in agreement with Attfield that Taylor's theory does not succeed in convincing us on "how the principles are severally to be defended and how conflicts between them are to be resolved by rational means" (Attfield, 1991: 208). This failure is not unique to Taylor's theory; rather it is a larger problem than all those who subscribe to biocentric or biospheric egalitarianism have to contend with. As we have endeavored to show in the discourse in this article, while purporting to grant equal worth and rights to all beings in nature, biocentric egalitarianism quite often, lapses into hierarchical thinking, which is anthropocentric, thereby making a nature – centred ethic difficult to conceptualize and actualize.

Conclusion and Recommendations

This article is a conceptual and theoretical discourse on the controversial issue of a suitable framework in environmental ethics. The controversy as noted in the introduction revolves around shallow ecology and deep ecology dichotomy. In this article we have subjected deep ecology to critical scrutiny and analysis to test the consistency of its foundations. To do this we have reviewed the works of four important scholars whose contribution to deep ecology remains invaluable.

In the article we have clearly traced the roots of deep ecology in the works of Albert Schweitzer and Aldo Leopold, in their concepts of reverence of life and biotic community respectively. The arguments by the two formed the basis on which later theorists, Arne Naess and Paul Taylor have anchored a systematic theory of deep ecology. The contribution of the deep ecology theory as articulated by these writers cannot be gainsaid and has been acknowledged in this article.

The purpose of this article was however not to praise the writers reviewed in particular and deep ecology in general but to question its depth and therefore the whole revolutionary idea of a nature-centred ethics, implied and explicitly articulated in deep ecology. A rigorous critique of the theoretical, conceptual and practical foundations has demonstrated logical inconsistencies in deep ecology as a framework as well as program of action. It is therefore in the opinion of this article that deep ecology is problematic to sustain on rational grounds and to actualize in practice.

The contribution of this article is to add to the debate on the suitability of environmental ethics theory in general but in particular by systematically exploring the key themes and arguments of the leading lights in deep ecology movement. The article is also a provocation to scholars in environmental philosophy to keep the debate on this controversial subject alive as the search for a rational and defensible theory continues.

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Book Review on *Forging solidarity: Popular Education at Work*

Title of the book: *Forging solidarity: Popular Education at Work*
Editors: Astrid von Kotze and Shirley Walters
Place of publication and publisher: Rotterdam: Sense Publishers
Pages: viii + 227 pages
Year of Publication: 2017
Series: International issues in adult education; v. 22.
Book Reviewer: Maurice N. Amutabi

Popular education, Lifelong learning and Adult Education are some of the themes that one comes across multiple times in this book *Forging solidarity: popular education at work*. The book uses cases studies to interrogate critical issues related to popular education, lifelong learning and adult education, especially at work place. The advantage of the text is that it provides a global spectrum on lifelong running activities across the world. There are nineteen peer reviewed chapters by senior scholars and activists in the field of lifelong learning. The book is written in simple English and is an exciting retrospection of some of the saddest moments in the history of South Africa and other parts of the world where individuals have taken up on oppressors in order to earn autonomy or independence.

The first chapter is the introduction by Astrid Von Kotze and Shirley Walters which sets the ball rolling by providing a synopsis of the book. They point out that many of the chapters are based on life histories of past solidarity actions. They show that the book is largely a reflection of life experiences of the authors, especially from the survivors of the oppressive apartheid system in South Africa. It covers themes in popular education globally and provides a strong understanding of the emergency of population in the world. The book consists of nineteen chapters written by twenty five authors. The authors are found in universities as scholar-activists and while others are by activists from NGOs and social movements. One is impressed by the level and depth of analysis and stories on popular education by popular educators responding to various needs in various societies. *Forging Solidarity* has many advantages, one of which is the experiential manner in which chapters are written. The authors lived through and experienced what they are wiring about.

The second chapter in *Forging Solidarity* provides the reader with deep understanding on how popular education has evolved, over the years and some of the challenges it has encountered. The authors navigate very precarious boundaries between adult education, lifelong learning and other experiences have taken place. The chapter by Linda Cooper and Thembi Luckett is entitled "Past and Present Intersections: Legacies of popular Education in the 1970S and 1980s" and deals with a sensitive matter. It discusses various issues affecting popular education in the 1970s and 1980s. These were the most sensitive years in the history of education in the world because they were dominated by Cold War politics. It is for this reason that they begin to make connection between solidarity and struggle for freedom and equality in South Africa. The 1970s and 1980s were full of politics of resistance that affected education and struggles of the people. The 1970s and 1980s were by and large pedagogical and ideological and implicitly and explicitly political, building on the fire ignited by the June 16 1976 Soweto students Riots. Historians have agreed that the riots, which spread countrywide profoundly, changed the socio-political landscape in South Africa. The death of Steve Bantu Biko on September 12, 1977 added to the volatility and intensified solidarity. Thus, Linda Cooper and Thembi Luckett in this chapter demonstrate that solidarity was an important concept in decolonization because it called for unity against oppressors. The chapter looks at encounters of solidarity in the pedagogical practices of three movements that were part of the anti-apartheid struggles of the 1970s and 1980s. The chapter focuses on the

Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), the worker's Movement and the People's Education movement. The chapter is effective and does a good job in making us understand what collective solidarity meant in South Africa. The Black Consciousness Movement was supported by both black and white creating unique opportunities of fighting against apartheid. Giving examples of statements by Leigh-Ann Naidoo, Frantz Fanon among others they argue that the tensions in education were also political and vice versa. There was a strong relationship between freedom and education and that the apartheid government knew this. The apartheid government wanted to use education to invite the people while the people used education to unite so that the education sector became the battle ground of ideas in which the BCM took advantage to engage in radical pedagogy which still continues today.

The chapter second chapter also points out that the trade union movement was active in education. The workers education was enriched by what radical education meant. Despite this radical intent, workers education was more participatory than empowering. It was top-down than bottom-up which these authors attribute to the hostile environment in South Africa at the time. The third movement Peoples Education for Peoples Power was confrontational and tool action in schools. Some of the actions involved the school boycott movement of the 1980s. The climax of these boycotts had occurred in the 1970s with killing of school children in Soweto in 1976. The killing of the children led to more boycotts and crises that spread through South Africa. The first school boycott started in Cape Town in 1980 where students demanded an alternative curriculum and a democratic control of schools through Student Representative Council. The chapter is important eye opener in the tensions and problems that were present in South Africa during apartheid and therefore the need for popular education. Where not only learning took place, but new knowledge was produced. The chapter lacks voices of victims and participants who will have made it much richer and fulfilling. It is gratifying to see a quote of words from Neville Alexander who was at the forefront at this movement.

The third chapter is by Shirley Walters and Shuana Butterwick, is entitled "Moves to decolonize solidarity though feminist popular education." The focus on feminism is interesting because it allows us to see the role of women in the history of education in South Africa. Women played an important role in liberation history of South Africa and it's a fitting tribute to see women being celebrated. Women like Winnie Mandela and Albertina Sisulu played an important role in the liberation of South Africa through popular movement and mobilization against apartheid. Female popular education promotes collective learning that engages learners' different identities, divergent politics and varied capacities. It therefore forms of solidarity while promoting independence by decolonizing the self from within. The chapter adds value in our understanding of the role of feminism in the liberation of South Africa. Women forged solidarities by challenging many forms of oppression and they are still so today. For example by challenging rape culture on the campus and providing support to end such operations, women have acquired stronger voice and agency.

The fourth chapter is by Bob Boughton and Deborah Durnan and looks at popular education pedagogy and South-South solidarity. It is an Asia pacific perspective which provides a different understanding of solidarity. It gives us a new understanding of "Solidarity with the decolonization struggles of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples of Australia has historically involved solidarity links with international labour and socialist movements" p. 39) The chapter takes us through the history of operation, giving an account of popular education in Australia. It goes through history of popular education and international solidarity and how the local people and the Aborigines survived the colonial project and oppression. There is a feeling that this chapter provides comparative aspects between history in colonization in Australia and Africa. It explains how education can be used to fight off colonization and oppression. It gives examples from Cuba, Philippines, East Timor and other

parts of Asia. The conclusion is that solidarity was important in liberating people against oppression. The authors point out that acts of international solidarity are themselves educative, in that they give us direct access to the international character both of capitalism and the struggles to transform it" (pg 46). The strength of this chapter is the comparative context that it provides, to show the interconnectedness of the world, through solidarity.

The fifth chapter is by Leigh-Ann Naidoo on "Women's Boat to Gaza" which is written as personal journey. It is an interesting chapter by a freedom fighter herself and does this through a personal narrative. The story begins on September 2016 on a journey across the Mediterranean Sea on a boat to Gaza in the Middle East. She explains how she dealt with the Israeli Occupation Forces which have occupied Gaza for many years now. The chapter is an interesting personal journey that tells us how solidarity can work through education. Many readers will agree with her when she says "Many have pointed to the similarities between apartheid South Africa and what has become known as Israeli apartheid" (pg 49). Many a times, the image of Yasser Arafat has often been placed side by side by that of Nelson Mandela as icons of freedom. The chapter helps us to understand that Gaza may be far from South Africa but it shares common links of solidarity and the international solidarity. The story also sheds light on shared bonds of oppressed people of the world.

Chapter six is by John Vaughn M, entitled "Building peace, solidarity and hope in Africa through popular education." In this chapter we are introduced notions and ideas about peace building through popular education. The chapter is based on Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP) in South Africa which operates through a participatory pedagogy using games, activities, dialogue and critical reflection to foster deep experiential learning" (p.59). What you realise from this chapter is a manner in which these activities deflated violence and allowed people to recover and forget oppression. There is transforming power in this concept of Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP). It reminds participants of their inherent power to transform conflicts in a non-violent manner. The chapter is important because it indicates that societies require recovery and healing after such a traumatic experience as apartheid in the midst of rebuilding reconstruction and rehabilitation. When we look at examples such as Nazi Germany under the holocaust and Rwanda after the Genocide, there is need for healing. John Vaughn points out that Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP) project has moved from Rwanda to a global peace movement.

There are many other chapters in this book. Chapter seven is by Diana Skelton and Martin Kalisa and is titled "People in extreme poverty act for change." Chapter eight is by Mudney Halim, entitled "Building economic solidarity from Grassroots: survival mechanisms in freedom park, Johannesburg." Chapter nine is by Vainola Makan, its title is "From Information to Knowledge for Action in Blikkiesdorp." Chapter ten is by Jane Burt and Thabo Lusithi, and its title is "Being the Earth's Comrade." Chapter eleven is by Deshpande, Sudhanva is titled, "Solidarity is not a one-way street." Chapter twelve is by Astrid Kotze, it is titled, "Street theatre for solidarity." Chapter thirteen is by Eugene Paramoer and Lyndal Pottier and the title is "Amazei Wethu." This chapter explores the possibilities of Cinema as a solidarity-forging tool. Chapter fourteen is by Carohn Cornell, entitled "Working with life stories: Notes from a facilitator." The fifteenth chapter is by Salma Ismail, titled "Contours of radical Pedagogy." The sixteenth chapter is titled is by Saliem Patel entitled "Study Circles." The seventeenth chapter is by Sheri Hamilton and entitled "Pedagogy of struggle." The eighteenth chapter is by Sebastian Vielmas and is titled "Building a movement for the right to education in Chile." The final chapter is by Jim Crowther and Mae Shaw and is entitled "Solidarity in and against the academy." The chapters in this book provide an excellent understanding of periods in which various groups lived under oppression and how they navigated through this by way of creating solidarity. Readers will be delighted to learn and read about the case studies because they are based on actual life experiences. The experiential

manner in which the cases are presented allows us to understand some of the tensions of the past and how we can recover from them through reconciliation, rebuilding and reconstruction and healing.

Reading through book, one can tell that many scholars would have wanted to hear more voices being cited, especially black voices from Soweto in Johannesburg and Langa in Cape Town. The power of agency and voice allows people to engage in dialogue and negotiation that can bring about resolution. The violence that apartheid unleashed on black people is still visible through the whole question of trauma and one would have wanted to hear about issues of reconstruction, rebuilding, peacemaking, peace building and healing through these solidarities. What is being done in our societies about the past in order to bring about justice and healing, in order to bring about closure? We would like to know if solidarity has improved the state of the Aborigines, Maori, Khoisan, and all other indigenous peoples of Africa. Through approaches such as Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP), there is evidence to suggest that a lot is being done to address previous forms of injustice.

The chapters are well written and provide an overarching theme of solidarity throughout. I recommend the book to all students of education, humanities and social sciences. The book will be of specific interest to popular education, adult education and lifelong learning in the world. We hope that libraries all over the world would order the book so that the world gets to know how interconnected we all are in this dynamic world.

Review by Maurice N. Amutabi

Submission Guidelines for Journal of African Interdisciplinary Studies (JAIS)

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