

Sage Philosophy and Critical Thinking: Creatively Coping with Negative Emotions

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ABSTRACT: In critical thinking we learn the importance of being fair, and opening up closed and biased minds. In practical philosophy we must learn how to find our happiness in a world where others act with evil intentions. In contemporary Kenya one major challenge is how to react to those who might use witchcraft to try to harm oneself or one's family. Regardless of whether witchcraft is "real" or not, it is possible to discern the root cause of witchcraft practices as due to jealousy and selfishness. By addressing the root problem, cases of witchcraft practice will diminish. The paper uses Kenyan philosopher Odera Oruka's "sage philosophy" methodology, to interview rural sages who have reputations as being wise in their communities, so that professional philosophers can learn from their wisdom. For example, Saulo Namianya sees his role as helping to "level tongues" that had been high-pitched in their anger, so that people can discern the cause of a dispute and have it resolved. Adala Otuko emphasizes controlling one's fear when one first sights a charm. Ngaimarish ole Mulo explains how to encourage parties who are sparring with each other to stop and consider the perspective of the other party. The sages are shown to be wise counselors who encourage critical thinking in their communities.

I went to Kenya to further a project in sage philosophy started by Prof. H. Odera Oruka of University of Nairobi in the mid 1970's. I was working with him at the time just before his death in 1995, and I felt a strong need to continue the project. His conviction was that rural sages in Kenya were critical reflective thinkers, and did not just unthinkingly repeat the traditions of their societies.¹ He therefore concluded that some of them were "philosophic sages," and should function as a source of further reflections in the field of African philosophy. I have found that to be true. There are many ways in which the sages depart from the traditional beliefs of their

communities. Usually it is not a whole scale rejection, because they consider the tradition to be an important fount of knowledge. But on certain issues they will beg to differ. Sages are often very sensitive to the issue of changing times. Regarding some topics, they will insist that because of a change in the social and historical context, old beliefs are no longer relevant. But this is not capitulation to modernism; on other topics, they will insist that the old ways are still the best, and that modern society has gone wrong by discarding something that is still of great worth. Such discernment between change and preservation is the mark of critical thinking. Let me add that the various sages are not uniform in their judgments as to what to save, and what to discard. Their independence as thinkers is manifest.

The sages are critical and ethical thinkers at the same time. A recent popular text in critical thinking by Bruce Waller explains that...

The first requirement for examining arguments intelligently... is to be fair in your evaluations. Bias and prejudice close minds and stifle critical inquiry; the first task in good critical reasoning is to eliminate such bias.²

A central theme found in many of the sages' remarks is the concern for fairness. They witness scenarios where it is evident that the parties involved are not being fair. They are sometimes able to restore a sense of fairness among the parties. They also scrutinize their own views as well as the events on the national level to detect fairness or a lack thereof.

My work interviewing sages in Kenya has often led me to the questions of religious belief. Many sages are influenced by Christianity; some are practicing Christians as well as upholders of religious traditions of their communities. How to harmonize different beliefs about God and spirituality is a topic on which sages spend a lot of time pondering.

Kwasi Wiredu was one of the first African philosophers to pioneer this field of changing

religious beliefs. In fact he insisted that change had to come to traditional Africa, because he felt that some old ideas were harmful. For example, he outlined three major hindrances to African cultural regeneration: anachronism, authoritarianism, and supernaturalism. But he also insisted that Africa had very wise and philosophical persons, from whom we could learn a lot, especially if we paid attention to the nuances of the meanings of concepts in African languages.³

On issues of the belief in magic and witchcraft, there has been quite a debate as to what a rational person would hold. P. Bodunrin has argued that rationality would dictate the discarding of beliefs in magical powers, fetishes, and incantations. But other philosophy professors, such as Sophie Oluwole and M. Akin Makinde, argue that the sensitive thinker will realize that witchcraft can really happen, and that one shouldn't unthinkingly dismiss such ideas. However they suggest that more studies should be done so as to prove conclusively the scientific veracity of the practices.⁴ My interest here isn't in lining up on one side or the other to say that witchcraft does or doesn't exist. I'm more interested in how the sages I met live wisely in a world in which they are surrounded by those who believe in and practice various forms of witchcraft and sorcery. Most sages I interviewed, whether they believed in the power of witchcraft or not, nevertheless saw it as an unfruitful way to solve problems, and preferred alternative dispute resolution. They looked beyond the cases and charges of witchcraft to see the underlying causes in competition and jealousy between community members. Their energy therefore went into understanding and resolving jealousies. It is this aspect of their thought, the response of how to live with others who engage in witchcraft, that I find most helpful. As John Kekes says in his book, *Moral Wisdom and Good Lives*, we are all confronted with the problem of how to pursue and reach happiness in our lives, given the fact that we must deal with permanent adversities, such as the

evil intentions of other persons. Whether we can effectively understand and respond to others' evil actions will play a big role in whether we can find happiness in our lives; and the ability to discern and judge the correct response is a key ingredient of wisdom. Waller says that one key ingredient of critical thinking is the ability to go to the heart of an issue. Be clear of the important question underlying what people are saying and doing; ask yourself, what is at issue? Irrelevant reasons and premises should be discarded.⁵ I think many sages have gotten to the heart of the issue behind the use of witchcraft: feelings of jealousy, and unwillingness to be fair. I'd like to share with you some of what I have heard the sages in Kenya say on this topic.

For example, Saulo Namianya Manyonge of Western Kenya worked for the government Lands office beginning in 1969 to settle disputes arising with land allocation. He was involved in reconciling family members who were given title deeds to individual plots for the first time since Kenyan independence. Settling disputes was not always easy. Sometimes he referred to the analogy of sharing meat between the first, second, third, and fourth sons, to encourage brothers to accept land division. He argues that:

What causes misunderstandings and conflict in society is the tongue (i.e. the way people talk about and against each other) and certain evil things inherent in society (“*sitani*”). I therefore see my role as facilitating the leveling of tongues among people so as to eliminate misunderstanding and the conflicts that go with it. Once the tongues are leveled, they live in harmony and peace with each other, as they are now more amenable to listen to peace counseling.⁶

Namianya understands the specific problem of “medicine” and “casting spells”

as due to jealousy and ill feeling between persons. That such practices are prevalent in society is witnessed by the many times he encountered such practices regarding land disputes. As he explains,

There are some people who may be in a dispute with their neighbors and resort to using medicine to resolve them or use charms to “block” their adversaries. But in many cases such use of medicine does not succeed. In other cases, the said medicine may in fact boomerang on the one applying it to harm others.

There are many cases where I have been called to arbitrate in cases where parties have used medicine in an effort to advance their causes. For instance, I resolved one such case at Bukembe (Bukembe Location, formerly East Bukusu) where there was a dispute in 1993 and some parties had gone as far as Luoland (Elbunyolo) to secure medicine. I resolved the case and up to now there has never been any problem.

In most cases, those who go for medicine are evil people and selfish ones who engage in such activities with the knowledge that their causes cannot be helped in a fair system. For example, one may seek medicine to kill his brother so that he may inherit his piece of land. It is a matter of selfishness.

People went as far as Luoland, Somalia, and even Uganda in search of medicine from far off lands because of the belief that such medicine

from far off lands has more potency; and because medicine men in Bukusuland were few and more secretive. Such medicine was thus not readily available locally. This search for medicine is a consequence of greed and selfishness. This use of medicine cannot be eradicated because of the nature of individuals; some of them believe it can work. We will continue counseling with the hope of winning over the evil-minded people though I do not see the use of medicine in bewitching and poisoning people to death getting eliminated.⁷

Namianya sees people resorting to practices of medicine because of greed. They know that a fair distribution of land would disadvantage them, and they are willing to go to extreme measures to make sure that they benefit. Namianya insists, however, that proper counseling can get all parties to agree to a fair partition, making “medicine” irrelevant.

A very informative account of how someone goes about making “medicine” is found in the former Luo Ker (and sage included in Odera Oruka’s collection on *Sage Philosophy*) Paul Mbuya Akoka’s book on Luo Culture, *Luo Kitgi Gi Timbegi*. I will quote from the English translation by Jane Achieng:

A sorcerer *jandangla*, is a bad person who is greatly feared. He has an evil heart (translator’s note: It is to do with jealousy), is greedy and selfish. He hates people who are more successful than him, especially in wealth, crops, children and other things . . .⁸

Mbuya explains that a sorcerer who wants to kill someone, may go to a soothsayer (*ajuoga* or *jambofwa*) who consults cowrie shells to predict the best way to kill the person. The sorcerer

will then create a charm out of various ingredients, such as “a snake, chicken egg, cowrie shells, birds, kitembe, and . . . bones of human beings.” The sorcerer will place the charm on “the gate the roof, the door, farm . . . or any place where the person he wants to kill is usually or likely to be found.” The effect is described by Mbuya:

When the person who is to die sees the destructive charms, he gets frightened and his ‘blood goes cold (translator’s note: Fear sets in).’ He is shocked and henceforth lives in fear. He becomes sick and then dies.⁹

Mbuya also suggests that if one sees a destructive charm, one should immediately call for a specialist who can neutralize and counter destructive charms. He also states that if someone is caught in the act of planting a charm, the owner of the home can kill the sorcerer “and has no case to answer.” Some persons move away from areas at which charms keep reappearing.¹⁰

In addition to the sorcerer there are *janawi* or evil people who are known for giving people poison drinks so that they die. Mbuya explains, “He is usually not happy with others’ wealth, children or those who are strong in farm work.”¹¹ Here again we see that the person who resorts to charms or poisons is someone who the community understands to be driven by jealousy. How does one deal with such a person? Certainly such jealousies prevent the society from becoming stronger and more prosperous, since those who do well are attacked by those who do not.

Adala Otuko, who held the title of the Luo Ker (moral and cultural leader) up until his recent death, gives some insightful advice as to how he has dealt with such situations. In an interview with him by myself and Humphrey Ojwang of University of Nairobi, he explained to us

several cases he remembered from his early childhood, where witch doctors were consulted and supposedly succeeded in their mission. Although Ker Otuko did not doubt the efficacy of those consulted at the time, nevertheless he insisted that nowadays he would not advise persons to solve their problems in the same way. He explained his views in the following excerpt of the interview:

INTERVIEWER: Why do you think that when people consulted witch doctors of Wanga, things worked out in the end? My question is, would you recommend to people you meet with similar problems to go to Wanga because it worked in the past or would you look for some other ways to solve the problem?

OTUKO: Personally, I would not advise anybody to do such a thing because as I have lived up to now I have come to realize that doing such a thing can no longer help. Why I am saying that is because we have seen a lot of things in our lives. You may find that for most people like us who have been long on earth, you wake up in the morning and go out, and find that somebody has poured some blood in front of your door. I have seen this, somebody had just poured some blood in front of the door where I lived. But I could either call somebody from inside the house to bring water, pour it there and clean it, or I would call for water and clean it myself without telling any member of the family in order for them not to panic.

As a farmer, sugarcane farmer, some people occasionally become jealous of my crops. Well, so they take some charms put them inside some reed and dig them somewhere into my farm so that my crops may not give good yields. And when those who weed find such a thing, I just tell them to remove them and throw them into the river.

That has never prevented my crops from giving good yields.

When I used to work in the Municipal Welfare of Kisumu between 1952-3, somebody walked up to me as I was seated in front of my house one evening, he seemed to have come on foot from the direction of Kano. He greeted me “Good evening, old man.” He told me “old man, you will not live for the next two days. You will die. I have seen that, and that is why I have come to tell you that. But if you agree, I can treat and give you some medicine so that you do not die, do you agree with that?” I told him to sit down.

INTERVIEWER: So what did you tell him?

OTUKO: I told him, “My brother I know who will remove me from this world is God who put me in the womb of my mother, he is the one who will kill me. And you never talked with God.” I told him just to go away. I am still alive!

And when I was still a young boy, walking back home from seeing my elder brother in Kakamega, he is still alive, a distance of twenty eight miles. I was with some of my “mothers” (aunts) and I was walking fast and ahead of them. My brother had bought me a nice red Turkish cap, a pair of shoes and some other things. As I was walking, I saw somebody standing under a tree, and he called me, “young man, may you come here please.” Then he asked me, “to where are you going?”... “I am going to such-and such a place.”... “And from where are you?”... “I am from such-and such a place.” Then he told me, “you are not going to enter the house. As soon as you step on the doorsill, you will collapse and die.” However, there is something I did when I reached the door. I jumped over the doorsill into the house. I was a small boy . . .¹²

Otuko illustrates, through his many examples, his resolve to live without fear, in a feeling of confidence, not intimidated by forecasts of death, promises to be cured through medicine, or those who wish his crops to have a low yield. Recalling that Mbuya Akoka had noticed that, upon most people's sighting of a charm, their blood "grows cold" and they are filled with fear, which later leads to their death, Ker Otuko seems to be suggesting that controlling one's fear upon first sighting a charm is very important. He controls his own fear, and cleans up the evidence of the charm so as to not cause others to fear when seeing it. The importance of self-confidence based on knowing that one has not done wrong, and therefore is not deserving of such a curse, is central to Otuko's ability to live confidently, without fearing the consequences. As he explains,

Fearlessness helps in this way: you don't want to do anything bad to anybody that would make one to blame you; neither do you want to harm anybody's child, nor slander somebody. Everybody likes you personally; they are all your friends and you never look for any way of doing anything harmful to any of them. But if there is some bad you do to some other people, then you must become fearful and look for other ways of protecting yourself. But if you do not have any bad will against anybody and somebody wants to harm you, then you go and talk it out with him. . . ¹³

It is important, if one knows the person intent on harming oneself, that one confront that person, and ask them what is going on and why. That persons are motivated to do such acts by destructive feelings of jealousy is illustrated by Ker Otuko's following stories:

Upcoming young people, like young men who work in Nairobi, may want to

initiate a development project in his village like putting up a shop in one of the local trading centres, or may want to put up a permanent house in their home. After getting some money, he buys the building materials, brings them home, the foundation is laid, and when the day for putting up the building comes and the man comes with the builders, he sometimes finds a chicken and a snake whose necks have been cut and thrown where a foundation had been built. Such things are what we do not like because they cause panic in such a young person. Such a person either goes back to Nairobi abandoning the project or he goes and looks for another medicine person to protect him. These are the things we rejected.

INTERVIEWER: What do you think made someone to try to derail someone's project by throwing in herbs, or dead animals or likewise with the other examples, what made these people, like the man who said to you that you will die before you get home, why do you think they do these things in the first place, especially perhaps to anonymous people they do not even know?

OTUKO: This comes about due to rivalry caused by jealousy, even within a family. One of the family members may say, "this our kinsman is now more educated than me, he will prosper more than me, therefore let us do to him certain things that will create panic in him." Sometimes the rivalry is over certain employment opportunity and one feels that it is his/her son who should get that employment. Such kind of rivalry happens everywhere.

. . . For example, two brothers, the elder and the young one; they are still alive and one of them has been a cabinet minister in Kenya, and still holds a high office. A child to the older brother secured a scholarship to go and study in America. And the younger

brother who was influential and a graduate was angry with his brother for not having informed him about his child going to study in America yet he could have been the one to make all arrangements for the child. So he sent some information to America and the child was sent back without pursuing the study. The younger brother was angry that this person (elder brother) never arranged things through him.

INTERVIEWER: Was the younger brother the cabinet minister?

OTUKO: Yes, the younger brother was a cabinet minister. That a brother cannot be on good terms with a brother! If such a thing was done to somebody else, then whoever does that would have to fear whenever he meets the offended. The evil is yours; and such are the people who are affected by every such evil. So this man is jealous with his brother's child, and their own children have developed rivalry and jealousy among themselves and there is no friendship between them.¹⁴

Otuko points out the negative spiraling effect of one act of jealousy, how it spread to have even wider negative effects. In such a situation the question is, what can one do to stop the feelings of jealousy as well as the destructive consequences? Otuko explains that the elders can gather with the person who is harming others, under some shade or even at a beer drinking place. Often it will be the mother of the person who is being harmed by bewitching who will lightly suggest, and then later openly confront, the person who is doing the harm. She might say, "I don't bewitch your children, why do you want to bewitch mine!" Hopefully that public confrontation by the mother will help to end the harmful deeds.

Other advice as to how to approach a person who is feeling angry and jealous is supplied

by Rose Vugusa Masadia, interviewed in Maragoli, Western Kenya. She suggested that people should never isolate a person who promotes hate. Instead, people should bring that person close, so that they can find out his or her problem. Is it money? Hunger? Jealousy? Only on such a basis can a person be understood, with compassion, and be approached with helpfulness instead of fear.¹⁵

Wanyonyi Manguliechi of Bungoma area, Western Kenya, notes that jealousy is the main general cause of problems that he sees in his community and in the nation at large. As he explains,

The first thing is jealousy and envy against each other which creates a lot of antagonism and suspicions within society, this results from differences in economic endowments such that those who have a lot of property boast about it thus engendering the envy of the have-nots. Secondly, the pursuit for more wealth also creates a lot of misunderstandings. Even at the national level, the differences in form of political parties are all as a result of pursuit for power and as you know, power is a means to wealth (self-aggrandizement). The third cause is drunkenness which facilitates escalation of minor squabbles into full fledged conflicts.

To do away with these societal conflicts, I always preach to people about the necessity of doing away with jealousy, envy, bitterness and vengefulness against others and I stress the need for unity as a prerequisite to social peace and progress, as envy and greed can only bring turmoil to all.¹⁶

Ali Mwitani Masero is a sage included in Odera Oruka's original study. In further interviews with him, he was asked if there is a general factor that causes misunderstanding among people. He replied:

MASERO: There are many factors but mostly it is jealousy especially among neighbors, which is a very serious issue. For instance, one may have a nice sugarcane plantation that would bring prosperity once harvested. Out of jealousy a neighbor may deliberately allow his cattle into such a plantation leading to animosity and misunderstanding among such neighbors. Other factors are rashness and untruthfulness/peddling of lies and gossip.

INTERVIEWER: Are the three aspects continually perennial or are they reinforced in some circumstances and diminished in others?

MASERO: That is usual human nature though the degree differs from person to person.

INTERVIEWER: How do you assist such people?

MASERO: Some lie about others on petty things just for gossip. Others may be angry at others for being owed very little amounts of money. In the latter case, you may just give the person some money "to buy a cigarette" and tell him to forget about whoever he is bitter about.¹⁷

In other words, the person who is bitter and jealous may not have adequate perspective on their own case. They may amplify slight wrongs into grave offenses, and overreact. One important, wise thing to do in the situation is to diffuse the anger of the person by doing some small thing to make them feel better about the situation.

Problems of jealousy don't just remain on the individual, interpersonal level. They can escalate into larger social problems. Masero considers problems of tribalism to grow from the root of jealousy. He explains:

What causes tribalism is envy, jealousy of the heart (***emmalikha chie mioyo***)... This jealousy is everywhere and at various levels. For instance if one child is more educated than his siblings, this may cause jealousy; if I am inclined to send one of my children on frequent errands, others may think I am favoring him and hence become envious etc.

Basically what causes tribalism is jealousy. For example, at the family level, I may have two wives; one wife, out of her own initiative may produce things, such as meat, goods, etc. The other one, without the facts of the issue, may conclude that I am the one buying things for her co-wife and neglecting her. This may create envy and animosity between the two. But if indeed it is the husband who is minding the welfare of one wife to the detriment of the other, then he is the cause of jealousy

emanating therefrom.

The remedy to this is the need for exercising fairness; if one wife has, the other should also have otherwise if one has and the other remains deprived, conflict and war will remain an incessant feature in the household. At the tribal level, each tribe wants to have more than the others, such that if there is a boundary dispute between individuals from the Luhya and Teso, each will want the issue resolved to his advantage so that he may acquire more land. The remedy in such a case is to go for fairness.¹⁸

So Masero suggests that if one is fair in all one's actions, then one will be preventing various scenarios of jealousy from arising in the first place.

Many of the wisest persons in Kenya suggest that the best way to nip jealousy in the bud is to be fair and just. Some explain that God is fair and just, so that by humans also being just, one is acting in accordance with God. Ngaimarish ole Mulo, of Olepolos, explains to us the idea of a "curse," and why a curse works.

A curse is just a word of mouth, or even a wave of a finger. The other members of the age group won't eat with him, he'll be treated like an outcast. And because it's a curse, God is involved. . . . Because God is for justice and truth. If you do not do what is just, you will be cursed God is caring, concerned about humans. The main problem is that humans are negligent, not caring. Human beings' actions make the caring of God not to be seen properly.¹⁹

Ngaimarish insists that curses only work for a just cause, since their power comes from God, and God cares about justice. Therefore one could not use a curse effectively in a situation where someone was innocent of wrongdoing. Nevertheless, a curse is an extreme measure, and should only be uttered when all attempts at resolution of the conflict have gotten nowhere.

It is not easy to encourage people to go for fairness when they are not predisposed to do so. Sometimes they don't want to hear about fairness because they are stuck seeing a situation from their own point of view, and they can't gain any distance from the situation which would enable them to envision a fairer solution. Ngaimarish recounts an example of how in 1992 he got two warring clans, the Purko and the Loodokilani, to realize that they should stop trying to steal cattle from each other. He asked the members of each clan to come to a common meeting ground. Each side was asked to bring eight cattle with them. When they gathered, he asked the first party, would they like to give their cows to the other side? Why no!, they pleaded. Then he asked the second party the same question. They similarly insisted they wanted to remain with their own cows. So now, you know what it's like to want to keep your cows, Ngaimarish reflected. If you know how much you want to keep your cows, don't you think the others feel the same way? In this experiential way he was able to encourage them to see the situation from the other party's point of view. They then realized that stealing cattle was unfair. He explains, "That approach exposes the logic, that each side wishes the raids to stop."²⁰

I have attempted to show in this paper, that the ultimate question of whether and in which sense acts of witchcraft may be real, a particularly knotty question, does not have to be answered definitively before we can find good, wise advice as to how to live in a world in which others believe in and engage in such practices. The sages I have met and interviewed have shown

themselves to be sensitive and in-depth thinkers about the human situations that give rise to acts of witchcraft. By going to the root of the problem, jealousy, and resolving that problem through fairness and justice, the symptoms of witchcraft will diminish. Those situations which do arise will be able to be dealt with better by following the example of Ker Adala Otuko, a fearlessness in the face of such actions, based on the resolve that one knows one is doing justice. The sages have therefore critically chartered a course between tradition and modernity, one that does not jettison all aspects of tradition wholesale, but rather chooses which aspects to carry on, while realistically adapting to present times. Because of this I consider the sages exemplary models of critical thinking. The topics of witchcraft and jealousy are just a few examples of the ways in which we can explore the sages' uses of critical thinking, and benefit from their insights. Although not all communities practice witchcraft in this way, all communities do experience problems of jealousy and unfairness similar to the examples given by the sages. While their wisdom is rooted in their context, it can also transcend that context so that the rest of us can learn from them.

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ENDNOTES

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- 1.H. Odera Oruka, ed., *Sage Philosophy: Indigenous Thinkers and Modern Debate on African Philosophy* (Nairobi: ACTS Press, 1991), pp. 33-34.
 - 2.Bruce N. Waller, *Critical Thinking: Consider the Verdict*, 3rd edition, (Upper Saddle River NJ: Prentice Hall, 1998), p. 2.
 - 3.Kwasi Wiredu, *Philosophy and an Africa Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1980).
 - 4.See Sophie Oluwole, "On the Existence of Witches," and P.O. Bodunrin, "Magic, Witchcraft, and ESP: A Defence of Scientific and Philosophical Skepticism," in Albert Mosley, ed., *African Philosophy: Selected Readings* (Englewood Cliff, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1995), pp. 357-386. See M. Akin Makinde, *African Philosophy, Culture, and Traditional Medicine* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Monographs in International Studies, Africa Series, no. 53, 1988).
 - 5.Waller, *Critical Thinking*, p. 22.
 - 6.Saulo Namianya Manyoge Makumba, interviewed by the author, 27 December 1998, in Western Province, Kenya; translated from Bukusu to English on site by Chaungo Barasa, later translated and transcribed by Shadrack Wanjala Nasong'o. This interview exists on tape, in possession of the author.
 - 7.Ibid.
 - 8.Paul Mbuya Akoka, *Luo Cultural Practices (Luo Kitgi Gi Timbegi)*, translated by Jane Achieng, University of Nairobi Library, Afr.DT 435.43, L8M313, unpublished, 1999, p. 87.
 - 9.Ibid.
 - 10.Ibid., p. 88.
 - 11.Ibid., p. 89.
 - 12.Fanuel Adala Otuko, interviewed by the author, with Humphrey Ojwang, translator and co-interviewer, and R. Vincent Okungu, translator, 3 December 1998, Kisumu, Kenya. Tapes of interviews in the possession of the author. Transcript by R. Vincent Okungu and translation by

Oriare Nyarwath.

13.Ibid.

14.Ibid.

15.Jones Lozenja Makindu, and Rose Vusuga Mugandia, Interview with the author, in Maragoli, Western Province, Kenya, on May 12, 1996. Assisted in interview, and translated by, Chaungo Barasa.

16.Wanyonyi Manguliechi, interview by the author, 7 October 1995; translated from Bukusu to English on site in Western Province, Kenya, by Chaungo Barasa, later transcribed by Shadrack Wanjala Nasong'o. The interview exists on tape, and both tape and transcript are in possession of the author.

17.Ali Mwitani Masero, interviewed by the author, October 6, 1995, in Western Province, Kenya; translated from Bukusu to English on site by Chaungo Barasa, later translated and transcribed by Shadrack Wanjala Nasong'o. This interview exists on tape, in possession of the author.

18.Ali Mwitani Masero, interviewed by the author, 28 December 1998, in Western Province, Kenya; translated from Bukusu to English on site by Chaungo Barasa, later translated and transcribed by Shadrack Wanjala Nasong'o. This interview exists on tape, in possession of the author.

19.Ngaimarish ole Mulo, interviewed by the author, translated on site by Daniel Sasine, 13 December 1998, Ingarroj, Olepolos, Kenya.

20.Ngaimarish ole Mulo, interviewed by the author, translated on site by Daniel Sasine, 30 November 1998, Olepolos, Kenya.