

**POLITICAL MOBILISATION MUSIC INFLUENCING NATIONAL
COHESION DISCOURSE IN KENYA, WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO
NAIROBI COUNTY**

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**A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Conferment of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Peace and Conflict
Studies of Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology**

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis to all Musicians in Kenya who compose political mobilization music that comes with various impacts in our Beloved Country Kenya, My two boys Maurice and Brian who have encouraged me all through, my late father Geoffrey whose wish am fulfilling and my mother, Respah who has prayed for me.

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ABSTRACT

Music and society have always been intimately related. Music reflects and creates social conditions including the factors that either facilitate or embed social change. Political mobilization music influences the levels and status of national cohesion. Some music can bring about peaceful coexistence and others can cause conflict. Scholars have researched and written Music for environmental, social and cultural purposes. However, PMM which is known to trigger conflict or foster national cohesion has been neglected yet during general elections, alignments has been evident due to PMM (Abayomi 2011). The study sought to examine how political mobilization music influence national cohesion discourse in Kenya, with specific reference to Nairobi County as a general objective. The specific objectives were to examine the nature and evolution of political mobilization music in Post-colonial Kenya, assess the influence of Political Mobilization Music (PMM) on status and levels of national cohesion and examine the challenges inherent in employing political mobilization music towards national cohesion. The study was based on the conceptual framework informed by three theories; Critical Race Theory (CRT), Music Meaning Theory and a Just Peace Theory. The research adopted descriptive research design with mixed method approach, utilizing both primary and secondary data. The study population consisted of 1015 citizens, political mobilization musicians and government officials. The sample size was 156 respondents. Data for the study was collected using questionnaires, FGDs and in-depth interviews with key informants. Quantitative data was analyzed using descriptive statistics and presented in tables, pie charts, graphs while qualitative data were analyzed using qualitative methods with specific reference to SPSS, cross-tabulation and Excel presented in description. Analysis of the results showed that the nature of political mobilization music were praise, demonizing, idolizing, patriotic and solidarity songs. Evolution of PMM took place from precolonial era (1963-1982) with solidarity and patriotism, Nyayo era (1982 – 1992) with praising and idolizing songs, multiparty era (1992-2000) with praising, idolizing and demonizing songs and Millennium age (post 2000) with demonizing songs and tribal alignment music. On the status of national cohesion, it was a two-sided coin, with positive and negative peace in Nairobi County, while the levels of national cohesion were very high. Key challenges inherent in employing PMM towards national cohesion is that the National Cohesion and Integration Commission, Kenya Music Festival, Music Copyright Society of Kenya have minimum powers in regulating music songs. This attributed to lack of clear policies on punishing people with hate speech. The findings showed that the influence was on two folds both negative and positive depending on the nature of songs composed and sang. It is recommended that composition of National patriotic songs is a one special way of branding the country to the rest of the world. The findings of this study will contribute to the existing knowledge and formulation of state policies on the political mobilization music influencing national cohesion in Kenya and benefit particularly peace workers.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AU	African Union
CBO	Community based organization
CMO	Collective management organization
DPP	Director of Public Prosecutions
DVD	Digital versatile disk
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GIM	Guided Imagery in Music
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KBC	Kenya Broadcasting Corporation
KMF	Kenya Music Festival
MCSK	Music Copyright Society of Kenya
MJNCCA	Ministry of Justice, National Cohesion and Constitutional Affairs
MMUST	Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology
NARC	National Rainbow Coalition
NCI	National Cohesion and Integration
NCIC	National Cohesion and Integration Commission
ODM	Orange Democratic Party
PMM	Political Mobilization Music
PPMC	Permanent Presidential Music Commission
TNA	The National Alliance
TV	Television
UN	United Nations
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Program
USA	United States of America

WOMAD World Music Arts and Dance
SPSS Statistic Package for Social Sciences
FMRI Functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging

OPERATIONALIZATION OF KEY CONCEPTS

Music: Vocal or instrumental sounds (or both) combined in such a way as to produce beauty of form, harmony, and expression of emotion. Or a communicative activity, which conveys to the listener moods, emotions, thoughts, impressions, or religious, philosophical, sexual, or political concepts or positions

Political Mobilization: The process by which candidates, political parties, party activists and groups induce other people to participate in politics with the sole aim of winning elections

Patriotic music: A piece of music or work whose element and text invoke nationalistic and patriotic feelings directed at supporting or defending a policy. Patriotic feeling can be mobilized through singing to create unity of purpose in dealing with issues affecting a polity or social institution.

Conflict: Conflict refers to the contradictions inherent in power relations and which manifest themselves in individual and group interactions with one another and with nature in the pursuit of limited resources or opportunities. Conflict is the motor of transformation and is either positive or negative. It can be creatively transformed to ensure equity, progress and harmony; or destructively transformed to engender acute insecurity.

Mobilization Action of organizing and encouraging a group of people to take collective action in pursuit of a particular objective

National Cohesion This is living in unity and co-existence, appreciating each other “culture despite different backgrounds.

Political Mobilization Music Refers to Music that have been composed to mobilize the citizens politically either positively or negatively.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This Chapter will include background to the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, justification of the study, scope of the study, and limitations of the study.

1.1 Background to the study

The use of music in political situations has been practised world over in many situations, with varied objectives. There exist songs that largely communicate the need for people to embrace and appreciate their nationhood referred to as patriotic songs. Others focus on political expediency, where they promote political ideologies only. These may be referred to as political songs. Others talk about the nation, like the instance of anthems that promote the philosophy of respective countries, what may be insinuated as National songs. An overriding characteristic in all the songs, however, is that fact that they are a factor of, instigated by, or meant to promote certain political features of a nation, or otherwise, political factors led to their composition and use within a country's system.

The generic political under/overtone feature of such songs is what necessitated this study to generally refer to them as political mobilization songs. This study, therefore, sought to demonstrate how such songs have influenced the cohesion of Kenyan people, with specific reference to Nairobi County, from 1963 (post-colonial Kenya), through the Nyayo era under the rule of Daniel Arap Moi to the current multiparty time.

Since the early 1990s, there had been an increase in the use of music and the arts within a political transformation context (Bergh 2015). The use of music to bring in social consciousness on some pertinent issues had been embraced in many countries as a way to bring about cohesion. It had the element of connecting people in informal settings from the ground up. Overall, whether we engaged with international “highart” or local community theatre, with communal singing during anti-war protests or post-war choirs, the aesthetic experiences did not occur in isolation, they were always connected with the “nitty-gritty” of everyday life (Bergh 2015).

Music could contribute to social justice by enabling more people to participate in community life. People who played music together and got to know each other in a more intimate way through the arts found it easier to promote structures based on solidarity and human care instead of competition and selfishness. From a world perspective, Cynthia Cohen for instance presents a seventeen (17) minute DVD to illustrate the main ideas of her book chapter. It features the work of an intercultural residency series at Brandeis University (USA) and the music of Yuval Ron, an Israeli Jew who creates original music based on early Sufi Muslim music, early Jewish melodies, and early American Christian music. It shows how the presentations by the Yuval Ron ensemble triggered very meaningful conversations and relationships on the campus of Brandeis University (Cohen, 2008).

June Boyce-Tillman had combined the content of the chapter summarized above and of her other chapter in the book, namely Chapter 15 entitled *Music and Peace-making in Educational Contexts*. She explored the power dynamics present in the DVD mentioned above, using the lenses and value systems presented in her book chapters (Sanfeliu,

2008). Arguably, because music was a dynamic and highly charged force that affected other aspects of life including democracy, economic growth and empowerment (Thorsen, 2004). It created and fostered community by speaking to people's needs, hopes, fears and intimate lives, and so does politics. Furthermore, it provided a weapon of social change that could be used to achieve specific goals because the lyrics together with the melody and rhythms took on different and more significant meanings than those that appeared on the surface. Therefore, by promoting ideas and, often, inviting the listener to sing along in groups as a shared experience, music helped achieve the goal of the propagandist.

Music could enhance peaceful co-existence or created tensions not because of the inherent character of music itself, but because of the way, it was used. In England for instance, a chain of grocery stores was experimenting on playing classical music outside their shops, to stop the youth who idle around the shops to intimidate customers (economist, 2005). To further demonstrate how use of music could affect people, Daniel Barenboim argued that a performance of Beethoven, under the Nazis or under any kind of totalitarian regime, whether left or right, suddenly assumed the call for freedom. It even became a very direct criticism of the policies of the regime. (Barenboim & Said, 2002). He seems to feel that Beethoven's music was inherently insurrectionary. Music that was combative in tone may nevertheless be peaceful if it sought justice and if it used nonviolent means in that pursuit. When world music was seen not merely ecumenical, it bordered effacing aesthetic but as a counterforce to contemporary neo-imperialism, it was combative but not violent; thus, it was peaceful (Shapiro, 2004).

In African countries where political misrule exists, musicians were often the first to react, and ultimately suffer for their critical and contentious messages. In some cases, despotic African leaders strive to maintain good relationships with musicians who support them and become their cheerleaders, but in others, political decay and political shifts were too extreme to win over any musicians. Nonetheless, a love/hate relationship had often existed between many of Africa's musicians and their governments (Karlstrom, 2003).

In former Zaire, we knew of the mutual relationship between the despot Mobutu SeseSeko and the late singer Lwambo Makiadi Franco, and in Zimbabwe, there was the case of Robert Mugabe and government critics such as Thomas Mapfumo and the late Oliver Mtukudzi. The postcolonial ruling elite in Kenya had often sought the services of praise singers, and in many instances young children and youths been formed into well-known school mass choirs for national celebrations and festivities for, example, Nyakinywa group and school children during Mzee Jomo Kenyatta's time, School Mass choirs during President Moi's time under the leadership of Thomas Wasonga.

Commenting on this model of participation in the public sphere, Karlstrom (2003) noted that far from zombifying its participants, however, such ceremonies could and often had mutually beneficial and empowering effects they also set the stage for communicative interaction between rulers and subjects. Specific instances of music's role in community can be seen in the powerful use of music against apartheid in South Africa, the 'singing revolution' in the Balkans where 300,000 singers gathered to sing and demand independence, and the prominent place of music in the Civil Rights and anti- Vietnam War movements in the United States. Music helps shape individual

identity within a society, and helps to form group identity based on culture, values, religious beliefs, or class (Mattern, 1998).

Research report by M.J. Grant, titled *Music and Genocide: The Trial of Simon Bikindi at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda states that*: In 2001, the well-known singer and musician Simon Bikindi was arrested in the Netherlands in connection with his role in the Rwandan genocide in 1994. He argued that according to estimates around 800,000 people were murdered in the space of three months. He was subsequently tried at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. The charges against Bikindi included direct and public incitement to genocide, and this charge was also made in connection with Bikindi's work as a musician and songwriter. Bikindi therefore became probably the first person to be tried in an international criminal court for musical incitement to violence. Bikindi's Music was an important component in the genocide plan because it encouraged the ethnic hatred against the Tutsis. It urged Hutus to attack and kill the Tutsis and kill them because of their ethnic background (Grant, 2001).

An article published by Jill Suttie in January 15, 2015 on a research on American first music, had this to say, "I still remember when I first heard the song by Peter Gabriel, "Solsbury Hill." Something about that song—the lyrics, the melody, the unusual 7/4 time signature—gave me chills. Even now, years later, it still can make me cry. Who among us doesn't have a similar story about a song that touched us? Whether attending a concert, listening to the radio, or singing in the shower, there is something about music that can fill us with emotion, from joy to sadness". The article further states "Music affects deep emotional centers in the brain," says Valorie Salimpoor, a neuroscientist at

McGill University who studies the brain on music. “A single sound tone is not really pleasurable in itself; but if these sounds are organized over time in some sort of arrangement, it’s amazingly powerful” (Suttie, January, 2015)

In Jull’s research, she and her colleagues hooked up participants to a Functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging (fMRI) machine and recorded their brain activity as they listened to favourite piece of music. During peak emotional moments in the songs identified by the listeners, dopamine was released in the nucleus accumbens, a structure deep within the older part of our human brain.

“That’s a big deal, because dopamine is released with biological rewards, like eating and sex, for example,” says Salimpoor. “It’s also released with drugs that are very powerful and addictive, like cocaine or amphetamines.” There is another part of the brain that seeps dopamine, specifically just before those peak emotional moments in a song: the caudate nucleus, which is involved in the anticipation of pleasure. Presumably, the anticipatory pleasure comes from familiarity with the song—you have a memory of the song you enjoyed in the past embedded in your brain, and you anticipate the high points that are coming. This pairing of anticipation and pleasure is a potent combination, one that suggests we are biologically driven to listen to music we like.

Nevertheless, what happens in our brains when we like something we have not heard before? To find out, Salimpoor again hooked up people to Functional magnetic resonance imaging machines. However, this time she had participants listen to unfamiliar songs, and she gave them some money, instructing them to spend it on any music they liked (Jill, January 2015). Her findings also explain why people can hear the same song repeatedly and still enjoy it. The emotional hit off a familiar piece of music

can be so intense, in fact, that it is easily re-stimulated even years later. The question we visualize in mind is, are the songs composed bring national cohesion in this country? Baron (2016) in their book *Can music bring people together. Effects of shared musical preference on intergroup bias in adolescence*, they studied the role of music in human evolution and the role of music in everyday life suggest that music helps to promote social bonding. However, there was limited direct evidence to support their idea. The current experiment investigated the role of different pieces of music in the perceived social bonding of videotaped walkers. The participants watched one of two videos of three women walking away from the camera. In one video the women walked in synchrony and in the other, the women were out of step with each other. Participants rated the perceived degree of rapport and entitativity among the three walkers. In each run of the experiment, a different piece of music was paired with the videos for half the participants. Both music and synchrony of walkers influenced the perceived degree of entitativity. Even though there was no indication that the actors in the video heard the music, observers perceived that a social bond existed among the walkers when the music was present. This can now be concluded that music brings national cohesion.

Throughout the history of Kenya, music had been intricately interwoven with politics as reflected in the patriotic songs of the early decades of independence to the current countless political music. It might be argued that Kenya had two main political phases; that's pre-independence into independent Nationhood that was largely influenced and governed by neo-colonialism; and the multiparty era, which advocated for pluralism and more home grown style of leadership and governance. Within the pre-independence era, a common goal of the Kenyan people was to defeat colonial rule.

Music was an important media for fostering the need for an end to colonialism. Music, therefore, created a sense of patriotism, and unity among Kenyan people against the colonial rulers. The need for unity and peace was further carried on in the largely single party of independent Kenya, until late 1980s.

In multiparty Kenya, music had also played a role in the politics of the Nation, where in some instances it had been used to promote respective political party policies as well as their candidates. In other instances, music had been used to call for patriotism, resistance, maintain peace and co- existence. In the previous paragraphs, how music was employed, was an argument that highlights the effects of its proceeds, where in this case it largely shaped the politics of the time. In 2002 for instance, Gidi Gidi Maji Maji (a Kenyan popular band) released a song titled “*Unbwogable*”, few months before the general election. The song that had reigned as a dance hall hit, blared out in virtually all public places. By December 2002, the song became the most remarkable and exciting instances in which popular culture and politics were demonstrably and inextricably linked. It graced nearly every gathering of the opposition parties and especially the campaign rallies of the NARC candidates. Popular music was expressing the desire for political agency, it seemed epiphanic, and it had dramatically been translated into political activism (Nyairo & Ogude, 2014). While the opposition parties enjoyed the song as their marketing strategy, the ruling party KANU was aggrieved by the same. The paradoxical nature of how such a song could be good for a section of the population yet bitter for the other formed a basis for this study, which sought to investigate the potential of music as media for interventions especially in conflicting political situations. Orange team hoped to replicate same impact through adaptation of

Awilo Mike's "*I'm not sober*" for its campaign and followed the due process. For the case of multiparty era in Kenya, it was not clear, to what extent political songs had enhanced or escalated situations of political adversary.

The introduction of music in Kenya could be traced to the nineteenth century white settlers, colonialists and Christian missionaries who used print media as a channel for social communication amongst themselves. This led to the beginning of Kenya Music Festival in 1927 by white settlers whose music was performed by the white elite schools such as Alliance, Maseno, Highlands (Moi Girls Eldoret among others) (KMF Syllabus 2018). Later on Asians began to invest in music in 1902. Alibhai Mulla Jvanjee setup *The East African Standard*. For the Asian community, the music was a tool for justifying their second position to the white European settlers in Kenya (Ogari, & Ongidi, (2014). In 1928, radio was also started by colonialists to act as a medium for relaying news from England.

The clamour for self-rule by the indigenous Kenyan population, starting from mid-1920s led to the establishment of several pamphlets in indigenous African languages. These publications were essentially the medium by which anti-colonial movements put across their demands for freedom, justice, and equality, and were also useful in spreading their liberation agenda among the indigenous African communities (Ogari & Ongidi (2014). In this era, the overriding motivation was the utility of such publications in mobilizing African population to join the movement for independence (Wambugu, (2012). Their introduction of political pluralism in Kenya led to liberalization of the Kenyan media space. There was an implosion of press freedom in the 1992 Political campaigns as opposition-allied magazines, newspapers and

tabloids proliferated and began to publish reports about issues that would hitherto invite grave punishment from the regime. Majority of the publications were owned by politicians in the opposition (Nyairo & Ogude, 2014). As more media outlets proliferated, a new kind of bias in political coverage would begin to set foot as shareholders' financial interests became the new impediment to fair and balanced coverage of all Political aspirants. With KBC and KANU regime-owned *Kenya Times* newspaper under tight control of the administration, politicians with Political ambitions started their own media outlets to broadcast their political activities. Unable to sustain themselves, most of the publications were read out of business.

The 2002 Political polls were conducted in a competitive media environment in which the ruling party KANU and united opposition led by Mwai Kibaki aggressively competed for votes. In this competitive media environment, the most persuasive frames won support from the voters. The opposition campaign frames were crafted around the failures of the Kenyatta and Moi regimes including economic stagnation, rampant corruption, wanton abuse of power and disrespect for civil liberties. Because these were issues that the electorate was familiar with, the frames easily struck chord with the populace and the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) won with all and slide.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The Kenya Vision 2030, which asserts Kenya's aspiration to be a middle income country, espouses the importance of equity and national cohesion for long term development prospects and sustained nationhood. Despite its importance for national development, national cohesion and integration is a challenge for the country since the multipartism era

which was most felt during 2007/2008 post-election violence in Kenya. Elections campaigns go with political mobilization songs, which some time results into violence and or advocate for peace.

The Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation Agreement (2008), which restored order following the post election crisis, identified the broad factors responsible for the lack of cohesion and integration to include different types of political mobilization songs for instance praising, demonizing, and idolizing songs which instead of encouraging patriotism enhanced communal antagonism that fuels hatred among communities affiliated to opposing political parties.

Kenya has great potential for development yet this potential has been hampered by the perennial occurrences of conflicts among the communities in the county whenever there is a General Election. These conflicts have led not only to the breakdown of peace, but also mistrust, suspicion and outright animosity among deferent communities. It is feared that even with the devolved governance system, development still remain a challenge in Kenya unless entities like Permanent Presidential Music Commission (PPMC), Kenya Music Festivals (KMF), Music Copyright Society of Kenya (MCSK) National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC), charged with regulating music and enhancing national cohesion alleviate conflict causing compositions. Music has been tested and wholesomely discovered by people to have the power to educate the people on current burning issues on national policies (Abayomi B, 2011). NCIC is charged with overseeing a cohesive society yet Kenya has been marred by negative ethnicity, High illiteracy levels; Deteriorating morals and values - higher levels of crime, fear of crime and anti-social behavior; Weakening of the family unit; Pessimistic negative populace - failure to

appreciate the good in the country and cultural insensitivity leading to a non-cohesive community. This was attributed to incitements through media and music that NCIC was unable to control through punishing composers of hateful music for lack of power. These musicians were Kamandewa Kioi, Muigai wa Njoroge and the late De Mathew where they composed songs in vernacular with hate speech against Raila. On Sunday 24th June 2017 Martha Karua revealed through the Sunday nation and asked Mr Kibunja to apprehend them but He did not have powers to do so.

Scholars have researched and written Music for environmental, social and cultural purposes. However, PMM which is known to trigger conflict or foster national cohesion has been neglected yet during general elections; alignments have been evident due to political mobilization music

In view of this, the study focused on examining how political mobilization music influence national cohesion in Kenya, with specific reference to Nairobi County.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The general objective was to examine the influence of political mobilization music on national cohesion discourse in Kenya with specific reference to Nairobi County.

The specific objectives of the study were to;

- (i) Examine the nature and evolution of political mobilization music in Post-colonial Kenya.
- (ii) Assess the influence of Political Mobilization Music on the status and levels of national cohesion in Nairobi County, Kenya.
- (iii) Investigate the challenges encountered in employing political mobilization

music towards national cohesion in Nairobi County, Kenya.

1.4 Research Questions

- i. What is the nature and evolution of political mobilization music in post-colonial Kenya?
- ii. In what ways does the influence of Political Mobilization Music on status and levels of national cohesion in Nairobi County, Kenya?
- iii. What are the challenges inherent in employing political mobilization music towards national cohesion in Nairobi County, Kenya?

1.5 Justification of the Study

Academic Justification

According to Abayomi (2011), Political Mobilization Music has been known to trigger conflict or foster national cohesion during general elections as alignment has been evident. The study therefore endeavored to examine the influence of PMM on the national cohesion in Nairobi County.

Political scientists have not done excessive research on how music influences politics and the well-being of the populace. They have focused more on the words and actions of the politicians they study. They have ignored the artist. Yet the influence of music has always proved to be phenomenal in terms of mobilizing and shaping the various perceptions of the people who ultimately end up being the potential voters who vote them into political office (Wöllner 2012). According to (Serge 2015), the case of the Rwandan genocide, the apartheid struggle was quite well maintained in songs and dances like Sarafina film by Mbongeni Ngema in post-apartheid Africa and the film which features Bantu Steve Biko

cry freedom. Biko's fame spread posthumously. He became the subject of numerous songs and works of art

This study was a response to the growing popularity of music in political campaigns in Kenya by examining whether the increase in the uptake of these musical tools make significant changes on the overall national cohesion and whether such uptake altered the existing ethnic patterns of mobilization. It also deepened the realization of the need to increase efforts in bridging community lines and increasing dialogue and cohesion among Kenyan communities. Most efforts at citizen diplomacy and grassroots music, which brought ordinary citizens into a process of trust building and cooperation with former enemies—contribute to cohesion over the long term (Denscombe, 2010).

Music and arts in political transformation was not only an interesting field for academic reasons, it was also an important space for the development of relationships beyond the art even itself. These relationships were an important part of ensuring that violent conflicts area avoided in the future (Bergh. 2015). It should, therefore, be investigated and not merely assumed to contribute towards sustainable political and development. This enabled researchers and practitioners to understand the various techniques that could be employed on the ground and their success rate.

Government and other supporters internally and externally such as International Organizations and development partners could also get insight into how important the sector was and how to support various actors and bodies in using these tools effectively. As a channel of expression which was free and a right for every citizen, the study attempted to depart from the generalized media enclosure as a specific

channel but at the same time enhance the role of media and other actors in its impact assessment. Music and politics provided a unique resource material within academic field. Engaging a combined approach to those two topics, privileges learners to understand their society better in situations that were not influenced by tense social factors. It was, however, notable that such an interdisciplinary approach to pertinent issues as politics and music had not been given much attention within research and academic environments.

The researcher found such a study of immense significance in not only engaging in the relatively new interdisciplinary field, but also searching and ultimately availing data that would be essential for interested parties. This being a relatively new approach (politics and music), the study also envisages unlocking potentials of the field so that suggestions for further research, policy and practice might be formulated. It was also notable that Kenyan politics was characterized by phases that came and went, and so was the music that was composed and performed in such situations. Such music was a treasure of art that needed further preservation.

Policy justification

The study envisaged transcribing and analyzing music as a form archival endeavor. This would be an alternative way of safeguarding the music within a scholarly dimension, which does not only store but also provide knowledge about what it entails. Music was an integral part of the society and a powerful tool for social engagement. It had power to communicate inner feelings, perceptions and motives of a people as regards particular matters. In Kenya today, music can easily be spread through the diverse electronic media. Its proceeds could be destructive, in instances where wrong

content was disseminated. This study, therefore, came at an opportune time to bring to the fore pertinent aspects of music employed in political contexts. For the sake of alternative policy formulation, the study was significant given the need for establishing ways in which music can constructively be employed to foster peace and cohesion especially in the current unpredictable Kenyan political scenario.

From a different perspective, findings of this study would inform policy formulation by government departments such as the National Cohesion and Integration Commission and the vision 2030 secretariat, permanent Political music commission, which drew inferences on how to enhanced unity and nation cohesion in the country. This could be done through proper assessment of the impact of political and patriotic music on the country. It was also a responsibility of the government to avail proper structures to maintain acceptable standards of music composition to foster peaceful co-existence. The study sought in part to provide recommendations on standards that the government needed to adopt for enforcement.

Apart from the governmental institutions, the study will be significant to music makers. It envisaged making suggestions on how the musicians could make more informed choices with regard to the music they compose and perform for the sake of communicating positive messages that enhanced peace and cohesion. Of importance was to bring awareness to the musicians on the pivotal role they play in the society and the need for precaution and responsibly whenever they made music especially in political situations.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The study was carried out in Nairobi County due to the fact that it houses majority of

the media houses, who have all the archives of songs that have been used in political contexts. More so, the regulatory bodies' offices are all situated in Nairobi. Nairobi is also the most cosmopolitan City in the entire Nation with a general population of Nairobi County according to 2009 Census is 3,138,369 (KNBS, 2009). This diversity was essential in capturing varied perceptions on music that was politically inspired.

This study also sought to analyze songs to determine their form and content. For that matter, the research collected patriotic and political songs based on the respective election years through the multiparty era. The songs included all recorded and available score written samples. Apart from content analysis, the researcher also drew data through, interviews, questionnaires and focus group discussions with the public, musicians and officers of different regulatory bodies. Discussion of findings, therefore, was limited to the data collected through key informant interviews, questionnaires and focus group discussions between November 2018 and February 2019. The periodization of the study was from precolonial, post-colonial and millennium era.

1.7 Chapter Summary

The chapter laid down the introduction of the study by discussing the background to the study, followed by the statement of the problem leading to the identification of three specific objectives, research questions and justification of the study. The next chapter focuses on Literature review per specific objective globally, regionally and locally.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter focused on a review of past studies, empirical and theoretical literature in existence regarding the relations between music and conflict with an incisive reference to political music. Illustrations of national anthems will also be presented to display how patriotic music at times end up being part and parcel of music which impacts and influences the well-being of humanity in various parts of the globe. A reduced sample will be presented in this particular section with some observations. The review works done by other researchers, which set the pace in a bid to accomplish the research objectives. A critical review made to determine the major issues related to the study where other authorities have made various discoveries which have influenced patriotic and music which is largely partisan. The researcher would state the summary of gaps in relation to the study and structures a conceptual framework that was similar with the research objectives to make the variables be understood with ease.

2.1 Nature and evolution of Political Mobilization Music

The literature was reviewed based on specific themes since little has been written on nature and evolution of political mobilization music as a single theme but separately. The nature and evolution of political music have been explained globally in countries like United States of America and Europe. This brand of music motivated through political overtures spread into Africa especially during the liberation struggle when most African nations fought to get out of the colonial yoke. What is interesting is the composers of these songs wished to motivate those who appreciate their music to be patriotic to their

nation-states. The objective was to really to make them to be genuinely partisan. This partisan music is what has motivated most national anthems across the globe.

Some of these national anthems will be featured in this thesis as illustrations-cum-examples in this literature review section. Nairobi where the research of this study was conducted has some semblance and resonance with the artists who will be discussed in this section since most of them had urban orientation where they composed and played this partisan music. National anthems were composed based on liberations of all Nations and in praise of Nationalism, solidarity, togetherness and national cohesion within Nations. Most National Anthems covers the nature of political Mobilization music discussed in this study.

2.1.1 Partisan music and its evolution into national anthem

Nationalism has motivated the major political and cultural framework for musical expression since the 19th century to date. The romantic composer Frederic Chopin (1810-1849) who had polish and French parentage made the pioneer compositions in this special genre which had a heavy political dosage and tilt.

The Russian composers picked the cue after Chopin's nationalistic musical repertoire. The Notable ones are: Aleksandr Borodin (1835-1887), Nickolay Rimsky Korsakov (1844-1908) and Modest Musorgsky (1839-1881).

In Germany, the native composer-cum-poet Friedrich von Schiller (1759-1805) and Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744- 1803) ensured that *Volkgeist* (the spirit of the people) was embedded in their nationalistic musical compositions. The people, *volk* (upcountry people) and the urban populace were involved.

The history of music encompasses the nationalist ideologies which were rife in the 19th century Europe. This musical style and trend gradually systematically spread to the rest of the world. This motivated the composition of partisan music which was used in various ways to mobilize the people in various ways. The competing political persuasions used this music to advance their philosophies and diverse agenda within their political set-ups.

United Nations Organizations currently records that there are 192 nation-states in the world. All these nations have national anthems which have been derived from diverse political connotations. This academic write-up shall analyze and present a sample of about 43 national anthems. This is about 22% of the total nation states of the world.

2.1.2 Sample of some national anthems and some analysis

2.1.2 a) Anthems with warlike elements

In this particular section special reference shall be made to the French, American and Iraq Anthems since they have some interesting bellicose elements which were used to mobilise their citizens to be nationalistic , patritotic and to defend their territories by all means within their disposal.

France

The Marseillaise was composed when France declared war on Aistria. It was meant to mobilise the French amry and the nation in general to fight against Austria, This song was composed by Claude- Joseph Rouget in 1792. It was declared a national anthem three years later in 1795. Some embellishment was done to the actual composition. Rouget de Lisle composed six verses. The 7th verse though sanctioned, the composer remains anonymous to date (Taruskin 1997).

The anthem is a clarion call for the people to rise and fight against the enemy. Once the enemy is defeated pride and honour will be bestowed and victory shall be celebrated.

The tone of the anthem is revolutionary.

Table 1. 1 National Anthem for France

French	English Translation by Laura K. Lawless
<p><i>Verse 1:</i></p> <p><i>Allons enfants de la patrie, Le jour de gloire est arrivé ! Contre nous de la tyrannie L'étendard sanglant est levé ! (bis) Entendez-vous dans les campagnes, Mugir ces féroces soldats ? Ils viennent jusque dans nos bras Égorger nos fils, nos compagnes!</i></p>	<p><i>Verse 1:</i></p> <p><i>Let's go children of the fatherland, The day of glory has arrived! Against us tyranny's Bloody flag is raised! (repeat) In the countryside, do you hear The roaring of these fierce soldiers? They come right to our arms To slit the throats of our sons, our friends!</i></p>
<p><i>Refrain:</i></p> <p><i>Aux armes, citoyens ! Formez vos bataillons ! Marchons ! Marchons ! Qu'un sang impur Abreuve nos sillons !</i></p>	<p><i>Refrain:</i></p> <p><i>Grab your weapons, citizens! Form your battalions! Let us march! Let us march! May impure blood Water our fields!</i></p>
<p><i>Verse 2:</i></p> <p><i>Que veut cette horde d'esclaves, De traîtres, de rois conjurés ? Pour qui ces ignobles entraves, Ces fers dès longtemps préparés ? (bis) Français ! pour nous, ah ! quel outrage ! Quels transports il doit exciter ! C'est nous qu'on ose méditer</i></p>	<p><i>Verse 2:</i></p> <p><i>This horde of slaves, traitors, plotting kings, What do they want? For whom these vile shackles, These long-prepared irons? (repeat) Frenchmen, for us, oh! what an insult! What emotions that must excite! It is us that they dare to consider Returning to ancient slavery!</i></p>

French	English Translation by Laura K. Lawless
<i>De rendre à l'antique esclavage !</i>	
<p><i>Verse 3:</i></p> <p><i>Quoi ! ces cohortes étrangères</i> <i>Feraient la loi dans nos foyers !</i> <i>Quoi ! ces phalanges mercenaires</i> <i>Terrasseraient nos fiers guerriers ! (bis)</i> <i>Grand Dieu ! par des mains enchaînées</i> <i>Nos fronts sous le joug se ploieraient !</i> <i>De vils despotes deviendraient</i> <i>Les maîtres de nos destinées !</i></p>	<p><i>Verse 3:</i></p> <p><i>What! These foreign troops</i> <i>Would make laws in our home!</i> <i>What! These mercenary phalanxes</i> <i>Would bring down our proud warriors!</i> <i>(repeat)</i> <i>Good Lord! By chained hands</i> <i>Our brows would bend beneath the yoke!</i> <i>Vile despots would become</i> <i>The masters of our fate!</i></p>
<p><i>Verse 4:</i></p> <p><i>Tremblez, tyrans ! et vous, perfides,</i> <i>L'opprobre de tous les partis,</i> <i>Tremblez ! vos projets parricides</i> <i>Vont enfin recevoir leur prix ! (bis)</i> <i>Tout est soldat pour vous combattre,</i> <i>S'ils tombent, nos jeunes héros,</i> <i>La France en produit de nouveaux,</i> <i>Contre vous tout prêts à se battre !</i></p>	<p><i>Verse 4:</i></p> <p><i>Tremble, tyrants! and you, traitors,</i> <i>The disgrace of all groups,</i> <i>Tremble! Your parricidal plans</i> <i>Will finally pay the price! (repeat)</i> <i>Everyone is a soldier to fight you,</i> <i>If they fall, our young heroes,</i> <i>France will make more,</i> <i>Ready to battle you!</i></p>
<p><i>Verse 5:</i></p> <p><i>Français, en guerriers magnanimes,</i> <i>Portez ou retenez vos coups !</i> <i>Épargnez ces tristes victimes,</i> <i>A regret s'armant contre nous. (bis)</i> <i>Mais ces despotes sanguinaires,</i> <i>Mais ces complices de Bouillé,</i> <i>Tous ces tigres qui, sans pitié,</i> <i>Déchirent le sein de leur mère !</i></p>	<p><i>Verse 5:</i></p> <p><i>Frenchmen, as magnanimous warriors,</i> <i>Bear or hold back your blows!</i> <i>Spare these sad victims,</i> <i>Regretfully arming against us. (repeat)</i> <i>But not these bloodthirsty despots,</i> <i>But not these accomplices of Bouillé,</i> <i>All of these animals who, without pity,</i> <i>Tear their mother's breast to pieces!</i></p>
<p><i>Verse 6:</i></p> <p><i>Amour sacré de la patrie,</i></p>	<p><i>Verse 6:</i></p> <p><i>Sacred love of France,</i></p>

French	English Translation by Laura K. Lawless
<i>Conduis, soutiens nos bras vengeurs ! Liberté, Liberté chérie, Combats avec tes défenseurs ! (bis) Sous nos drapeaux, que la victoire Accoure à tes mâles accents ! Que tes ennemis expirants Voient ton triomphe et notre gloire !</i>	<i>Lead, support our avenging arms! Liberty, beloved Liberty, Fight with your defenders! (repeat) Under our flags, let victory Hasten to your manly tones! May your dying enemies See your triumph and our glory!</i>
<i>Verse 7: Nous entrerons dans la carrière Quand nos aînés n'y seront plus ; Nous y trouverons leur poussière Et la trace de leurs vertus. (bis) Bien moins jaloux de leur survivre Que de partager leur cercueil, Nous aurons le sublime orgueil De les venger ou de les suivre !</i>	<i>Verse 7: We will enter the pit When our elders are no longer there; There, we will find their dust And the traces of their virtues. (repeat) Much less eager to outlive them Than to share their casket, We will have the sublime pride Of avenging them or following them!</i>

Source: <https://www.com.france national anthem lyrics>

Because of the revolutionary-cum-political nature of the composition power politics of the French leaders have made interesting political fiat decisions on *la marseillaise*.

Some chronology on these fiat political decisions is hereby presented as per Street (2004).

Napoleon Bonparte outlawed *La Marseillaise* during his regin in the French Empire (1804-1815).

King Loid XVIII also banned *la Marseillaise* in 1815 during his tenure as the ruling King in the French territory in 1815.

For 15 years since 1815 *La Marseillaise* was not allowed and no one allowed toeven singing it. Interestingly it was reinstated in 1830.

Napoleon III (1852- 1870) when he ruled France he proscribed *la Marseillaise*. It was only reinstated after his reign in 1879.

La Marseillaise being a song which mobilized the army and the French people to pick up arms and fight to protect their country, in 1887, an "official version" of the song was adopted by France's Ministry of War.

When the World War I ended. The French Ministry of Education encouraged the learners in French schools to sing *La Marseillaise*. This was a communiqué issued by the ministry for the French as a nation to celebrate the war heroes who they venerated to the level of martyrs.

La Marseillaise was declared the official national anthem in Article 2 of the 1946 and 1958 as decreed in these separate constitutions which were endorsed by the French parliament and its people in a popular referendum to endorse the two constitutions.

United States of America (Star sprangled banner)

The star-sprangled banner is a testimony of war which was won against the American foes. Victory should usher peace and motivate development. God should be trusted in all the positive endeavours by the American citizens.

American National Anthem

Oh, say can you see by the dawn's early light
What so proudly we hailed at the twilight's last gleaming?
Whose broad stripes and bright stars thru the perilous fight,
O'er the ramparts we watched were so gallantly streaming?
And the rocket's red glare, the bombs bursting in air,
Gave proof thru the night that our flag was still there.
Oh, say does that star-spangled banner yet wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?

On the shore, dimly seen through the mists of the deep,
Where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes,
What is that which the breeze, o'er the towering steep,
As it fitfully blows, half conceals, half discloses?
Now it catches the gleam of the morning's first beam,
In full glory reflected now shines in the stream:
'Tis the star-spangled banner! Oh long may it wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

And where is that band who so vauntingly swore
That the havoc of war and the battle's confusion,
A home and a country should leave us no more!
Their blood has washed out of their foul footsteps' pollution.
No refuge could save the hireling and slave
From the terror of flight and the gloom of the grave:
And the star-spangled banner in triumph doth wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

Oh! thus be it ever, when freemen shall stand
Between their loved home and the war's desolation!
Blest with victory and peace, may the heav'n rescued land
Praise the Power that hath made and preserved us a nation.
Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just,
And this be our motto: "In God is our trust."
And the star-spangled banner in triumph shall wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

(John Stafford Smith)

Source: <https://lyricstranslate.com/american-national-anthem>

Boykin (2015), a top ranked American army officer observed the following about the American National Anthem: *'The National Anthem is our patriotic anchor to our national defense'*

According to Wöllner, (2012), President Barak Obama when he was still the governor of the state of Illinois gave some candid remarks about the American anthem. Obama

gave an explanation why he does not adorn a flag pin. He observed that he would not wish to be seen to be partisan because most people across the world view the American flag as a symbol of oppression. Above all, the anthem itself conveys war-like message. How he wished the bombs bursting in the air swapped with something less parochial and less bellicose. The words should be melodious, sweet and artistically well grafted. If his wish would see the light of the day and be implemented then he would gladly sing along and enjoy himself as a patriotic American who loves his country. Obama's remarks are in tandem with the French controversies which *La Marseillaise* encountered. Beller-McKenna (1998) asserts that the controversial nature of patriotic –cum- political mobilization songs have made leaders to issue decrees which suit them when in absolute power. The American constitution fortunately did not offer Obama excessive legal room for him to issue any fiat about the anthem much as later on he became president and ruled the USA for two consecutive presidential terms thanks to the American voters who elected him in high office for him to occupy the White House for two terms.

Iraq – The national anthem is titled: Mawtini (my homeland)

Mawtini (my homeland) is the national anthem of Iraq which was adopted in 2004. The song formerly served as the *de facto* national anthem of Palestine from the late 1930s Palestinian Arab revolt to 1996, when the country formally adopted an official national anthem. Though it has since been superseded by an official national anthem there, many Palestinians still identify strongly with it and consider it a sort of unofficial second national anthem of their country. The iraqian national anthem is a serious clarion call to the youth and all the citizens to protect the land from invasion. They should fight using

everything the sword (to draw blood), the pen (diplomacy) to protect their dear land. The call to war and

being outrightly bellicose is conspicuous in the national anthem. This according to Gatheru (2005) inspires strong sense of patriotism among citizens.

موطني موطني
 الحسام والبراع لا الكلام والنزاع
 رمزنا رمزنا
 مجتنا وعهتنا وواجب من الوفا
 رمزنا رمزنا
 رمزنا رمزنا
 ذابرة فخرنا ورياسة افرقتنا
 يا عراق في غلاك
 فاكرا جذاك فاكرا جذاك
 موطني موطني

موطني موطني
 الشباب لن يكمل همة ان تستسلم او يبيد
 تستمى من الردى ولن تكون للعدى
 كالعبيد كالعبيد
 لا نريد لا نريد
 اننا المرقدنا وحياتنا المرقدنا
 اننا المرقدنا وحياتنا المرقدنا
 لا نريد ان نبيد
 مجتنا العاقبة مجتنا العاقبة
 موطني موطني

موطني موطني
 الجلال والجمال والسناء والبهاء
 في ربك في ربك
 والحياء والنجاة والهناء والرجاء
 في هواك في هواك
 هل اراك هل اراك
 سالما مضمنا و غنما مكرما سالما مكرما
 هل اراك في غلاك
 تبالغ السحاك تبالغ السحاك
 موطني موطني

My homeland! My homeland!
 The sword and the pen are our symbols
 not the talk nor the quarrel.
 Are our symbols, are our symbols
 Our glory and our covenant
 and a duty to be faithful.
 Moves us! Moves us!
 Our glory, our glory
 Is an honorable cause and a waving flag.
 Is an honorable cause and a waving flag.
 O, your beauty in your eminence,
 Victorious over your enemies.
 Victorious over your enemies,
 My homeland! My homeland!

My homeland! My homeland!
 The youth will not tire, 'till you get
 your independence, or they die.
 We will drink from death and will not be
 to our enemies like slaves, like slaves.
 We do not want, we do not want
 An eternal humiliation nor a miserable life.
 An eternal humiliation nor a miserable life
 We do not want,
 But we will bring back our great glory,
 My homeland! My homeland!

My homeland! My homeland!
 Glory and beauty, sublimity and splendor
 Are in your hills, are in your hills.
 Life and deliverance, pleasure and hope
 Are in your air, are in your air.
 Will I see you? Will I see you?
 Safe and comforted, sound and honored.
 Safe and comforted, sound and honored.
 Will I see you in your eminence?
 Reaching to the stars, reaching to the stars,
 My homeland! My homeland!

MUSIC IS LOVE Anthems Collection

The National Anthem of the Republic of Iraq "موطني" "Mawtini" (My Homeland)

(Mohammed Flayfel)

Source: <https://lyricstranslate.com/iraq-national-anthem-lyrics>

Liberia

Title of the anthem: All hail, Liberia Hail !

The national anthem of Liberia which as a nation has some linkages with the USA since the liberated slaves some were brought back to Africa and specifically in Liberia. The

Anthem also has some belligerent connotations where the enemy is to be fought to protect the nation.



(President Daniel Bashiel Warner (1815–1880, third president of Liberia)

Source: <https://www.com-liberia-national-anthem-lyrics>

2.1.2 b) Anthems with a heavy religious tilt or dosage

India

Title of the anthem: Jana Gana Mana (Hail the ruler of all minds)

The veneration to the dieties-cum-gods displays the extreme respect India as nation has towards their various facets of religion. Religious songs have been significantly used as political mobilization songs to influence people's choice of leaders especially in Kenya. The India national anthem lyrics go;

*Thou art the rulers of the minds of all people,
dispenser of India's destiny.
Thy name rouses the hearts of
Punjab, Sind, Gujarat, and Maratha,
Of the Dravida and Orissa and Bengal;
It echoes in the hills of
the Vindhya and Himalayas,
mingles in the music of the Yamuna and Ganga
and is chanted by the waves of the Indian Sea.
They pray for thy blessings and sing thy praise.
The saving of all people waits in thy hand,
Thou dispenser of India's destiny.
Victory, victory, victory to thee.*

(Gurudev Tagore)

Source: <https://www.com.indian.national.anthem.lyrics>

Pakistan

Title of the anthem : Quaumi Tarana (National Anthem)

As a nation Pakistan is a largely a moslem country. They adhere to the tenets of Islam and this also influenced the words of their national anthem.

According to Shapiro (2004), the national anthem was officially adopted as Pakistan's national anthem in August 1954 and was recorded in the same year by eleven major singers of Pakistan including Ahmad Rushdi, Kaukab Jahan, Rasheeda Begum, Najam Ara, Naseema Shaheen, Zawar Hussain, Akhtar Abbas, Ghulam Dastagir, Anwar Zaheer, and Akhtar Wasi Ali.

LOVE Anthems Comp

**Blessed be the sacred land
Happy be the bounteous realm
Symbol of high resolve
Land of Pakistan
Blessed be thou citadel of faith**

**The order of this sacred land
Is the might of the brotherhood of the people
May the nation, the country, and the state
Shine in glory everlasting
Blessed be the goal of our ambition**

**This flag of the Crescent and Star
Leads the way to progress and perfection
Interpreter of our past, glory of our present
Inspiration of our future
Symbol of Almighty's protection**

**پاک سرزمین شاد باد
کشور حسین شاد باد
تو نشان حزم عالیشان
! ارض پاکستان
مرکز یقین شاد باد**

**پاک سرزمین کا نظام
قوت اخوت عوام
قوم ، ملک ، سلطنت
! پائندہ تابندہ باد
شاد باد منزل مراد**

**پرچم ستارہ و بلال
رہبر ترقی و کمال
ترجمان ماضی شان حال
! جان استقبال
سایہ خدائے ذوالجلال**

The National Anthem of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan

(Ahmad G. Chagla 1949)

Source: <https://www.compakistanationalanthemlyrics>

Tibet

Title of the anthem:

The country has undergone challenges since the Chinese invasion which took place in the 1960's and forced the current Dalai Lama to seek refuge in India. Tibet is basically a buddhist country and their national anthem is a recital. The virtues of peace, happiness, liberation and the protection of the Tibetan people is well highlighted in this national recital-cum-anthem. The ideal tenets of peace, love and happiness should also be spread to the rest of humanity in the world.

MUSIC IS LOVE *Anthem's Compilation*

The National Anthem of Tibet

Let the radiant light shine of Buddha's wish-fulfilling gem teachings, the treasure chest of all hopes for happiness and benefit in both secular life and liberation. O Protectors who hold the jewel of the teachings and all beings, nourishing them greatly, may the sum of your karmas grow full. Firmly enduring in a diamond-hard state, guard all directions with compassion and love. Above our heads, may divinely appointed rule abide endowed with a hundred benefits and let the power increase of fourfold auspiciousness. May a new golden age of happiness and bliss spread throughout the three provinces of Tibet, and the glory expand of religious-secular rule. By the spread of Buddha's teachings in the ten directions, may everyone throughout the world enjoy the glories of happiness and peace. In the battle against negative forces, may the auspicious sunshine of the teachings and beings of Tibet and the brilliance of a myriad radiant prosperities be ever triumphant.

མིང་ཞིའི་ཕན་བདེའི་འདོད་ལྗོད་ལྷན་འབྲེལ་བའི་གཏེར་
ལུ་བརྟན་བསམ་འཕེལ་ནོར་བུའི་འོད་ལྗང་འབབ་
བརྟན་འཕེལ་ནོར་འཛོལ་རྒྱ་ཆེར་རྒྱུང་བའི་མགོན།
འཕྲིན་ལས་ཀྱི་རོལ་མཚོ་རྒྱས།
དོན་ཚིག་ལམས་སུ་བརྟན་བསམ་
ཕྱོགས་ཀུན་བཟམས་བཅའམ་རྒྱུད་
གནམ་བསྐོས་དགའ་བ་བརྒྱ་ལྗོད་དབང་དགུང་ལ་རྟེན་
ལྷན་ཚོགས་ལྟེ་བཞིའི་མངའ་ཐང་རྒྱས།
པོད་རྒྱུང་མཚམས་
གསུམ་གྱི་ཕྱོད་ལ་
བདེ་སྲིད་རྩོགས་ལྡན་གསའ་བས་ལྷུ་བ།
ཚོས་མིང་གྱི་དབུ་ལོན་དཔ།
ལུ་བརྟན་ཕྱོགས་བཅུར་རྒྱས་བསམ་
འཛམ་གླིང་ཡངས་བའི་རྒྱེ་རྒྱ་
ཞི་བདེའི་དབུ་ལ་རྒྱུད་
པོད་རྒྱུང་བརྟན་འཕེལ་དགེ་མཚན་ཉི་འོད་གྱིས།
བཀྲ་ཤིས་འོད་ལྗང་འབབ་ལྷན་འབྲེལ་བའི་གཏེར་
ལག་ཕྱོགས་ལྡན་བའི་གཤུགས་ལས་
རྒྱས་ལྷུང་ཅི།

MUSIC IS LOVE *Anthem's Compilation*

(Mikhail Pletnev 1950)

Source: <https://www.com-pakistan-national-anthem-lyrics>

2.1.2 c) Anthems which venerate rulers, leaders and heroes

Britain

Title of the anthem: God save the queen

Veneration and respect for the queen is conspicuous in the anthem. The queen is the symbol of unity and governance who should be protected by all means.

"God Save the Queen" is the national anthem of the United Kingdom and one of two national anthems used by New Zealand since 1977, as well as for several of the UK's territories that have their own additional local anthem. It is also the royal anthem – played specifically in the presence of the monarch – of all the aforementioned countries, as well as Australia (since 1984), Canada (since 1980), Barbados and Tuvalu. Perullo, A. (2005) quips that in countries not previously part of the British Empire, the tune of "God Save the Queen" has provided the basis for various patriotic songs, though still generally connected with royal ceremony. The melody continues to be used for the national anthem of Liechtenstein, "Oben am jungen Rhein", and the royal anthem of Norway, "Kongesangen". In the United States, the melody is used for the patriotic song "My Country, 'Tis of Thee" Perullo, A. (2005).

Britain national anthem lyrics;

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN
The British National Anthem

1. God save our gracious Queen,
Long live our noble Queen,
God save the Queen!
Send her victorious,
Happy and glorious,
Long to reign over us:
God save the Queen!

2. O Lord our God arise,
Scatter her enemies
And make them fall;
Confound their politics,
Frustrate their knavish tricks,
On Thee our hopes we fix,
God save us all!

3. Thy choicest gifts in store
On her be pleased to pour;
Long may she reign;
May she defend our laws,
And ever give us cause
To sing with heart and voice:
God save the Queen!

4. Not in this land alone,
But be God's mercies known,
From shore to shore!
Lord make the nations see,
That men should brothers be,
And form one family,
The wide world over.

5. From every latent foe,
From the assassins blow,
God save the Queen!
O'er her thine arm extend,
For Britain's sake defend,
Our mother, prince, and friend:
God save the Queen!

6. Lord grant that Marshal Wade
May by thy mighty aid
Victory bring,
May he sedition hush,
And like a torrent rush,
Rebellious Scots to crush:
God save the Queen!

(Benjamin Britten, Brian May, and Thomas Arne)

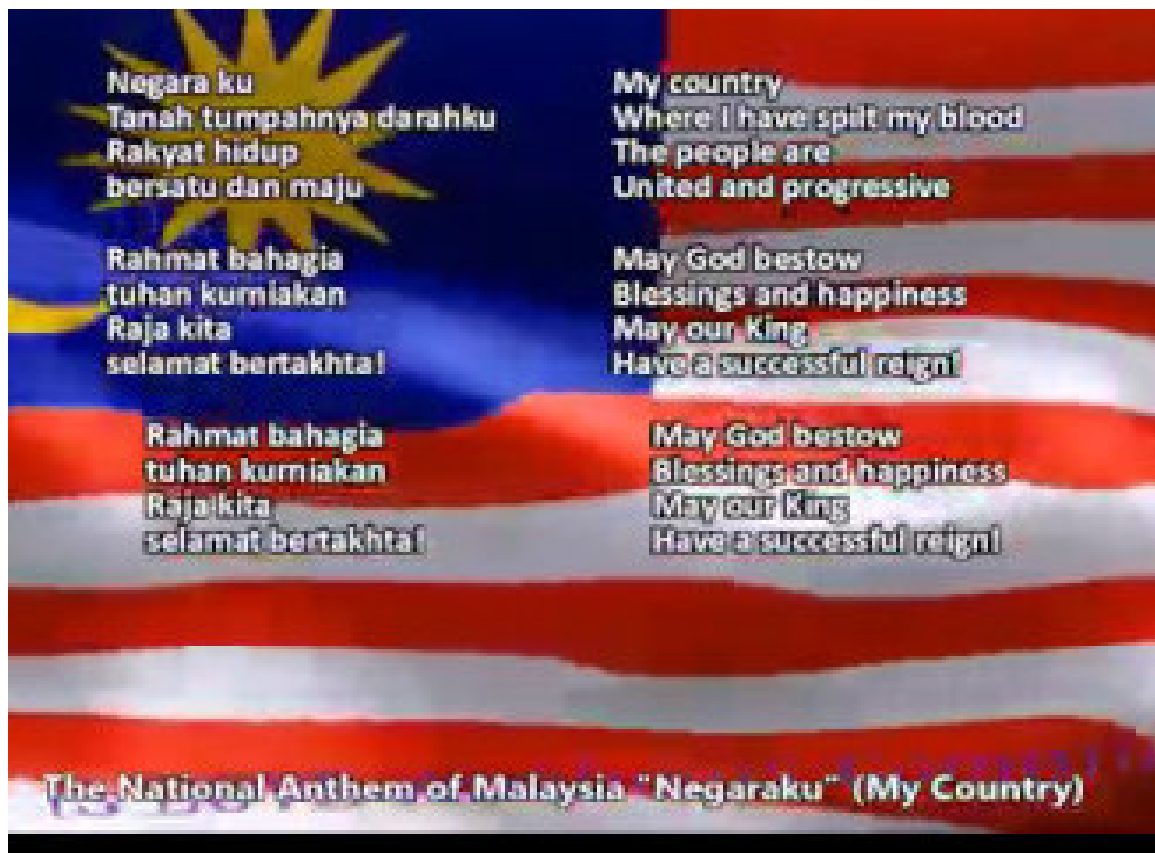
Source: <https://www.com britain national anthem lyrics>

Malaysia

Title of the anthem: Negaraku (My Country)

The anthem idolizes the king and its heroes who fought to restore Malaysia as a country.

Gossett (1990) concedes that Malaysia's national anthem is the gently stirring Negaraku, or My Country. It talks about Malaysians living together "united and progressive" and their desire for the king to have a "successful reign". It is, in other words, like dozens of other anthems - a song popular within its own borders that is unlikely to grab attention overseas.

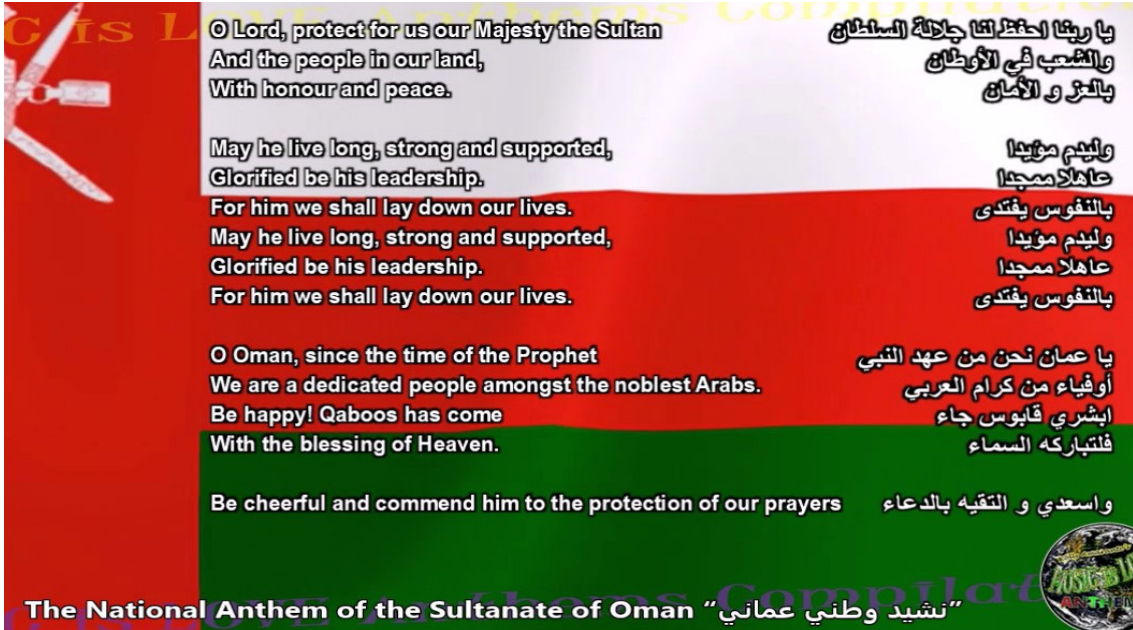


Source: <https://www.com/malaysia-national-anthem-lyrics>

Sultanate of Oman

Title of the anthem : Nashid as salaam as – sultan

The anthem is a clarion call for the sultan who is the sovereign leader to be protected by all means.



© Lord, protect for us our Majesty the Sultan
And the people in our land,
With honour and peace.

يا ربنا احفظ لنا جلالة السلطان
والشعب في الاوطان
بالعز والامان

May he live long, strong and supported,
Glorified be his leadership.
For him we shall lay down our lives.
May he live long, strong and supported,
Glorified be his leadership.
For him we shall lay down our lives.

وليدم مؤيدا
عاهلا ممجدا
بالنفوس يفتدى
وليدم مؤيدا
عاهلا ممجدا
بالنفوس يفتدى

O Oman, since the time of the Prophet
We are a dedicated people amongst the noblest Arabs.
Be happy! Qaboos has come
With the blessing of Heaven.

يا عمان نحن من عهد النبي
أوفياء من كرام العربي
ابشري قابوس جاء
فلتباركه السماء

Be cheerful and commend him to the protection of our prayers

واسعدي و التقيه بالدعاء

The National Anthem of the Sultanate of Oman “نشيد وطني عماني”

(James Frederick Mills 1932)

Source: <https://www.com Sultanate of Oman national anthem lyrics>

Sao Tome and Principe

Title of the anthem: Independencia total (total independence)

Independência total is the national anthem of São Tomé and Príncipe. The anthem, adopted in 1975, was written by Alda Neves da Graça do Espírito Santo (1926–) and composed by Manuel dos Santos Barreto de Sousa e Almeida (1933). The heroes should always emerge victors and they should always defend their nation to allow it to prosper for now and for the future generations.

<p>(Coro) Independência total, glorioso canto do povo Independência total, hino sagrado de combate Dinamismo na luta nacional, juramento eterno No país soberano de São Tomé e Príncipe</p> <p>1. Guerrilheiro da guerra sem armas na mão Chama viva na alma do povo Congregando os filhos das ilhas Em redor da Pátria Imortal Independência total, total e completa Construindo no progresso e na paz A nação mais ditosa da terra Com os braços heróicos do povo (Coro)</p> <p>2. Trabalhando, lutando, lutando em vencendo Caminhamos a passos gigantes Na cruzada dos povos africanos Hasteando a bandeira nacional Voz do povo, presente, presente em conjunto Vibra rijo no coro da esperança Ser herói no hora do perigo Ser herói no ressurgir do País (Coro)</p>	<p>(Chorus) Total independence, glorious song of the people Total independence, sacred hymn of combat Dynamism in the national struggle, eternal oath To the sovereign country of São Tomé and Príncipe</p> <p>1. Warriors in the war without weapons Flame alive in the soul of the people Congregating the sons of the islands Around the Immortal Homeland Total independence, total and complete Building on progress and peace The most blessed nation on earth With the heroic hands of the people</p> <p>2. Working, struggling, struggling and winning We go ahead with giant steps In the crusade of the African people Raising the national flag Voice of the people, present, present and united Strong beat altogether in the heart of hope To be a hero in the hour of danger A hero of the Nation's resurgence</p>
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The National Anthem of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe

(Manuel dos Santos Barreto de Sousa e Almeida 1933)

Source: <https://www.com SaTomi and Principe national anthem lyrics>

Sierra Leone

Title of the anthem: High we exalt thee, Realm of the free

God should bless the forefathers who bequeathed to the current citizens a nation they should cherish and develop for now and for posterity.

High we exalt thee, realm of the free;
Great is the love we have for thee;
Firmly united ever we stand,
Singing thy praise, O native land.
We raise up our hearts and our voices on high,

The hills and the valleys re-echo our cry;
Blessing and peace be ever thine own,
Land that we love, our Sierra Leone.

One with a faith that wisdom inspires,
One with a zeal that never tires;
Ever we seek to honour thy name
Ours is the labour, thine the fame.

We pray that no harm on thy children may fall,
That blessing and peace may descend on us all;
So may we serve thee ever alone,
Land that we love our Sierra Leone.

Knowledge and truth our forefathers spread,
Mighty the nations whom they led;
Mighty they made thee, so too may we
Show forth the good that is ever in thee.

We pledge our devotion, our strength and our might,
Thy cause to defend and to stand for thy right;
All that we have be ever thine own,
Land that we love our Sierra Leone.

Sierra Leone National Anthem "High We Exalt Thee, Realm of the Free"

(John Akar)

Source: <https://www.com> *Sierra Leone national anthem lyrics*

Tanzania

Title of the anthem: Mungu ibariki Afica (God bless Africa)

The anthem is a plea to God the Almighty to bless its leaders, its people for now and for the future generations to come.

Kiswahili:

Mungu ibariki Afrika
Wabariki Viongozi wake
Hekima Umoja na
Amani Hizi ni ngao zetu
Afrika na watu wake

CHORUS

Ibariki Afrika
(repeat)

Tubariki watoto wa Afrika
Mungu ibariki Tanzania
Dumisha uhuru na Umoja
Wake kwa Waume na Watoto
Mungu Ibariki Tanzania na watu wake

CHORUS

Ibariki Tanzania
(repeat)

Tubariki watoto wa Tanzania

English:

God Bless Africa
Bless its leaders
Let wisdom unity and
Peace be the shield of
Africa and its people

CHORUS

Bless Africa...
(repeat)

Bless the children of Africa
God Bless Tanzania
Grant eternal freedom and unity
To its sons and daughters
God Bless Tanzania and its people

CHORUS

Bless Tanzania

(Samuel Mqhayi and Enoch Sontonga)

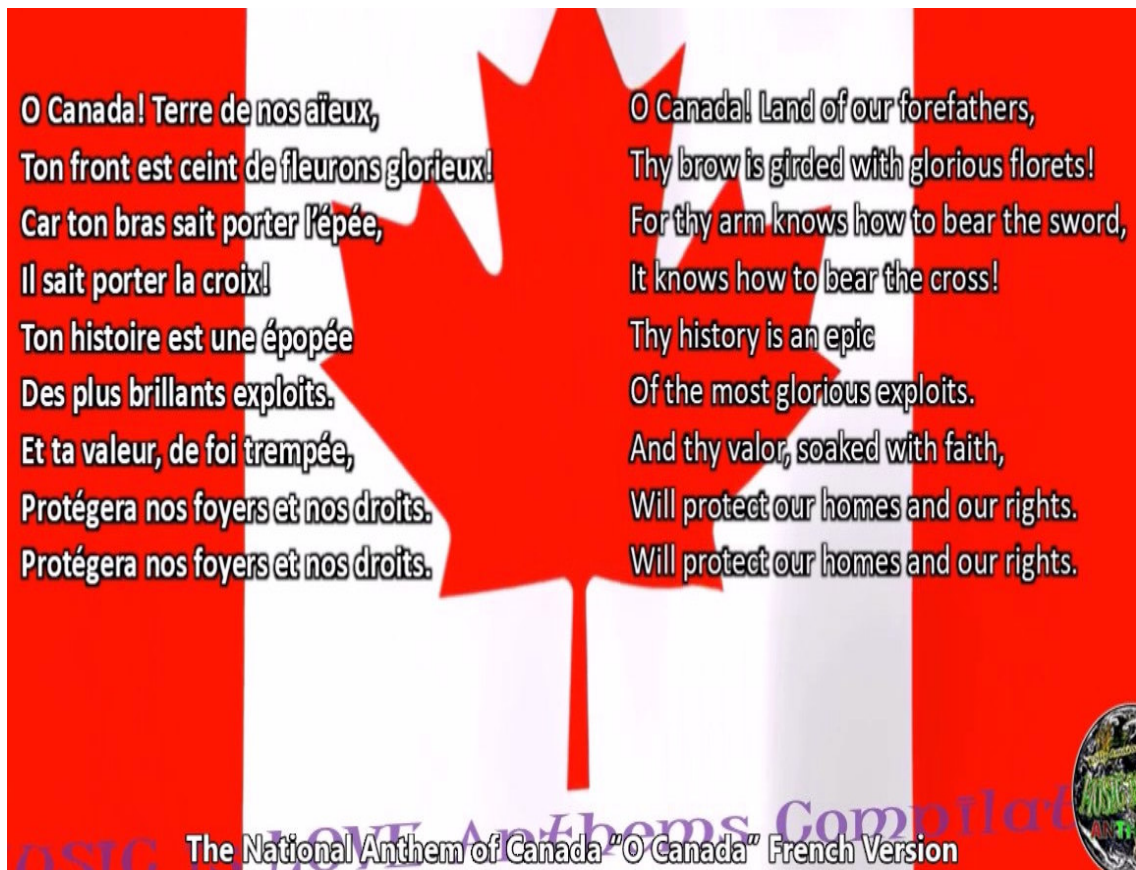
Source: <https://www.com.tanzania national anthem lyrics>

2.1.2 d) Anthems with proper extreme love for the country ‘genuine patriotism’

Canada

Title of the anthem: O Canada

The anthem glorifies its people, their might and strength for now and for posterity. Canada is a bilingual country. The anthem is in French and English.



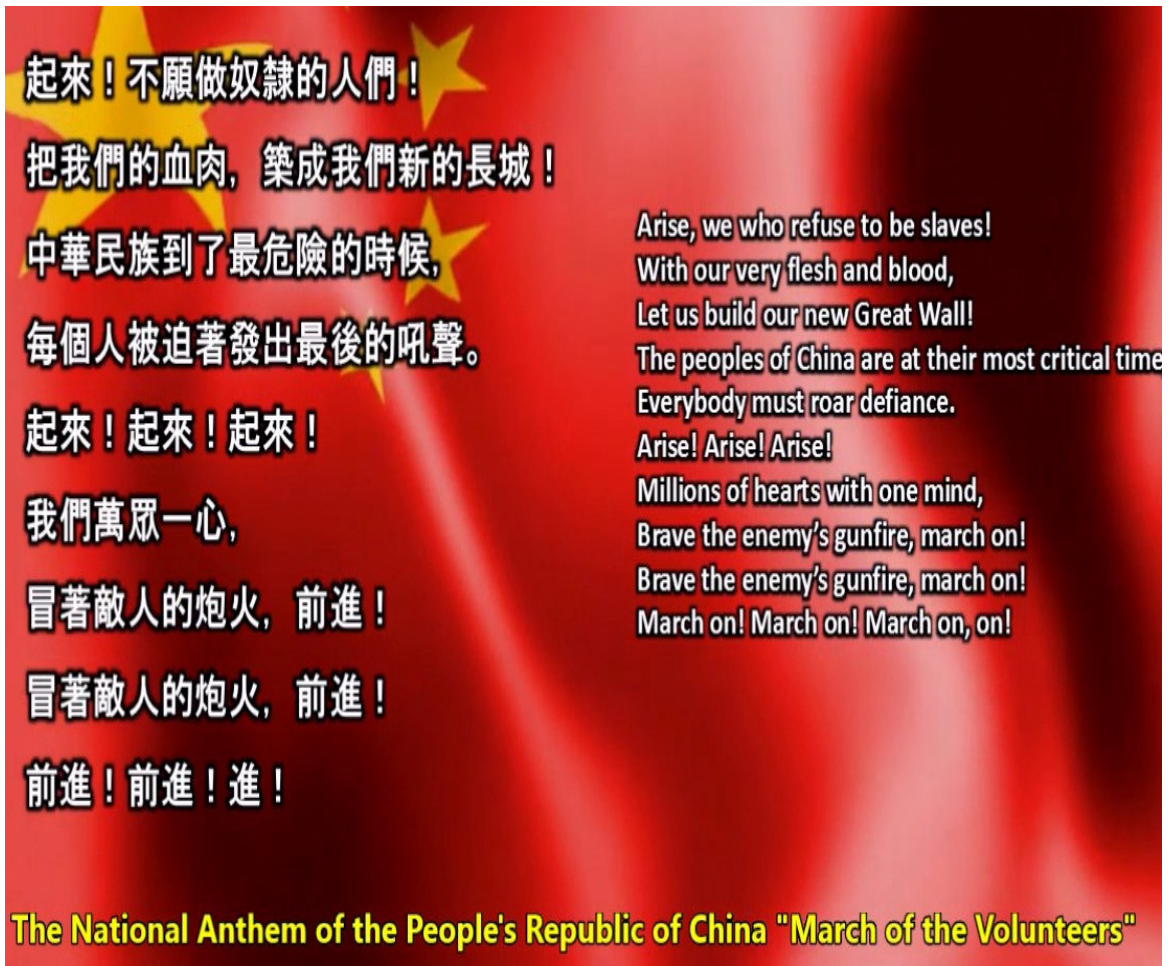
(Calixa Lavallée)

Source: <https://www.com.canada.national.anthem.lyrics>

China

Title of the anthem: Yiyonguin Jinxingu (The march of the volunteers)

The national anthem is like a call for resilience and working hard at all times especially when strife is to be encountered or confronted. The power and the will of the people is sacrosanct



(Nie Er)

Source: <https://www.com china national anthem lyrics>

Indonesia

Title of the anthem: Indonesia Raya (Great Indonesia)

Indonesia Raya is the national anthem of Indonesia. The song was first introduced by the composer. Wage Rudolf Soepratman, on 28 October 1928 during the Youth Congress in Batavia or Jakarta. This song marks the birth of the nationalism movement across

Indonesia and then supported the idea of one “Indonesia” as successor to the Dutch East Indies, rather than divided into several colonies.

Indonesia Raya was chosen as the national anthem when Indonesia proclaimed its independence on 17th of August, 1945. Indonesia Raya was played at the flag ceremony. Indonesian flag was raised solemnly and the movement was arranged so that the flag reached the top of the flag pole when the song ended. This flag raising ceremony is then held every year on August 17 to commemorate Indonesia’s Independence Day (Beckerman, 1786).

The people should be proud of their nation which they have actually ‘immortalized’ as a good and great country.

Indonesia National Anthem Lyrics

*Indonesia, my native land,
My place of birth,
Where I stand guard
Over my motherland
Indonesia, my nationality,
My people and my country
Let us all cry
For united Indonesia.
Long live my land,
Long live my country,
My nation and all my people.
Arouse their spirit,
Arouse their bodies
For Great Indonesia.
Great Indonesia, free and independent,
The land, the country I love
Great Indonesia, free and independent,
Long live Indonesia.*

(Wage Rudolf Soepratman 1928)

Source: <https://www.com indonesian national anthem lyrics>

Kuwait

Title of the anthem : Al –Nasheed Al – Watani (National Anthem)

The pride of being Arabs who are ‘pure’ is echoed in the anthem. The song lauds God who has protected Kuwait and it’s Arab ancestry.

(Refrain)
Kuwait, my country, may you be safe and glorious
May you always enjoy good fortune
Kuwait, my country, may you be safe and glorious
May you always enjoy good fortune
Kuwait, my country, Kuwait, my country
Kuwait, my country, may you be safe and glorious

وطني الكويت سلمت للمجد
وعلى جبينك طالع السعد
وطني الكويت سلمت للمجد
وعلى جبينك طالع السعد
وطني الكويت وطني الكويت
وطني الكويت سلمت للمجد

Oh cradle of ancestry
Who shaped our history
Immortalized with heroic deeds
And martyrdom
Those Arabs were heavenly

يا مهد آباء الأولو كتبوا
سفر الخلود فتأدت الشهب
الله أكبر إتهم حرب
طلعت كواكب جنة الخلد

(Refrain)
Blessed be my country
A homeland for harmony
Warded by true sentry
Giving their soils aptly
Building high its history

بوركت يا وطني الكويت لنا
سكنا وعشت على المدى وطنا
يفديك حر في حماك بني
صرح الحياة باكرم الأيدي

(Refrain)

The National Anthem of the State of Kuwait “النشيد الوطني”

(Ibrāhīm al-Şūla 1978)

Source: <https://www.com kuwait national anthem lyrics>

Democratic Republic of Congo

Title of the anthem: Debout Conglais (Arise Congolese)

This country at independence in 1960 it was known as Zaire. Its political turbulence since independence has made its people and its development to be on a constant challenging mode. When Laurent Kabila took over power after a civil war he declared June 30th 1997 as an ‘immortal’ date which should make the power by the people for the people and this

should be delegated to the future citizens of DRC. Their sovereignty should be protected by all means.



Debout Congolais, Unis par le sort,
Unis dans l'effort pour l'indépendance,
Dressons nos fronts longtemps courbés
Et pour de bon prenons le plus bel élan,
dans la paix.
O peuple ardent, par le labeur,
nous bâtirons un pays plus beau qu'avant, dans la paix.

Citoyens, entonnez l'hymne sacré
de votre solidarité,
Fièrement, saluez l'emblème d'or
de votre souveraineté, Congo.

Don béni, Congo! Des aïeux, Congo!
O pays, Congo! Bien aimé, Congo!
Nous peuplerons ton sol et nous assurerons ta grandeur.
Trente juin, o doux soleil, trente juin, du trente juin,
Jour sacré, sois le témoin
Jour sacré, de l'immortel serment de liberté
Que nous léguons à notre postérité pour toujours.

Arise Congolese, united by fate,
United in the struggle for independence,
Let us hold up our heads, so long bowed
And for good, let us keep moving,
boldly ahead, in peace.
O ardent people, by hard work we shall build,
in peace, a country more beautiful than before.

Countrymen, sing the sacred hymn
of your solidarity,
Proudly salute the golden emblem
of your sovereignty, Congo.

Blessed gift, Congo! Of our forefathers, Congo!,
O country, Congo! Beloved, Congo!
We shall populate your soil and ensure your greatness.
Thirtieth June, o gentle sun, thirtieth June, thirtieth June,
Sacred day, be the witness
Sacred day of the immortal oath of freedom
That we pass on to our children forever.

MUSIC IS LOVE Anthems compilation

The National Anthem of the Democratic Republic of Congo "Debout Congolais"

(Joseph Lutumba)

Source: <https://www.com Democratic Republic of Congo National Anthem Lyrics>

Sudan

Title of the anthem: Nahu Jund Allah Al- Watan (We are the army of God and of our land)

God should make its citizens brave and they should defend and protect Sudan by all means. The recent political turbulence in Sudan has actually displayed that its people are

actually defending their motherland despite the military putsch overtures to tame them.
They are outrightly advocating for a democratic civilian rule.

Arabic lyrics (Arabic script)

نحن جنود الله جنود الوطن
إن دعا داعي الفداء لم نخن
تتحدي الموت عند المحن
تشتري المجد بأغلى ثمن
هذه الأرض لنا
قلبعس سوداتنا
علماً بين الأمم
يا بني السودان هذا رمزكم
يحمل العباء ويحمي أرضكم



English translation

We are the army of God and of our land,
We shall never fail when called to sacrifice.
Whether braving death, hardship or pain,
We give our lives as the price of glory.
May this Our land, Sudan, live long,
Showing all nations the way.
Sons of the Sudan, summoned now to serve,
Shoulder the task of preserving our country.

(Juba University)

Source: <https://www.com-sudan-national-anthem-lyrics>

2.1.2 e) Anthems which appreciate the love for the land (environment) and its people .

New Zealand

Title of the anthem : God defend Newzealand

God should protect Aotearoa (Newzealand) by all means. Its varied citizenry (redskin, white skin, Maori, Pakeha) should live a life of love, peace and unity.

A graphic with a background of the New Zealand flag. The text is centered and reads:

New Zealand National Anthem English Meaning

O Lord, God,
Of all people
Listen to us,
Cherish us
May good flourish,
May your blessings flow
Defend Aotearoa

Let all people,
Red skin, white skin
Māori, Pākehā
Gather before you
May all our wrongs, we pray,
Be forgiven
So that we might say long live
Aotearoa

May it be forever prestigious,
May it go from strength to strength,
May its fame spread far and wide,
Let not strife
Nor dissention ensue,
May it ever be great
Aotearoa

Let its territory
Be ever enlightened
Throughout the land
Let envy and dissension
Be dispelled,
Let peace reign
Over Aotearoa

Let its good features endure,
Let righteousness and honesty
Prevail
Among the people of God
Let it never be ashamed,
But rather, let its name be known
Thereby becoming the model to emulate
Aotearoa

www.worldnationalanthem.com

(John Joseph Woods)

Source: www.worldnationalanthem.com

South Korea

Title of the anthem: Aeguka (The patriotic song)

Koreans in the south would wish to live in harmony with their environment and take positively the vagaries of nature.

MUSIC IS LOVE Anthems Compilation

동해 물과 백두산이 마르고 닳도록
하느님이 보우하사 우리나라만세

(Chorus)
무궁화 삼천리 화려강산
대한사람 대한으로 길이 보전하세

남산 위에 저 소나무 철갑을 두른 듯
바람서리 불변함은 우리 기상일세

(Chorus)

가을 하늘 공활한데 높고 구름 없이
밝은 달은 우리 가슴 일편단심일세

(Chorus)

이 기상과 이 맘으로 충성을 다하여
괴로우나 즐거우나 나라 사랑하세

(Chorus)

Until that day when Mt. Baekdu is worn away
and the waters of the Eastern Sea run dry,
May God protect and preserve our country.

(Chorus)
Three thousand li of splendid rivers and mountains,
filled with Roses of Sharon;
Great Korean people, stay true to the Great Korean way!

As the pine atop Namsan Peak stands firm,
unchanged thorough wind and frost
as if wrapped in armour, so shall our resilient spirit.

(Chorus)

The Autumn sky is void and vast, high and cloudless;
the bright moon is our heart, undivided and true.

(Chorus)

With this spirit and this mind, give all loyalty,
in suffering or in joy, to the love of country.

(Chorus)

The National Anthem of the Republic of Korea/South Korea



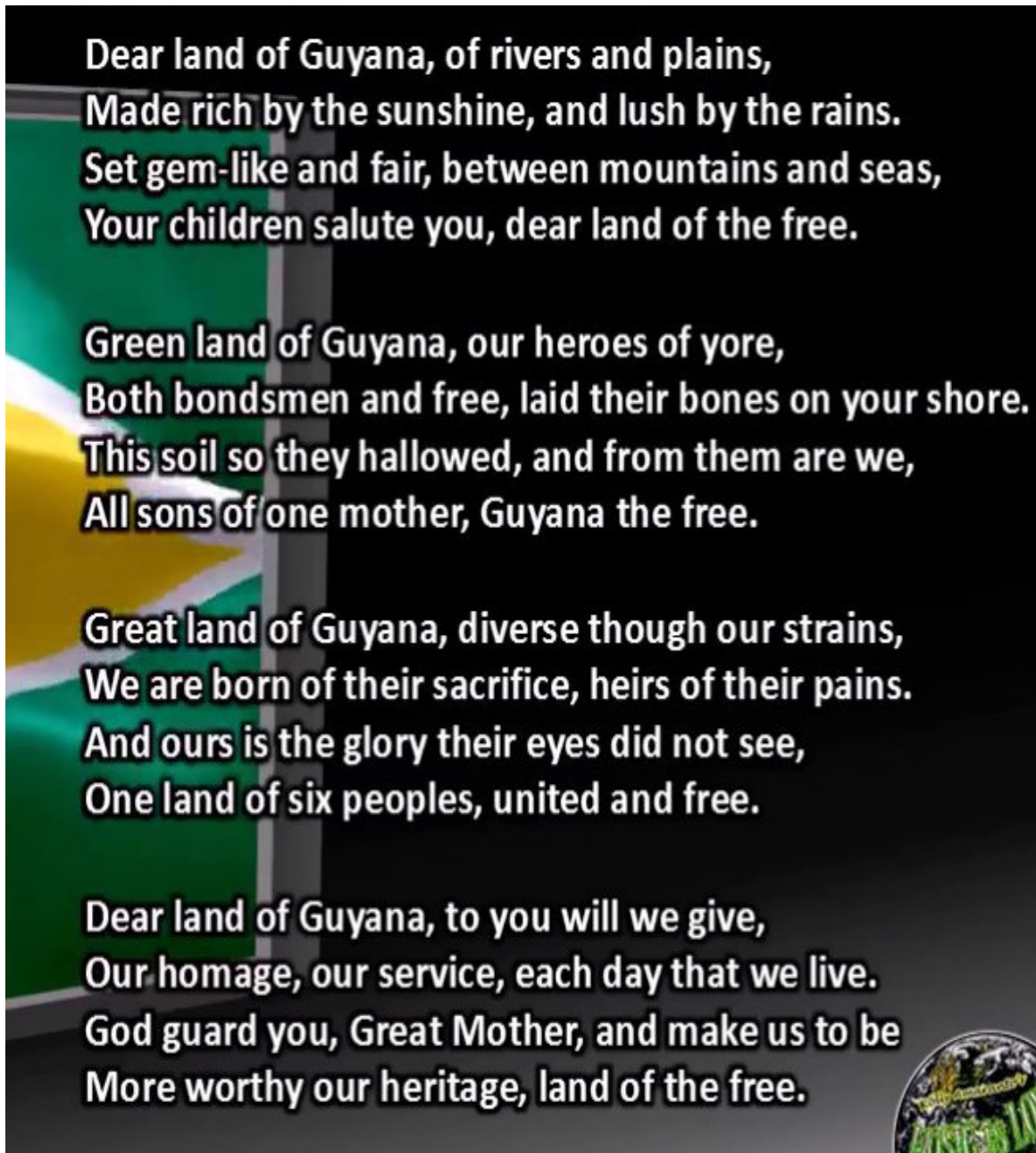
(Ahn Eak-tai)

Source: https://www.com_south_korea_national_anthem_lyrics

Guyana

Title of the anthem : Dear land of Guyana of rivers and plains

Mother earth should always be appreciated since she is the source of life for the current inhabitants of Guyana and those who will be there in future.



(Francis Bellamy)

Source: https://www.com_guyana_national_anthem_lyrics

Columbia

Title of the anthem: 'Himno Nacional de la Republica de Colombia'

(National Anthem of the Republic of Columbia)

May God bless Columbia. This country was once upon a time colonized and its citizens persecuted.



**(Coro 2x) ¡Oh gloria inmarcesible!
¡Oh júbilo inmortal!
En surcos de dolores
el bien germina ya.**

**(Chorus 2x) Oh, unfading glory!
Oh, immortal joy!
In furrows of pain
goodness now germinates.**

**Cesó la horrible noche,
la libertad sublime
derrama las auroras
de su invencible luz.
La humanidad entera,
que entre cadenas gime,
comprende las palabras
del que murió en la cruz. (Coro)**

**The horrible night has ceased,
the sublime freedom
beams forth the dawn
of its invincible light.
The whole humanity,
that groans within its chains,
understands the words
of the One who died on the Cross. (Chorus)**

**"¡Independencia!" grita
el mundo americano;
se baña en sangre de héroes
la tierra de Colón.
Pero este gran principio,
"El rey no es soberano"
resuena, y los que sufren
bendicen su pasión. (Coro)**

**"Independence!" shouts
the American world;
is bathed in heroes' blood
the land of Columbus.
But this great principle;
"The king is not the sovereign"
resounds, and those who suffer
bless their passion. (Chorus)**

The National Anthem of the Republic of Colombia "¡Oh Gloria Inmarcesible!"

(Oreste Sindici)

Source: <https://www.com.columbia.national.anthem.lyrics>

Barbados

Title of the anthem: National Anthem of Barbados

The land which was bequeathed to them by their ancestors is in good stead. The current citizens are working hard to hand over a good nation to the future generation

Barbados National Anthem Lyrics

*In plenty and in time of need
When this fair land was young
Our brave forefathers sowed the seed
From which our pride has sprung
A pride that makes no wanton boast
Of what it has withstood
That binds our hearts from coast to coast
The pride of nationhood*
chorus
*We loyal sons and daughters all
Do hereby make it known
These fields and hills beyond recall
Are now our very own
We write our names on history's page
With expectations great
Strict guardians of our heritage
Firm craftsmen of our fate
The Lord has been the people's guide
For past three hundred years.
With Him still on the people's side
We have no doubts or fears.
Upward and onward we shall go,
Inspired, exulting, free,
And greater will our nation grow
In strength and unity.*

(C. Van Roland Edwards)

Source: https://www.com_barbados_national_anthem_lyrics

Malawi

Title of the National Anthem: 'Mulungu dalista Malawi' (God Bless Malawi)

The liberated Malawi should appreciate its rich soil and other natural resources that should be exploited for now and for posterity.



(Michael-Fredrick Paul Sauka)

Source: <https://www.com-malawi-national-anthem-lyrics>

Uganda

Title of the National Anthem: Oh Uganda, Land of Beauty

The land of Uganda which is likened to a pearl should always be blessed. There should be plenty especially at the harvest time to feed its people.

"Oh Uganda, Land of Beauty!"

*Oh Uganda! may God uphold thee,
We lay our future in thy hand.
United, free,
For liberty
Together we'll always stand.
Oh Uganda! the land of freedom.
Our love and labour we give,
And with neighbours all
At our country's call
In peace and friendship we'll live.
Oh Uganda! the land that feeds us
By sun and fertile soil grown.
For our own dear land,
We'll always stand,
The Pearl of Africa's Crown.*

(Michael-Fredrick Paul Sauka)

Source: <https://www.com.uganda.national.anthem.lyrics>

2.1.2 f) Power and the will of the people

Singapore

Title of the anthem: Majulah Singapura (Onward Singapore)

The power, the will and development in prosperity is vested in the people. People power!

The National Anthem

Majulah Singapura

Mari kita rakyat Singapura
Sama-sama menuju bahagia
Cita-cita kita yang mulia
Berjaya Singapura

Marilah kita bersatu
Dengan semangat yang baru
Semua kita berseru
Majulah Singapura
Majulah Singapura

(English Translation)

Onward Singapore

Come, fellow Singaporeans
Let us progress towards happiness together
May our noble aspiration bring
Singapore success.

Come, let us unite
In a new spirit
Let our voices soar as one
Onward Singapore
Onward Singapore

(Zubir Said 1958)

Source: <https://www.com-singapore-national-anthem-lyrics>

German

**Title of the anthem: Formery: Deutschlandlied (Song of Germany)
Recently: Lied der Deutschen (Songs of the Germans)**

The excessive largesse and pride as a people was extolled in the full version of the anthem. Recently they re-edited it and only authorized the third stanza to be the official German anthem.

*The "**Deutschlandlied**" ("Song of Germany")*

*Germany, Germany above everything,
Above everything in the world,
When, for protection and defence, it always
takes a brotherly stand together.
From the Meuse to the Memel,
From the Adige to the Belt,
|: Germany, Germany above everything,
Above everything in the world! :|
German women, German loyalty,
German wine and German song
Shall retain in the world
Their old beautiful chime
And inspire us to noble deeds
During all of our life.
|: German women, German loyalty,
German wine and German song! :|*

Third stanza

(Germany's current National Anthem)

*Unity and justice and freedom
For the German fatherland!
For these let us all strive
Brotherly with heart and hand!
Unity and justice and freedom
Are the pledge of fortune;*

(Hoffmann 1840)

Source: https://www.com_german_national_anthem_lyrics

Ghana

Title of the anthem: God bless our homeland Ghana

The citizens should be honest, selfless and ever ready to serve the nation and always perpetuate its freedom to all and sundry within and beyond the Ghanaian borders.

God bless our homeland Ghana
And make our nation great and strong,
Bold to defend forever
The cause of Freedom and of Right,
Fill our hearts with true humility,
Make us cherish fearless honesty,
And help us to resist oppressors' rule
With all our will and might evermore.

Hail to thy name, O Ghana,
To thee we make our solemn vow:
Steadfast to build together
A nation strong in Unity,
With our gifts of mind and strength of arm,
Whether night or day, in the midst of storm,
In ev'ry need, whate'er the call may be,
To serve thee, Ghana, now and evermore.

Raise high the flag of Ghana
And one with Africa advance;
Black star of hope and honor
To all who thirst for liberty;
Where the banner of Ghana free flies,
May the way to freedom truly lie;
Arise, arise, O sons of Ghanaland,
And under God march on for evermore!

<http://National-An>

(Philip Gbeho)

Source: https://www.com_ghana_national_anthem_lyrics

Zambia

Title of the Anthem stand and sing for Zambia proud and free

God is called upon to bless Zambia and it is people who should be free from any form of bondage or oppression.

1
 Imani timtamande Zambia,
 Dziko la cimwemwe ndi umodzi,
 Ife tinamenyera ufulu,
 Tinapata ufuluwu,
 2
 Umodzi ndi mphamvu.
 Africa ndiye Mayi wathu,
 Dzanja la Mbuye lamdalitsa
 Tiyeni tonse tigwirizane
 Ndife abale m'dziko:
 Umodzi ndi mphamvu.
 3
 Dziko limodzi, mtundu umodzi
 Ndi cilakolako cathutu
 Ulemu ndi mtendere m'dziko
 Monga nkwaizi m'mwamba:
 Umodzi ndi mphamvu.
 Timtamande,
 Mlungu, Mlungu wathu,
 Adalitse,
 Zambia, Zambia, Zambia.
 Omasuka pansi
 Pa ndembela yathu.
 Zambia timtamande.
 Umodzi ndi mphamvu.

1.
 Stand and sing of Zambia, proud and free,
 Land of work and joy in unity,
 Victors in the struggle for the right,
 We've won freedom's fight.
 All one, strong and free.
 2.
 Africa is our own motherland,
 Fashioned with and blessed by God's good hand,
 Let us all hear people join as one,
 Brothers under the sun.
 All one, strong and free.
 3.
 One land and one nation is our cry,
 Dignity and peace 'neath Zambia's sky,
 Like our noble eagle in its flight,
 Zambia, praise to thee.
 All one, strong and free.
 Praise be to God.
 Praise be, praise be, praise be, praise be
 Bless our nation,
 Zambia, Zambia, Zambia. Zambia
 Free men we stand
 Under the flag of our land.
 Zambia, praise to thee!
 All one, strong and free.

(Enoch Sontonga 1897)

Source: <https://www.com.zambian-national-anthem-lyrics>

Zimbabwe

Title of the national anthem : Simudzai Mureza weZimbabwe

‘O life High The Bnner of Zimbabwe’

May God who liberated Zimbabwe bless the land and its leaders.



1. Simudzai mureza wedu weZimbabwe
Yakazvarwa nomoto wechimurenga
Neropa zhinji ramagamba
Tiidzivirire kumhandu dzose
Ngaikomborerwe nyika yeZimbabwe

1. O lift high the banner, the flag of Zimbabwe
The symbol of freedom proclaiming victory
We praise our heroes' sacrifice
And vow to keep our land from foes
And may the Almighty protect and bless our land

2. Tarisai Zimbabwe nyika yakashongedzwa
Namakomo, nehova, zvinoyevedza
Mvura ngainaye, minda ipe mbesa
Vashandi vatuswe, ruzhinji rugutswe
Ngaikomborerwe nyika yeZimbabwe

2. O lovely Zimbabwe, so wondrously adorned
With mountains, and rivers cascading, flowing free
May rain abound, and fertile fields
May we be fed, our labour blessed
And may the Almighty protect and bless our land

3. Mwari ropafadzai nyika yeZimbabwe
Nyika yamadzitateguru edu tose
Kubva Zambezi kusvika Limpopo
Navatungamiri vave nenduramo
Ngaikomborerwe nyika yeZimbabwe

3. O God, we beseech Thee to bless our native land
The land of our fathers bestowed upon us all
From Zambezi to Limpopo
May leaders be exemplary
And may the Almighty protect and bless our land

Zimbabwe National Anthem - Version by SHANKY - Shona Language



(Fred Changundega 1994)

Source: <https://www.com.zimbabwe.national.anthem.lyrics>

South Africa

Title of the National Anthem: National Anthem of South Africa

Post apartheid era since 1994, the anthem petitions God to listen to their plea to avert conflict and strife. Their wish is to live in peace, love and harmony as a rainbow nation which encompasses a people with various shades of origins.

[English Translation – The South African National Anthem]:

*God [Lord] bless Africa!
May her spirit/dignity [horn] be lifted up
Hear our prayers
Lord, bless (us)
We, her children [family]*

*Lord, protect our nation
Banish all wars and hardships
Protect us [it], protect it
This nation of ours
The nation of South Africa*

South Africa!

*From the blue of our heavens
From the depths of our sea
Over our eternal mountains
Where the cliffs give answer;*

*Sounds the call to come together
And united we shall stand
Let us live and strive for freedom
In South Africa, our land!*

(Enock Sontonga 1897)

Source: <https://www.com-south-africa-national-anthem-lyrics>

2.1.2 g) Honouring and profusely thanking God the Almighty.

Japan

Title of the national anthem: Kimi Gayo (His Majesty's)

The good will of the Lord should bless the country and let it develop in tremendous leaps and bounds for now and for posterity.

- ✦ "Kimi Ga Yo" (May 1,000 Years of Happy Reign Be Yours) is the official national anthem of Japan as was unofficial until 1999. It is in the form of a Waka, an ancient Japanese style of poem, from the Heian period. The author is unknown.

Lyrics (Phonetic Translation)

- ✦ Kimi ga yo wa
- ✦ Chiyo ni,
- ✦ Yachiyo ni
- ✦ Sazare ishi no,
- ✦ Iwao to narite,
- ✦ Koke no musu made.

Lyrics (English Translation)

- ✦ May my Lord's reign,
- ✦ Continue for a thousand,
- ✦ Eight thousand generations,
- ✦ Until pebbles
- ✦ Grow into boulders,
- ✦ Covered in moss.

(Hiromori Hayashi, Yoshiisa Oku)

Source: <https://www.com-japan-national-anthem-lyrics>

Russia

Title of the national anthem: Gosudarstvenny Gimn Rossiyskoy Federatsii

("State Hymn of the Russian Federation")

God should protect the blessed land which offers immense opportunities for growth, prosperity and development to all its citizens.

<p>1. Россия – священная наша держава, Россия – любимая наша страна. Могучая воля, великая слава – Твое достоянье на все времена!</p> <p>(Припев) Славься, Отечество наше свободное, Братских народов союз вековой, Предками данная мудрость народная! Славься, страна! Мы гордимся тобой!</p> <p>2. От южных морей до полярного края Раскинулись наши леса и поля. Одна ты на свете! Одна ты такая – Хранимая Богом родная земля! (Припев)</p> <p>3. Широкий простор для мечты и для жизни Грядущие нам открывают года. Нам силу даёт наша верность Отчизне. Так было, так есть и так будет всегда! (Припев)</p>	<p>1. Russia – is our sacred stronghold, Russia – is our beloved country. A mighty will, a great glory – Your heritage for all times!</p> <p>(Chorus) Be glorious, our free Fatherland, Ancient union of brotherly peoples, Ancestor given wisdom of the people! Be glorious, country! We are proud of you!</p> <p>2. From the southern seas to the polar region Our forests and fields are spread out. You are unique in the world! You are one of a kind – Native land protected by God! (Chorus)</p> <p>3. A broad expanse for dreams and for living Is open to us by the coming years. Our loyalty to our Motherland gives us strength. So it was, so it is, and so it will always be! (Chorus)</p>
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The National Anthem of the Russian Federation "Государственный гимн Российской Федерации"



(Alexander Alexandrov 1944)

Source: <https://www.com-japan-national-anthem-lyrics>

Qatar

Title of the national anthem: As Salaam al Amiri ("Peace to the Amir")

God who created the sky, the light and the citizens of Qatar will always guide the nation in peace and even during strife. Its people will always re-incarnate to protect and develop the nation.

(Chorus)
I swear, I swear
Swearing to God who raised the sky
Swearing to God who spread the light
Qatar will always be free
By the spirit of loyalty

(Chorus)
قسماً قسماً
قسماً بمن رفع السماء
قسماً بمن نشر الضياء
قطر ستبقى حرة
تسمو بروح الأوفياء

Follow the path of the ancestors
By the guidance of the Prophets
Qatar in my heart is a legend
Of pride, glory and dignity
Qatar is land of the early men
Who protect us at time of distress
Doves they can be at times of peace
Warriors they are at times of sacrifice

(Chorus)

سيروا على نهج الأولي
سيروا وعلى ضياء الأنبياء
قطر بقلبي سيرة
عز وأمجاد الإباء
قطر الرجال الأولين
حماتنا يوم النداء
وحمائم يوم السلام
جوارح يوم الفداء

(Chorus)

The National Anthem of the State of Qatar "أس سلام الأمير" (Peace to the Emir)

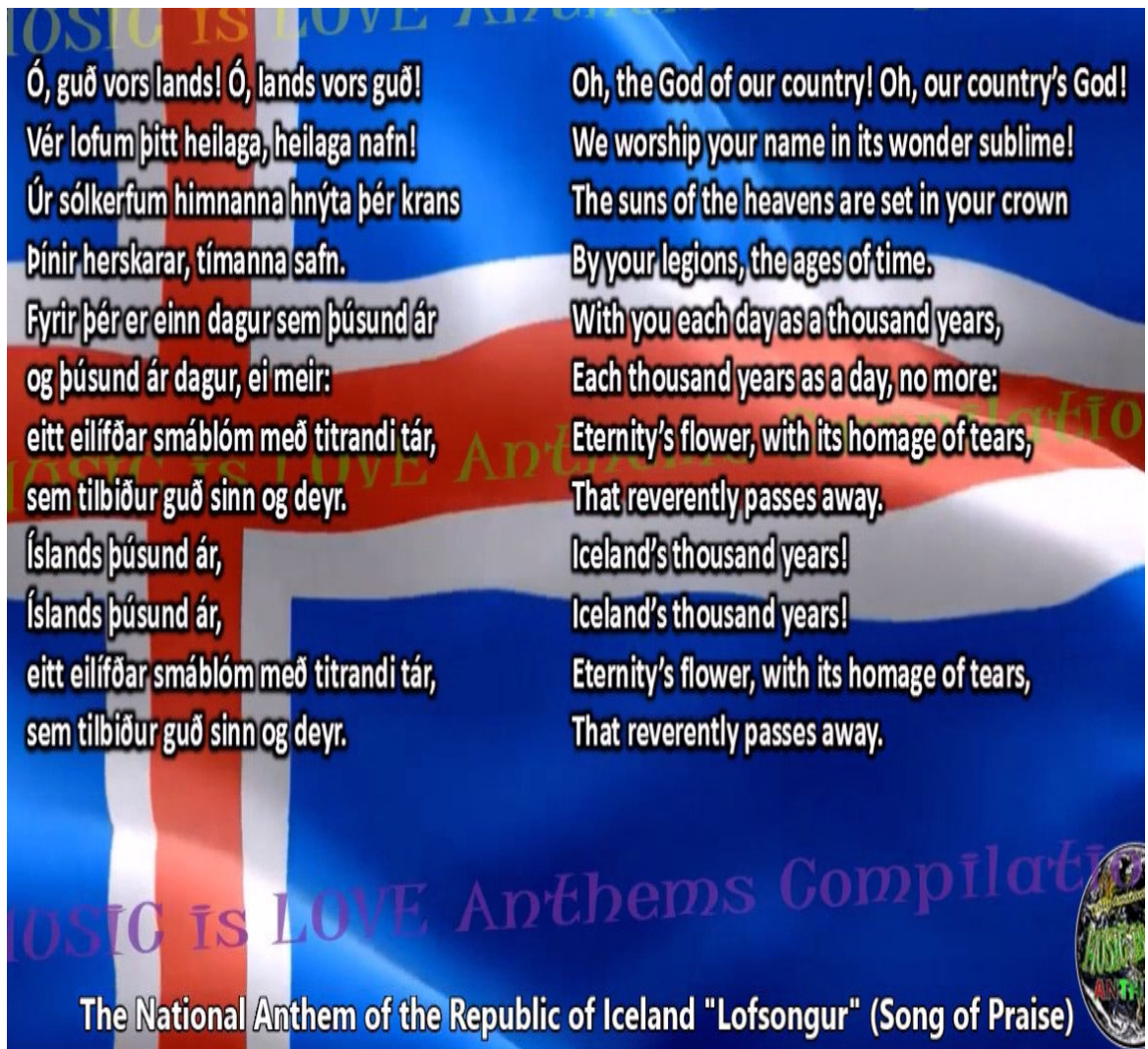
('Abdul' azīz Nāṣṣir al-'Ubaydān al-Fakhrū 1951)

Source: <https://www.com japan national anthem lyrics>

Iceland

Title of the national anthem: Lofsongur (Hymn / Song of praise)

God should protect their land for now and for posterity.



Ó, guð vors lands! Ó, lands vors guð!
Vér lofum þitt heilaga, heilaga nafn!
Úr sólkerfum himnanna hnýta þér krans
Þínir herskarar, tímanna safn.
Fyrir þér er einn dagur sem þúsund ár
og þúsund ár dagur, ei meir:
eitt eilífðar smáblóm með titrandi tár,
sem tilbiður guð sinn og deyr.
Íslands þúsund ár,
Íslands þúsund ár,
eitt eilífðar smáblóm með titrandi tár,
sem tilbiður guð sinn og deyr.

Oh, the God of our country! Oh, our country's God!
We worship your name in its wonder sublime!
The suns of the heavens are set in your crown
By your legions, the ages of time.
With you each day as a thousand years,
Each thousand years as a day, no more:
Eternity's flower, with its homage of tears,
That reverently passes away.
Iceland's thousand years!
Iceland's thousand years!
Eternity's flower, with its homage of tears,
That reverently passes away.

MUSIC IS LOVE Anthems Compilation

The National Anthem of the Republic of Iceland "Lofsongur" (Song of Praise)

(Sveinbjörnsson 1874)

Source: <https://www.com iceland national anthem lyrics>

Gambia

Title of the national anthem: "For The Gambia Our Homeland"

The people should live in peace and harmony. They should love each other brotherhood).

God should help them fulfill this wish and desire as a nation.

Gambia National Anthem Lyrics

*For The Gambia, our homeland
We strive and work and pray,
That all may live in unity,
Freedom and peace each day.
Let justice guide our actions
Towards the common good,
And join our diverse peoples
To prove man's brotherhood.
We pledge our firm allegiance,
Our promise we renew;
Keep us, great God of nations,
To The Gambia ever true.*

(Jeremy F. Howe [de] 1965)

Source: [https://www.com.gambia national anthem lyrics](https://www.com.gambia-national-anthem-lyrics)

South Sudan

Title of the National Anthem : South Sudan Oyee!

God is petitioned to help the nation to live in peace, love and unity. The Martyrs who fought for the liberation of the nation should always be venerated and honoured.

*Oh God!
We praise and glorify you
For your grace on South Sudan
Land of great abundance
Uphold us united in peace and harmony
Oh motherland!
We rise raising flag with the guiding star
And sing songs of freedom with joy
For justice, liberty and prosperity
Shall forevermore reign
Oh great patriots!
Let us stand up in silence and respect
Saluting our martyrs whose blood
Cemented our national foundation
We vow to protect our nation*

Oh God, bless South Sudan!
(University of Juba 2011)

Source: <https://www.com south sudan national anthem lyrics>

Nigeria

Title of the national anthem: Arise, O Compatriots

God the Almighty should direct the nation and its citizens to live in peace, love and unity.

Justice should be sprinkled to all sundry.

*Arise, O compatriots, Nigeria's call obey
To serve our fatherland
With love and strength and faith
The labor of our heroes past
Shall never be in vain
To serve with heart and might
One nation bound in freedom, peace and
unity.*

*O God of creation, direct our noble cause
Guide our leaders right
Help our youth the truth to know
In love and honesty to grow
And living just and true
Great lofty heights attain
To build a nation where peace
And justice shall reign.*

(Frances Berda 1978)

Source: <https://www.com nigeria national anthem lyrics>

Ethiopia

Title of the national anthem: "Wodefit Gesgeshi, Widd Innat Ityopp'ya"

("March Forward, Dear Mother Ethiopia")

What is worth noting is that Ethiopia as a country during the scramble for Africa in the 19th century by the European nations, it was never colonized. Their culture and their way of life has encountered influence which was never 'brutal' (This is in the colonial context). The anthem calls upon God to protect the citizens and to avert them from tyrannical leadership. Truth and righteousness should be found on the Ethiopian land.

Ethiopia National Anthem Lyrics

*Ethiopia land of our fathers
the land where our God wants to be
like bees to a hive swiftly gather
God children are gathered to thee.
With our red, gold and green floating for us
and our Emperor to shield us from wrong
with our hope and our future before us
we hail and we chant and we sing
God bless our Negus, Negus I
who keeps Ethiopia free
to advance with truth and right, truth and right
to advance with love and light, love and light.
With righteousness pleading
we hail to our God and King.
Humanity pleading - one God for us all
Ethiopia the tyrants are falling
who once smote thee 'pon thy knee.
Thy children are heartically calling
from over the distant seas.
Jahoviah - the great one has heard us.
He has come to protect us from wrong.
He has sent his holy angel to guide us
and to protect us in this time
God bless our Negus, Negus I*

*who keeps Ethiopia free....
to advance with truth and right, truth and right
to advance with love and light, love and light.
With righteousness pleading
we hail to our God and King.
Humanity pleading - one God for us all*

(Solomon Lulu Mitiku 1992)

Source: <https://www.com.ethiopian.national.anthem.lyrics>

Kenya

Title of the national anthem: Ee Mungu Nguvu Yetu (Oh God of all Creation)

God should bless Kenya to live in peace, love, unity and harmony. May they share the fruits of their labour.



(Washington Omondi, Thomas Kalume, Graham Hyslop, Peter Kibkosya and George Senoga – Zake)

Source: <https://www.com.kenya.national.anthem.lyrics>

2.1.2 h) Universal Unity of the African Continent

The East African Community Anthem

The slogan one nation, one destiny is well espoused in the lyrics of the East African Community anthem. The English translation is not available since the mobilization of the populace is best done in Kiswahili since it is the lingua franca of the East African Community. Kiswahili is popular and spoken by virtually the majority of the citizens in the Eastern Africa Community space. This song/Music is a mobilization song which calls upon the populace to live in peace and unity as they pool their resources to develop the community space (The countries which form the East African Community) (<https://retrievia.files.wordpress.com>).

The lyrics of the East African Community Anthem in Kiswahili

*1. Ee Mungu twaomba uilinde
Jumuiya Afrika Mashariki
Tuwezeshe kuishi kwa amani
Tutimize na malengo yetu.*

*Jumuiya Yetu sote tuilinde
Tuwajibike tuimarike
Umoja wetu ni nguzo yetu
Idumu Jumuiya yetu.*

*2. Uzalendo pia mshikamano
Viwe msingi wa Umoja wetu
Na tulinde Uhuru na Amani
Mila zetu na desturi zetu.*

*3. Viwandani na hata mashambani
Tufanye kazi sote kwa makini
Tujitoe kwa hali na mali
Tuijenge Jumuiya bora.*

(John Mugango 2010)

Source : https://www.comthe_eastafricancommunity_anthem_national_anthem_lyrics

2.1.2 f) Brief discussion of the anthems presented

There are anthems which display the might of their people (armies to win battles for them) and also to mobilize people for development (France, USA, Liberia, Iraq , China).

There are the national songs which which have been composed to petition God the Almighty to intercede and bless their nations and their people (Russia, Japan, Nigeria, Zambia, South Sudan, Sudan, Iceland, Kenya)

There are compositions that are imbued with the belief that their nations are well endowed with natural resources and they should exploit these resources to enhance and promote the livelihood of their people(Guyana, South Korea, Columbia, New Zealand, Malawi, Barbados, Uganda)

The veneration of the leaders and the plea that they should be protected by all means since they are absolute symbols of their love and unity is also present in some of the anthems presented in this dissertation (Britain, Malaysia, Sao Tome and Principe, Sultanate of Oman, Sierra Leone, Tanzania)

The ideal wish featuring in some anthems display the aspect of living in peace, love, harmony and unity to perpetuate the common good for all and suntry in the various nations (Singapore, Zambia, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Ghana, German).

There are the compositions which have a call for unity and selfless love among nations within the African continent where Kenya as a nation is included (The East African community anthem and the African union anthem).

All these compositions have one thing in common. They are mobilization songs which call for national cohesion and togetherness for a common goal. This leads to the

exploration of the nature of political mobilization music influencing national cohesion in the next section.

2.1.3 Nature of political mobilization music

The nature of Political Polization Muisic in the study included: Patriotic songs (majorly National Anthems), idolizing songs, praise songs, solidarity and demonizing songs form global, regional and national perspective.

Bridgett (2017) indicated that the first American protest songs were crafted for a purpose: to draw people together around a central mission. Grounded in simple verses and refrains, the tunes were often lifted from hymns or remade from songs people already knew, with lyrics frequently written as easy-to-learn call and response. These songs were less about beauty and finesse than about utility and purpose. (Greenleaf, 2014)

The tradition goes back to the country's founding. "Free America"

"Free America"

*That seat of science, Athens,
And earth's proud mistress, Rome,
Where now are all their glories?
We scarce can find a tomb.
Then guard your rights, Americans,
Nor stoop to lawless sway,
Oppose, oppose, oppose, oppose
For North America.*

*We led fair Freedom hither,
And lo! the desert smiled,
A paradise of pleasure
Was opened to the world;
Your harvest, bold Americans,
No pow'r shall snatch away,
Huzza, huzza, huzza
For free America.*

*Torn from a world of tyrants
Beneath this western sky
We formed a new dominion,*

*A land of liberty;
The world shall own we're freemen here,
And such will ever be,
Huzza, huzza, huzza,
For love and liberty.*

*God bless this maiden climate,
And through her vast domain
May hosts of heroes cluster
That scorn to wear a chain.
And blast the venal sycophants
Who dare our rights betray;
Assert yourselves, yourselves, yourselves
For brave America.*

*Lift up your hearts, my heroes,
And swear with proud disdain,
The wretch that would ensnare you
Shall spread his net in vain;
Should Europe empty all her force,
We'd meet them in array,
And shout huzza, huzza, huzza
For brave America.*

*The land where freedom reigns shall still
Be masters of the main,
In giving laws and freedom
To subject France and Spain;
And all the isles o'er ocean spread
Shall tremble and obey,
The prince who rules by Freedom's laws
In North America.*

(Joseph Warren)

The song was one of the nascent United America's first protest songs, a *Revolutionary War* call to action song by *minuteman Joseph Warren*. "Yankee Doodle," now popular as a children's song, was actually written by British soldiers mocking their American counterparts during the Revolutionary War,

Lyrics

*Yankee Doodle went to town
A-Riding on a pony
Stuck a feather in his cap*

And called it macaroni

(Chorus)
Yankee Doodle keep it up
Yankee Doodle Dandy
Mind the music and the step
And with the girls be handy

Father and I went down to camp
Along with Captain Gooding
There were all the men and boys
As thick as hasty pudding

(Chorus)
And there was Captain Washington
Upon a strapping stallion
Giving orders to his men
I guess there were a million

(Chorus)
Yankee Doodle is a tune
That comes in mighty handy
The enemy all runs away at
Yankee Doodle Dandy

(Traditional)

Source: Fleming, T (2013)

However, Americans took up the tune ironically to toss it back in the Brits' faces.
(Collins & Ace, 2003).

More of the first widely known protest songs in the US came from slaves, mostly derived from hymns with themes of freedom or escape. "Go Down, Moses," based on Old Testament stories of Moses freeing the Israelites from slavery in Egypt, was even reportedly used by Harriet Tubman as a code song while operating the Underground Railroad.

Lyrics

*“Go down Moses”
When Isarael was I Egypt’s land .
Let my people go
oppressed so hard they could not stand ,
let my people go
down Moses way down to
Egypt land tell old Pharaoh
Let my people go.....*

(Paul Robeson)

The song is thought to have been composed in 1862 by The Contrabands, but it existed as a “negro spiritual” most likely longer than that. Robeson’s deep bass is often heard when we think of Moses’s imperative to Pharaoh. The lyrics summarize the liberation, the first section of the book. The African slave narrative meshes here with the Biblical plight and makes Exodus an extremely relevant text. Spirituals provided an opportunity to gather, share feelings, and lament or be joyful (Steven, 2004).

During the Civil War, the Union side took up the protest song “*John Brown’s Body*”. It was sung to the tune of a popular call-and-response camp meeting song (better known today as the melody to “the Battle Hymn of the Republic”), “John Brown’s Body” was about the eponymy abolitionist whose Harpers Ferry raid sparked tensions that led to the start of the Civil War. “John Brown’s body lies a-mouldering in the grave / His soul is marching on,” the lyrics repeat, while a later verse calls for hanging Jefferson Davis, the leader of the Confederacy, from an apple tree. Such lyrics typify the protest songs of the time: They are simple and repetitive, and therefore easy to learn and share with others, which helped make the song a Union favourite. (Stutler, *et all*, 1960)

According to Vowell & Sarah (2015), as America pulled out of the Civil War and its class and race divides evolved, protest music likewise shifted and adapted with the music of the early 20th century. Electrical music recording began to take hold in the 1930s, and record players and radios surged into wide distribution. The advent of this new technology meant a song could proliferate outside of the oral tradition, and guided music into its first stage of “pop,” with genres like big band, jazz, and ragtime. Protest music followed suit, with tunes and lyrics that were more complex than the simple, easy-to-learn Civil War-era songs (Bob, 2012). This was apparent in Billie Holiday’s 1939 song “Strange Fruit.” As music journalist Dorian Lynskey writes in his book *33 Revolutions Per Minute: A History of Protest Songs, From Billie Holiday to Green Day*, Holiday’s tune was the first of its kind, bringing protest songs into the popular music realm. “Up until this point, protest songs functioned as propaganda, but ‘Strange Fruit’ proved they could be art,” Lynskey writes.

Marks and Fischlin, (2003) indicated that Americans did not give celebrity activists much credibility, while they did give time, attention, and financial contributions to celebrity politicians and their causes. For instance “This land is your land” which has illicited a lot of contravacies. Some have called "This Land Is Your Land" an alternative national anthem. Others say it's a Marxist response to "God Bless America." It was written and first sung by Woody Guthrie.... Guthrie was on shore leave from the Merchant Marines, one of his many occupations during the Depression and war years. According to Bob, (2012), the song was originally written in 1940, by the way, by Woody Guthrie--communist! It's a song about a progressive utopia land with no

ownership of property. Because some have it and some don't. ... It's a song that comes from the other America--the one made up of the laboring majority when they dare to fight back."This Land Is Your Land" is one of the United States' most famous folk songs. Its lyrics were written by American folk singer Woody Guthrie in 1940, based on an existing melody, a Carter Family tune called "When the World's on Fire", in critical response to Irving Berlin's "God Bless America.

Lyrics

*This land is your land, this land is my land
From the California to the New York island
From the Redwood Forest, to the gulf stream waters
This land was made for you and me
As I went walking that ribbon of highway
I saw above me that endless skyway
And saw below me that golden valley
This land was made for you and me
I roamed and rambled and I followed my footsteps
To the sparkling sands of her diamond deserts
And all around me , a voice was sounding
This land was made for you and me
When the sun comes shining, then I was strolling
In the wheat fields waving and dust clouds rolling
The voice was chanting as the fog was lifting
This land was made for you and me
This land...
When the sun comes shining, then I was strolling
In wheat fields waving and dust clouds rolling
The voice come chanting as the fog was lifting
This land was made for you and me*

(Woody Guthrie)

This was important in noting that the approach a musician takes in his/her involvement with the community, regardless of whether or not there are similar outcomes and interests, impacts how that engagement was received and consequently supported by members of the community. While this contradiction was helpful in understanding why celebrity musicians might get involved politically, it did not fully address why

musicians who were not famous got involved, nor did it address realms of involvement that were less overtly political, such as humanitarian and environmental causes. Understanding more about why and how celebrity musicians engage politically warrants more research, as there was potential for a significant impact on the process and outcomes related to community involvement and support.

In African countries, musicians were often the first to react, and ultimately often suffer for their critical and contentious messages. In some cases, despotic African leaders strived to maintain good relationships with musicians who supported them and become their cheerleaders, but in others political decay and political shifts were too extreme to win over any musicians. Nonetheless, a love/hate relationship had often existed between many of Africa's musicians and their governments (Karlstrom & Mikael 2003).

In South Africa, Apartheid was a despicable and unthinkable crime against black people. More than 25 years since its abolishment, its repercussions still affect black people deeply in South Africa.

During the height of the oppressive regime, alongside ordinary citizens and prominent freedom fighters, musicians played a huge role in being whistleblowers and opponents of the oppressive white government (Gray 2002).

Some musicians, such as Hugh Masekela and Miriam Makeba, among others, were exiled for years for criticizing the government. Almost any song that dared criticize the government was banned in South Africa. But that didn't stop musicians from speaking their minds. It wasn't just South African musicians—artists from around the continent and

the world all stood up in solidarity and release anti-Apartheid songs. Some songs which criticized the government, told the stories of black people's struggles under apartheid, from deferent artists include;

"It's Wrong (Apartheid)"

*The wretchedness of Satan's wrath
Will come to seize you at last
'cause even he frowns upon the deeds you are doing
And you know deep in your heart
You've no covenant with God
'cause he would never countenance people abusing*

*You know apartheid's wrong (Qha), wrong (Qha)
Like slavery was wrong (Qha), wrong (Qha)
Like the holocaust was wrong (Qha), wrong (Qha)
Apartheid is wrong (Qha), wrong (Qha), wrong
It's wrong (Qha), wrong (Qha), wrong (Qha), wrong (Qha)
Wrong (Qha), wrong (Qha), wrong (Qha), wrong (Qha)*

*The pain you cause in God's name
Points only to yourself to blame
For the negative karma you will be receiving
'cause when people are oppressed
With atrocities that test
The future of all mankind we, the world won't stand seeing*

*You know apartheid's wrong (Qha), wrong (Qha)
Like slavery was wrong (Qha), wrong (Qha)
Like the holocaust was wrong (Qha), wrong (Qha)
Apartheid is wrong (Qha), it's wrong (Qha), wrong
It's wrong (Qha), it's wrong (Qha), wrong (Qha), wrong (Qha)
Wrong (Qha), wrong (Qha), wrong (Qha), wrong (Qha)*

*Ubuqaba Babo Bucacile
Woqamba Kuze Kucace
Ngoba Nosathane Uyabugxeka
Lobuqaba
Oh, freedom is coming
(Inkululeko Iyeza)*

*Say it again
(Inkululeko Iyeza)
Hold on tight, it's coming
(Qinisani Inkululeko Iyeza)
(Inkululeko Iyeza)
Oh, the whole world is with us
(Qinisani Umhlaba Wonke Unathi)
Say it again
(Umhlaba Wonke Unathi)
Hold on tight, cause we're with you
(Qinisani Umhlaba Wonke Unathi)
(Umhlaba Wonke Unathi)
Oh, oh, oh, freedom is coming, yeah, yeah, yeah,
(Qinisani Inkululeko Iyeza)
(Inkululeko Iyeza)
Hold on tight, yeah
(Qinisani Inkululeko Iyeza)
Freedom is coming
(Inkululeko Iyeza)
Hold on tight
(Qinisani)*

(Stevie Wonder)

Over a funky percussion-blazing instrumental, Stevie Wonder called out the Apartheid government in his 1985 song, "It's Wrong (Apartheid)." The artist was straight to the point: Apartheid was wrong, and the people who were responsible knew it deep down. Of course, the Apartheid government banned his song (Gray 2008).

"Black President"

*(Stanza 1)
The year 1963
The people's president
Was taken away by security men
All dressed in a uniform
The brutality, brutality
Oh, no, my
my black president*

*Him and his comrades
Were sentenced to isolation*

*Many painful years
Many painful years
Many painful years
Of hard labour*

*They broke ropes
But the spirit was never broken
Never broken
Oh, no, my,
my black president*

*(Chorus)
Let us rejoice for our president
Let us sing for our president
Let us pray for our president
Let us sing, let us dance
For Madiba
Madiba's freedom*

*(Stanza 2)
Now in 1990
The people's president
Came out from jail
Raised up his hand and said
'Viva, viva, my people'*

*He walked the long road
Back, back to freedom
Back, back to freedom
Freedom for my black president*

*(Outro)
I will die for my president
I will sing for my president
I will stand and say
Viva, viva, viva, viva, viva, viva
My President*

(Brenda Fassie)

On one of the most popular struggle songs in South Africa, Brenda Fassie sang with an effective vulnerability that portrayed how a lot of South Africans were feeling at the time. The song spoke of Nelson Mandela's arrest, and somehow predicted his eventual release, which would take place about a year later after the song's release.

Other artists according to Seeger (2016), included Johnny Clegg who used his privilege as a white man favored by the system to help dismantle it. He was one of the regime's most popular opponents. "Asim'bonanga," which is sung in IsiZulu like most of his songs, was about the shady ways of the oppressive regime and how Mandela was hidden away from the people. The song also makes reference of fallen struggle heroes Steve Biko, Victoria Mxenge and Neil Aggett.

In former Zaire, we know of the mutual relationship between the president Mobutu SeseSeko and the late singer Lwambo Makiadi Franco's song.

Table 2. 1 Mobutu Sseseseko song by Franco Lwambo Makiadi

Candidat na biso Mobutu	English Translation
<p>1) <i>Zairoise pe Zairois</i> <i>Bima na balabala eh</i> <i>Panzana na ba zone</i> <i>Ganga lokola kake</i> <i>Po na candidature ya Marechal</i> <i>Mobutu Sese Seko</i></p>	<p>1) <i>Women and men</i> <i>Go outside</i> <i>Spread yourself in counties</i> <i>Shout loud like lightning</i> <i>For Marshall's application</i> <i>Mobutu Sese Seko</i></p>
<p>2) <i>Zairoise pe Zairois</i> <i>Bima na balabala eh</i> <i>Panzana na ba zone</i> <i>Ganga lokola kake</i> <i>Po na candidature ya Marechal</i> <i>Mobutu Sese Seko</i></p>	<p>2) <i>Women and men</i> <i>Go outside</i> <i>Spread yourself in counties</i> <i>Shout loud like lightning</i> <i>For Marshall's application</i> <i>Mobutu Sese Seko</i></p>
<p>3) <i>Tozala sincere tozala franc</i> <i>Hypocrisie to boyi</i> <i>Ingratitude to boyi</i> <i>Nani akoki ko sunga ekolo</i> <i>Soki Mobutu te nani mosusu</i> <i>Mobutu Sese Seko</i></p>	<p>3) <i>Let's be honest</i> <i>Let's be frank</i> <i>We are against hypocrisy</i> <i>We are against ingratitude</i> <i>Who can can look after the country</i> <i>If not mobutu who else</i> <i>Mobutu Sese Seko</i></p>
<p>4) <i>Tozala sincere tozala franc</i> <i>Hypocrisie to boyi</i> <i>Ingratitude to boyi</i></p>	<p>4) <i>Let's be honest</i> <i>Let's be frank</i> <i>We are against hypocrisy</i> <i>We are against ingratitude</i></p>

<i>Nani akoki ko sunga ekolo Soki Mobutu te nani mosusu Mobutu Sese Seko</i>	<i>Who can can look after the country If not mobutu who else Mobutu Sese Seko</i>
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(Franco Luambo Makiadi Lingala)

In the above song the late Franco Lwambo Makiadi was advocating for Mobutu to be the main candidate for elections and urged people to vote for him. This was the longest song and was the most political propaganda. Mobutu used it in 1984 as he was campaigning everywhere yet he was the only candidate.

In Zimbabwe there is the case of Robert Mugabe and government critics such as Thomas Mapfumo and Oliver Mtukudzi. The postcolonial ruling elite in Kenya has often sought the services of praise singers, and in many instances young children and youths been formed into well-known school mass choirs for national celebrations and festivities. Commenting on this model of participation in the public sphere, Karlstrom (2003) notes that far from zombifying its participants, however, according to Tillman (2008) such ceremonies can and often do have mutually beneficial and empowering effects they also set the stage for communicative interaction between rulers and subjects.

Grant, (2003) research report titled *Music and Genocide; The Trial of Simon Bikindi at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda* had nature of political mobilization music. It states that; in 2001, the well-known singer and musician Simon Bikindi was arrested in the Netherlands in connection with his role in the Rwandan genocide in 1994, in which according to estimates around 800,000 people were murdered in the space of three months. He was subsequently tried at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. The charges against Bikindi included direct and public incitement to genocide, and that charge was made in connection with Bikindi's work as a musician

and songwriter. Bikindi, therefore, became probably the first person to be tried in an international criminal court for musical incitement to violence. Bikindi's music was an important component in the genocide plan because it encouraged the ethnic hatred against the Tutsis. It urged Hutus to attack and kill the Tutsis and kill them because of their ethnic background (Grant, 2003). Thereafter, few European settlers for performance and participation started the Kenya Music Festival in 1927 by themselves and their families. In Kenya some of the patriotic songs included;

Nimeshaapa Kulinda Kenya

*Najivunia nchi yangu ya Kenya - Nafurahia Kenya yangu
Kenya kipenzi ni nchi ya ajabu - yafurahisha na kupendeza
Nikitazama pembe zote za Kenya - naona nchi yametameta
Maendeleo tunazidi kupata - na nchi yetu yasonga mbele
Sababu gani Kenya yasonga mbele - ni kwa Sababu ya usalama
Na usalama huo watoka wapi - watoka kwa Uongozi bora
Tuendeleo kuijenga nchi yetu - na tudumishe umoja wetu - tusiharibu nchi
yetu ya Kenya - kwa Sababu twataka amani
Nimeshaapa kulinda Kenya, nchi yetu tuliyopewa na Mungu
Kenya nchi tuliyopewa na Mungu, siku zote mimi nitakutumikia
Nikitupa macho yangu popote Kenya, ninaona vile nchi inapendeza
Ni wajibu wetu wazalendo wa Kenya kulinda nchi yetu wakati wote
Kenya nchi yetu yote inametameta - ndiyo ni Baraka kutoka kwa Mungu
Baba
Na mazao ya mashamba inametameta
Viwanda tulivyojenga vinametameta
Na watoto wetu Kenya wanametameta
Shukuruni Mungu mwenyezi kwa hayo yote*

(Thomas Wasonga)

The performance included only a few categories of Western music. With time, the festival grew in size and expenses were becoming unbearable. The ministry of education then decided to take over the organization of the festival in 1968, because it was a useful forum in the development of skills in music, particularly as a co-curriculum activity.

Among the countries which are peer to Kenya as far as gaining independence are; Singapore, South Korea and Indonesia. However these countries have developed more patriotic music and arts that appreciate their independence. Some of the national anthems that were composed include;

**South Korean National Anthem –
The Song of Love for the Country / the Patriotic Song**

*Until the day when the East Sea's waters and
Mt. Baekdu are dry and worn away,
God protect and preserve us.
Long live our nation!*

*Three thousand Li of splendid rivers and mountains,
filled with Roses of Sharon;
Great Korean People,
stay true to the Great Korean way.*

*The pine tree atop foremountain
stands firmly unchanged under wind
and frost as if wrapped in armour,
as is our resilient spirit.*

*Three thousand Li of splendid rivers and mountains,
filled with Roses of Sharon;
Great Korean People,
stay true to the Great Korean way.*

*Autumn sky is void and vast,
high and cloudless,
the bright moon is our heart,
undivided and true.*

*Three thousand Li of splendid rivers and mountains,
filled with Roses of Sharon;
Great Korean People,*

stay true to the Great Korean way.

*With this spirit and this mind,
give all loyalty,
in suffering or in joy,
love the country.*

*Three thousand Li of splendid rivers and mountains,
filled with Roses of Sharon;
Great Korean People,
stay true to the Great Korean way.*

Table 2. 1 Indonesian National Anthem - Indonesia Raya

<i>Indonesia, tanah airku Tanah tumpah darahku Di sanalah aku berdiri Jadi pandu ibuku Indonesia, kebangsaanku Bangsa dan tanah airku Marilah kita berseru "Indonesia bersatu!"</i>	<i>Translation Great Indonesia Great Indonesia Indonesia, our native country, Our birthplace, Where we all arise to stand guard Over this our Motherland: Indonesia our nationality, Our people and our country. Come then, let us all exclaim Indonesia united. Long live our land, Long live our state, Our nation, our people, and all Arise then, its spirit, Arise, its bodies For Great Indonesia.</i>
<i>Hiduplah tanahku, hiduplah negeriku Bangsaku, rakyatku, semuanya Bangunlah jiwanya, bangunlah badannya Untuk Indonesia Raya</i>	<i>Indonesia the Great, independent and free, Our beloved country. Indonesia the Great, independent and free, Long live Indonesia the Great!</i>
<i>Indonesia Raya, merdeka, merdeka! Tanahku, negeriku, yang kucinta</i>	<i>Indonesia, an eminent country, Our wealthy country,</i>

<p><i>Indonesia Raya, merdeka, merdeka! Hiduplah Indonesia Raya</i></p> <p><i>Indonesia Raya, merdeka, merdeka! Tanahku, negeriku, yang kucinta Indonesia Raya, merdeka, merdeka! Hiduplah Indonesia Raya</i></p>	<p><i>There we shall be forever. Indonesia, the country of our ancestors, A relic of all of us.</i></p> <p><i>Let us pray For Indonesia's prosperity: May her soil be fertile And spirited her soul, The nation and all the people. Conscious be her heart And her mind For Indonesia the Great.</i></p> <p><i>Indonesia, a sacred country, Our victorious country: There we stand Guarding our true Mother. Indonesia, a beaming Country, A country we love with all our heart, Let's make a vow That Indonesia be there forever. Blessed be her people And her sons, All her islands, and her seas. Fast be the country's progress And the progress of her youth For Indonesia the Great.</i></p>
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Source: (<https://lyricstranslate.com>)

2.1.4 Evolution of PPM in post -colonial era

Considering United States of America, extraordinary musicians and songwriters, over the decades, had brought about great social evolution with story-songs and political messages that have moved hearts and changed minds. When Woody Guthrie sang “Roll On Columbia” about the enormous Columbia River, he was expressing his love for the natural landscape of the American West. The lyrics go by;

Roll on Columbia

*Roll on, Columbia, roll on
Roll on, Columbia, roll on*

*Your power is turning our darkness to dawn
So roll on, Columbia, roll on*

*Green Douglas firs where the waters cut through
Down her wild mountains and canyons she flew
Canadian Northwest to the oceans so blue
Roll on Columbia, roll on*

*Other great rivers add power to you
Yakima, Snake, and the Klickitat, too
Sandy Willamette and Hood River too
So roll on, Columbia, roll on*

*Tom Jefferson's vision would not let him rest
An empire he saw in the Pacific Northwest
Sent Lewis and Clark and they did the rest
So roll on, Columbia, roll on*

*It's there on your banks that we fought many a fight
Sheridan's boys in the blockhouse that night
They saw us in death but never in flight
So roll on Columbia, roll on ...*

(Woody Guthrie)

The Roll on Columbia song became famous as an anthem about American public works projects arising out of the New Deal in the Great Depression 1930's (Gaschk & Matt, 2010)

When Pete Seeger wrote "My Dirty Stream," it was his alarm call to the industrial pollution that was destroying the Hudson River, a song that sparked the modern day clean-up of the Hudson River Valley.

My Dirty Stream

*Sailing down my dirty stream
Still I love it and I'll keep the dream
That some day, though maybe not this year
My Hudson River will once again run clear*

*It starts high in the mountains of the north
Crystal clear and icy trickles forth
With just a few floating wrappers of chewing gum
Dropped by some hikers to warn of things to come*

*At Glens Falls, five thousand honest hands
Work at the consolidated paper plant
Five million gallons of waste a day
Why should we do it any other way?*

*Down the valley one million toilet chains
Find my Hudson so convenient place to drain
And each little city says, "Who, me?"
Do you think that sewage plants come free?*

(Pete Seeger)

According to Buddha (2012), when Billie Holiday sang about “Strange Fruit” hanging from the trees, she was decrying the lynching and abominations that were going on in the American South.

Strange Fruit

*Southern trees bear strange fruit
Blood on the leaves and blood at the root
Black bodies swinging in the southern breeze
Strange fruit hanging from the poplar trees*

*Pastoral scene of the gallant south
The bulging eyes and the twisted mouth
Scent of magnolias, sweet and fresh
Then the sudden smell of burning flesh*

(Billie Holiday)

This was a protest song with endurance relevance. The strange fruits symbolised brutality and racism of the practise of lynching in American south. The song originated from a poem by Abel Meerpol in 1937 and the song by Billie Holiday in 1939.

People started to listen, and when the Civil Rights Movement started in the 1960s, Aretha Franklin brought her gospel music out into the streets with marching protestors as they demanded “Respect”, and ultimately won it.

Respect

What you want

Baby, I got it

What you need

Do you know I got it?

All I'm askin'

Is for a little respect when you get home (just a little bit)

Hey baby (just a little bit) when you get home

(Just a little bit) mister (just a little bit)

I ain't gonna do you wrong while you're gone

Ain't gonna do you wrong 'cause I don't wanna

All I'm askin'

Is for a little respect when you come home (just a little bit)

Baby (just a little bit) when you get home (just a little bit)

Yeah (just a little bit)

I'm about to give you all of my money

And all I'm askin' in return, honey

Is to give me my propers

When you get home (just a, just a, just a, just a)

Yeah, baby (just a, just a, just a, just a)

When you get home (just a little bit)

Yeah (just a little bit)

(Aretha Franklin)

“Respect” is about a young, confident, independent woman telling her man that she does everything he wants from her and doesn’t see any why he disrespects her. According to her, all she demands from him is nothing short of “respect”. The song went on to become a battle cry of the civil rights movement in the United States, (Whitehead, 2008)

Curtiss Mayfield united everyone with his epic song of hope, “People Get Ready”, and Stevie Wonder continued that tradition with song after song that uplifted the American spirit.

People Get Ready

*People get ready, there's a train comin'
You don't need no baggage, you just get on board
All you need is faith to hear the diesels hummin'
You don't need no ticket you just thank the lord*

*People get ready, there's a train to Jordan
Picking up passengers coast to coast
Faith is the key, open the doors and board them
There's hope for all among those loved the most
There ain't no room for the hopeless sinner whom would hurt all mankind
Just to save his own
Have pity on those whose chances grow thinner
For there...*

(Curtis Mayfield)

The song was composed during a period of inspiration. “People Get Ready” was released during a time of civil unrest in America. At the time, the country was in turmoil over race relations and the Vietnam War just as Mayfield was beginning to infuse his work with social commentary (Ace, 2003)

Bob Dylan wrote one of the greatest anti-war songs of all time, “Blowing In The Wind”, and the Canadian Native American singer, Buffy St. Marie, offered a similar message with her hit, “Universal Soldier.”

Blowin' in the Wind

*How many roads must a man walk down
Before you call him a man?
How many seas must a white dove sail
Before she sleeps in the sand?
Yes, 'n' how many times must the cannon balls fly*

*Before they're forever banned?
The answer, my friend, is blowin' in the wind
The answer is blowin' in the wind*

*Yes, 'n' how many years can a mountain exist
Before it's washed to the sea?
Yes, 'n' how many years can some people exist
Before they're allowed to be free?
Yes, 'n' how many times can a man turn his head
And pretend that he just doesn't see?
The answer, my friend, is blowin' in the wind
The answer is blowin' in the wind*

*Yes, 'n' how many times must a man look up
Before he can see the sky?
Yes, 'n' how many ears must one man have
Before he can hear people cry?
Yes, 'n' how many deaths will it take till he knows
That too many people have died?
The answer, my friend, is blowin' in the wind
The answer is blowin' in the wind*

(Bob Dylan)

The song was regarded as protest but was about peace, war, and freedom (Bently, 2010)

The Jazz musicians used song titles and instrumental melodies to get their social and political messages across. When Charles Mingus composed “Better Get It In Yo’ Soul”, man, he meant it.

Lawrence (2008) quips that when John Coltrane composed the mournful melodies of “Alabama”, it was in honor of the four girls killed in the Birmingham church bombings. Even with just a song title and a melody, instrumental Jazz allowed the listener to create their own storyline in their mind.

*Well, show me the way
To the next whisky bar
Oh, don't ask why
Oh, don't ask why*

*Show me the way
To the next whisky bar
Oh, don't ask why
Oh, don't ask why*

*For if we don't find
The next whisky bar
I tell you we must die
I tell you we must die
I tell you, I tell you*

*I tell you we must die
Oh, moon of Alabama
We now must say goodbye
We've lost our good old mama
And must have whiskey, oh, you know why*

*Oh, moon of Alabama
We now must say goodbye
We've lost our good old mama
And must have whisky, oh, you know why, yeah*

*Well, show me the way
To the next little girl
Oh, don't ask why
Oh, don't ask why*

*Show me the way
To the next little girl
Oh, ...
(John Coltrane)*

Seeger, (2016) one of the greatest songwriters of all time, Bruce Springsteen, continues to tell powerful stories about the everyman/woman who struggles for identity in an increasingly corporatized and homogenized world. I often wonder, who will be the next Springsteen, Wonder, Dylan, Franklin, or Holiday? And why are we not hearing their young voices on the radio or on television today? Are we truly listening, or are they being blocked out? Or are we just all-consumed by the dancing icons of our “smartphones,”

which seem to be making us less smart and more docile?. According to Abi-Ezzi, (2008), one thing we do know: music in the United States has led directly to environmental action, the equality of our citizens, a movement against war and violence, and it has raised the voices of the working American. We now need to point it toward direct political action.

Powerful songs have always been the engine behind the greatest social movements — it is the marching soundtrack that unites the people and gives them focus and resolve, and it's not limited to the U.S. In 1970s Nigeria, Fela Kuti invented Afro Beat music as a way to protest the oil company regime of Nigeria. His song “Zombie” became a global hit that railed against Nigeria’s military dictators.

Zombie

*Another head hangs lowly
Child is slowly taken
And the violence, caused such silence
Who are we mistaken?
But you see, it's not me
It's not my family
In your head, in your head, they are fighting
With their tanks, and their bombs
And their bombs, and their guns
In your head, in your head they are crying
In your head, in your head
Zombie, zombie, zombie-ie-ie
What's in your head, in your head
Zombie, zombie, zombie-ie-ie, oh
Du, du, du, du
Du, du, du, du
Du, du, du, du
Du, du, du, du
Another mother's breaking
Heart is taking over
When the violence causes silence
We must be mistaken*

*It's the same old theme
Since nineteen-sixteen
In your...*
(The Cranberries)

The song was composed for the memory of two young victims, Johnathan Ball and Tim Parry (Dendle & Peter 2012).

In South Africa, the indigenous Mbatanga music helped bring about the end of apartheid and it spread a message of peace and reconciliation in that nation. In Chile, Victor Jara wrote songs about his country's struggles, sparking the Nueva Cancion (New Songs) movement that caused South Americans to rise up against their military dictatorships and replace them with democracies. One of the Victor Jara's song was as follows;

“Estadio Chile”

*There are five thousand of us here
in this small part of the city.
We are five thousand.
I wonder how many we are in all
in the cities and in the whole country?
Here alone
are ten thousand hands which plant seeds
and make the factories run.
How much humanity
exposed to hunger, cold, panic, pain,
moral pressure, terror and insanity?*

*Six of us were lost
as if into starry space.
One dead, another beaten as I could never have believed
a human being could be beaten.*

*The other four wanted to end their terror
one jumping into nothingness,
another beating his head against a wall,
but all with the fixed stare of death.*

*What horror the face of fascism creates!
They carry out their plans with knife-like precision.
Nothing matters to them.
To them, blood equals medals,
slaughter is an act of heroism.
Oh God, is this the world that you created,
for this your seven days of wonder and work?
Within these four walls only a number exists
which does not progress,
which slowly will wish more and more for death.*

*But suddenly my conscience awakes
and I see that this tide has no heartbeat,
only the pulse of machines
and the military showing their midwives' faces
full of sweetness.*

*Let Mexico, Cuba and the world
cry out against this atrocity!
We are ten thousand hands
which can produce nothing.*

*How many of us in the whole country?
The blood of our President, our compañero,
will strike with more strength than bombs and machine guns!
So will our fist strike again!*

*How hard it is to sing
when I must sing of horror.
Horror which I am living,
horror which I am dying.*

*To see myself among so much
and so many moments of infinity
in which silence and screams
are the end of my song.
What I see, I have never seen
What I have felt and what I feel
Will give birth to the moment
(Victor Jara)*

The song was written before Jara's death, he wrote a poem about the conditions of the prisoners in the stadium, the poem was written on paper that was hidden inside a shoe of a friend (Whitehead, 2008)

In Brazil, the Tropicalia movement was created by songwriters like Caetano Veloso, Gilberto Gil, and Rita Lee as a form of protest against the Brazilian military junta, which eventually fell from its own corruption and incompetence. In Australia and New Zealand, popular songs written by indigenous and non-indigenous songwriters sparked an indigenous land reclamation movement that is still active today.

Globally, studies derived from former Soviet bloc, argued that music and musicians were instrumental in giving expression to resistance to the regime and even organizing opposition to it (Urban, *et al* 2004). Although they differ in many respects, they tend to share a common feature. This is that music provided a means by which political resistance could be expressed and opposition organized. Considerable work has also been done on the role of music in political participation in democracies. Much of this has focused on the civil rights movement (Saul, 2003; Ward, 1998), but it also extends to the popular left in the US (Denning, 1997; Denisoff, 1971) and CND in the UK (McKay, 2006). Finally, there are more general surveys of the use of music in democratic and non-democratic politics (among the more recent are Fischlin & Heble, 2003; Garofalo, 1992; Randall, 2005; Peddie, 2006)

Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison (1998) in their book *Music and Social Movements*, connect music to political participation in a variety of ways and at a number of different levels. These include the suggestion that social movements provide a context for cultural expression and make available ‘the resources of culture’ as an addition to ‘the action repertoires of political struggle’ (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998). This is underpinned by the idea that musical expression in social movements constitutes ‘a kind of cognitive practice’ (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998: 7). Music in this sense becomes, among other things, the articulation of a collective memory. This is at one with Eyerman and Jamison’s general thesis that social movements should be viewed as ‘knowledge producers’. Music is, therefore, to be understood as a form of ‘knowledge and action’. Musicians, in turn, are to be viewed as ‘truth bearers’ (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998: 21-4).

In Africa, the history of South Africa yearning for liberation goes as far back as the 17th century when slaves served Dutch masters at the Cape of Good Hope. In the immense field of the discourse of freedom, the discussion will be restricted to some aspects of the evolution of political songs in the apartheid and post-apartheid periods. The first phase encompassed the composition and adaptation of church songs, going back to 1897 when Enoch Sontonga composed the first stanza of “Nkosi sikelela i-Afrika”, surely the most famous of all political songs. The oblique political reference contained in the request “Nkosi sikelela i-Afrika” indicated that all was not well in Africa. In some political songs originating in the church there is no overt political layer, in fact, the word layer of one song ironically endorses a status quo, for example in the words of the song “Makube njalo kuthe kube kunaphakade” (“May it be so until eternity” – From: *South African Freedom Songs*). In this respect one must infer that another layer of unsung words is

present in the minds of the singers, which indicates that context also gives political meaning to a song. 128 ISSN 0258-2279 *Literator* 26(2) Aug. 2005:121-136 H.C. Groenewald. By the late 1950s racial discrimination had intensified, and church songs were adapted in a much more forthright way, as exemplified in the following song which originally spoke of believers' resolve to follow Jesus:

Somlandela, somlandel' uThuli, Luthuli
Somlandela yonke indawo Somlandela
Somlandela, somlandel' uThuli Luthuli
Lapho aya khona somlandela Somlandela
Bhek' ijele Bhek' ijel' igcwel' uyalandela Bhek' ijele x3
Lapho aya khona somlandela Somlandela
[We will follow him; we will follow Uthuli, Luthuli
We will follow him all over We will follow him
We will follow him, we will follow Uthuli Luthuli
Wherever he goes we will follow We will follow him
Look at the jail Look at the jail, it's full, you will follow
Look at the jail x3
Wherever he goes we will follow We will follow him
(South African Freedom Songs)

As passive resistance officially gave way to the armed struggle in 1961 when Umkhonto Wesizwe (Spear of the Nation) was formed, this new direction in the struggle added a new fierceness to songs. New weapons (as expressed in the words umshini (machine), scorpion, and bazooka, the (racial) identity of the enemy and the consequences of an armed struggle were clearly worded in songs. A prime example is the MK (Umkhonto Wesizwe) song:

*Hamba Hamba kahle Mkhonto Mkhonto we-Mkhonto,
 Mkhonto Wesizwe 2x
 Thina Thin' abant' boMkhonto sizimisele
 ukuwabalala wona amabhunu. 2x
 [Go Go well Mkhonto Mkhonto you Mkhonto,
 Mkhonto Wesizwe 2x
 We the people of Mkhonto we are determined to kill the Boers.] 2x
 (South African Freedom Songs)*

The severe clampdown of the apartheid government on resistance groups that led to the Rivonia trial and imprisonment of the ANC leadership, also led to the first wave of refugees. The second wave was the youth who fled in the wake of the crack-down of the Soweto uprising of 1976. Lesiuk, (2005) on the role of political songs in the realization of democracy in South Africa in other African countries commented; *“Many of these people ended up in training camps, while being trained in combat and terrorist activities, they also learned new songs”*. According to John Matshikiza the composer of South African Freedom Songs, the youths who came to the training camps brought a new urgency and dynamic to these camps and sang new kinds of songs, songs which did not have their origin in the church, but in the yards and on the streets of Soweto. While some political songs would provide traditional songs (such as wedding songs) with new content, others would be original political songs. The toyi-toyi song (or chant) with its militant style of singing and dancing was a totally new kind of song. Ronnie Kasrils (South African Freedom Songs) called it a “parade ground drill” and, according to Lucie Pagé (South African Freedom Songs), it had its origins in Zimbabwe, except for “that bark” (Pallo Jordan, South African Freedom Songs) which, according to Jordan, originated in training camps in North African states such as Algeria and Morocco. According to Kasrils (South African Freedom Songs) the toyi-toyi song had a powerful influence on the struggle of

the 1980s. The current period in the history of political songs, that is, the period since 1994, does not differ markedly from the pre-1994 period as regards political themes. Many of the songs sang before 1994 still exist today, with one fundamental difference: these songs are now also sung in celebration of freedom and commitment to change. However, it should be noted that there is still occasion for protest, as the next section will show.

Again in Africa, Nigeria Olanrewaju,(2011) thus remarks about the changing function of musical instruments in Yoruba culture over time: The social and religious functions of Yoruba musical instruments often change over time. For example, the igbin drum was originally a secular instrument played to entertain Obatala (believed to be the sky father and creator of human bodies by the Yorubas. According to Yoruba folklore, he was brought to life by Olodumare's smooth breath) in his lifetime. He loved the sound of the drum so much that he named the different instruments of the ensemble after his wives, namely iya-nla, iya-agan, keke and afere. Iya-nla is the principal drum, while iya-agan, keke and afere are the three supporting drums, known collectively as omele. The use of igbin drums assumed a sacred significance when they were adapted by the devotees of Obatala to accompany sacred rites in honour of their deity. Two drums, bata and dundun, whose roles and functions have also changed in recent times provide interesting perspectives on the ways in which the sacred and the secular have continued to merge in Yoruba music.

Nationally, the political parties act for instance bounded all politicians and their affiliate parties to employ language and media that at all time fostered peace and

cohesion. The National Commission for Cohesion was set up to educate people on the need for peaceful coexistence and cohesion, as well as adjudicating how different media are employed in political situations. Importantly, was for them to apprehend any personalities or institutions that breached peace and cohesion. With regard to dissemination of information through media, the Kenya film and censorship board had the responsibility of adjudicating all material that was broadcast to the public. Above all, it was a moral obligation for respective people to maintain peaceful coexistence amongst each other at all times. Despite the above institutions being in place, music as a medium that had the latent to maintain, transform or worsen situations continues being employed in political mobilization with glaring potentials to breaching peace and cohesion as was demonstrated in the song *mapambano*. This study was, therefore, an examination of Kenya's efforts to keep its cultural heritage during elections on the one hand, and its duty to keep peace and democracy on the other. The study, further sought to interrogate how the ever changing political mobilization through music in Kenya had impacted and even transformed Kenyan electoral power struggle system. Such an examination, ultimately sought to rethink through music, identity, resistance, censorship, expression and emotions; language and communities.

From literature review, music and society had always been intimately related. Music reflected and created social conditions including the factors that either facilitated social change. It was a very powerful medium and in some societies they had been attempts to control its use. It was powerful at the level of social group because it controlled communication which went beyond words, enabled meanings to be shared, and

promoted the maintenance of individual, group, cultural and national entities. It was powerful at the individual level because it could induce multiple responses, for example, psychological, movement, and mood, emotional, cognitive, and behavioral. The brain's multiple processing of music could make it difficult to predict the particular effect of any piece of music of any individual.

The interdependence of music and national cohesion, notwithstanding, there existed institutions in Kenya that were charged with the responsibility of ensuring that responsible content was disseminated to the public. The Political Parties Act for instance bound all politicians and their affiliate parties to employ language and media that at all times fostered peace and cohesion. Above all, it was a moral obligation for respective people to maintain peaceful co-existence among people all times. Despite the institutions being in place, music as a medium that had the latent to maintain, transform or worsen situations continued being employed in political mobilization with glaring potentials to breaching peace and cohesion. This study was, therefore, an examination of Kenya's efforts to keep its cultural heritage during elections on one hand and its duty to keep peace and democracy on the other. The study further sought to interrogate how the ever-changing political mobilization music in Kenya had influenced and even transformed Kenyan electoral power struggle system.

Immediately after independence, there were "patriotic" songs composed to celebrate the newly attained uhuru. National Anthem was written by the Kenyan Anthem Commission in 1963 to serve as the anthem after independence from the United Kingdom.

According to Gatheru (2005), The Kenya National Anthem was composed by the five-man team who included: Professor Washington Omondi, Reverend Thomas Kalume, Graham Hyslop, Kibkosya who was a music tutor and George Senoga Zake, a Ugandan musicologist. National Anthem has been used to evoke feelings of patriotism among the country's citizens and reminds them of their nation's glory, beauty, and rich heritage.

Kenya National Anthem

Oh God of all creation

Bless this our land and nation

Justice be our shield and defender

May we dwell in unity

Peace and liberty

Plenty be found in our borders

(KLRC, 2013)

Compared to African, Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika (Lord bless Africa) is a hymn originally composed in 1897 by Enoch Sontonga in Zambia, Namibia and Zimbabwe after independence. South Africa adopted its National Anthem in 1997. It is a combination of two anthems (Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika and The Call of South Africa/Die Stem van Suid-Afrika). Just like in Kenya, the song gives South Africans a sense of common identity and promotes national pride, social inclusion and reconciliation.

Nkosi sikelel' Afrika

Nkosi sikelel' Afrika

Maluphakanyisw' uphondo lwayo,

Yizwa imithandazo,

Yethu,

Nkosi sikelela,

Thina...

(Soweto Gospel Choir)

Musicians created songs reminding Kenyans of the independence struggle and the sacrifices that had resulted in self-rule. This was more under the rule of the first President Jomo Kenyatta.

The song “*Wimbo huu ni wimbo wa historia*” The song goes by the lines, “*Wimbo huu ni wimbo wa historia watu mnaombwa sikize kwa makini, Ilikuwa Octoba 1952 watu wote tulisikia Kenyatta ameshikwa.*” was particularly known for its emotive tone in expressing the tales of the Kapenguria 6, particularly Mzee Jomo Kenyatta. It was written in the 1970’s by Enock Ondego and was first sang by primary school pupils to President Jomo Kenyatta on his tour of Taita Taveta.

Patriotic songs were composed to show how Kenyans then owned the country after struggle to chase colonial rule. Example “Kenya My Country” composed by Kakai Kilonzo.

KENYA NCHI YANGU (Kenya my country)

*Wimbo huu ni naimba ooh, Sio wimbo ni maombi
Tunaomba mwenyezi mungun ooh, Aibariki Kenya yetu
Ewe Kenya nchi yangu,
Ewe Kenya mama yangu,
Ewe Kenya nchi yangu ooh, Sitakuacha milele.*

Political Mobilization Music influenced National cohesion by bringing out messages that showed Kenya to be one and people need to live together regardless of their political and cultural diversities. For example; “***Daima mkenya***” (Forever a Kenyan)

*Umoja ni fahari yetu, Undugu ndio nguvu
Chuki na ukabila, Hatutaki hata kamwe
Lazima tuungane, Tuijenge nchi yetu,
Pasiwe hata mmoja, Anayetenganisha
Naishi, natumaini, Najitolea daima Kenya
Hakika ya bendera, niuthabiti wangu
Nyeusi ya mwanachi, na nyekundu ni ya damu
Daima mimi mkenya, mwananchi mzalendo
(Erick Wainaina)*

The composer's music gave the importance of Unity and brotherhood. It discouraged hate and ethnicity and urges Kenyans to love one another and there should be no one to divide Kenyans. The song made Kenyans think like one especially reflecting on the black color of their skin, Red signifying the blood Kenyans shed while fighting for freedom and independence, green signifying their vegetation, which needs to be safeguarded and white color for peace. The song "harambe" composed by Daudi Kabaka had an important message for Kenyans to come together and build the government of Kenya.

HARAMBEE HARAMBEE TUIMBEE PAMOJA

Harambe harambe tuimbe pamoja
Harambe harambe tuimbe pamoja
Harambe harambe tuimbe pamoja
Tujenge serikali
*Wengi walisema Kenya itakua matata*3*
Watu wote watarabu
Wananchi harambee tuvute pamoja...
(Daudi Kabaka)

They also extolled the virtues of the main actors in this fight but slowly the music morphed into songs glorifying the first president, Jomo Kenyatta. As President Kenyatta consolidated power, the timbre of praise songs rose; the person of the president and the aspiration of the nation became one. It was the beginning of court poetry and a hero-worship culture. The first major political shock to the national project was the assassination in 1965 of Pio Gama Pinto, the left-leaning journalist, politician, ex-detainee, freedom fighter and confidante of Jaramogi Oginga Odinga. Pinto was a Specially Elected Member of the House of Representatives and an avowed socialist. His assassination followed the dissolution of KADU (Kenya African Democratic Union) that led to Kenya becoming a de facto one-party state. (Kiliku, 2016).

Keith (2015) indicated that the next major political event was the formation of Kenya People's Union (KPU) in 1966 that flung Kenya back to multi-party dispensation, but which, most importantly, signified the split in the original KANU (Kenya African National Union) and the beginning of the Kenyatta/Oginga-Odinga rivalry. These events fermented the beginning of protest music in Kenya as artists began to respond to the political contestations. The state came down viciously on its critics and opponents, signaling the narrowing of democratic space. Artists began to speak truth to power. In 1969, in an act of defiance, Abdullatif Abdulla, a poet and member of KPU, wrote the treatise Kenya: Twendapi. (Kenya, where are we heading to?), which earned him the notoriety of being Kenya's first post-independence political prisoner (1969-72). It was a bold attempt at speaking truth to power and revealed that the state was prepared to use all means to stifle commentary. Speaking truth to power was described as a non-violent political tactic employed by dissidents against the received wisdom or propaganda of governments they regard as oppressive, authoritarian or a "democracy". Speaking that truth through music has the benefit of being able to inform, educate and mobilize through popular entertainment.

As the Kenyatta government progressively became more repressive, so did the intensity of the protest music. The manner that the state responded to protest music speaking truth to power offers us a window into understanding the current state of protest music.

As the dream of independence began to fade, Ishmael Nga'nga of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa (PCEA) Gathaiti Church choir released a song, Mai ni Maruru (The waters are bitter), which likened the deferred dream-fruits of independence to the

bitter waters spoken of in the Bible. The expected fruits of independence had been replaced by aggrandizement by the political elite. Though his song was couched in biblical and religious symbolism, the powerful heard it. Nga'nga lamented that,

*“Men and women are quarrelling/
over small matters, telling each other/
“I did not want someone like you”/
Because the water is bitter/
When you go to the office seeking assistance/
You find an angry officer/
When you try to enter, he tells you he is ‘busy’/
Because the water is bitter.”*

**(Ishmael Nga'nga of the Presbyterian Church of East
Africa (PCEA) Gathaithi Church)**

Ishmael's song was banned by the Kenyatta government and the president is said to have retorted that the fruits of independent could not be equated to the proverbial bitter water that caused concern to the children of Israel (Senoga-Zake, *et all*, 1981). The state resorted to silencing its critics using the public broadcaster that was the only one available at this time. This approach was to become a standard way of ensuring that the voice of protest was not heard. The culture of political assassinations, mysterious deaths and disappearances of politicians began to become commonplace. Argwings Kodhek died in a suspicious accident in January of 1969. A few months later, the charismatic politician Tom Mboya was assassinated. In 1972, Ronald Ngala died in a Christmas Day accident that baffled many (Odhiambo, 2011). In 1975, the fiery Josiah Mwangi Kariuki (JM), who had served as Kenyatta's personal secretary, was murdered. Joseph Kamaru, a personal friend of JM and a popular Benga musician, used his music to protest the killing of the politician. Kamaru's song was banned by the Voice of Kenya (later known as the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation) on June 20, 1975 and Kamaru is reported to have been

arrested and, along with his collaborators, and whipped by the president himself. (This claim is, however, difficult to verify) Notes Wöllner, (2012).

Beyond the use of state machinery to limit access to audiences by shutting down the airwaves, physical threats and actual violence entered the repertoire of tools used by the state to ensure that criticism was curtailed. Kamaru is reported to have said that after releasing the song, he experienced very hard times because the song didn't go well with the ruling elite and he even started receiving death threats. He said, "I received threats that if I was not careful, my head would be picked from Ngong where Kariuki's lifeless body was found." Haugerud, (1995:30) After President Moi came to power in 1978, Kamaru enjoyed a period of molly-coddling Moi and even earned himself an official state trip to Japan. Upon his return, he sang the Safari ya Japan collection in which he heaped praises on Moi. This dalliance did not last long. When Kamaru supported multipartyism, he fell out of favor with Moi (Amoko, 2005).

Amid the infamous mlolongo queue-voting system championed by Moi, Kamaru released a song, Mahoya ma Bururi (Prayers of the Nation) Nyairo & Ogude (2005). During this time, the discontent with Moi's rule had reached boiling point levels. There was growing opposition to the state after the brutal 1986 crackdown on real and perceived dissidents, especially members of the Mwakenya movement. Kamaru recalls that the song was an instant hit and created a lot of tension countrywide. He describes efforts by Moi to have him stop selling the Gikuyu version of the song. Moi went as far as giving Kamaru Sh800,000 to make a Kiswahili version of the song. Kamaru jumped at this offer and actually made the Kiswahili version, but was unsuccessful in his attempts to see Moi and

to present him with his finished “homework”. He concluded that it must have been Moi’s way of trying to get him not to sell the song (McWhirter 2012).

The state used its economic muscle to appropriate protest music by buying out artists and, in some cases, turning them into total pro-establishment praise-singers. The need for financial success and survival was enough incentive to silence voices of critics. When coercion did not work, the state was willing to “buy out” the artist speaking truth to power. Kamaru’s experience with Moi is instructive. Daniel Owino Misiani, another musician who had used his art to consistently critique the political repression by the Kenyatta regime, especially the political assassinations, was imprisoned on various occasions for his lyrics, which were deemed offensive to the state. He was also threatened with deportation from Kenya on several occasions because he was born in Shirati, which is administratively in Tanzania (Osiebe, 2016.) Kamaru and Owino were unique musicians in that even though their music could be taken off the air by the national broadcaster, they had built a strong ethnic fan base. Their records sold in the thousands and, therefore, their financial independence offered them a better chance of resisting the state capture of their protest music.

The end of the Kenyatta presidency and ushering in of the Moi era gave some respite to the artists. However, this only lasted till the 1982 coup by the Air Force that was followed by state repression. The fact that university students, lecturers and intellectuals had supported the coup led Moi to clamp down on creatives.

As Moi's regime became more repressive, and as the economy sank deeper into a black hole, Osumba Rateng' released the song Baba Otonglo that detailed the economic hardships ordinary Kenyans were facing. In the song, a family is forced to adopt severe austerity measures, which were presented in a humorous manner, but which were painfully true. Baba Otonglo parodies the rigmarole surrounding the presentation of the annual budget in Parliament. Economic policies were singled out as sinking the ordinary Kenyan deeper and deeper into despair. He sings, "*Budget iko high, vyakula vimepanda, ukame umezidi, vitu vyote vimepanda*" (The budgeted cost of living is way too high, price of foodstuff has escalated, the drought has persisted, the cost of everything has risen.) The state responded to this song in the usual brutal fashion. When the song was released, it was considered to have political undertones. The thin-skinned politicians lobbied to have the song pulled off the air. Osumba was visited by police and questioned. He detailed his experience in an interview. 'Four police officers came to my house in Baba Dogo Estate, Nairobi and arrested me. They accused me of criticizing the Government and composing a song that incited people.' To save his skin, Osumba insisted that the song was just a creative spin at the hard economic times. He escaped without charges being preferred against him.

The late David Okuku Dzalo was a renowned musician and composer who was praising the president insinuating that era of Moi was a period of Peace

“ ENZI YA NYAYO”ERA OF NYAYO.

Enzi ya Nyayo
Enzi Nyayo,
Enzi ya Nyayo Enzi ya Umoja
(David Okuko)

Praising song composed by Thomas Wasonga was used praise Moi's rule. The President was being urged to rule "tawala" and lead Kenya to greater heights.

TAWALA KENYA (RULE KENYA)

*Tawala Kenya ,Tawala,
Tawala Kenya Tawala,Rais Moi ,Tawala Kenya Tawala.
Unaongoza vyema
Unaongoza vyema,Rais Moi unaongoza vyema.
Peleka Kenya mbele,
Peleka Kenya mbele,Rais Moi Peleka Kenya mbele
(Tomas Wasonga)*

The late 1980s and 90s marked a change in the socio-political landscape in Kenya. Among the most relevant change was the liberalization of the airwaves and the resumption of political contest after the re-introduction of multi-party politics, Odidi, (2013). Between 1980 and 2009, the population of Nairobi ballooned from 862,000 to about 3.4 million. According to a 2009 UN-Habitat, more than 34 per cent of Kenya's total population lives in urban areas and of this, more than 71 per cent confined to informal settlements.

Informal settlements in Nairobi, and other urban areas, are a consequence of failure of government policies and official indifference. Amnesty International has described the intricacies of the informal settlements in this way, "The experience of slum-dwellers starkly illustrates that people living in poverty not only face deprivation, but are also strapped in poverty because they are excluded from the rest of the society, denied a say and threatened with violence and insecurity." Enter, Dandora and other marginalized urban settlements like Mathare, Majengo, Korogocho, Mukuru kwa Njenga and Kibera. Dandora, better known as, 'D' by the youthful musicians of this era became the code

name for the Kenyan equivalent of the projects where Hip hop as protest music was born. The life and demographic profile in these inner cities mirrors the hip hop producing ghettos of the US. The hip-hop story in Kenya is the story of Kalamashaka. Kamaa, one of the founders of the Kalamashaka trio, describes how the group rose to express the tribulations of urban marginalisation and how the voice of this group and others like it were marginalised. Kalamashaka was the most prominent of the pioneer Kenyan hip-hop groups using Sheng to rap and infusing politics in their lyrics. Kalamashaka began by rapping about the state of their existence in the urban ghettos of Nairobi dominated by serious social strife, depressed economies, ethnic tensions, state corruption, institutional failure, infrastructural collapse, crime, violence, police brutality and extrajudicial killings.

Just like their American role models, they were anti-establishment and explicitly political. Kalamashaka made a mark in the music scene by their signature tune, 'Tafsiri Hii' (Translate this) which, by default, managed to get a lot of air-play when it was first produced. The song was an indictment of the prevailing inequality in Kenya and the disenfranchisement of the youth. Kamaa describes their lyrics as "gangsta and radical." The use of Sheng, which at that at that time was struggling to shed off its identity as a street thug language and gain acceptance as a Kenyan patois was revolutionary because it immediately drew a generational as well as class line (Craig, 2005).

Hornsby (2012) writes that during Moi's era, it was hard for political music to give hate speech during this one party rule. There was National cohesion exercised here and anyone found singing music to ridicule an individual or government, the music was

destroyed or musician banished. For example D,O, Miasian disappeared into Tanzania during Mzee Jomo Kenyatta when he composed a song in luo. He was referring to the leadership of the time in satire form and before he was arrested, he escaped and went to Tanzania where he stayed and came back when President Moi left power (Douglas, 2010). The song translated in English;

BIM end Bim (A baboon is a baboon)

“In this world, we have houses, cars and all the which are made by man. They can breakdown. But there are those made by God, like Birds, fish, crawling creatures, animals. These ones die. There are some animals that resemble human beings like baboons and monkeys.

Nothing is good for baboons. When you give them food, they grab and even hide some and when they see you helping others, they would kill you. Nothing is good for baboons. I helped them when they were in the prisons and hospitals but when they came out, the relationship between them and me is like a dog and a sheep, not agreeing at all. I helped the monkeys when the baboons were out to finish them but nowadays monkeys assume me and instead calls its kinsmen to come and collect fruits.

One day as I was walking in the jungle, I found an unconscious baboon, having been assaulted by the monkey. I collect the baboon, took it to my house and nursed him.

After recovering, he forgot all that I did. Nowadays when the recovered baboon sees me, it is war. They have now taken this world as theirs. When we were fighting for the fruits, where were they? Surely an animal is an animal. I have never seen a wedding between a cow and a donkey, sheep and a dog. An animal begets an animal, a baboon begets a baboon hence a baboon is a baboon.

You do not like my words but they are full of wisdom, helping many. Let the tractor continue tilling.”

(D. Owino Misiani.)

In 1969, the Ministry of Education appointed and entrusted the organization to a committee, which included an inspector of schools in charge of music. In 1976, His Excellency the president of the Republic of Kenya, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta consented to being the patron of the festival. Consequently, from then on, the Minister for education

appointed members of the Executive committee. The festival grew, became big and included classes for other organizations such as churches and private clubs.

In 1988, the Festival was split into two sister festivals namely, the Kenya Music Festival for schools and colleges under the Ministry of Education and Kenya Music and Festival for adults and students from colleges not under the Ministry of Education, but under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture and Social Services. The Patron of the festivals remained the President of the Republic of Kenya.

The connection between music and politics, particularly political expression in music, had been evident in many cultures. Time had shown how music could be used in anti-establishment or protest themes, including anti-war songs, although pro-establishment ideas were also used, for example in national anthems, patriotic songs, and political campaigns. Many of these types of songs could be described as topical songs. Unlike many other types of music, political music was not usually ambiguous, and was used to portray a specific political message. Even in the case of overtly political pop acts, while political message in their music was apparent, it was usually in the political context of the time it was made. This made understanding the historical events and time that inspired the music essential to fully understanding the message in the music. Since political music was meant to be heard by the people, it was often meant to be popular (Baron, 2016).

Music and conflict as a research focus area was a valuable addition to the growing literature on music in war and peace. This presentation looks at the ways in which

music inflames and justifies conflict by examining an array of case studies and engages conflict with a theoretical depth that fosters thought for exploring countless other disputes. Music as a social activity and distribution mechanism of ideology was often used to foment conflicts. This demonstrated that not utilizing music for peaceful purposes would leave it open to abuse by those who attempt to maintain boundaries between enemies, either by performing music that emerged during a conflict, by creating new music that commemorates a conflict or through music that highlight latent conflicts (Bergh, 2006).

Reeves-Smith (2007) postulates that, the genre of music tended to influence how it was involved. In his study of entertainers who got involved in the political process, he described why some musicians got involved more than others. He says, Pop and easy listening entertainers do not tend to develop political relationships with fans, while folk, rock, hip-hop and country musicians do develop these relationships. While the later types of music were not inherently political, they frequently dealt with daily issues of life. These musicians could become political because of the context of their music and their role in society as troubadours and truth bearers (Reeves-Smith, 2007). Street (2004) points out that the media often focuses on the political stand of entertainers, which results in an audience that supports the same issues. Reeves-Smith (2007) highlights entertainers' important position as leaders in society and adds that people generally respond to this.

Conversely, until the late 2000s in Kenya groups such as the Muungano national

choir of Nairobi, prisons band choir, Kenyatta University choir and other mass choirs from public universities, primary and secondary schools responded in song and dance to support the ruling party, behind the façade of national celebration. During that political era, popular music served as a safety valve: patriotic texts became praise songs for the president and one theme echoed through them all, namely ‘age-old longevity’ for the president and the continuation of Kenya African National Union (KANU) rule. It was in this context that any non-conformist political component in popular culture was controlled through the state’s interference in the media sector, so that the political impact was insignificant. According to Hornsby (2013) in 2000, during the Banana and Orange campaigns, politicians turned into singers and made a messy job of it. You saw them choose a song, do the lyrical appropriation and use it to praise themselves or ridicule their opponents as the crowds roared in appreciation. Majimaji of the Gidigidi-Majimaji rap duo whose 'Unbwogable' became Narc's campaign anthem in 2002 (Khaemba (2012).

Generally during millennium era, music had been used as a tool of claiming political ownership versus assassinating the opposing political ideologies. Music in this age is a weapon. It promotes certain political ideologies yet at the same time piercing the opposing ideologies. Music is a tool for political assassination. Again, it falls short of cohesion. The effects of such overshadow the little positive music on peace in Kenya. Musicians began to compose songs that promoted peace to unite Kenyans separated on political parties ground.

Chombo cha amani (Vessel of peace)

Mungu nifanye niwe chombo cha amani yako,

Nitangaze amani duniani Kote x2
Palipo chuki na utengano nilete amani
Ili wa Kenya wote waishi kwaa mani tele
Palipo njaa na utengano nilete umoja
Ili wa Kenya wote waishi kwa amani tele
(Sylvester Otieno)

Sylvester Otieno was praying God to make him a vessel of peace to preach peace among all Kenyas even where there is hatred, division and hunger (Khaemba 2012.)

O'Connell et Al., (2010), it was seen that, Music and Conflict reveals how musical texts are manipulated by opposing groups to promote Conflict and how music could be utilized to advance Conflict and resolution. In Kenya on Wednesday, 04 July 2012 in an article written by Mr Majani, three Kikuyu musicians were accused of fueling tribal hate speech through their songs and were charged in court with hate speech. Muigai wa Njoroge, Kamande wa Kioi and John De Matthew's songs were alleged to contain inciting words and the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) recommended that they be charged. Mr Kioi's song *Uhuru Ni Witu* (Uhuru is Ours) was one of the songs that were being investigated. However, he defended himself by saying that every tribe had a right to praise its leaders in their own language. He added that the translations being circulated missed the point of his song. Mr De Matthew also maintained that his song, *WituetiHiti* (You Have Made Yourself a Hyena), had been subject to misinterpretation. Mr Njoroge noted that there were different interpretation of songs and some people were misinterpreting his song titled *Hague-Bound*. The three were accused of singing songs that border on hate speech against Prime Minister Raila Odinga.

“We would like to strongly point out that if this is what certain vernacular musicians are doing, regardless of the language and community, we truly stand against it! Music in our respective languages is beautiful, but when corrupted for an agenda that disunites Kenyans, it's shameful. For the good of Kenya as a whole watch out for certain acts and base your votes on and not tribal affiliations/individuals”.

As political campaigns for the 2007 General Election got under way, so did new Ohangla sensation Onyi Papa Jey increased his fame in Kisumu town and beyond with his debut album called ‘Raila ODM’. One of the tracks in the album was devoted to Raila Odinga, the then Orange Democratic Movement’s political candidate at the 2007 Elections. The track ‘*Mnataka Nani? –Raila*’ was crafted in praise of ODM leader Raila Odinga (Menya, 2008).

Thus music was not inherently peaceful and groups and individuals who wanted to create or maintain conflicts have often made good use of music to further their agenda. However, this does not mean that these musical positions are fixed. In the Israeli-Palestinian conflict for instance songs about Jerusalem have often changed as a result of political twists and turns on the ground (Ashby, 2004). Hence a musician that sings for conflict today may sing for peace tomorrow.

Music transcends barriers of religion, race and culture as well as encourages peace and compassion for all human beings. Music had the unique ability to create non-violence, peaceful coexistence, and dialogue between people of differing faiths, cultures, ethnic

background and race (Bergh, 2006). Murimi M. (2013) found out that conflict resolution that incorporates music as a tool can be used in a variety of ways and in a range of locations, and could be aided by working in conjunction with music therapists or musicians coming from a community-engaged arts philosophy. He argues that there are already groups and individuals using music around the world to help heal their communities: in war zones, slums, prisons, schools, with the unemployed, the examples and approaches are endless. It was important to note that the longer individuals and groups can be involved in musical activities, the more potential exists for bonds and understanding to develop and consequently reach a deeper level where lasting transformation can occur (Murimi, 2013).

Galtung envision that peace is not about the absence of conflict, but about the handling of conflict in mature, productive ways, and not in violent ways (Galtung et al. 2002). Music that was combative in tone may nevertheless be peaceful if it seeks justice and if it uses nonviolent means in that pursuit. When world music was seen not merely as an ecumenical, border-effacing aesthetic but as a counterforce to contemporary neo-imperialism is combative but not violent; thus it is peaceful (Shapiro, 2004).

Zelizer (2011) conducted research in Bosnia-Herzegovina and focused on the practical use of artistic processes in peace building in so called identity conflicts. The underlying idea was that these conflicts can be resolved by broadening or transcending the identity of the participant beyond their separate and conflict-imbued group identities. Overall his

work provides an early look at this field with empirical data from the field, albeit mainly focused on musicians and organizers. Music was part of our very beings, aiding in expressing emotions, helping us heal, creating a sense of unity and connecting community. Music helps to shape identity and culture, and was extremely important for providing our lives with inspiration. It can help us find our voice to fight against injustice. For these reasons, music can be a powerful tool in the field of conflict resolution. It is imperative that attempts to halt and reverse the cycle of violence draw on the widest possible range of peace making instruments and mechanisms. In this context, the potential contribution of the arts had traditionally been ignored or marginalized, and also today is insufficiently appreciated. Of all the arts, music was undoubtedly the art form with the potential to affect people more immediately and more deeply than any other. It can stir the emotions as nothing else, inspire people to the loftiest thoughts and sentiments, and bring them together in indissoluble bonds. These remarkable and unique attributes of music had long been recognized and not least in the forging of armies, with military bands boosting unity and morale. The potential of music for peace making rather than war-making has been little explored and was in need of more research (Dungen, 2008).

Bergh (2015) sees music playing a role in conflict transformation in the small-scale projects that follow protracted social conflicts, in conjunction with dialogue or other appropriate tactics for reconciliation and community building. The role of music can range from one-time structured workshops to on-going community music making opportunities (choral and instrumental groups, community singing, and related music

festivals) (Dunn, 2008). In examining what needs to happen for peace-building after a conflict between former adversaries, Cohen (2008) highlights several important points of the reconciliation process that involve learning more deeply about the communities involved. This process includes; appreciating each other's humanity and respecting each other's culture, telling and listening to each other's stories, and developing more complex, narratives and nuanced understandings of identity, acknowledging harms, telling truths, and mourning losses, empathizing with each other's suffering, acknowledging and redressing injustices, expressing remorse, repenting, apologizing, letting go of bitterness, forgiving, imagining and substantiating a new future, including agreements about how, Future conflicts will be engaged constructively (Cohen, 2008).

Music could be used to address each of these elements, helping adversarial groups understand each other's frame of reference, background, identity and visions for the future. Given the right circumstances, music could be very efficient in activating or enhancing the degree of shared content of consciousness. A high degree of shared content of consciousness is potentially very useful as it creates a basis for coherent thinking, ease of communication, common understanding, trust, and a new common identity. All this may unfold, nevertheless, only if the group was in accordance at an emotional level (Jordanger, 2008).

Cohen (2008), Zelizer (2004), and Weaver all suggest that emotional work, not strict rational thought, was the route to reconciliation after civil war. However, Cohen also stressed that music and arts should connect with other conflict transformation type

activities and took into consideration the context within which the work was done. Such advice was relevant to all individual peace building initiatives, not just those involving music. Coordination between disparate activities is essential to strategic progress, and it was precisely the lack of co-ordination which has so profoundly hampered peace building and development activities around the globe (Ghani & Lockhart, 2008). However, this injunction had particular force when considering music, precisely because music was, despite the enthusiasm of the current constituency, a statistically rare component of global peace building efforts. Most people involved in conflict resolution activities worldwide have never used music as part of their toolkit, and had no conceptual or practical understanding of its dimensions or benefits. Unless music practitioners could talk the wider language of conflict-resolution, and showed a professional understanding of the larger toolkit, their efforts were likely to remain marginalized and largely ineffective.

In the gloom of murder, arson and general mayhem during the post-election violence, Kenya experienced a 'peace outbreak'. From musicians to preachers, politicians, and media houses and cell phone firms, Kenyans were assailed by calls to prayer and the quest for peace: Eric Wainaina's patriotic song '*Mkenya Daima*' ('Kenyan Forever') quite nearly supplanted the national anthem in public gatherings and on TV (Ndunde, 2016).

Political mobilization was a process that had been practiced world over to rise to power. Such had seen varied methods employed to persuade masses to follow

given political personalities, ideologies and institutions. Music was one of the media that had been widely used for such mobilization. Through its entertaining and affective nature, music propagated and brought more efficacies to political messages, hence easily rallying masses behind political ideologies. In as much as music conventionally is used in entertainment, peace and relaxation, it also had the potential to trigger social disintegration and violent conflict. The preceding dual nature of music could be attributed to its inherent character as well as the way it was used especially in political situations. How meaning was derived (based on its internal components and how it was employed) was a possible recipe for how it could be a form of entertainment as well as a cause for lack of cohesion.

In Kenya for instance, Government of Kenya burned the song “*badomapambano*” a sacred song was, popularized by one of the opposition members of parliament in political rallies. He led the song with his deep and powerful voice, with a raised folded fist holding a flywhisk. The inherent message in the song was that the fight was still on (*alutacontinua*). But what type of fight could this be? The delineated meaning was further challenged by his bodily actions coupled with the tone quality and intensity employed. The raised fist as part of the performance which would imply a sort of resistance, power, solidarity, anger or aggression. But such performance could also mean that the opposition party was steadfast and still fighting for the rights of the people. The foregoing example showed how unclear the extent to which meaning was derived from the internal components of the music, the performance oriented aspects and societal perceptions. It was also unclear the extent to which such meaning could be

a public face of the intentions of the artists. Importantly, was it that the relationship between political mobilization music and national cohesion interdependent? The existence of one depended on the survival of the other. As such, it was not possible to clear one, without affecting the other. The interdependence of music and national cohesion, notwithstanding, there existed institutions in Kenya that were charged with the responsibility of ensuring that responsible content was disseminated to the public. Locally, particularly in Nairobi only no such study has been done to examine the influence of political mobilization music influencing national cohesion in Kenya with specific reference to Nairobi County. This creates a gap for the study to be done.

2.2 Influence of Political Mobilization Music on the status and levels of national cohesion.

United States gained their independence July 4, 1776. After independence in 1788 the George Washington’s supporters composed, “God Save George Washington”. Although Washington never had to campaign to win the presidency, much less come up with his own campaign playlist, his supporters wrote songs such as “God Save George Washington”—a thinly veiled adaptation of “God Save the King”—which goes by the following stanzas

God save our gracious king

*Long live our noble king
God save the king*

*Send him victorious
Happy and glorious
Long to reign over us
God save the king*

*O Lord, our God arise
Scatter his enemies
And make them fall*

*Confound their politics
Frustrate their knavish tricks
On Thee our hopes we fix
God save the king*

*Thy choicest gifts in store
On him be pleased to pour
Long may he reign*

*May he defend our laws
And ever give us cause
To sing with heart and voice
God save the king*

*Not in this land alone
But be God's mercies known
From shore to shore*

*Lord make the nations see
That men should brothers be
And form one family
The wide world o'er*

*From every latent foe
From the assassins blow
God save the king*

*O'er him Thine arm extend
For Britain's sake defend
Our father, prince and friend
God save the king
(By **john Wesley Harding**)*

and "Follow Washington,"

Lyrics

*The day is broke; my lads, march on,
And follow, follow Washington,
He will lead the way, my lads,
'Tis he that leads the way;*

*Where he commands we shall obey,
Through rain and snow, by night and day,
Determined to be free, my lads,
Determined to be free.
Till Freedom reigns, our happy bands
Will fight like true Americans,
Until our cause prevails, my lads,
Until our cause prevails.
With heart in hand, in God our trust,
We'll freely fight—our cause is just.
March on, my lads, lads, march on,
And follow Washington.
The day is broke; my lads, march on,
And follow, follow Washington,
'Tis he that leads the way, my lads,
'Tis he that leads the way;
(Oscar Brand)*

These songs recalled his military leadership and the experience of all veterans of the Revolutionary War. John Adams and Thomas Jefferson would follow suit and adopt their own campaign songs during the election of 1796, thus establishing a now unshakable precedent. This was the praise song composed to praise Washington. It did have no impact on national cohesion of the country.

Music gets people thinking, talking, and doing. Elections require a deep knowledge of the contribution and understanding of the important role of politicians. They should deliver the responsibility and accountability of governance to the people. Democracy exists when the relationship between the governed and the government abides by the principle that the state is at the service of the citizens and not the citizens at the service of the state, that the government exists for the people. For a successful transformation of the electioneering

campaign, music plays a prominent role in our lives for instance Redemption Song by Bob Marley

Redemption

*Old pirates, yes, they rob I
Sold I to the merchant ships
Minutes after they took I
From the bottomless pit
But my hand was made strong
By the hand of the Almighty
We forward in this generation
Triumphantly
Won't you help to sing
These songs of freedom?
'Cause all I ever have
Redemption songs
Redemption songs
Emancipate yourselves from mental slavery
None but ourselves can free our minds
Have no fear for atomic energy
'Cause none of them can stop the time
How long shall they kill our prophets
While we stand aside and look? Ooh
Some say it's just a part of it
We've got to fulfill the Book
Won't you help to sing
These songs of freedom?
'Cause all I ever have
Redemption songs
Redemption songs
Redemption songs
Emancipate yourselves from mental slavery
None but...*
(Bob Marley)

These kind of music song are very functional in enlightening the people.

African music has indeed played big role in objectifying, unifying and bringing peaceful co-existence among African communities. The song by Eric Wainaina Daima Mkenya is a good example

Daima mimi Mkenya (Forever a Kenya)**Translation**

*Umoja ni fahari yetu
 Undugu ndio nguvu
 Chuki na ukabila
 Hatutaki hata kamwe
 Lazima tuungane, tuijenge nchi yetu
 build our nation
 Pasiwe hata mmoja
 Anaetenganisha
 Naishi, Natumaini,
 Najitolea daima Kenya,
 Hakika ya bendera
 Ni uthabiti wangu
 Nyeusi ya wananchi na nyekundu ni ya damu*

*Unity is our pride
 Brotherhood is our strength
 Hatred and tribalism
 We don't ever want
 We have to come together,*

*Let there be no one
 Who will dispute
 I live, I hope
 I volunteer forever for Kenya
 Sure to the flag
 Is my identity*

Kijani ni ya ardhi, nyeupe ya amani

*Black for the people and red
 for the blood
 Green for the land and white
 for peace*

*Daima mimi mkenya
 Mwananchi mzalendo
 Kwa uchungu na mateso
 Kwa vilio na uzuni
 Tulinyakuliwa Uhuru
 na mashujaa wa zamani
 Hawakushtushwa na risasi*

*I'm forever Kenyan
 A patriotic citizen
 In pain and suffering
 In tears and sadness
 Our freedom was won for us
 By our ancestral heroes
 They were neither frightened
 by bullets*

(Erick Wainaina)

Ndunde (2016), opines that the knowledge of the African cultural value systems provides the understanding to interpret African songs and deduce full meanings from the communication experience. Music has always been the most visible attempt employed by ourselves to listen to ourselves. African music is a powerful medium of communication, through which human actions and reactions are expressed. It provides a forum to mirror the society so that members could understand things better and learn more about life. African music focuses on the teaching of morality, building restraints in to the psyche of the public and in settling conflicts.

Oshin, (2019) asserts that music centers on folklore which crystallizes the history, philosophy, arts and literature of the people. Music is a social organizer. It supervises the operation of established government, assists in the maintenance of the land, safeguards and perpetuates tradition. Furthermore, traditional music discourages the degeneration of personal or corporate morals, promotes social equity and fights injustice, crowns rulers, welcomes births, buries the dead, enforces rule of law and enlivens different purposes of communal get together.

It is perhaps not generally recognized how widely political songs are used in Africa.

Songs are now accepted by African political parties as a vehicle for communication, propaganda, political pressure, and political education. Such songs include;

Raila tibim. Tibim!
Wetangula tibim.
Obado tialala. Tialala
(Joseph Onyango Ochieng, “Onyi Jalamo”)

Free Nelson Mandela

Free Nelson Mandela
Free, Free, Free, Nelson Mandela
Free Nelson Mandela
Twenty-one years in captivity
His shoes too small to fit his feet
His body abused but his mind is still free
Are you so blind that you cannot see
I say Free Nelson Mandela
I'm begging you
Free Nelson Mandela
He pleaded the causes of the ANC
Only one man in a large army
Are you so blind that you cannot see
Are you so deaf that you cannot hear his plea
Free Nelson Mandela
I'm begging you Free Nelson Mandela

*Twenty-one years in captivity
Are you so blind that you cannot see
Are you...
I say Free Nelson Mandela
I'm begging you
Oh free Nelson Mandela, free
Nelson Mandela I'm begging you
begging you Please free Nelson Mandela
free Nelson Mandela
I'm telling you, you've got to free Nelson Mandela*
(Jerry)

Their exact nature and purpose vary, but they have in common the fact of being oral rather than visual propaganda. It is true that some of these songs at times appear in writing, even print, and written collections of party songs circulate in some areas; nonetheless their propagation among the largely non-literate masses is almost purely oral. As such they are a powerful and flexible weapon in many types of political activity.

One of the advantages songs may have as vehicles of political expression is their apparently innocuous nature. This is particularly true of those songs used at a relatively early stage in African nationalist movements when concealment of organized political activity was felt desirable. In a colonial situation in which political power was ultimately in the hands of foreigners, many of whom could not speak the local language, songs and poems had the double advantage of being ostensibly nothing to do with politics at all (unlike, say, newspapers) and of being unintelligible to many of those in authority.

Rhodes cites an early example of this from West Africa, in a drum poem used by the Ashanti after their submission to British rule in 1900. When the Governor appeared at a public gathering, he was ceremonially, and apparently honorifically, greeted with drum

music; what the drums were repeating, however, were the words of an old war song, ‘slowly but surely we shall kill Adinkra’; while the local audience understood quite clearly that by ‘Adinkra’ the drums meant the British, it is doubtful if the Governor was aware of any political significance at all, let alone a hostile one (Nketia 2004). Somali love poems, or apparent love poems, have been used in the same way. They could safely be performed in public or even on the government-controlled radio, the obscurity of their language concealing their meaning for the independence struggle, except from their intended audiences (the people in the independence movement) (Naomi 2015). Again, there was the occasion of the Queen’s Birthday Festivities in Nyasaland (as it was then called) in the early 1950s, where the song was composed God save the Queen in her praise that was an expression of one’s patriotism and hope for the long life of the monarch, especially in her presence. (Britain) A formal statement at the end of many proclamations issued by the UK’s queen or in her name.

God Save the Queen

*God save our gracious Queen,
Long live our noble Queen,
God save the Queen;
Send her victorious,
Happy and glorious,
Long to reign over us,
God save the Queen.
Oh Lord our God arise,
Scatter our enemies,
And make them fall
Confound their politics
Frustrate their knavish tricks,
On Thee our hopes we fix
Oh save us all
Thy choicest gifts in store
On her be pleased to pour;
Long may she reign;*

*May she defend our laws
And ever give us cause
To sing with heart and voice
God save the Queen
Not in this land alone,
But be God's mercies known,
From shore to shore!
Lord, make the nations see,
That men should brothers be,
And form one family,
The wide world over.
From every latent foe,
From the...
(Sex Pistols)*

when official policy was to encourage the idea of federation against local opposition. The school-children marched innocently past the presiding District Commissioner singing anti-federation songs taught them by their schoolteacher and the District Commissioner did not understand a word.

By the late 1950s and early 1960s political songs in Africa seem to have become a standard accompaniment of recognized political parties and the election campaigns that were by now becoming more and more a feature of political activity in African colonies and ex-colonies. Songs formed part of election campaigns in, for example, Sierra Leone and Senegal in 1957, Nyasaland in 1961, and Northern Rhodesia in 1962. Some politicians managed to exploit oral propaganda even further and, like the Western Nigerian leader Adelabu, organized the circulation of gramophone records of songs supporting them (Lopéz-Vinader, (2008). Altogether there is still great reliance on oral means of propaganda speeches, mass meetings, and songs in keeping with the still largely non-literate or semi-literate mass electorate for whom the written word is of relatively lesser significance.

Northern Rhodesia (later Zambia) seems to have been particularly rich in organized political songs in the vernacular, sometimes specially composed and written for the party, and often sung by official mass choirs. Several have been published among those written for the African National Congress (A.N.C.) in the late 1950s. One, cast in the form of a praise song, honouring Nkumbula, President of the A.N.C., had the familiar purpose of attempting to project a leader's image to the mass of followers:

*Mr. Nkumbula, we praise you.
You have done a good work.
Look today, we sing praising you,
For you have done a good work.
We praise, too, all your cabinet
And all your Action Group.
You have done good work.*
(Rhodes 1962: 18)

In Uganda, what was featured in “how music has become the new tool of political mobilization ahead of 2016 polls” (The writer is a senior anchor and reporter at NTV Uganda) argued that Politicians recruit musicians to promote and mobilize supporters owing to the fact that people intending to contest for elective positions have found music as a good tool for mobilization. Besides mobilizing supporters, no scientific research has been done to establish exactly how the message in these political songs appeals to people. Lately, this trend has become a contentious issue but it is not new at all. In the 1950s and 60s, when Ugandans started to demonstrate a level of political awareness, politicians did not look at music as a tool that could work to their benefit.

But elsewhere, such as South Africa and USA, politicians and activists had long before discovered the power of music. For instance, the song, We Shall Overcome, was used by

African American activists to rally for their rights to vote, and assemble, among other rights. However, the 1990s were also hostile to the new breed of Ugandan musicians engrossed in the 'raga' genre. Most people viewed the artistes as bayaaye (loosely translated as society misfits). As musician Moses Ssali, aka Bebe Cool, puts it, the music industry was not booming. "We were looked at as lumpens. Musicians were so laid back."

Bebe Cool is an artiste of modern times who has been around NRM circles and specifically party leader President Museveni.

*Every Morning you put a smile on my face when I wake up
(When I wake up)
Inna mi heart I feel so real
Still I feel the fire burning
Your the realest one
So mi coulda never get one
Ahh you di best one
Teli akwenkana muwala
Still you run in my heart
Can't leave your way.
Wanna touch your body (your body)
Go come your way (Tukikole fembi)
Make me busy (Nze Nawe)
Make we ting run so easy (leka tukikole nawe)
Make me busy (Nze nawe)
Make we ting run so easy (leka tukikole nawe)
Make me busy (Nze nawe)
Many tings run inna mi world
Still youre di best inna di world
His dede still inside inna mi world
(Ella yeggwe anzikakanya)
Ahh wen mi try fi play
Gwe wange mi number 1 babe
So mi coulda never disappoint you
Eazy make it easy
Can't leave your way.
Wanna touch...
(Bebe Cool)*

The Uganda People's Congress had formulated mobilization chants which were frequently used even at State functions. Both the youth and party members would chant in unison to the admiration of struggling political parties then. Women dressed in African kitenge fabric on which former president Milton Obote's face was printed, school children in old uniforms and men dressed as they wished all sang about UPC most times praising Obote for his government's achievements.

Veteran singer David Jjingo remembers party members who sang for UPC with passion. "They would sing and dance to their common tune... ooh maama, the congress of the people... They were powerful indeed."

After All

*Please trip them gently, they don't like to fall, oh by jingo
There's no room for anger, we're all very small, oh by jingo
We're painting our faces and dressing in thoughts from the skies, from
paradise
But they think that we're holding a secretive ball
Won't someone invite them
They're just taller children (ooh) that's all, after all
Man is an obstacle, sad as the clown, oh by jingo
So hold on to nothing, and he won't let you down, oh by jingo
Some people are marching together and some on their own
Quite alone
Others are running, the smaller ones crawl
But some sit in silence, they're just older children
That's all, after all
I sing...
Live your rebirth and do what you will, oh by jingo
Forget all I've said, please bear me no ill, oh by jingo
After all, after all*

(David Bowie)

In the 1980s, Democratic Party would also come up with their Egumire Egumire DP tune that is sang with energy but with little appeal of musicality in it. Music featured much on

the political scene of 1980 during the general election and after. Dr Obote and his party claimed victory in the election that was allegedly more of a widely staged show of irregularities. The same election led Uganda to the civil war of 1981 to 1986. Mr Museveni, then of the little known Uganda Patriotic Movement (UPM), fulfilled his threat of launching a guerrilla war to redeem Uganda from injustices.

The National Resistance Army (NRA) had officially started. During the war, the NRA used the arts to mobilize citizens to support the cause as well as boost the morale of the fighters. The rebel outfit gave the Obote government the worst challenging times. Hitting the rebel areas with mighty military force did not deter the guerrilla fighters who stood their ground with inferior rifles. One of the things that kept these men advancing in the bush was the cheapest of all – music. “We sang morale-boosting songs in different languages. It is those songs that kept the spirit. In the start these songs were in Swahili, Luganda and Ruyankore because most of the first fighters recruited were from the central and western regions,” The Chief Political Commissar, Col Felix Kulayigye, said. Fighters were not in combat all the time. So, music would be used to occupy them as they got to appreciate the purpose of the struggle through lyrics they sang. When the late Brig Chefe Ali joined NRA, his comrades remember him as a reserved man with a span of knowledge and talent. Brig Chefe had trained in Mozambique before with fighters of the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique. He knew the art of resistance. He had learnt from Mozambique that music fuels the mind of a man in the centre of an important struggle.

He taught NRA fighters morale-boosting songs. When a fighter fell to enemy assault, fighters would sing in memory of them. When they captured new ground, tunes like Moto Wawaka would be sang. Other songs were to mobilize the population. “We started operating a radio frequency in the bush.” After the bush war, NRA continued to use music as is when it changed to UPDF. Artistes were doing songs of hope. Uganda had been hit by post-war challenges like disease, hunger and poverty. Bobi Wines’ song on condemning violence.

Lyrics

*We no proud of the violence We condemn the violence
 Rasta No pride in the violence Hear me now
 Mbalaba Bakubagana Balumangana
 Batemagana Mbalaba bagoobagana
 Mu kiffu kyo ku lungamy
 Omuntu eyandi badde wo mu kulungamy abavubuka
 Kati ate yabakulembela okukola obutabanguko
 Bino wenabilabye natidde nyo
 Okulwana mu bavubuuka kususse nyo
 Ate abakulembeze kibaswaza nyo
 Wama abavubuka nze nsaba tukole bwetuti*

-- Chorus --

*Nsaba okulonda kubele kwa DEMBE
 Nobuyinza buchuke mu DEMBE
 Abana Uganda mulonde mu DEMBE
 Awo obulamu butunyumile Nsabye,
 Okulonda kubele kwa DEMBE
 Nobuyinza bukyuuke mu DEMBE
 Bana Uganda tubele ba DEMBE,
 Nomwaka guba nyumile*

*Okuva mu independence tuli mu ntalo
 Kyekyiganye ne Uganda okula lwa ntaalo
 Buli Government ejja na ntalo
 Ela bagala okugenda zzibe nga ntalo
 Bachikola batya eli ebusuka nsaalo
 Abakyuusa awatali kulwana ntalo
 Lwaki, temukitandika ba ssebo
 Ate mwagamba kyekyabalwanisa entalo*

*Lwaki oyoza engooye enjelu
Ate nozanika ku kiiti kyenzilo
Lwaki temulabila ku Mandela
Yafuga kiimu n'atta bendela
Abakulembeze okulwa mu ntebe
Kye ki leetela Uganda okufuka eddebe
Buli ayogela kko Ng'olwo afuse mulabe
Ekyyo tekyituzimba tuba tudda mabega
Abantu bwobaleka neba londa wo
Omuntu atakooze neba mujaawo
Ekyyo ne semateeka akyogela kko
Bwomu bikula kyosokela kko*

*Now this is a message
to every Ugandan
Especially the candidate
right from L.C 1
Straight up to president
Violence is backwardness
while peace is Godliness*

-- Verse 2 --

*Gano gemazima gali agakawa
Ata nalabuka kati nkubusa boyi
Bwoba nga mu mazima oyagala Uganda
Ne mubikolwa okyilaga nga
Tuzimbe omusinji oguyamba Uganda
Nabana baffe kwebali labilamu
Amanye, nti omuntu ogenda mu buyinza
Techi-kyetagisa kuyiwa musaayi
Amanye, nti abantu besimbawo
Abantu nebalonda kkoAsinze nabafuuga
Gwebasinze namukwata nemu mukono
Naye, abakulembeze mutalaga kiimu
kyakulwana
Lwaki mutukuza bubi
Laba bwetukuze nga tumanyikiimu
kyakulimba
Lwaki mutukuza bubi
Nze bwenjogela kukitufu Nonzingulako emisango
Awo oba otufuze bubi Ayawukana ne ndowoza yo
tekyimufula mulabe wo Fena tuli bana U
Omukulembeze omulungi awuliliza ebiluma abantu
Nabaako kyakola wo
Buli muna Uganda wooli
kikukaakata kko okukuma*

emirembe
Ffena tuli bana U

Dan Magic is a real magician
Dream studio jeguvugidde
Dan Magic is a real magician
Yah man
For God and my Country
Kampala Uganda, Africa
Booaaaaaha

was among the famous tunes then. Tension again engulfed the country in 1996 campaigns and election time. Many Ugandans, feared that what happened in 1980 might resurface.

Two candidates took on Mr Museveni... Kibirige Mayanja and DP's Kawanga Ssemogerere. Mr Museveni comfortably won the race. Voters sang a few slogans in support of candidates but not with much interest and zeal as it would later be, in 2001 and 2006. In 2006, there was a controversial episode in Parliament in which MPs quashed a clause in the Constitution that restricted presidential terms. The excitement and displeasure about the decision was talk across the country. Mr Museveni and NRM's supporters would chant bamwongere ekisanja to mean add him [Museveni] another term. Towards 2006, real songs in support of kisanja [third term] started. Artistes, known, less known and not known at all, offered solicited and unsolicited works in support of Mr Museveni. Notably, The Kads Band and Bebe Cool did a whole album with political songs in support of Museveni. Then a defence minister, Amama Mbabazi launched the album and bought a copy at Shs7 million. "There is a lot of opportunity that musicians have to tap into," says Bebe Cool. Afrigo Band's Moses Matovu links artistes singing mobilization songs this to one thing, money.

“They [artistes] don’t sing because they truly love those parties. They are looking for money. Personally, I don’t sing politics anymore.” By 2003, Bebe Cool was already friends with President Museveni despite his father, Jaberu Bidandi Ssali falling out with Mr. Museveni over the lifting of term limits. In 2005/6, approximately Shs120 million was spent by NRM on artistes for mobilization according to reports then.

The opposition mainly depended on music that was done by artistes who had no intention to use it for campaigning. Ronald Mayinja’s 2005 Tuli ku Bunkenke topped the list. *“I composed the song because I was seeing a lot of unjust things going on. I never intended it to be used by Opposition. I think they liked it, probably we were seeing things the same way,”* said Mr. Mayinja.

In 2011, the trend soared. Some artistes were hired by NRM, FDC, DP and other politicians seeking elective positions. Mr. Museveni would add flavor to his campaigns with his Mp’enkoni rap single. When he mounted the podium to give a speech at the pre-nomination party, he agreed to recite an acapella of the song, leaving people wondering what the song means.

Lyrics and loose translation:

*Natema Akati kaarara
Kaarara nikaza Igara
Igara owa Ntambiko
Ntambiko yampa akasyo
Akasyo nakaha abagyesi
Abagyesi bampa oruro
Oruro naruha Warukoko
Warukoko yampa ihuri
Ihuri nariha abaana
Abaana bamp’engyeya
Engyeya naagiha omukama
Omukama yampa Kasha*

*Kasha nagishweza omukazi
Omukazi yanzaarira omwana
Namweeta Mugarura
Yaagarura eby'ow'ishe n'ishenkuru
(Steve Jean)*

Loosely translated:

The stick I cut strayed into Igara where Ntambiko reigns. Ntambiko gave me a knife which I gave to millet harvesters, who gave me millet, that I gave to a hen, which gave me an egg, that I gave to children who gave me a monkey that I gave to the king, who gave me a cow that I used to marry my wife. She gave me a child I called Mugarura who raided back what belonged to me and my fathers.

Mp'enkoni was successful, on campaign rallies and social media. On Youtube, the Mp'enkoni video had by mid-December collected some 210,000 hits online, a remarkable figure by Ugandan standards. The rapping President attempted another single release in 2015 only to hit a snag. The song, Yengoma, was hurriedly done. As a seasoned music producer noted on NTV Talking Arts preview of the song in August 2015, the Yengoma producer was not creative at all by taking the President to the studio to sing to a pre-programmed sound track. "The President is not a musician but he can do good poetry. It is easy to synchronize his poetry with a sound track," another song on the track goes;

*Mp'enkoni mp'enkoni mp'enkoni
Mp'enkoni engarama ziizire
Ziizire niicund'ebinio
Ebinio bya Rutendegyere
Rutendegyere enkuba emuteere
Emuteerere ahaiguru mpariya
Ahaiguru hariyo orwitiri
Orwitire oruzaarwa n'enkura
Enkura eshoroma etegire
Etegire akaara k'embogo
Ak'embogo karimu omwonyo
Omwonyo guruga Nsharira
Nsharira omunda y'engoma
Y'engoma, y'engoma, y'engoma*

Loosely translated;

Give me my stick! Invaders from Ngarama have arrived, shaking their bums like Rutendegyere. May thunder strike Rutendegyere from above where there is abundance that helps the rhinoceros to thrive. The rhinoceros feeds but remains ready for a buffalo attack. The buffalo, whose meat is salty. The salt that comes from Nsharira deep inside the kingdom.

Mr. Joe Tabula noted. Realizing Yengoma had poor reception, strategists changed to another plan. Again Bebe Cool was called in to head the Tubonga Naawe project for NRM. The Tubonga Naawe is a song recorded by a number of top musicians praising Mr. Museveni and NRM. Some of the artistes of the Tubonga Naawe promotion song move with the NRM presidential candidate, Mr. Museveni, on his campaign trail. Songs in support of Opposition are hard-hitting. Besigye Songa Mbele by Adams and Akalulu ka Colonel by Kadongokamu singer Fred Ssebaale are standing out.

“I sing what I believe in,” Mr. Ssebaale said, “FDC has not paid me but my song being a part of a struggle for a cause makes me proud.” Mr. Ssebaale has sang for Opposition politicians like Erias Lukwago in past elections. The trend to work for politicians’ looks like a benefitting spree for some of the artistes but where it leaves the industry is a big question. Andrew Benon Kibuuka, the head of the federation of performing artistes, says the trend is a healthy one for artistes. He is convinced artistes will earn respect first and then money.

In these recent years, artistes have not stopped at singing or acting. Many have gone ahead to seek elective positions. Some have political bias that is evident in their music or other artistic works, for example, Kato Lubwama of the Diamonds Production, who is seeking a Parliament seat for Lubaga South in Kampala; others simply want to exchange

their popularity for political positions. This was egged by Bobi Wine's critiques on his song called;

Situka Lyrics (English Translation)

*When the going gets tough, the tough must get going,
Especially when leaders become misleaders, and mentors become
tormentors.
When freedom of expression becomes a target of suppression,
Opposition becomes our position...*

*My heart is broken, and I'm sure my brother out there, your heart is broken
too.
Everywhere, people are beaten down and they are all silent,
Because what they expected is very different from what they are seeing.
Some of them are fed up and pushed to the wall,
Because they are so oppressed,
and they don't even have somewhere to report a case.
Even if you try to seek justice, it is very hard to get justice,
But I'm saying to you, my brother, don't stay down.
Every time the situation in the world beats you down,
Get up very fast and walk on.
There is nothing that comes easy in this world.
You must always remember, it's a very long journey.
So just get up, and let's walk together.*

*It has been so many years,
and the oppression has also been so much, my brother
and the hope has been so high,
because we were thinking that at least we might see a little change, at least.
What I've just discovered is that the change you desire is right in your hands,
because the person in whom you have put your hope,
he has also put his hope in you.
The one you expect you act for you
is also expecting you to act for him.
The one from whom you expect a solution
is actually expecting solutions from you.
So every time you fall down, just get up and walk.
You will dust yourself off along the way,
because every time you fall down and show that you're demoralized,
there are so many eyes that are watching you
and getting inspired from your courage.
That hard time that you're going through,*

*so many people are going through it,
but we just persist and that way we always overcome,
because the fire that is burning in us
burns hotter than the fire that we are going through.
So every time we fall down, just try and get up.*

*Now I'm reminding everybody who is sleeping,
And busy feeling sorry for themselves,
that my brother, just get up right now.
We have a big job of building a Uganda that the next generation will be
proud of.
So, if you can't run, at least you should walk.
If you can't walk, at least you should limp.
If you can't limp, at least you should crawl,
but whatever you do, just keep moving ahead.
Nobody is going to deliver peace to you at your doorstep on a silver platter.
If you're not satisfied, it is better to raise your voice.
Always stay on your course, but always know your rights.
Don't shy away from working for Uganda,
because it is your own country, even if your boss was not your choice.
Just play your part, because this is your country.
(Bobi Wine)*

The evolution of music as seen in the past series of Songs of Resistance is progressive. Artistes will move with what the times dictate and not their conscience. Whether they sing for politicians to earn a living or because they want to demonstrate a particular cause, that is different. What is clear is that the trend is only starting to grow.

The influence of Political Mobilization Music on the status and levels of national cohesion in Nigeria had its own roots: the case study of “music performance for political mobilization and violence during 2011 general elections in Nigeria”. Politics and electioneering is one of the major issues on conflict especially in Nigeria. Election campaigns go with songs, which some time results, into violence. Music is also a powerful force for political mobilization that can also result into violence due

to the textual ability of the songs. This study examines the place of music in mobilizing citizens for electioneering and the result of some songs that have resulted into conflicts. It consists of analyses of the content and context of selected songs. The scope of this paper covers some of the songs for presidential aspirants of Goodluck Jonathan of Peoples Democratic Party, Nuhu Ribadu of Action Congress of Nigeria, and Muhamadu Buhari of Congress for Positive Change. This paper also focused on Abiola Ajimobi, Christopher Alao Akala, and Rashidi Ladoja gubernatorial candidates in Oyo State. It will also evaluate one Hausa song that causes violence in northern part of Nigeria. This study is pinned on entertainment- education theory. Findings revealed that music performances during the 2011 general election in Nigeria really helped in mobilizing the citizens, it also causes conflicts and violence in some part of Nigeria because of insulting texts in the songs. The paper recommends that INEC should scrutinize some political jingles and songs before they are aired. In addition, politicians should know that the songs can cause harm and violence and should avoid such. Likewise, musicians should compose political songs that will not engender conflict in the society.

African music is a powerful medium of communication, through which human actions and reactions are expressed. It provides a forum to mirror the society so that members could understand things better and learn more about life. African music focuses on the teaching of morality, building restraints in to the psyche of the public and in settling conflicts. African music has indeed played big role in objectifying, unifying and bringing peaceful co-existence among African communities. Kidula, (2008) opines that the

knowledge of the African cultural value systems provides the understanding to interpret African songs and deduce full meanings from the communication experience. Music has always been the most visible attempt employed by ourselves to listen to ourselves. Music is a social organizer. It supervises the operation of established government, assists in the maintenance of the land, safeguards and perpetuates tradition. Furthermore, traditional music discourages the degeneration of personal or corporate morals, promotes social equity and fights injustice, crowns rulers, welcomes births, buries the dead, enforces rule of law and enlivens different purposes of communal get together. The year 2011 will go down in Nigeria as a year of received struggle for democracy. Kirkpatrick (1993) writes, "Democracy is a form of government in which the supreme power is vested in the people collectively, and administered by them or by officers appointed by them." No doubt when this set of leaders take over, the entire population of Nigeria was happy to participate in the election to usher in new leaders who would protect their interest and give the succour. This was through songs like;

*All- A egbe mi ewa sia PDP lonfe lele, Alao Akala eni Olorun yan kose lekeji,
 Egbe olomburela egbe PDP, egbe onire tide kire wole wa,
 Solo-Efibo gbe debe kowole, Chorus-Alao Akala leni Olorun yan o,
 Solo-Eni olorun yan lawanfe, Chorus-Alao Akala leni Olorun yan o,
 Solo-PDP, Chorus- power to the people.*

Translation in English

Oh my comrades see the flag of PDP flying, Alao Akala is the person God has chosen to go for second term, Its umbrella party, it Peoples Democratic Party, A party with a good will, Please use your vote and let him win, Alao Akala is God's anointed.

Alao Akala Lo'lorun yan

A egbe mi, e wasi - a P D P lon-fe le - le A-la-o A-ka-la le-ni O-lo-run yan

7
ki o se le ke ji e - gbe o-lom-bu - re - la e - gbe P D P e - gbe

14
o-ni re ti de ki re ma wo - le. E fi-bo gbe de - be ko-wo le, A - la-o A-ka-la le ni O-lo-run yan o

Figure 2. 1 Nigeria Democratic Song Transcription

The effort to democratize involves matters of constitutional choice which transcends multi-party elections or replacement of one group by another in government (Olutoye, & Olapade, (1998).

In line with this statement, it becomes imperative to evolve governmental regime that will provide opportunity for all and sundry to contribute in the governing processes that will not destabilize the integrity and effectiveness of the political ideology in Nigeria. It is at this junction that the use of music comes to mind, to mass mobilize the populace into participating in the elections. Music has been tested and wholesomely discovered by people to have the power to educate the people on current burning issues on national policies.

In Nigeria for instance, One of the chieftains of PDP also sang during one of the campaign rally that it is a must for PDP to win in Southwestern part of Nigeria. See one of the song below:

*Lau erebe erebe lau,
Lau erebe erebe lau
Obasanjo onigba kadibo
Kamawoleo lau erebe erebe lau*

Translation

Lau erebe erebe lau
Lau erebe erebe lau
Obasanjo will not agree
For election to be rigged
Lau erebe erebe la

Lau Erebe

The image shows two staves of musical notation in 8/8 time. The first staff contains the melody for the first line of the song, with lyrics: "Lau - e - re - be ___ e - re - be lau, lau - e - re - be ___ e - re - be lau O - ba - san - jo o - ni gba ka - di bo ka ma". The second staff starts with a measure rest (marked with a '9' above it) and contains the melody for the second line of the song, with lyrics: "wo le o lau - e - re - be e - re - be lau".

Figure 2. 2 Nigeria campaign song transcription

This study focuses on the place of music performance that has helped in mobilizing citizens to come out and vote and the songs that has caused political violence in Kenya.

According to Barnes (1982), Aristotle a Greek philosopher maintains, “*Music is the food for soul and has the power to move people in terms of entertainment and communication*”. We must therefore acknowledge countless other affirmations of music’s healing and peace-making capabilities. If music powers to heal, it also has power to harm. In America, the status and level of political mobilization songs in America had its roots. The song We Shall Overcome is a protest song that became a key anthem of the African-American Civil Rights Movement. It is widely speculated that African-American composer Charles Albert Tindley (1851–1933) derives the title and structure of the song from an early gospel song, “I’ll Overcome Someday”. However, although there are lyrical similarities, the melodic, harmonic, rhythmic and lyrical structures of Tindley’s

hymn are radically different from that of “We Shall Overcome”. “We Shall Overcome” began as a folk song, a work song. Slaves in the fields would sing, ‘I’ll be all right someday.’ It is not a marching song. It is not necessarily defiant. It is a promise: “We shall overcome someday. Deep in my heart, I do believe.” It has been a civil rights song for 50 years now, heard not just in the U.S. but also in North Korea, in Beirut, in Tiananmen Square, in South Africa’s Soweto Township.

The first political use came in 1945 in Charleston, S.C. There was a strike against the American Tobacco Co. The workers wanted a raise; they were making 45 cents an hour. They marched and sang together on the picket line, “We will overcome, and we will win our rights someday.”

Music plays an important part in shaping identity and forming community that can result in shared meaning between people. Identity can be understood as an individual’s psychological relationship to particular social category systems and memberships, together with a set of personal meanings and experiences related to those systems/memberships, such as gender, religion, class, nationality, race, ethnicity and age (Deaux, 2003). Communities are defined by a set of common characteristics, and the specific character of its commonalties defines the identity of a particular community. For example, communities are defined by specific common traits of political identity, commitment, memory, history, tradition, and culture; by variations in their degree of openness; and in their size and scope.

Music is one of the most important of these increasingly pervasive new sources of

political content. It is perhaps because of the explosive rise of music as a venue of political expression that it has become so timely to take a retrospective and generalized look at the phenomenon. If politics is the blood that feeds our societies with the energy to evolve, then music is an essential ingredient to political transformation. We listen to music not only to be entertained. We listen to music to understand ourselves both individually and collectively. Yet it is precisely because music is so entertaining that it carries such great potency as a venue for political expression. It conveys more than the written or spoken word. Through rhythm and tone, music becomes a powerful link between the emotionally rich ideas of a political thinker and the listeners. We are both political and musical creatures. This is, indeed, one of the things that make it so fun to be human and this is also why it is so crucial to understand the potential of music as a mediating factor in the political transformation of society (Brown, 2008).

Mattern explains, as a sign of community, music reveals constituent elements such as beliefs, assumptions, and commitments that define the character and shape of the community. This can be seen in a wide range of examples, from the slaves who brought their music to the Americas to the use of national anthems to unify people in a nation, music used in church to express faith, or specific genres of music such as punk or country. Specific instances of music's role in community can be seen in the powerful use of music against apartheid in South Africa, the 'singing revolution'

Lyrics

*Don't you know
They're talkin' 'bout a revolution
It sounds like a whisper
Don't you know
They're talkin' about a revolution*

*It sounds like a whisper
 While they're standing in the welfare lines
 Crying at the doorsteps of those armies of salvation
 Wasting time in the unemployment lines
 Sitting around waiting for a promotion
 Don't you know
 They're talkin' 'bout a revolution
 It sounds like a whisper
 Poor people gonna rise up
 And get their share
 Poor people gonna rise up
 And take what's theirs
 Don't you know
 You better run, run, run, run, run, run, run, run, run, run, run, run, run
 Oh I said you better
 Run, run, run, run, run, run, run, run, run, run, run, run, run
 'Cause finally the tables are starting to turn
 Talkin' bout a revolution
 Yes, finally...
 Don't you know
 They're talkin' 'bout a revolution
 It sounds like a whisper
 And finally the tables are starting to turn
 Talkin' bout a revolution
 Yes, finally the tables are starting to turn
 Talkin' bout a revolution, oh no
 Talkin' bout a revolution, oh no
 Talkin' bout a revolution, oh no
 (Tracy Chapman)*

While in the Balkans where 300,000 singers gathered to sing and demand independence, and the prominent place of music in the Civil Rights and anti-Vietnam War movements in the United States for instance;

Mississippi Goddam

*The name of this tune is Mississippi goddam
 And I mean every word of it
 Alabama's gotten me so upset
 Tennessee made me lose my rest
 And everybody knows about Mississippi goddam
 Alabama's gotten me so upset
 Tennessee made me lose my rest
 And everybody knows about Mississippi goddam*

*Can't you see it Can't you feel it It's all in the air
 I can't stand the pressure much longer Somebody say a prayer
 Alabama's gotten me so upset Tennessee made me lose my rest
 And everybody knows about Mississippi goddam
 This is a show tune But the show hasn't been written for it, yet
 Hound dogs on my trail School children sitting in jail
 Black cat cross my path I think every day's gonna be my last
 Lord have mercy on this land of mine We all gonna get it in due time
 I don't belong here
 I...
 Don't tell me I tell you Me and my people just about due
 I've been there so I know They keep on saying 'Go slow!'
 But that's just the trouble 'Do it slow'
 Washing the windows 'Do it slow'
 Picking the cotton 'Do it slow' You're just plain rotten
 'Do it slow'
 You're too damn lazy 'Do it slow'
 The thinking's crazy
 'Do it slow' Where am I going
 What am I doing I don't know
 I don't know
 Just try to do your very best Stand up be counted with all the rest
 For everybody knows about Mississippi goddam
 I made you thought I was kiddin'
 Picket lines School boy cots
 They try to say it's a communist plot
 All I want is equality
 For my sister my brother my people and me
 Yes you lied to me all these years
 You told me to wash and clean my ears
 And talk real fine just like a lady
 And you'd stop calling me Sister Sadie
 Oh but this whole country is full of lies
 You're all gonna die and die like flies
 I don't trust you any more
 You keep on saying 'Go slow!' 'Go slow!'
 But that's just the trouble 'Do it slow' Desegregation
 'Do it slow' Mass participation
 'Do it slow' Reunification
 'Do it slow'
 Do things gradually 'Do it slow'
 But bring more tragedy 'Do it slow'
 Why don't you see it
 Why don't you feel it
 I don't know I don't know*

*You don't have to live next to me
Just give me my equality
Everybody knows about Mississippi
Everybody knows about Alabama
Everybody knows about Mississippi goddam, that's it*
(Nina Simone)

Music helps shape individual identity within a society, and helps to form group identity based on culture, values, religious beliefs, or class (Mattern, 1998).

Music not only accesses emotional responses and creates opportunity for mediation between people and groups; it provides healthy opportunities of engagement. Jose Junior, one of the members of the Afro-Reggae Cultural Group, explains;

Our major objective is that the youths of the favelas do not take the narco-traffickers as their idols any longer. Instead of guns, we offered musical instruments. Our power is not that of death, but that of life” (Ramos & Ochoa, 2009).

Through the activities of this group, stereotypes have been altered and new images are being created in their place through the use of these ‘patriotic songs,’ showing that it is possible to combat violence through creative and peaceful means (Ramos & Ochoa, 2009).

There was a need for a more systematic investigation of the ways that music could influence groups of people during electioneering period. In Kenya some political music has been used to bring about cohesion among communities. Such include;

Najitolea daima Kenya, — Eric Wainaina

<i>Au kufungwa gerezani Nia yao ukombizi kuvunja pingu za ukoloni Naishi, Natumaini, Najitolea daima Kenya,</i>	<i>Nor being Locked up in jail Their goal rescuing and breaking chains of colonization I live, I hope I volunteer forever for Kenya</i>
---	---

<i>Hakika ya bendera</i>	<i>Sure to the flag</i>
<i>Ni uthabiti wangu</i>	<i>Is my identity</i>
<i>Nyeusi ya wananchi na nyekundu ni ya damu</i>	<i>Black for the people and red for the blood</i>
<i>Kijani ni ya ardhi, nyeupe ya amani</i>	<i>Green for the land and white for peace</i>
<i>Daima mimi mkenya</i>	<i>I'm forever Kenyan</i>
<i>Mwananchi mzalendo</i>	<i>A patriotic citizen</i>
<i>Wajibu wetu</i>	<i>Our responsibility</i>
<i>Ni Kuishi kwa upendo</i>	<i>Is to live with love</i>
<i>Kutoka ziwa Mpaka pwani</i>	<i>From the lake to the coast</i>
<i>Kaskazini na kusini</i>	<i>North to south</i>
<i>Naishi, Natumaini,</i>	<i>I live, I hope</i>
<i>Najitolea daima Kenya,</i>	<i>I volunteer forever for Kenya</i>
<i>Hakika ya bendera</i>	<i>Sure to the flag</i>
<i>Ni uthabiti wangu</i>	<i>Is my identity</i>
<i>Nyeusi ya wananchi na nyekundu ni ya damu</i>	<i>Black for the people and red for the blood</i>
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<i>Daima mimi mkenya</i>	<i>I'm forever Kenyan</i>
<i>Mwananchi mzalendo</i>	<i>A patriotic citizen</i>

Research on music had tended to focus on commercial, social engagement and works environments.

The way that music might affect behavior during political competition has been neglected. In view of this, the following entities entrusted with regulating music and enhancing national cohesion, as a matter of urgency alleviate conflict causing compositions are explored in the next sub- sections. National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC), charged Permanent Presidential Music Commission (PPMC), Music Society of Kenya (MCSK) Kenya Music Festivals (KMF).

2.2.1 National Cohesion and Integration Commission

According to the Ministry of Justice, National Cohesion and Constitutional Affairs (MJNCCA), national cohesion and integration is defined as a process and an outcome of instilling and enabling all citizens to have a sense as well as a feeling that they are members of the same community engaged in a common enterprise, facing shared challenges and opportunities. National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) is a governmental body mandated to build a national community and promote peaceful co-existence among Kenyan populations. Therefore national cohesion simply means the extent to which the citizens or the society of a given nation or state can bond together to achieve its national development.

Attainment of a cohesive community is challenge to almost every nation whether in the first world or third world countries. This is because of incompatible and clashing interests pursued by individuals or groups in society. Yugoslavia in eastern Europe, for example, collapsed due to ethnicity which played an important role in its conflicts, as political elites took advantage of the symbolic power that ethnicity had and used it as a tool for pursuing territorial, political and economic objectives (Sotiropoulou,2004).

According to Sotiropoulou, the communist regime suppressed the various ethnic identities of the groups and tried to create, a Yugoslav based on supra-ethnic elements. Nationalism and ethnicity have always been key elements in state building and break-ups of states, and never so than in the world today. Ethnicity is the state of being ethnic or belonging to a certain ethnic group

(Kellas,2008). When ethnicity becomes nationalist, the result is emergence of ethno-nationalism which in turn can prove threatening for the existence of the state and lead to ethnic conflict and disintegration as in the case of Yugoslavia.

The issue of ethnicity is also common in German even after the unification of the country following the collapse of the Berlin wall in 1989. According to German ambassador to Kenya Mrs. Margit Hellwig-Boette, German was a very tribal country and was the last to be united in Europe but has emerged from its difficulties united (NCIC, 2011). It is in view of this fact the Council of Europe came up with policy guidelines targeted on the Public Service Media (PSM) to promote social cohesion and integration of all communities. According to Directorate general human rights and legal affairs (DGHRLA, 2009) reports, PSM should continue to play an active role in the promotion of a culture of tolerance and encourage actions that can contribute to social cohesion. The report gave clear guidelines on what the member countries PSMs should address in order to achieve this noble goal.

In Africa, Rwanda also experienced one of the worst atrocities which had an inclination of heightened ethnicity. The infamous Rwandan genocide occurred in 1994 when the majority Hutus turned on the minority Tutsi in which close to one million people were killed in a period of 100 days (Des Forges, 1999). The massacre was a culmination of long-standing ethnic competition and tension between the minority Tutsi who had controlled the power for centuries and the majority Hutu people who had come to power in the rebellion of 1959-62 (Lemarchand, 2002). It is believed that a local radio station

started hate speech against Tutsi is while the international media either ignored or seriously misconstrued events on the ground.

Rwanda is currently pursuing the road to healing and national cohesion. The current government prohibits discrimination based on ethnicity, race and religion. It has also passed numerous laws prohibiting emphasis on Hutu or Tutsi identity in most political activities (Lemarchand, 2002).

Nationally, Kenyan communities are not so cohesive and integrated as they ought to be. Ethnicity is highly pronounced in the country especially during election times by political elites who wish to use it as a vehicle for their own self-interest. Although the country occasionally experiences perennial inter-ethnic conflicts, many of these conflicts are reported during election period as people tend to vote along ethnic lines and anybody perceived to have voted against 'them' (the dominant groups) would be victimized (Gatheru, 2005)

2.2.2 Permanent Presidential Music Commission (PPMC)

The Permanent Political Music Commission (PPMC) of Kenya is a government Commission established to promote the development and practice of music and dance, spearhead the growth and development of the music industry and to contribute to the understanding and preservation of Kenyan musical arts and expression. As a government institution established to promote Music, it provided a good starting point for research work in investigating the projects already engaged in by the government and various organizations and individuals that the support. It was first established in

1988 and later in the year 2008, the Ministry of State for Public Service transformed the Permanent Presidential Music Commission into the Department of Music under the Ministry of State for National Heritage and Culture. As of now, it is a department under the Ministry of Sports, Culture and the Arts.

2.2.3 The Music Copyright Society of Kenya (MCSK)

Understanding the role that MCSK plays in music is important as it affects musicians and other affected stakeholders like producers and performers. It is registered under the Companies Act (Cap486 of the laws of Kenya) as a Company Limited by Guarantee. It is a Non-profit making Collecting Management organization for Authors, Composers and Publishers of musical works. Its main mandate is to collect royalties in public performance and Broadcasting, on behalf of its members and to distribute the same to its members, based on the professional rules of Copyright Collective Management Organizations (CMO). The Society also represents in Kenya the interests of other interests of similar performing Rights Societies through Reciprocal agreements. MCSK aims at building, mobilizing, institutionalizing and supporting the music fraternity within Kenya, integrating, sustaining and enhancing their earning for their works. It is in pursuit of these objectives that MCSK supports artists and bands in peace activities initiated that supports various activities such as the Amka Kenya Initiative of 2013.

Considering other countries like China, Music Copyright Society of China is a copyright collective management organization established to maintain non-profit composer, lyricist, and other legitimate rights and interests of copyright music. The organization functions under nine departments: membership department, documentation department, performing rights licensing business, business license reproduction rights, broadcasting rights licensing business department, legal department, ministry of information propaganda, and distribution and technology. The normal operation of the information department works to ensure a user association for music licensing services, protect music copyright holders and musical works gain wider recognition, and protection abroad.

In United States of America, The Copyright Society of the USA (CSUSA) is dedicated to advancing the study of copyright law and related rights in literature, music, art, theater, motion pictures, television, computer software, architecture, and other works of authorship, distributed via both traditional and new media. Publishing the Journal of the Copyright Society of the U.S.A. (formerly known as the Bulletin of the Copyright Society of the USA), has been a principal activity of The Society since its inception. The Journal is published several times a year, with articles chosen by an Editorial Board comprised of some of the leading teachers and practitioners of the law of copyright.

In Nigeria, Copyright law focuses on the protection of the rights of authors and owners of copyright works from unauthorized exploitation by third parties. Central to the protection of copyright is the right of copyright owners to sue and enforce alleged infringement. Collective management organizations (CMOs) developed globally to facilitate the exercise of this right by copyright owners, given the nature and pervasiveness of

copyright infringement. However, it appears from the provisions of the Nigerian Copyright Act 2004 that the exercise of the right to sue on behalf of its members by CMOs in Nigeria is not unrestrained.

The 1709 Statute of Anne, which was passed into law by the British Parliament on April 10, 1710, is traditionally claimed to be the world's first copyright statute and has thus become viewed as the origin of a system of national laws that today exist in most countries of the world. L. Benti (2010). This act vested exclusive rights to authors or purchasers in the copies of printed books.

The preamble of this Act emphasizes the need to strike a balance between rights holders and users as it states that it is “an act for encouragement of learning” and “for the encouragement of learned men to compose and write useful books”. The passing of the Statute was intended to address a growing practice among users of exploiting printed and written works without the license of the authors.

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The Society also represents in Kenya the interests of other interests of similar

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The history of Music Copyright Society of Kenya can be traced back in 1980's. It is said that the 1980s in Kenya witnessed the formation of several new music-based organizations, which were to function as vehicles for putting forward the demands of interest groups on the Kenyan popular music scene, Malm & Silla (1991).

On March 4, 1983, MCSK was established to take over the rights to collect and distribute copyright royalties, a monopoly previously enjoyed by PRS. MCSK was intended to be a national society of composers, authors and publishers of musical works as opposed to the existing Musicians Performing Rights Society of Kenya (MPRSK), (S.Ndemange (1984). Therefore once MCSK was established, it took over the functions that were previously handled by the PRS and the MPRSK under a PRS-MPRS Collaboration Agreement signed on January 1, 1981.

2.3.4 The Kenya Music Festival

Music Festivals in African countries in venturing into Music festivals of other countries, studies shows that Music festival has a great inlet into the arts and cultures of the societies that host them, while offering great potential to local economies and countless business opportunities for African artists to grow their bands. However, not all these

countries have prioritize music as part of their agendas despite the vast numbers of festival with diverse genres available all around, all over Africa.

In Zanzibar, *Sauti za Busara* "African sounds of wisdom" whistle through the air every February when Sauti za Busara takes places in Zanzibar. Since 2003, the East African festival with 100% live music has prioritized a curated set that highlights culturally significant music, while drawing attention to the diverse range of genres existing in the middle belt of the African continent and beyond. Sauti za Busara has become a major networking and learning destination for artists as well as promoters, A&Rs; and other music industry personnel as it provides a chance to witness the best East Africa have to offer while enjoying the scenic views of Stone Town, Zanzibar. The festival has also moved towards various capacity building sessions and workshops that provide a platform for knowledge sharing among music professionals from all over the world who make the pilgrimage. In 2019, over four days and nights, the festival is expected to program 400 musical acts and host about 20,000 people (Perullo & Alex 2005).

In Ghana, Music festival is called *Asa Baako*. It engineers its programing to match the unique and rejuvenating environment of Busua in the Western Region of Ghana, where the thick tropical rain forest meets the sea, producing miles of white sand beaches. The five-day festival is a get away from the stress of city life aimed at rejuvenating through music, blended with sports and lifestyle activities like surfing, beach sports, canoeing, yoga, historical tours, fishing, and more. Coinciding with Ghana's Independence Day Weekend in the first week of March, the festival typically attracts about 2,000 local and

foreign visitors to party day and night on the beaches and rainforest around "one dance (Perullo & Alex 2005).

In South Africa, Music Festival is called Cape Town Jazz Festival. The grand Cape Town Jazz Festival is definitely necessary see music festival on the continent, even if you are not into jazz music. Proudly one of the largest music events in Africa, the festival takes place over 2 days at the tail end of March and features a star-studded line-up of global Jazz stars. However, the festival has moved beyond the original name genre to features acts from diverse fields of expression such as hip-hop, experimental, pop, afro beats etc. Cape Town Jazz Festival also has a well develop infrastructure to host various capacity building workshop sessions for artists, photographers, videographers, music label executives, journalist and students. *(South Africa, March, Okay Africa)*

In Swaziland, Music festival is called Bush Fire Festival. The flames of the Bush Fire Festival in Swantini have spread all over the world making it one of the most idolized music festivals, attracting about 26,000 people each year from over 60 countries to the Southern African nation. Bush Fire Festival is hosted at House on Fire in the farmlands of the Malkerns Valley, set in the midst of the Mzimba mountains, offering visitors the chance to take in the dream-like views through a camping experience. The rapidly growing festival is a perfect excuse to dive into eSwantini culture through the crafts and food markets at the festival whilst enjoying a mostly Southern African music line-up with sprinkles of afro beats, hip-hop, jazz and soul. *(Swaziland, May, Okay Africa)*

In Uganda, Music festival is called Nyege Nyege Festival. Nyege Nyege Festival is just in its fourth year but has already started turning heads all over the continent. Set in a forest right by the source of the Nile in Jinja, Uganda, the 4-day East African music festival is now home to some of the best electronic music stages on the continent as it fuses underground and gritty electro-pop with global house and pop grooves through all-day performances by the banks of the Nile and parties through the night in the deep forest. Nyege Nyege is an exciting prospect to put on your list as its reputation for putting on the freshest electronic music keeps growing, making it one of the best places to discover new and classic African electronic music. (*Uganda, August 2005, Okay Africa*)

In Nigeria, music festivals is called Felabration. Felabration was born out of the urgent need to celebrate one of the greatest African songwriters of all time, Fela Kuti. The 11-year-old afrobeat festival, held each year in October to mark Fela's birthday, is one stop that you cannot miss on your pilgrimage. Hosted at the New Afrika Shrine, Lagos, the festival brings together a host of artists who either contributed to the birth of Fela Kuti's distinct style or were inspired by his wizardry with music and courage with social issue to craft their own sound. Felabration is necessary see because it takes you to the home of one of the most ingenious and popular forms of African music: afro beat. (May, 2000, Nigeria, Okay Africa)

Kenya Music festival started in the year 1927 by the white settlers with the elite schools for Enjoyment. In 1948, the government took over, an executive committee appointed by the Cabinet secretary (Minister) runs the festival, and the President of Kenya is the

Patron.

Some of the objectives of the KMF is to nurture and develop talent, preserve culture, enhance national unity, cohesion and integration. KMF brings together millions of schoolchildren and adults in education together to sing at one venue regardless of their ethnic backgrounds bringing the element of National cohesion and integration. Some of these songs composed during Kenya Music Festival include;

Tuishangilie Kenya

Tuishangilie Kenya Taifa letu tukufu, Kenya tunayoipenda

Twajivunia Sana tukijiita wakenya nchi yenye Baraka

Kenya makao yetu ni nchi ya kupendeza kamwe hatutaiacha

Anayependa Kenya ni yule mwenye kutenda haki kwa watu wote

Na ukipenda Kenya ujitengane na mambo yenye kuvunja amani, hatutaki matata Kenya

Wenzangu, Kenya kipenzi chetu, hatutaiacha milele daima

Na tumeapa sote wananchi wa Kenya, kutumikia Kenya daima na milele

Kenya kipenzi chetu nchi yenye Upendo, hatutaacha Kenya daima na milele

Kenya ni mama yetu tena ni baba yetu hatutaacha Kenya daima na milele

Eh, sitaiacha Kenya nchi yangu mimi ni mwanakenya daima

Na nikienda ng'ambo nitarudi

Sitadanganywa kamwe na wageni

Wala sitapotoshwa na wabaya

Sitasaliti Kenya nchi yangu

Na majirani Wangu nitalinda

(Wasonga 1984)

The teachers and choir trainers under this organization compose music on set pieces, emerging issues and patriotic songs that urge Kenyans to live together in peace and harmony.

Lack of national cohesion and integration in the country is also partially blamed on historical injustices and negligence by successive governments. For instance, policies in sessional paper No. 10 of 1965. It placed emphasis on developing high potential areas at the expense of other places was largely blamed for underdevelopment and neglect of many parts of the country by successive regimes after independence (NCIC, 2011). This policy paper led to unequal distribution of resources between the high potential areas also known as 'productive' and the low potential or 'unproductive areas' thereby resulting in discrimination in matters of developments.

For the country to achieve sustainable development and growth there is need for citizens to see themselves as Kenyans first, and promote harmonious peaceful coexistence among themselves; and also respect and appreciate their ethnic and racial diversity.

The influence of political mobilization music on status and level of national cohesion in Nairobi County, Kenya can then then be viewed in these perspectives: Common vision and sense of belonging (do Nairobians feel that they have something in common as a people?). Are there common needs and problems at work, at home and during travels to work? If yes therefore, they are likely to see this as a common factor that unites them. Do Nairobians have a sense of belonging? Are there even to a large extent the places people choose for residence mostly dependent on our ethnic loyalties? Do people still feel more

secure living with 'our' people than with the 'other' people? In any case, do the political talks around the city adds fuel to the divisions, both ethnic and political? How is the sharing of resources and the constant fights in the political appointments in the County assembly? Is there peaceful co-existence among all members?, Is there appreciation and value for peoples' diverse backgrounds and circumstances? Is there apparent deep-seated ethnic hate among us? Are there similar life opportunities for those from different backgrounds? Do poor people live in similar conditions irrespective of their ethnic backgrounds? Do the rich ones including middle class people live in better places? Do we feel for or think about each other? Is there strong and positive relationships developed between people from different backgrounds?

This can be judged from the arguments above. Status n levels of national cohesion in Nairobi: Indicators of cohesion whether regional or national include the following: harmony and peaceful coexistence between persons of different ethnic and racial communities, good relations, equality etc. Nairobi being the capital city of Kenya is one cosmopolitan area where all communities and races in Kenya converge for various economic, social n professional reasons. Despite vibrant political activities, the city has maintained peace and the few disruptions have been managed quickly. There have never been xenophobic threats as witnessed in other cities in Africa.

During social activities, sports and national days, all Nairobi's converge in a common place to express their unity of purpose, a great indicator of the cohesion. Any disputes are resolved through the laid down mechanisms that are accepted by all. In cases of

calamities, emergencies or attacks by terror groups, citizens have shown undivided unity by coming together to provide support for one another. (Nairobians can quote these as observations or personal interviews)

Therefore, Nairobi is yet to achieve cohesiveness, in my view. There are many challenges that still need to be addressed that border on the role of the national government in fostering national cohesion. Remember, cohesion in Nairobi is a factor of national cohesion. This creates a knowledge gap on the influence of political mobilization music on status and level of national cohesion in Nairobi County, Kenya.

2.3 Challenges Inherent in employing Political Mobilization Music towards National Cohesion.

Political mobilizations have been more successful than other existing political systems in safeguarding various common goods, such as protection of basic human rights, personal freedom, wealth and equalities of opportunities. However, the historical record also shows numerous examples of unstable democracies. These have been replaced by authoritarian dictatorships (such as the Weimar Republic in the 1930s and Chili in the 1970s). Other countries were formally represented as democracies, but where opportunities for opposition groups are constrained to such an extent that most observers do not consider them to be "true" political mobilization, such as contemporary Russia, Egypt, Indonesia and Kenya. These examples underline the relevance of one of the classic themes in political science: what are necessary and sufficient conditions under which political mobilization can maintain stability and safeguard basic principles of democratic accountability, representation and legitimacy. The study first sought to find

out from all categories of respondents if there were any challenges inherent in employing political mobilization music in Nairobi.

Globally, in the USA, 'We Shall Overcome' became the anthem of the civil rights movement, evolving from a spiritual religious song into a social protest song first used in 1945.

We Shall Overcome

*We shall overcome
We shall overcome
We shall overcome, some day*

*Oh, deep in my heart
I do believe
We shall overcome, some day*

*We'll walk hand in hand
We'll walk hand in hand
We'll walk hand in hand
We'll walk hand in hand, some day*

*Deep in my heart
Oh, deep in my heart
I do believe
I do believe
We shall overcome, some day
We shall overcome, some day*

*We shall live in peace
We shall live in peace
We shall live in peace, some day
We shall live in peace, some day
Oh, deep in my heart
I do believe
We shall overcome, some day*

*The most important verse if the one they wrote down in Montgomery
Alabama
They said 'We are not afraid'
And the young people taught everybody else a lesson*

*All the older people that had learned how to compromise
And learned...*
(Pete Seeger)

It later crossed over from the black community, inspiring a new generation of white protest singers such as Joan Baez and Bob Dylan (Whitehead, 2008). Bob Dylan composed the song “The Times They Are a-Changin’”. Ever since its release the song was influential to people's views on society, with critics noting the general yet universal lyrics as contributing to the song's lasting message of change. The lyrics are as listed;

The Times They Are a-Changin'

*Come gather 'round, people
Wherever you roam
And admit that the waters
Around you have grown
And accept it that soon
You'll be drenched to the bone
If your time to you is worth savin'
And you better start swimmin'
Or you'll sink like a stone
For the times they are a-changin'*

*Come writers and critics
Who prophesize with your pen
And keep your eyes wide
The chance won't come again
And don't speak too soon
For the wheel's still in spin
And there's no tellin' who
That it's namin'
For the loser now
Will be later to win
For the times they are a-changin'*

*Come senators, congressmen
Please heed the call
Don't stand in the doorway
Don't block up the hall
For he that gets hurt
Will be he who has stalled*

*The battle outside ragin'
Will soon shake your windows
And rattle your walls
For the times they are a-changin'*

*Come mothers and fathers
Throughout the land
And don't criticize
What you can't understand
Your sons and your daughters
Are beyond your command
Your old road is rapidly agin'
Please get out of the new one
If you can't lend your hand
For the times they are a-changin'*

*The line it is drawn
The curse it is cast
The slow one now
Will later be fast
As the present now
Will later be past
The order is rapidly fadin'
And the first one now
Will later be last
For the times they are a-changin'
(Bob Dylan)*

Bob Dylan wrote the song with an attempt to create an anthem of change for the time, which was influenced by Irish and Scottish ballads (Whitehead, 2008)

In Israel, and in the context of Israel's relationship with the Palestinians, Karen Abi-Ezzi has shown how the jazz music of Gilad Atzmon challenges Israel to rethink its treatment of Palestinians and their political claims, by reinterpreting traditional Jewish/Israeli music and musical themes through a fusion with Arab-Palestinian styles and Israeli-Palestinian musicians (Abi-Ezzi, 2008). The emergence of the highly popular world musical genre epitomized by Peter Gabriel's WOMAD (World of Music, Arts and Dance)

had its own effect. It started with its first festival in 1982 with the aim of bringing together the musicians of the world to excite, to inform, and to create an awareness of the worth and potential of a multicultural community. It demonstrated the power of music to unite and inspire in a way that both acknowledges and transcends national and ethnic divides and traditions (Boyce Tilman, 2008).

African perspectives: Over the catchy beats of Afropop, artists are increasingly tapping into the frustrations of young Africans Leaders, threatened by this musical momentum, are trying to silence it. For example D,O, Miasian disappeared into Tanzania during Mzee Moi's era when he composed a song in luu. He was referring to the leadership of the time in satire form and before he was arrested, he escaped and went to Tanzania where he stayed and came back when President Moi left power (Douglas, 2010). The song translated in English;

BIM end Bim (A baboon is a baboon)

"In this world, we have houses, cars and all that which are made by man. They can breakdown.

But there are those made by God, like Birds, fish, crawling creatures, animals.

These ones die.

There are some animals that resemble human beings like baboons and monkeys.

Nothing is good for baboons.

When you give them food, they grab and even hide some and when they see you helping others, they would kill you.

Nothing is good for baboons.

I helped them when they were in the prisons and hospitals but when they came out, the relationship between them and me is like a dog and a sheep, not agreeing at all.

*I helped the monkeys when the baboons were out to finish them
but nowadays monkeys assume me and instead calls its kinsmen
to come and collect fruits.*

*One day as I was walking in the jungle, I found an unconscious
baboon, having been assaulted by the monkey.
I collect the baboon, took it to my house and nursed him.
After recovering, he forgot all that I did.*

*Nowadays when the recovered baboon sees me, it is war.
They have now taken this world as theirs.
When we were fighting for the fruits, where were they?
Surely an animal is an animal.*

*I have never seen a wedding between a cow and a donkey, sheep
and a dog. An animal begets an animal, a baboon begets a
baboon hence a baboon is a baboon. You do not like my words
but they are full of wisdom, helping many. Let the tractor
continue tilling.”*

(D. Owino Misiani.)

In Uganda, musician Bobi Wine’s popularity among his fans was enough to catapult him from self-styled “Ghetto King” to an elected lawmaker Wallensteen, (2007). In 2017, Wine beat out the ruling party and opposition party candidate to win his seat.

Moving from stage to parliamentary benches, Wine’s message has remained the same, “speaking out against corruption”, social media taxation and the 73-year-old president’s continued grip on power. The song “Time Bomb” was released by Bobi Wine.

Time Bomb

*Freedom comes to those Who fight
But not to those who cry
Because the more you cry is the more your people continue to die
So rise and defend your rights*

Yaga yaga yaga yagayo

*I would like to communicate
About the things that we have to eliminate
Ignorance and poverty fi eradicate
And all ghetto youths dem fi educate (yo)
Don't you try to politicize
Don't you think me a try to criticize
(no)
Sensitize, me a sensitize
And mi say my people must realize
The most important things
(say)
True liberty begins ina your mindset
To free the ghetto people dem must educate
But education is expensive to get
It's like you see how we carry water in a basket
I don't know why the corruption is too much (yaga yaga yaga)
Why the price of electricity is too high (yaga yaga yaga)
Why...*

(Bobi Wine)

When Wine's supporters clashed with those of president Yoweri Museveni's, state security arrested him in what seems like an attempt to neutralize him. At 36, Wine could be an ideal candidate in one of the world's youngest nations. Museveni, who has been in power for over three decades, tried to dismiss Wine as, "indisciplined grandson" but was clearly rattled by this emerging political threat. Wine has had a knack for being a kingmaker, with four candidates he backed in the 2017 winning seat in by-elections. Following his detention, his fans and supporters came out to protest, causing chaos in the capital and nearby towns (Appadurai, 2007).

Laura, (2018), argued that in Tanzania, even when songs have no overt political message, they are viewed as subversive by governments using conservative values to keep a country in check. Tanzania's highest selling artist, Diamond Platnumz, had two of his songs banned earlier 2018 (Waka and Halleluja) and was detained a month later for a social media post deemed indecent by the country's authorities.

Waka

*Waaaasafi May back Music The black
Bad voice Hoooooh Fking like nobody
Sucking your whole body Fking everyday at party
Clean bi--h playing dirty Ooh! Before the light cut
Light up the prey And them we pop bottles
Malaysian things Cause love is the thing that I have in ma heart
And its there for you African queen that I need that
I want everyday is all you
Leo Beki Kadaka kona Mwendu wa kreti
Kwa nyama choma Bao kila mechi
Ka Maradona Mtoto kashawaka
I will sing alone Uuuuuh lalala
Uuuuuh lalala Uuuuuh lalala Yes me
sing alone Uuuuh lalala Uuuuh lalala
And we go like Waka waka
Waka waka Waka Waka waka Waka waka
Waka waka Waka waka Waka
Waka waka Waka waka*

(Rick Ross)

Pre-Chorus: *Uuuuuh lalala Uuuuuh lalala Uuuuuh lalala
Yes me sing alone Uuuuh lalala
Uuuuh...*

(Diamond Platinumz)

As Tanzania enacts an internet crackdown, arresting the country's biggest musician sends a clear message to ordinary young Tanzanians (Askew, 2002).

In Nigeria, Osiebe (2016), often, banning a politically charged song only serves to reinforce its message. Inspired by Childish Gambino's audacious hit *This is America*, Nigerian rapper Falz thuned that gaze on his own country. Yet, while the American version provoked debate and cultural acclaim, Falz's critique of Nigeria's ills was silenced by an embarrassed state.

This is America

Don't catch you slippin' now
Don't catch you slippin' now
Look what I'm whippin' now
This is America (*Woo*)
Don't catch you slippin' now
Don't catch you slippin' now
Look what I'm whippin' now

Ooh-ooh-ooh-ooh-ooh, tell somebody
You go tell somebody
Grandma told me
Get your money, Black man (*Get your—Black man*)
Get your money, Black man (*Get your—Black man*)
Get your money, Black man (*Get your—Black man*)
Get your money, Black man (*Get your—Black man*)
Black man
(Childish Gambino)

Regionally in general, the decolonization period in Africa marked huge growth in the African film industry. Individuals such as François Mitterrand led efforts that encouraged filmmakers and producers to integrate cultural, political and economic development of the continent into African film production. In spite of the successes, the African cinema industry lacks support and investment, which is much needed in order to support the industry in all its spinoffs, including film festivals. These festivals and events alike act as awareness-raising mechanisms. They also foster an increase in distribution of films that will permit the African film industry to attract a lot more genuine interest from the international film going and investing community (Makobi 2017).

Musicians need to be alive to changing and catchy trends of composition so that their songs are not dismissed from the beginning but are embraced by a larger majority of the population. Other challenges may include reaching remote sections of the country with the music, Language of composition and mobilization resources.

The issue of composing songs and singing them without consultation of Music Copyrights and in other cases politicians using songs without consent of composers have been a challenge and have been observed in different parts of the country and in other continents after pre-colonial period Hornsby (2013). In Kenya, in daily magazine published on Saturday November 19 2005 revealed that, then lawyer and theatre personality Stephen Mwenesi, who was also a copyright expert, warned that the politicians who were using the songs without consent of the composers could be sued for breach of copyright.

According to Mwenesi (2008), the politicians were affecting the perception of the artistes by the public who saw them as supporting a particular political course when the opposite could be the case or, when they may as well be neutral. "Singing the songs in campaign rallies as has been the case, constitutes a public performance and requires a license from the relevant administrator of rights of the affected song or the composer. Short of that, the composer has every right to sue the 'infringer' and seek compensation for the unauthorized use of their intellectual property," says Mwenesi. Keith (2015) adds that efforts to get comment from the Music Copyright Society were fruitless but Mwenesi, who has served as representative to the Performing Rights Society, says the unauthorized use of songs for campaigns is an indication of the abuses that artistes have endured over the years, worse still from law makers who should know better.

John Katana of Uyoga believed that Kenyan musicians "had been so badly bartered" economically that they may not have the resources and energy to pursue matters legally

but Mwenesi thought that composers had to look at copyright violations seriously as they deprive them of income. "It is a clear breach and any court should be able to offer due compensation and stop use of the song, if asked to do by the artiste". Mwenesi (2008) added that copyright violation is a rights issue that touches on the business of composers and their political rights.

Former US Secretary of State Collin Powell ranked the African American civil rights song *We Shall Overcome* as his favourite and offered the basic ingredients for an effective campaign song: "It has the simplicity and eloquence that ensures easy adaptability as a mass rendition at rallies". The former British Chancellor of Exchequer Kenneth Clark cited

Reeves-Smith,(2007) composition *The Man Who Waters the Working Beer* for its line "For a strong and healthy working class, is the thing I most fear. So I reaches my hand for the watering can and I waters their beer".

The Man That Waters the Workers' Beer

*I am the man, the very fat man
That waters the workers' beer
I am the man, the very fat man
That waters the workers' beer
And what do I care if it makes them ill
If it makes them terribly queer
I've a car, a yacht, and an aeroplane,
And I waters the workers' beer.*

*Now when I waters the workers' beer
I puts in strychnine
Some methylated spirits
And a can of kerosene
Ah, but such a brew so terribly strong
It would make them terribly queer
So I reaches my hand for the watering-can
And I waters the workers' beer:*

*Now a drop of good beer is good for a man
When he's tired, thirsty and hot
And I sometimes have a drop myself
From a very special pot
For a strong and healthy working class*

*Is the thing that I most fear
So I reaches my hand for the watering-can
And I waters the workers' beer:*

*Now ladies fair, beyond compare
Be you maiden or wife
Spare a thought for such a man
Who leads such a lonely life
For the water rates are frightfully high,
And the meths is terribly dear
And there ain't the profit there used to be
In watering the workers' beer:*

(Peddy Ryan)

There is also Labbi Siffre's *Something Inside So Strong* for the line "The higher you build your barriers, the taller I become". Janis McNairy head of the centre of political songs at Glasgow favours James Brown hit *I'm Black and proud* for its liner "I'd rather die than be living on my knees. Say it loud I'm black and proud".

Say It Loud - I'm Black And I'm Proud [Live In Dallas]

*Uh! Your bad self!
Say it loud! I'm black and I'm proud
Say it louder! I'm black and I'm proud
Look a-here!
Some people say we got a lot of malice, some say it's a lotta nerve
But I say we won't quit movin' until we get what we deserve
We've been buked and we've been scoured
We've been treated bad, talked about as sure as you're born
But just as sure as it take two eyes to make a pair, huh!
Brother we can't quit until we get our share
Say it loud, I'm black and I'm proud
Say it loud, I'm black and I'm proud
One more time, say it loud, I'm black and I'm proud, huh!
I've worked on jobs with my feet and my hands
But all the work I did was for the other man
And now we demands a chance to do things for ourselves
We tired of beatin' our head against the wall
An'...*

(James Brown)

For Americans especially, the culture of protest songs provides an easy choice of music for political campaigns. In the year 2005, Democratic presidential candidate John Kerry had an appropriate choice picking Bruce Springsteen's *No Surrender* whose title was a good rallying call even after he lost. This was not so especially in Kenya where this genre of politically inspired music has dwindled and politicians have to re-word the songs or contract artistes to write songs specifically for the campaigns (Karlstrom& Mikael, 2003).

No Surrender

*Well, we bursted out of class
Had to get away from those fools
We learned more from a three-minute record, baby
Than we ever learned in school
Tonight I hear the neighborhood drummer sound
I can feel my heart begin to pound
You say you're tired and you just want to close your eyes
And follow your dreams down
Well, we made a promise we swore we'd always remember
No retreat, baby, no surrender
Like soldiers in the winter's night
With a vow to defend
No retreat, baby, no surrender
Well, now young faces grow sad and old
And hearts of fire grow cold
We swore blood brothers against the wind
Now I'm ready to grow young again
And hear your sister's voice calling us home
Across the open yards
Well maybe we'll cut someplace of our own
With these...*

(Bruce Springsteen & E Street Band)

An existing song has obvious advantages because the audience is familiar with the tune therefore the fact that more of popular songs will be used in future campaigns is not in doubt. In November 2004, Bush presidential campaign had to apologize for unauthorized use of John "Hall's *Still the One*" after the composer issued an open letter protesting the use of the song without his consent. Hall explained that his concern was as a songwriter

who made his living writing songs and would have reacted the same way had it been used by the Democratic Party.

The adaptation of pop songs for political campaigns has created a new dimension in politics. New age researchers are now taking interest to intervene and analyse the use of songs in political campaign (Lesiuk, 2005).

In the pre-modern tradition, the aesthetics of music or musical aesthetics explored the mathematical and cosmological dimensions of rhythmic and harmonic organization. In the eighteenth century, focus shifted to the experience of hearing music, and thus to questions about its beauty and human enjoyment (*Plaisir* and *jouissance*) of music. The origin of this philosophic shift is sometimes attributed to Baumgartner in the 18th century, followed by Kant. Through their writing, the ancient term 'aesthetics', meaning sensory perception, received its present-day connotation. In recent decades, philosophers have tended to emphasize issues besides beauty and enjoyment. For example, music's capacity to express emotion has been a central issue. Aesthetics is a sub-discipline of philosophy.

According to Von & Ralf (2007), in the 20th century, Peter Kivy, Jerrold Levinson, Roger Scruton, and Stephen Davies made important contributions. It is often thought that music has the ability to affect our emotions, intellect, and psychology; it can assuage our loneliness or incite our passions. The philosopher Plato suggests in *the Republic* that music has a direct effect on the soul. Therefore, he proposes that in the ideal regime music would be closely regulated by the state (Book VII). There has been a strong tendency in the aesthetics of music to emphasize the paramount importance of

compositional structure; however, other issues concerning the aesthetics of music include lyricism, harmony, hypnotism, emotiveness, temporal dynamics, resonance, playfulness, and color (Von & Ralf, 2007).

Like conflict, music can be found in every society around the world without exception (Levitin, 2006). It appears that making music is an innate human trait that dates back to the beginning of civilization and knows no limits in its reach to this day. The beat and melody might vary from one place to another, but regardless of these variations, music plays part in some of the most important customs and ceremonies of life across cultures, including weddings, funerals, recreational events and important holidays. Due to advances in technology, music is more accessible around the world than it has been at any other time in history of Music Experience and Behavior in Young People. According to Fischlin (2003), musical sounds are interwoven into the warp and weft of virtually everything. They mediate the world, as we know it through being linked in astonishingly diverse ways with images, words, and the formation of community.

Music is something that nearly every person on earth is involved in at some level, as listeners and performers, in ritual and religion and for fun and relaxation. Lopez-Vinader (2008) goes so far as to say that our own bodies are made of a huge combination of vibrations, and we could say that we are not matter, nor energy, but music, highlighting how fundamental music is to simply being alive (Lopez-Vinader, 2008). According to Wallenstein, (2007). Music in general is adaptable, so the melodies, beats, and dynamics can be adjusted to reflect its message and enhance its

impact on the listener.

Music can stimulate a whole range of emotions and perceptions, some forms of it uplifting and likely to work in favor of peace and harmony, other forms quite the opposite. Urbain (2008), in one of the few studies that has comprehensively explored the conflict transformation potential of music, provides many examples where it has been used to promote peace, including the concert organized by Daniel Barenboim and Edward Said in 1999, uniting Israeli and Palestinian musicians. This event developed into a permanent program, the West Eastern Divan Orchestra, where Israeli musicians play and study with musicians from other countries in the Middle East and combine this with ‘the sharing of knowledge and comprehension between people from cultures that traditionally have been rivals’ Wöllner, (2012). In this case, music provides the opportunity for contact, and therefore the potential for better understanding.

Music in general is neither inherently good nor bad, neither positive nor negative, in its impact on conflict resolution. Yet there are many examples where music unites peoples, to promote our self-awareness and self-esteem, mutual tolerance, sense of spirituality, intercultural understanding, ability to cooperate, healing (Lawrence, 2008), and there are many studies that illustrate how music can have these effects in certain places and contexts. One of the tunes of the South African, national anthem of the post-apartheid ‘NkosiSikelele Africa’, was sung as a song of liberation in the era of apartheid and inspired many in the struggle for freedom (Gray, 2008).

South African, National anthem

In Xhosa

*Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika
Maluphakanyisw' uphondo lwayo,*

*Lord bless Africa
May her glory be lifted high,*

In Zulu

*Yiva imithandazo yethu,
Nkosi sikelela, thina lusapho lwayo.*

*Hear our petitions
Lord bless us, your children*

In Sesotho

*Morena boloka setjhaba sa heso,
O fedise dintwa le matshwenyeho,
O se boloke, O se boloke setjhaba sa heso,
Setjhaba sa, South Afrika, South Afrika.*

*Lord we ask You to protect our nation,
Intervene and end all conflicts,
Protect us, protect our nation,
Protect South Africa, South Africa.*

In Afrikaans

*Uit die blou van onse hemel,
Uit die diepte van ons see,
Oor ons ewige gebergtes,
Waar die kranse antwoord gee,*

*Out of the blue of our heavens,
From the depths of our seas,
Over everlasting mountains,
Where the echoing crags resound,*

*Sounds the call to come together,
And united we shall stand,
Let us live and strive for freedom
In South Africa our land.*

(Enoch Sontonga)

Perhaps the most established use of music for peace is in the field of music therapy, which also, according to Maria Elena Lopez Vinader, has the potential to be used not only to alleviate illness in individual and group therapy, where it has been highly successful, but also as ‘social music’ therapy. Music therapy has matured as a recognized and effective form of psychotherapeutic intervention since its emergence in 1945. There are a variety of acknowledged and tested methods, but Lopez Vinader points to the emerging work of a new network, Music. Therapists for Peace, whose members are working on combining a specific therapeutic method (Logotherapy) with the peace building training methodology of Galtung (Lopez, 2008). An example of a

more case tested approach is the GIM model (Guided Imagery in Music), which has been used, under the guidance of the therapist, to put clients into a deep state of relaxation, which gives the possibility of entering into another state of consciousness, (allowing) the person to heal wounds from the past. The method has been used by Vegar Jordanger as part of a reconciliation workshop between Chechen, North Ossetian and Russian participants. Jordanger described how music was used in the workshop to create a response of ‘collective vulnerability’ among the participants, which creates the space in which negative emotions, particularly unacknowledged shame and anxiety, may be transformed into positive emotions and possibly a state of flow in group (Jordanger, 2008).

According to Appadurai (2007), meaning is not always inherent in a text, but is negotiated, made and remade as the text moves through a set of overlapping ‘scapes’ and presences. Moreover, music is a travelling text whose multiple meanings are contingent upon the politics of its production and consumption. Production and consumption entail creative expressions and appreciation that further require some appreciable amount of musical intelligence and wisdom to achieve. However, it is important for peace-making musicians to take a neutral stand and create songs that can be used to change the mind-set of the public to uphold patriotism that is built on peace and national cohesion. The musician in this case must take the position of a psychiatrist or a therapist to be able to prescribe the best of all effective songs to drive out the desire for violence and inculcate the feeling of peace and harmony.

Khaemba (2012) asserts that, in Kenya there has been stiff competition in the Social, Economic and Political space. As a result, conflicts have arisen, including those involving religious and ethnic interests. Amidst such competition and conflicts, the people of Kenya have needed constant reminders that the course of our nation must still be inclined towards values that promote peaceful coexistence and social cohesion. Successive political leaders have called for unity and patriotism. This leads us to analyse specific challenges under political parties, media Citizens and voters

2.3.1 Political parties

Political parties play an essential role in democracies. Parties are the only type of organization able of aggregating interests and opinions in different areas into a coherent political program: "... political parties created democracy and modern democracy are unthinkable save in terms of parties" (Vershbow, 2010). Yet, parties are currently experiencing a crisis, which possibly affects the functioning of democracy at large (Makobi 2017). In the first place, political parties can no longer count on the stable support of particular segments of the electorate, which makes election results uncertain and increases the impediments to talented people who might otherwise choose to pursue a political career. A second, but related point is that parties are less distinct than previously in terms of their traditional ideological denominations. This, in turn, makes it easier for voters to switch from one party to another. This opens up possibilities for new populist parties to arise. In addition, due to the relentless process of privatization and globalization, national states (and political parties as their main democratic agents) have fewer capacities to determine public policies, particularly in the economic sector.

The burgeoning influence of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's) in many regions of the contemporary world has added yet another institutional source of influence in the formulation of political and economic policies. Decreasing membership of parties, a lower turnout at elections and a deteriorating trust in political parties all pose a challenge to the legitimacy of parties as key democratic representatives. Finally, the increasing fragmentation of the media landscape complicates the communication of parties with their potential voters. Parties constantly adapt to these new realities, for instance by hiring more professional communication advisors to help them conduct professional campaigns.

One question is how these developments can be theorized in a coherent framework. The concept of 'audience democracy' (Marks & Fischer, 2002), may be one useful way of charting the interactions between political parties, civil society groups, the media and the citizens under the conditions broadly outlined above. The concept may also prove useful for re-assessing the relationship between prominent normative features of democratic governance, most notably representation and accountability. In terms of accountability, a salient feature of contemporary governance also entails an analysis of the mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion that operate within the so-called 'audience democracies,' since both political parties and the media tend to construct *and* fragment audiences for particular political purposes. For us, the guiding issue is what empirical research can tell us within such a framework about the implications for both the quality of democratic rules of the game and the outcomes generated by these rules.

2.3.2 Media

Looking back at the times where when the technologies of mass media were just being established. The radio had not yet been invented and the gramophone was just making its way into the global market. No YouTube, no twitter, no Facebook, no WhatsApp. The story of “The Ballad of Casey Jones,” which Joe Hill reworked into “Casey Jones, the Union Scab,” nicely illustrates the disseminating power of music. The ballad is credited to Wallace Saunders, an engine wiper at Canton, Ohio who liked to create little tunes about people he encountered at the railway station. As he sang and whistled while working, the station became his stage and the passengers became his audience. After a particularly bad train wreck, Wallace created a song about the engineer who died, Casey Jones. Passengers who stopped in Canton would pick up the catchy tune and sing it through to their different destinations. Spreading viral-like through the country, the song developed a life of its own.

The story, certainly partly myth, nevertheless exemplifies the power of music to spread well beyond its point of origin. Joe Hill reworked Saunders’ song about “The brave engineer”

Casey Jones (The Brave Engineer)

*Come all you rounders, if you wanna hear
The story 'bout a brave engineer
Casey Jones was the rounder's name
On a 68 wheeler, boys, he won his fame*

*The caller called Casey at a half past four
He kissed his wife at the station door
Mounted to the cabin with his orders in his hand
And it took his final trip to the Promised Land*

*Casey Jones mounted to the cabin
Casey Jones with the orders in his hand*

*Casey Jones mounted to the cabin
And it took his final trip to the Promised Land*

*Put in your water and shovel your coal
Put your head out the window watch the drivers roll
I'll run her till she leaves the rails
'Cause I made hours late with the western mail*

*He looked at his watch but the watch was slow
He looked at the water and the water was low
He looked...*

(Eddy Arnold)

by transforming the martyred hero into a union scab. Hill was unsparing in Casey Jones' fate. The new story had Jones refusing to join his fellow workers on a strike, crossing the picket line to operate the train, only to die a violent death in the wreck. He "hit the river bottom...broke his blessed spine," and, after "scabbing on the angels" in heaven, was "promptly fired ... down the Golden Stairs." The final stanza secures his eternal destiny in the lyrical universe:

Casey Jones - The Union Scab

*The Workers on the S. P. line to strike sent out a call;
But Casey Jones, the engineer, he wouldn't strike at all;
His boiler it was leaking, and its drivers on the bum,
And his engine and its bearings, they were all out of plumb.*

*Casey Jones kept his junk pile running;
Casey Jones was working double time;
Casey Jones got a wooden medal,
For being good and faithful on the S. P. line.*

*The workers said to Casey: "Won't you help us win this strike?"
But Casey said: "Let me alone, you'd better take a hike."
Then some one put a bunch of railroad ties across the track,
And Casey hit the river bottom with an awful crack.*

Casey Jones hit the river bottom;

*Casey Jones broke his blessed spine;
Casey Jones was an Angelino,
He took a trip to heaven on the S. P. line.*

*When Casey Jones got up to heaven, to the Pearly Gate,
He said: "I'm Casey Jones, the guy that pulled the S. P. freight."
"You're just the man," said Peter, "our musicians went on strike;
You can get a job a-scabbing any time you like."*

*Casey Jones got up to heaven;
Casey Jones was doing mighty fine;
Casey Jones went scabbing on the angels,
Just like he did to workers of the S. P. line.*

*They got together, and they said it wasn't fair,
For Casey Jones to go around a-scabbing everywhere.
The Angels' Union No. 23, they sure were there,
And they promptly fired Casey down the Golden Stairs.*

*Casey Jones went to Hell a-flying;
"Casey Jones," the Devil said, "Oh fine:
Casey Jones, get busy shovelling sulphur;
That's what you get for scabbing on the S. P. Line."*

(Joe Hill)

The sociologist R. Serge Denisoff refers to the protest songs of this era as “magnetic songs of persuasion,” which he contrasts to the “rhetorical songs of persuasion” of the 1960s (Street, 2004). The magnetic song of protest had a clear political function; to draw outsiders into a movement by identifying problems and prescribing clear solutions join a union, go on strike. These songs often drew on the call-and-response form of religious songs, a form that was meant to both literally and symbolically transform the passive listener into an active participant only here a type of politicization-through-participation substituted for religious conversion and spiritual uplift. In such an in

European countries, the media landscape is changing rapidly. Public television faces increasing competition for audience shares from commercial television stations. Traditional newspapers with high journalistic standards confront more and more competition from free newspapers, and the younger generation in particular is no longer willing to pay for quality newspapers. Both printed news and TV-news are losing part of their market share to the Internet. Increasing media competition may lower the quality of the political mobilization news. It has been proposed that, in their effort to increase their market share, commercial television stations frame political news in terms of conflict and elections as a contest resembling a horse race, while hardly paying any attention to the substance of politics, such as issues and policy making. The negative tone of such news is often seen as contributing to the observed increase in political cynicism in the United States (and Europe) during the last decades.

In an audience democracy the media provide politicians with a theatrical stage, which enables them to communicate with - and perform for- their potential voters. In response to the ever-increasing uncertainty of election outcomes, politicians appear more often in game shows and infotainment programs. By increasingly adopting a political style and mode of self-presentation, they may very well contribute to public cynicism about politics. With an increasing number of channels, the growth of commercial television, and the success of the Internet, a demand-driven market has replaced the traditional supply-driven media market of mass communication in democratic corporatist and polarized pluralist countries. Whereas formerly the media largely decided what content to offer their audiences, nowadays the putative wishes and volatile desires of the public

have become more decisive in what the media select and provide to the public.

This trend of a growing dominance of *media logic* is visible throughout modern democracies. However, this does not preclude the existence of significant differences between countries in the main patterns of interaction between media and politicians. Because of path dependencies, national media systems incorporate the dominance of media logic in different ways. The lines of research addressing these topics reflect upon current moralizing views of the transformation of the public sphere of democratic societies, such as the pessimist view that the new public sphere creates new forms of authoritarian populism, and the more optimist view that it reinvigorates civic associations.

Mobilization plays a central role in explaining participatory political behaviour. Van den Dungen, (2008). argue that “having been asked” is the single most important determinant of participation. While political mobilization initially relied entirely on face-to-face contacts, the advent of media transformed how politicians targeted voters. In the 21st century, rapid technological innovations have led to a bubble in the use of new media as political parties and candidates step up their internet presence, and they increasingly rely on social networks and mobile phone technology to win support.

In Kenya, new media was first used in 2002 by leading Presidential candidates though it was limited to texting and their party websites on which they posted their election manifesto (Nyairo, &Ogude, (2014). As the number of Kenyan internet users grew, the number of Presidential candidates that set up campaign websites increased each

electoral cycle. Political parties like KANU, DP and later NARC established their websites for 2002 campaigns.

The invention of social networking sites like Facebook, YouTube and Twitter among others is an important highlight in the use of new media, particularly web 2.0 technologies in political mobilization. Members of the social networks meet (virtually) to discuss ideas, exchange information and even impel each other to action (Osiebe, 2016). On these networks, people engage in debates on political topics and events. The success in application of social networking tools and texting by Barack Obama in 2008 campaign for US president to create a grassroots support base marked a watershed moment and effectively demonstrated how new media could serve as important tools for mobilizing voters.

As the 2013 Presidential campaigns began in Kenya, candidates inevitably factored in new media in their campaigns, not as a reinforcement strategy, but as a key medium by which to mobilize for political support. With the growing popularity of social networking among the Kenyan voters and the ability to access internet from mobile handsets, political parties and candidates created pages on Facebook and Twitter. Songs composed for political mobilization ever since are usually posted on social media and in some cases analysis done on such songs. (Garyewer, 2011)

2.3.3 Political Mobilization Music Composers

In modern political mobilization, the only type of political action that most citizens engage in is casting a vote in an election. Elections are a crucial ingredient of

democracy, not merely on the strength of guaranteeing peaceful transition of power, but also because they ensure that the preferences, interests and opinions of citizens become represented in the political realm. Research shows that a large majority of citizens in the established democracies consistently support the basic principles of democratic governance. Yet at the same time, support for the core institutions of representative democracy - in particular parliament, political parties and government decreases steadily in most countries (Dunn, 2008).

Moreover, turnout at elections tends to decrease in most countries as well. This raises two sets of questions. The first set of questions pertains to the factors that explain decreasing trust and turnout, and to the consequences of these developments for democratic rule, whether the decline in turnout and trust are structural or temporal. Whether failing trust in political parties induce citizens to extend their repertoire of political actions to other legal forms such as deliberation and political protest, or to illegal activities, such as political threats or violent acts. Lastly, the consequences of these kinds of political behaviors for the functioning of democracy.

A second set of questions pertains to the kind of electoral mandate citizens give to their representatives. The extent are electoral choices based on evaluations of the past performance of governing and opposition parties (output oriented legitimacy), and the extent they base their choice on plans for future policies (input oriented legitimacy). Whether we should interpret the success of new populist parties as a sign of protest against the establishment, then preferences, interests and ideas of citizens represented

at the EU-level. This explains how electoral processes constrained by the institutional, macro-economic and political context in which the elections take place.

For research in this area, it is important to consider the fact that Western European societies have become more culturally diverse, partially because of immigration, but also because of individualization and the emancipation of citizens. Conceptions of the "good life" may vary not only between culturally diverse groups, but also between men and women, generations and social classes. To the extent that these differences acquire political salience, these diversities may pose new challenges for political processes. The legitimacy of our democratic institutions of democratic modes of governance is jeopardized when specific groups are systematically underrepresented. Therefore, lower rates of political participation of women and immigrant groups, for example, potentially undermine the legitimacy of a democratic regime. As a counter-trend, however, groups successfully mobilizing based on their interests and ideas, sometimes by introducing new forms of collective action various minority.

In general, the outcomes of processes of mobilization and contention - as measured in terms of opportunities, resources and effective freedoms - depend in part on the ways nation specific arrangements and institutions seek to regulate cultural, religious and gender differences in the public realm. Minorities and newcomers, as have developed historically in contexts of colonialism and gender inequalities, sometimes challenge nation-specific regimes of regulation and dominant cultures. Majorities respond, in turn, by defending national cultures and prevailing norms against new challenges. In

addition, right-wing extremist and populist movements mobilize feelings of insecurity in societies that are increasingly diverse and fragmented.

In Kenya, music is an important tool for societal integration. History has a host of examples of the use of music to build cohesion and direct energies towards a particular communal goal. However, a number of challenges show up in the course of using music for political mobilization: Political mobilization music can be interpreted as instrument for political indoctrination and brainwashing. This can make people change attitude towards music as a whole just like they have done with instruments that are thought to be pro-establishment like KBC/VoK – remember that to date, there are people who do not even listen to the radio station because of such perceptions. In addition, there is likelihood of growing monotony in melody, rhythm and text leading to reduction in creativity. This is likely to reduce interest in the music and its message in the end. The challenge can also be to find messages that cut across ethnic and political divides and therefore appealing to everyone. There are cases where there is the likelihood of different political sections using the same musical strategy to achieve their own political interests resulting in lose-lose situation for everyone. Music may not have sufficient capacity to touch on technical yet important issues like the weak law and weak respect of the law, finances that support the process towards national cohesion etc. The other question would be about the composers' own political and ethnic loyalties. Would they be able to speak in one voice in their compositions? If these knowledge gaps can be addressed, music would work well to achieve national cohesion. Political mobilization music for national

cohesion in Kenya; Political mobilization music for national cohesion in Kenya should be viewed as enhancing national cohesion and not necessarily agitating for it.

National cohesion is largely promoted by peaceful n cohesion messages from influencing political leaders. The citizens religiously receive their messages and these are the messages that need to be echoed by songs on cohesion. Main challenges of using these songs are the media of reaching the people. Such songs are played on national radio and televisions whose audience is being completed by other media larger population could be into other stations or median hence miss the messages. Innovative ways of reaching the larger population needs to be sought and capitalized on.

2.4 Knowledge Gap

The effect of music cannot be underestimated in any setting. Music ever time memorial has been seen as a powerful tool that has created cohesion and can trigger conflict at the same time. It is in this light that this study sought to examine the influence of political mobilization music on national cohesion in Kenya with specific reference to Nairobi County. The knowledge gaps were identified as per specific objectives.

On the nature and evolution of political mobilization music in post-colonial era, in comparison to report by Republic of Uganda (2015), NRM presidential candidate Yoweri Museveni had time with musicians who sang “Tubonga Naawe” praise songs as a mobilization tool for National Resistance Candidate standing for various elective position in the run-up for 2016 elections. This is a contrary to Kenyan situation where mobilization songs have been used for financial gains by some musicians and political

leaders hence the need to explore the nature and evolution of political mobilization music in Kenya for a cohesive country for it to be able to achieve vision 2030 goals.

On the influence of PMM on status and level of national cohesion, a study by (Brown, 2008) through rhythm and tone, music becomes a powerful link between the emotionally rich ideas of a political thinker and the listeners. We are both political and musical creatures. This is indeed one of the things that make it so fun to be human and this is why it is so crucial to understand the potential of music as a mediating factor in the political transformation of society. There is no such study undertaken in Kenya to establish the status and level of political mobilization music on national cohesion necessitating this study.

The third objective on the challenges inherent in employing political mobilization music in promoting national cohesion, according to (Olesegun T, 2011) findings revealed that music performances during the 2011 general election in Nigeria really helped in mobilizing the citizens, it also causes conflicts and violence in some part of the country because of insulting texts in the songs. Scholars such as Olutoye and Olapade (1998) and Ilesanmi (1998) examine the role of political mobilization songs. Campaign and post-election pretest songs were composed in Hausa language. Similarly Kenya faces the same challenges when it comes to general elections where political mobilization music seem to have a thin line on whether it promotes national cohesion or it causes conflict among communities. The study endeavors to fill this gap by establishing the challenges coherent in employing political mobilization music towards national cohesion in Kenya in view of the fact that bodies like the National Cohesion and Integration

Commissioners (NCIC), have been seen not to be able to convict musicians who border hate speech due to inadequate government policies.

2.5 Conceptual Framework

A conceptual framework was very important in any research study being undertaken. It showed the relationship between the dependent variables and the independent variable.

The influence of music on political mobilization could not be explained using a single - Social theory, but could only be possibly explained by adopting a conceptual framework that incorporated existing social theories and theories of communication. The functionalist approach to music maintained that media served to survey the environment, to correlate various events in the environment, to transmit culture or social heritage ,and to entertain members as audience (Bently, & Torremans 2010).

A conceptual framework supported by three theories; Critical Race Theory (CRT), Music Meaning theory and Just Peace theory will underpin this study.

2.5.1 Critical Race Theory (CRT)

The critical race theory (CRT) is a theory of the study that involves a collection of activists and scholars interested in studying and transforming the relationship among race, racism, and power (Harris *et al*, 2012). The critical race theory provides a compelling framework by which hate speech can be analyzed in the extent to which the hate speech dehumanized vulnerable groups by establishing the sameness between two unrelated things or ideas. Phrases used to refer to other ethnic groups form metaphors that are not merely rhetorical but pedestals on which hate flourishes. Such metaphors reflect an insight through which coherent organization of experience are modelled to understand

another potentially revealing the rhetorical strategies and underlying conceptual systems by which vulnerable groups are understood and perhaps even acted against ((Harris *et al*, 2012). In Kenya negative descriptions of certain ethnic communities through hate speech led to their killing, maiming and displacement in 2007 showing that hate speech through political mobilization music promotes violence, discrimination and anarchy which are enemies of national cohesion.

The tenets of critical race theory hold that restrictions on hate mongering are necessary in order to protect minority groups from pain and suffering and in order to promote inter-group harmony in the society. From the egalitarian view, all persons and groups must be protected equally against the promotion of hatred and against defamatory attacks through political mobilization music that deny their right to human dignity. Additionally, hate propaganda has no redeeming social value and is inherently harmful both to target groups and the societal order. Therefore, restrictions on freedom of expression explicitly designed to curb the hate mongering represent reasonable limits.

The theory was adopted in the study to explain how bodies charged with regulating political mobilization music compositions restricts and punishes hate speech. These bodies include Kenyan music festiva Permanent Presidential Music and Natinal Cohension and Intergration Commisin. They protect the society, promote national cohesions and promote societal order by regulation the kind of compositions. The role of these endities is to protect minority groups in Kenya to promote cohesion and to prevent clashes and ethnic turmoil in Kenya. Additionally, they promote equality by protecting

even the minority communities and groups and by prosecuting those who perpetrate these crimes. Therefore, the role of the bodies charge with regulation of music composition is to restrict the freedom of speech in Kenya to the extent that it is hate speech negative expressions and that it endangers minority groups. However, this theory does not come out clear on regulation of political mobilization songs that cause conflicts or promote patriotism hence the need for the second theory.

2.5.2 Musical Meaning Theory

With regard to musical meaning especially in African societies, Cook *et all* (2001) asserts that a person is said to understand a piece of music when he is able to relate or respond to it in certain culturally defined ways. Meaning is therefore, related to the musical Experience itself (which consists of both what is derived from the music itself and what is occasioned by it in musical situation). This meaning may be communicated in several ways: through the internal properties of music, expressive changes in them which may be mirrored in the observable behavior, through creative expressions of verbal texts, the nexus between music and dance movement and between music and the context of use. It is notable that Kenya is a culturally heterogeneous Nation. Based on Nketia's theory, it is not clear to what extent the cultural prejudices influence how people respond to specific music, especially in political situations. It is possible that people derive meaning differently given their divergent appreciation of the internal properties of the music as well as situations in which it has been presented. More so, is the fact that observable behavior from the musicians may contribute to the proper communication or diversion of the intended message in the music. This theory will thus

form an integral frame of reference is seeking to appreciate how people derive meaning from music. The two theories do not directly address the issues in a peace and conflict studies hence the need for the third theory just peace theory.

2.5.3 Just Peace Theory

According to Emeka (2018), Within the Just Peace tradition, the word peace has a radically different meaning, it is a *social* condition of harmony, wholeness, completeness, prosperity, welfare and tranquility. It is a state of social wellbeing in which all relationships between humanity, God and creation are justly ordered and in which the basic needs of people are met. Violence then is viewed as a manifestation of evil that prevents people from meeting their basic needs or that undermines the social structures and relationships necessary for human flourishing.

Just Peace theory argues that the principal source of violence in the world is structural sin, sometimes referred to as structural evil. As leading advocate for Just Peace theory Terrence Sacks, (2010) quips that structural sin or structural evil “extends beyond the evil that people do; it extends to institutions and cultural norms or habits that harden injustices in place.” These institutions and cultural norms may be political in nature, having to do with the direct oppression of groups or peoples through state power. But they may also be economic in nature, taking the form of unjust systems of economic organization that systematically redistribute wealth in ways that harm people by preventing them from meeting their basic needs.

Finally, Just Peace theory assumes that if peace is threatened primarily by structural evil then securing true peace requires the elimination of that evil. Logically, if people are harmed by unjust political, economic and social structures then these must be reformed so that they are more just or, if they prove irredeemable, simply replaced by new, more just, structures. From a Just Peace perspective, there is an intimate and inescapable link between peace and justice. The nature of this link is captured most pithily in Pope Paul VI's phrase "if you want peace, work for justice."

Just peace theory holds on the following seven principles that should apply to the Kenya situation. They include just cause involving protecting, defending, and restoring the fundamental dignity of all human life and the common good with the right intention aiming at creating peace. This theory also puts emphasis on the participatory process by respecting human dignity by including societal stakeholders—state and non-state actors as well as previous parties to the conflict.

Vershbow, (2010), is in agreement that Just peace theory advocates for right relationship through creating or restoring just social relationships both vertically and horizontally; strategic systemic change requires that horizontal and vertical relationships move in tandem on an equal basis, a concept of justice that envisions a holistic healing of the wounds of war through reconciliation, Restoration by repair of the material, psychological, and spiritual human infrastructure and sustainability through developing structures that can help peace endure over time (Caparas, 2010). This theory is applicable and relevant in this study since it is a true reflection of what took place in Kenya during the 2007/8 and 2017 where opposing parties were antagonizing each other

instead of embracing positive democracy. This was done through political mobilization music that could bring about either peaceful go-existence or conflicts among communities and deferent political parties

The study therefore advocates for the 10 just peacemaking practices that have a record of success. A just peace employs these practices for the purposes of both national security and peace (Wambugu, 2012) outlines 10 just peacemaking practices are: support nonviolent direct action; take independent initiatives to reduce threat; use cooperative conflict resolution; acknowledge responsibility for conflict and injustice, and seek repentance and forgiveness; advance democracy, human rights, and interdependence; foster just and sustainable economic development; work with emerging cooperative forces in the international system; strengthen the United Nations and international efforts for cooperation and human rights; reduce offensive weapons and weapons trade; encourage grassroots peacemaking groups and voluntary association. (*Just Peacemaking: the new paradigm for the ethics of peace and war* Glen H. Stassen editor) (Wallensteen, 2007).

Cooperation, interdependence, human rights, and democracy are important elements of just peacemaking practices. It is a power-with, not a power-over model. This is not a model of weakness, but one of strength. The strength comes from building relationships and partnerships on the basis of mutual respect (Makobi 2017).

2.5.4 Conceptual Model

The conceptual framework was derived from the three theories (Critical Race Theory, Musical Meaning Theory and Just peace theory). These theories were used to describe the variables in this research. As demonstrated in the research questions, it was indicative that there was a relationship between Political Mobilization Music, National Cohesion and intervening variables as illustrated in figure 2.1. The main concern of this research was to examine political mobilization music influencing national cohesion in Kenya with specific reference to Nairobi County. The research was guided by a conceptual framework anchored by three theories. It explains the models used in constructing the music conceptual framework.

The independent variable of the study was Political Mobilization Music where the objectives of the study were figured. The nature and evolution of Political Mobilization Music under which praise songs, demonizing and Idolizing songs, solidarity compositions and patriotic songs were considered. The influence of political mobilization music on Level and status of National cohesion where peaceful coexistence, trust among communities, tolerance among each other, diversity, and inclusivity were considered. Challenges faced in employing political mobilization music were biased support, source of conflict and that inadequate power from body in charge of music.

The dependent variables of the study were National Cohesion where unity and coexistence resulted from political songs composed to enhance national cohesion was analyzed. Intervening variables comprised of political goodwill where bodies that have power over music compose are considered. These bodies included Music Copyright Society, Permanent

Presidential Music, Kenya Music Festival, National Cohesion and Integration Commission and Political Mobilisation Music composers.

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Political mobilization music

- Praise Songs
- Demonizing and Idolizing Song
- Solidarity Compositions
- Patriotic songs

- Peaceful coexistence
- Trust among communities
- Tolerance among each other
- Diversity & Inclusivity

- Biased support
- Some source of conflict
- PPMC/MCS/NCIC/MCSK have no power over music

DEPENDENT VARIABLE

National cohesion

- National Unity
- Co-existence

INTERVENING VARIABLES

Political goodwill

- Kenya Music Festival
- Music Copyright Society
- Permanent Presidential Music
- National Cohesion and Integration Commission
- PMM composers

Figure 2. 3 Conceptual Framework

Source: Researcher (2019)

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The chapter discussed the procedure and methodology of the study. It described the study design, study area and study population, sampling strategy, data collection instruments and methods, ethical considerations, limitations and assumptions of the study.

The sample size determined the study population and the sample size that was used. The chapter further provided sampling procedures that were used to collect the data, administration of instruments for the various respondents of the study and the procedures that was used in ensuring reliability and validity. The chapter further discussed the data analysis techniques that were used and ethical issues, which were observed in the course of the study.

3.1 Research Design

According to Kothari, (2011), the research design constitutes the blue print for the collection, measurement, and analysis of data. Putting into consideration the nature of the study and the number of variables investigated descriptive design was the most appropriate in the particular engagement. The cross-sectional design enabled the collection of data on more than one variable and at a single point in time that was then examined for association patterns. The study took the form of a survey where data was collected using questionnaires and by employing structured interviews. The design was more appropriate than longitudinal and comparative designs because of its reliability. The researcher spelt out procedures of selecting respondents, administration of research

instruments in this case questionnaires and structured interviews, and data analysis.

The adoption of cross-sectional design was justified on grounds that data was collected and analyzed in more than one research method. This enabled the researcher to manipulate the variables of interest with any method and without restriction unlike in experimental study designs where manipulation of variables is impossible. Descriptive survey design explicitly determined the status of the international refugee framework in Nairobi County, Kenya and its Municipal implementation. The question was answered: how do refugees get to Kenya? Descriptive survey design used in preliminary and exploratory studies allowed researchers to gather information, summarize, present and interpret for the purpose of clarification (Orodho 2009).

Brown,(2008) noted that descriptive survey research intended to produce statistical information about aspects of the population that interest policy makers without manipulating any variables. The choice of the descriptive survey research design was made because in the study, the researcher was interested in the state of affairs already existing in the field and no variable were manipulated.

3.2 Study Area

The study was conducted in Nairobi County, Kenya because since the urbanization of Nairobi which dates back to the colonial times, Nairobi has a unique and natural cosmopolitan nature. All the various Kenyan ethnic communities are present because Nairobi is still the hub of commerce. Many Kenyans come to eke a living because of its development which has incessantly attracted the rural to urban migration. Policies to reverse this trend have not yielded much fruit. Nairobi is microcosm of Kenya as a

nation, Africa and the rest of the world (world embassies and international organizations have their headquarters in Nairobi.) This study involved how humanity reacted to political mobilization music influencing national cohesion in Kenya.

The study was conducted in Nairobi County, Kenya where most of the key offices were based. They included the Permanent Political Music Commission, Kenya Music Festival and National Cohesion. Nairobi County a cosmopolitan represented the nation of Kenya and secondly it is a host to State House where power lies. Nairobi is largely dominated by native inhabitants of Kikuyu, Luhya, Kisii, Luo, Kamba, Maasai, Kalenjin and Somalis many of whom have barely been in power. Most of the voters live in densely populated low-income areas in the periphery of Nairobi. Though cosmopolitan, these areas were prone to criminal groups as well. Politicians capitalize on the low income earners to sing for political mileage. Generally, Nairobi City is reputed for being a crime-hub where all sorts of armaments can be accessed (UNEP, 2014).

According to KNBS, (2009) Nairobi county has a general population of 3,138,369 Nyairo and Ogude (2005 asserts that Nairobi has been bedrock of political mobilization songs during every general electioneering period since the onset of Multiparty in the millennium age. Indeed political mobilization music has been known to course conflicts or bring about peaceful co-existence.

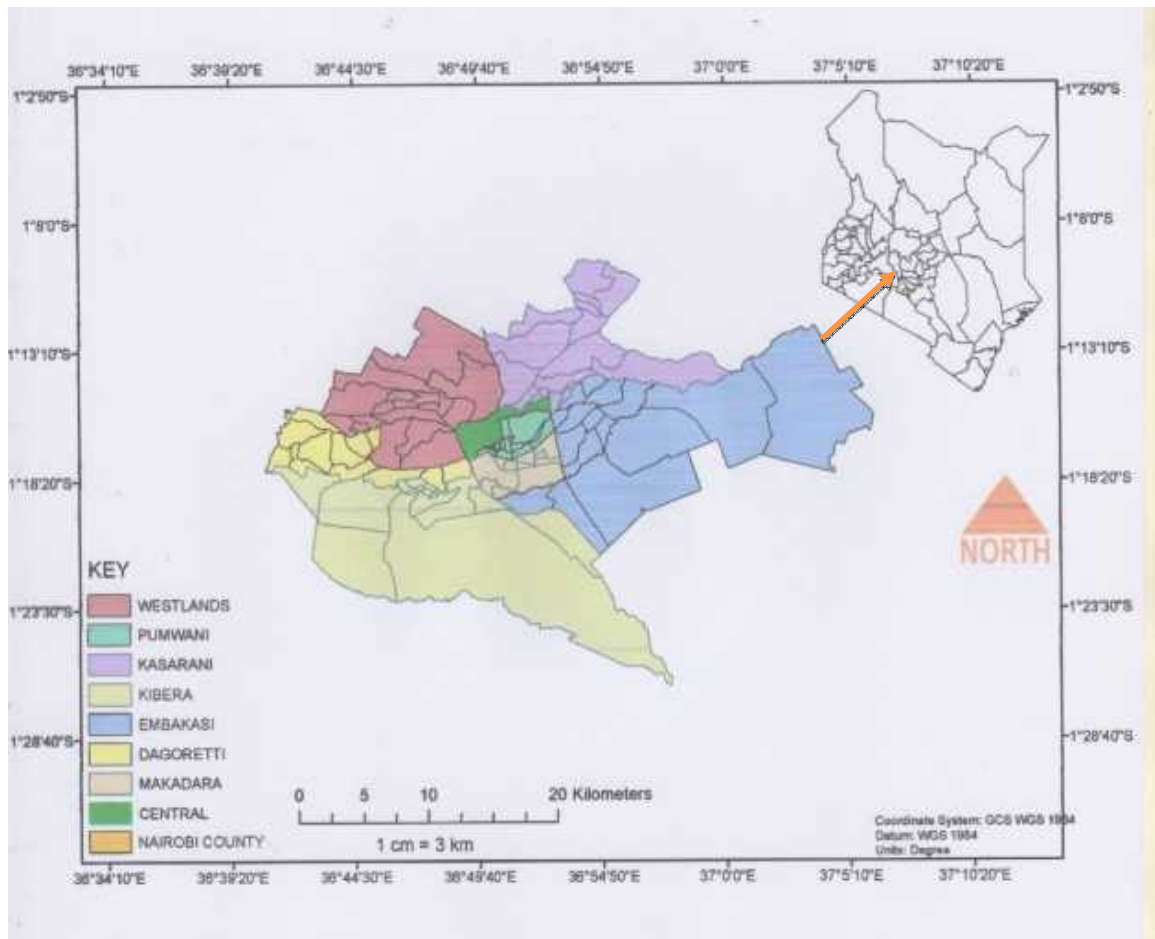


Figure 3. 1 Map of Nairobi County Kenya.

Source: (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2019)

3.3 Study Population

The study specifically targeted a total population of 156 which included; 110 Political Mobilization Musicians re-known for composing political mobilization songs, 5 state officers from the departments dealing with national cohesion issues that included; Permanent Political Music Commission of Kenya (PPMC) National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) Kenya Music Festival (KMF). These two categories

formed the key informants in the study. The study population also included four groups working towards peace initiatives situated in the major slums of Nairobi which included a total of 41 members drawn from Kibra, Kawangware, (Kasarani Mathare) and Korogocho informal settlements respectively. These were members of groups working towards peace initiatives in Nairobi County hence very relevant to the study. 100 PMM composers from estimated 1000 who gather around the Jeevanjee Gardens in the name of Bunge la Wanaainchi (The common Man’s Parliament) and are very vast with political matters coming from all parts of Nairobi County as shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3. 1 Population categories and sample size of Key informants and PMM Composers

Category	Total
Population	
PMM composers	110
PPMC	1
NCIC	2
KMF	2
Peace initiative groups (FGDs)	41
TOTAL	156

Source : Resercher (2019)

3.4 Sampling Procedures and Sample Size

Table 3.2 shows how each category of the study population was sampled

Table 3. 2 Number of sampled categories of Key informants and National Voters (citizens)

Target group Category	Sampling Technique	Total Population	Sample Size	Data collection tools
PMM Composors	Simple Random Sampling	1100	110	Questionnaires
PPMC	Purposive	1	1	Interviews
NCIC	Purposive	2	2	Interveiwis
KMF	Purposive	2	2	Interviews
FGD members	Census	41	41	FGD guide
TOTAL		1146	156	

Source: Researcher (2019)

3.4.1 Sample Distribution of PMM composers and Key informants

Cooper and Schidler (2011) on the other hand state that a sample size in table 3.2 10% of entire populace was adequate for any academic research. This formula was adopted to arrive at the sample distribution of 110 political mobilization music composers out of the estimated 1100 who gather every day at Bunge la Wanainch in the Central Business District for political encounters. Simple random sampling was applies to give equal

chances to each respondent. Open-ended questions were read to respondents and were research assistants entered answers.

Table 3.3 Number of sampled categories of PMM Teachers/ Musicians and Key informants

Category	Total Population	Sample size	Sampling technique
PMM composers	1100	110	Simple Random Sampling
PPMC	1	1	Purposive
NCIC	2	2	Purposive
KMF	2	2	Purposive
FGD members	41	41	Census
TOTAL	1146	156	

Source: Researcher (2019)

3.4.2 Sample Distribution of Political Mobilization Musicians

Purposive random sampling was used on obtaining the sample on musicians involved in composing political mobilizations songs around elections periods. 10 musicians who were famous with mobilization songs since the multiparty in Kenya from 2003 to 2017 general elections were purposively considered for the study. They included; John de Mathew, Kamende wa Kioi, Muigai wa Njoroge, Onyi Papa J, political parties' slogans;

GidiGidi MajiMaji, Thomas Wesonga, Silvester Otieno, Onyi Jalang'o and Eric Wainana.

3.4.3 Sample Distribution of Government of Kenya Officials

The government agents involved in Music and national cohesion issues included; 1 Permanent Presidential Music Commissioner , 2 National Cohesion and Integration Commissioners (NCIC) 2 Kenya Music Festival officials totaling to five. The study employed two sampling techniques to get respondents in this category. Census procedure was used on Permanent Presidential Music Commissioner. Census procedure was the most appropriate technique for sampling the commissioner, as the number was known. Purposive sampling was used on obtaining the sample on NCIC and KMF officials. The summary of the sample size was shown in Table 3.3 above.

3.4.4 Sample Distribution of Peaces initiative Groups

Stratified sampling method was employed based on the group's activities. In selecting members of the focus group discussion, considerations were made to ensure that they had similar characteristics. The researcher organized four focused group discussions comprising of between 10 to 11 participants in each in order to have a balanced view on the issues PMM influencing national cohesion in Nairobi County. In total there were 41 members of the focus groups with 11 female and 30 male. They were directly involved in the peace initiatives from the four slums that majorly experienced conflicts due to negative PMM compositions, whenever there is a general elections in Kenya. These included; Kibra Peace Initiative, Kawangware Slums Peace Initiative, Mathare Slums peace initiative and Korogocho peace initiative. The FGDs comprised of 41 members

each. Table 3.4 shows the summary of the sample distribution of peace initiative group members.

Table 3. 4 Distribution size for Peace Initiative Groups

Population category	Total population	Sample size	Male	Female	Sample formulae
Kibra Slum peace initiative	10	10	7	3	Census
Kawangware Slum peace initiative	11	11	7	4	Census
Mathare/ Kasarani peace initiative	10	10	7	3	Census
Korogocho peace initiative	10	10	7	3	Census
Total	41	41	28	13	

Source: Researcher (2019)

3.5 Data collection

3.5.1 Primary data

The study used both primary and secondary sources in data collection. Primary data was collected through the questionnaires, interview schedules and FGD guides. Baring the fact that primary sources of data collection is limited to much time needed to process, it

was considered the appropriate one as quality and accurate information is acquired directly from the respondents.

3.5.1.1 Questionnaire

The main data collection instrument in this study was the questionnaire (Appendix B) which was divided into four parts. Part one contained question items aimed at obtaining background information about the respondents. This was necessary to help the researcher describe participants in the study. Part 2 consisted of statements intended to examine the nature and evolution of political mobilization music in Post-colonial Kenya. Part three included questions intended to assess the influence of PMM on status and levels of national cohesion in Nairobi County, Kenya, and finally part four consisted of questions intended to examine the challenges inherent in employing political mobilization music towards national cohesion in Nairobi County, Kenya. Questionnaire enhances a wider collection from a large sample and diverse regions, is confidential, saves on time, and has no bias, reliable and high return rate. The self-administered questionnaires were completed by respondents themselves after being delivered by the researcher and her research assistants. The questionnaires were filled by political mobilization music composers/ singers.

3.5.1.2 Interview Schedule

An interview schedule involves presentation of oral verbal stimuli and reply in terms of oral verbal responses (Kothari, 2011). It makes it possible for the researcher to obtain data required to meet specific objectives of the study. A structured interview schedule allowed the researcher to collect information covering various aspects of political

mobilization music influencing national cohesion in Kenya with specific reference to Nairobi County. The interview schedule was filled by the Key informants who were bodies dealing with regulating PMM composition.

The Interview schedule designed had four parts. The first section after researcher introductory message had background information to determine specifically the organization in which the respondent belonged. The organization that were linked to music were the one considered and therefore respondents were to belong to either organizations. The organizations were either; Music Copyright Society, Permanent Presidential Music Commission or National Cohesion or Integration Commission. The second part comprised of the first objective; examine the nature and evolution of mobilization music in Post-colonial Kenya. The third section comprised of the second objective: assessing the influence of Political Mobilization Music on the status and levels of national cohesion in Nairobi County, Kenya while the fourth section had the third objective; examining the challenges encountered in employing political mobilization music towards national cohesion in Nairobi County, Kenya.

The information collected was used to validate the data derived from the questionnaire. The schedule was important as it helped standardize the interview situations that enabled the interviewer to ask the same questions in the same manner (Kombo And Tromb 2006). The interviews were held with Government officials and Political mobilization Musicians who were considered as the key informants.

3.5.1.3 Focus Group Discussion

Focus group discussion is a qualitative, rapid assessment, semi structures data gathering method in which purposely selected set of participants gather to discuss issues and concerns based on a list of key themes. In selecting members of the focus group discussion, considerations were made to ensure that they had similar characteristics. The researcher organized four focused group discussions comprising of between 10 to 12 participants this kept them within the bracket of the principles of group formation. Table3.5 shows the summary of the sample distribution of peace initiative group members.

Table 3. 5 Summary of the members of peace intiative Focus Group Discussion

Focus Group Discussion	Location and Name of group
FGD 1	Kawangware Slum Peace Initiative
FGD 2	Kibra Slum Peace Initiative
FGD 3	Mathare Slum Peace Ambassador
FGD 4	Korogocho Slum Peace Initiative

Source: Researcher (2019)

The interview schedule for focus group discussion had part one after introductory message from the researcher enquiring the location and the name of the Focus Group Discussion that the group of respondents belonged. The remaining parts had each the objective of the study comprising of: examining the nature and evolution of mobilization music in Post-colonial Kenya, assessing the influence of Political Mobilization Music on the status and levels of national cohesion in Nairobi County, Kenya and examining the

challenges inherent in employing political mobilization music towards national cohesion in Nairobi County, Kenya. The selected FGDs were operating from the subcounty commissioners offices.

3.5.2 Secondary data

Secondary data was collected through document and content analysis guide to ascertain an in-depth analysis on the political mobilization music influencing national cohesion in Kenya with specific reference to Nairobi County. Secondary data collection formed the basis of literature review looking at what other scholars, studies that did on the same topic its limitation being documents lacking authenticity, and the way things are measured may change over time, making historical comparisons difficult.

3.6 Validity and Reliability of Data Instruments

Measurement is the assigning of numbers to observations in order to quantify phenomena (Kothari 2011). Validity and reliability are used to measure the accuracy and consistency of research instruments used in research as explained below.

3.6.1 Validity of Research Instruments

Validity determines whether the research instrument truly measures that which it was intended to measure or how truthful the research results are (Mugenda 2005). The instruments that were used were developed by the researcher with the guidance of the experts in the department of Peace and Conflict Studies, Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology. A pilot study was not conducted to test the cause -effect of the variables however the research instruments were given to experts and supervisors for review and guidance for validity.

3.6.2 Reliability of the Research Instruments

Reliability is the measure of the degree to which a research instrument yields consistent results or data after repeated trials (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2005). Split half reliability test was done to verify reliability of the instrument. This will be by randomly dividing a few selected musicians into equivalent halves. Then a questionnaire was administered to the two groups of musicians at the same time on the same occasion. Using the Spearman Rank Order the presentation of the two groups was correlated. For descriptive survey research, a reliability coefficient of 0.70 and above is normally accepted as a measure of reliability for the instruments (Atkinson, P. (2005).). Spearman's Brown formula was used to adjust the half test reliability. This method was suitable because it saved on time, as it required only one testing session and, therefore, eliminated the possibility that the variables being measured would change between measurements.

3.7 Data Analysis and Presentation

Data collected was be edited to correct possible recording errors and then classified in relevance to independent and dependent variables, research tools were collected and assembled. The data was tabulated to provide a basis for the various statistical computations. This helped in conserving space and reducing explanatory and descriptive statements to an essential minimum.

Data analysis was conducted to measure and establish causal relationships that exist in relation to the studies objectives. Patterns of association and correlation were also investigated using data analysis techniques. Two major phases, which

characterized data analysis, were quantitative and qualitative data analysis.

3.7.1 Presentation of quantitative data

Quantitative data collected from closed questions was edited and entered into computer for analysis using Microsoft Excel. For all categories, Microsoft Excel information was then converted to Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) for further analysis and to arrive at generalizations.

Quantitative data analysis was achieved using statistical measures were used to summarize the research data. This included among others measures of central tendency, measures of dispersion, measures of association, and asymmetry. The results obtained was tabulated for further data manipulation and expressed in percentages. The researcher intends to use SPSS software in data analysis to enhance accuracy.

3.7.2 Presentation of qualitative data

Ordinal data from questions that sought respondents' value ranking was analysed using the Likert scales to identity general trends in correlations among variables. From participant observation, the researcher was able to examine the political mobilization music influencing national cohesion in Kenya with specific reference to Nairobi County. Qualitative data analysis began with data coding and then the text was divided into small units (paragraphs and phrases) and a label was assigned to each unit. To present qualitative data, the researcher prepared summaries in a narrative manner. A discussion regarding the collected evidence was ensued to further demonstrate that indeed the results were obtained from the data collected and are not part of a content analysis on previous studies. Verbatim transcription of tapes and field notes was transformed in a well-organized set of information.

Notably, the use of one data analysis method could not be in complete exclusion of the other. This study employed the use of mixed data analysis method and, therefore, the quantitative and qualitative analysis was ran concurrently. The collected data was crosschecked for completeness, accuracy and validity. The data was analyzed through SPSS version 22.0 by use of descriptive and inferential statistics.

The descriptive statistics were applied for section one of the questionnaire (socio- demographic) and included central tendency and standard deviation, while for section two of the questionnaire was analyzed by use of inferential statistics which will include Chi- square test and cross tabulation. The results were then be presented in form of narratives, frequency tables, bar graphs and pie charts. In regards to the discussion, statements for each topic were categorized. All the data was then summarized in compilation sheets organizing the findings per topic for each sheet.

3.8 Limitations of the Study

Due to the sensitive nature of the study, given that some post-election violence cases were still fresh in Kenyan minds leader, some respondents were reluctant to participate for fear of perceived victimization. However, the made it as clear as possible to the respondents that it was a study out to improve national cohesion in the country. At the same time, confidentiality of the respondents was assured and maintained. The researcher also experienced suspicion among musicians some of whose songs were used as incitation during the most of campaigns since multiparty in Kenya. To address this problem, one of the research assistant from music industry was involved as an entry

point while research assistants from the areas who knew the local population well were part of the mobilizers in the study.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

The researcher was bound by a research code of ethics. As such, the researcher prepared the following processes to suffice the ethical requirements in the course of this study.

Babbie, (2008) states that most researches situation involve three parties “the researcher, the sponsoring client (user) and respondent (subject).” The method or type of interaction between any of the parties requires consideration in ethical issues that may arise. According to Kimmel (1988), the term ethical stands for rules of behavior or conformity to a code or set of principles. For this study, this meant effectively managing the expectations of all the parties and ensuring that the research strategy chosen did not violate the participant’s privacy or interfere with their daily actions at work as quipped by (Sandwell, (2011). To ensure that the study was done according to the ethical guidelines set by Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology (MMUST) the application was submitted to the Research Committee for approval.

The researcher sought permission to conduct research from National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) through the University Administration. The Authorization letter was subsequently presented to the Nairobi County Commissioner’s office that authorized the research in targeted areas.

The researcher also ensured that the participants rights to privacy, protection from

physical abuse and psychological harm was maintained. Permission to participate in the research was sought from the respondents who were assured of anonymity and confidentiality. The respondents were informed that the information collected was purely for academic purpose. For these reasons, before a respondent became a subject of research, he/she was notified of the aims, methods, anticipated benefits of the research, his/her right to withdraw from participation in the research and his/her right to terminate at any time in participation.

The local authorities were notified accordingly to ensure that a rapport is established and that a degree of local goodwill accompanies the study. The researcher respected and fulfill obligations to the academic community. All findings were incorporated in the final report without omissions and disclosed as expected. To attain the above standard of ethics, research assistants were trained thoroughly on this area prior to the field exercise. See appendix I for a copy of the consent form.

3.10 Chapter Summary

This chapter focused on the specific research design and the methodology used to collect data. It explained the primary and secondary sources of data collection giving the limitations of each. Specifically, it concentrated on the study area, study population, sampling techniques and sample size, data collection methods and instrument and process of analysis of data.

The next chapter examines the findings of the nature and evolution of political mobilization music in post-colonial Kenya.

CHAPTER FOUR

NATURE AND EVOLUTION OF POLITICAL MOBILIZATION MUSIC IN POST- COLONIAL KENYA

This chapter presents the data gathered from respondents with a focus on the nature and evolution of political mobilization music in post-colonial Kenya, demographic characteristics of the respondents and the influence of nature of political mobilization music on national cohesion in Kenya. The study sample size was 156 respondents from which 136 questionnaires were completely filled and returned making a response rate of 136 (87%). Where n=156 and 20 (13%) and n=156 respondents never completed this rate provided sufficient data that could be generalized in evaluation of Political Mobilization Music Influencing National Cohesion. According to Mugenda (2003), a response rate of more than 70% is sufficient generalization of findings.

4.1 Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

Demographic characteristics are quantifiable characteristics that describe the characteristics of the population under study. Background information of the participants enabled the researcher to have a clear picture of the environment and capabilities of the participants to discriminate between issues and deliver balanced responses. The study results on background information are aligned as per the study objectives questions in the research. The study of the social demographic characteristics allows the researcher to effectively gather information about the sample. Thus, the study of demographic characteristics allows the researcher to discover meaningful and actionable insights to enhance better decision making. The demographic characteristics of the respondents in

this study entailed gender, level of education, occupation and respondents relationship with music.

4.1.1 Gender Distribution of the Respondents

Respondents were asked about their gender at the time of the interviews. The summary of their gender distribution is as shown in figure 4.1.

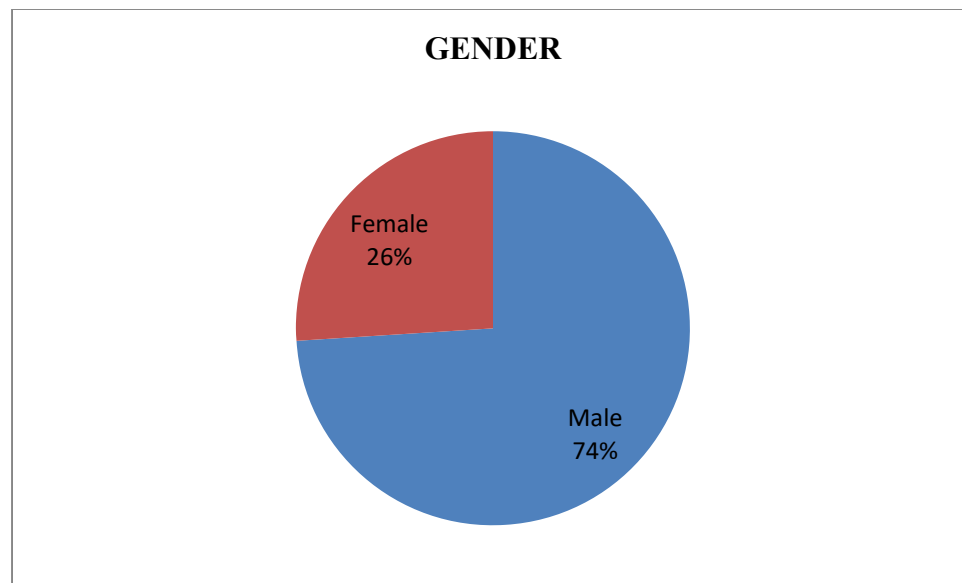


Figure 4. 1 Percentage distribution of respondents by gender

Source: Researcher (2019)

The sample of respondent included 74% (n=156) male respondents across all the organization interviewed and 26% (n=156) female.. More males participated in the study than females. Though there was a variation in terms of gender, the opinions from the respondents on the influence of political mobilization music on national cohesion was considered to reflect the response from the entire population in Nairobi County. In Nairobi for instance, male youths have at the forefront of election

scenarios including chaos of post and pre-election cases. Male artists with rare cases of female artists had dominated political music industries in Kenya. The large number of male respondents was because the objective focused on political songs no other categories of songs like gospel and secular music. Therefore, musicians were mainly of the male gender and that all the gender took part in the study.

4.1.2 Age of the respondents

The researcher sought to investigate the respondents' age distribution. The results were presented in figure 4.2

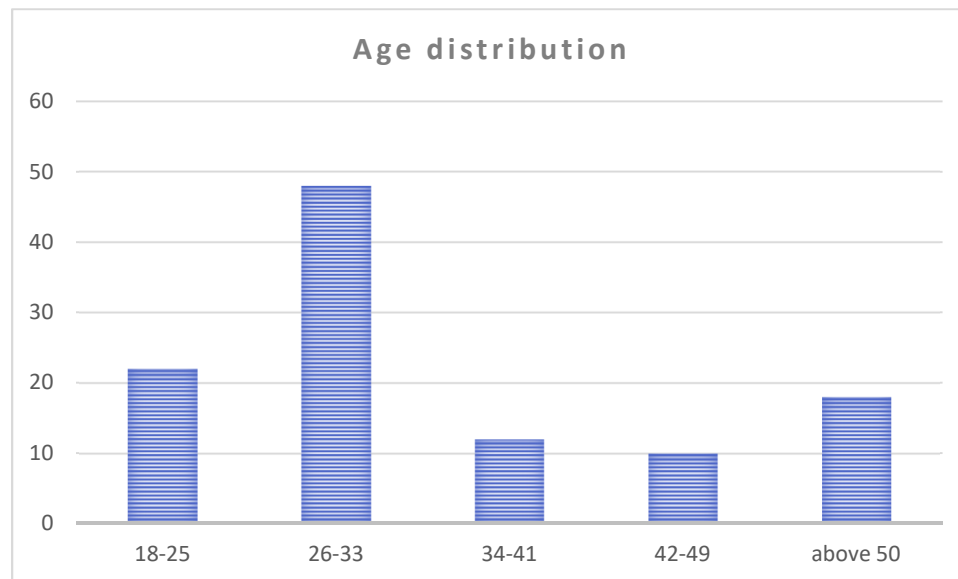


Figure 4. 2 Percentage distribution of respondents by Age

Source: Researcher (2019)

Study findings from Figure 4.2 show the composition of the study sample with respect to age as follows: 18-25years, 26-33years, 34-41 years, 42-49 years and 50 and above. Majority of the respondents 48% (n=156) were in the age bracket of between (26-33) years. This would constitute mature and suitable respondents for the study deemed to

be interested in music and are very creative with music along with current issues on political mobilization and national cohesion. They are the ones in central point when there is no national cohesion. Conclusion was also that most of the respondents 12% (n = 156) interviewed were also aged between 3 and 41 years. This justified that most musician need to be experienced in the industry to circumvent on any issue arising and requiring their wisdom. The respondents 22% (n = 156) aged between 18 and 25 years could be interpreted as that the national musician requires young individuals with vast interest to enable them formulate essential music for national cohesion. Observed from the same figure showed that respondents who were aged above 50 years represented 18% (n = 156) while those between 42-49 years represented 10 % (n = 156). This justified that most respondents were youth and energetic since the activities involved required a lot of movement and traveling which required individuals who were more agile. The above findings are similar to those obtained by Resnik, (2011).

4.1.3 Education Level

Respondents were also analysed according to their academic qualifications. They were asked to state whether they have attended school, and if so up to what level of education. The results were as presented in figure 4.3

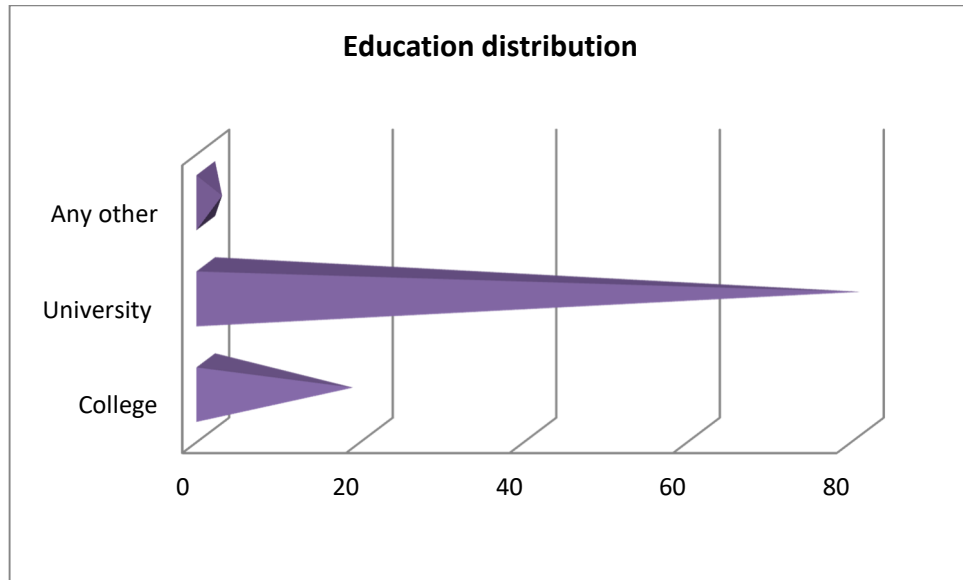


Figure 4. 3 Percentage distribution by level of education

Source: Researcher (2019)

Study findings from figure 4.3 above shows that 80% (n = 156) of the respondents had obtained university qualification followed by 18% (n = 156) who had obtained a college qualification while 2% (n = 156) of the respondents had other qualification. This could be interpreted as the entry grade into the political sector. At this level, no person with a master's degree was sampled out. This could be interpreted by the researcher as junior music and political entry positions, which did not attract individuals with higher qualifications. Head of departments, key political positions attracted 80 % (n = 156) degree holders, 18 % (n = 156) diploma holders and a significant 2 % (n = 156) with other qualification. Most of the respondents were trainers and adjudicators and trainers who had up to university level of education. Composition and managing of music industry requires extensive study hence highest levels was portrayed at university and college level. Voters and citizens were not necessarily at college nor university level. Any other level apart from the university and college level

was considered other.

4.1.4 Occupation

Respondents were asked to indicate their occupation. The results are presented in figure 4.4

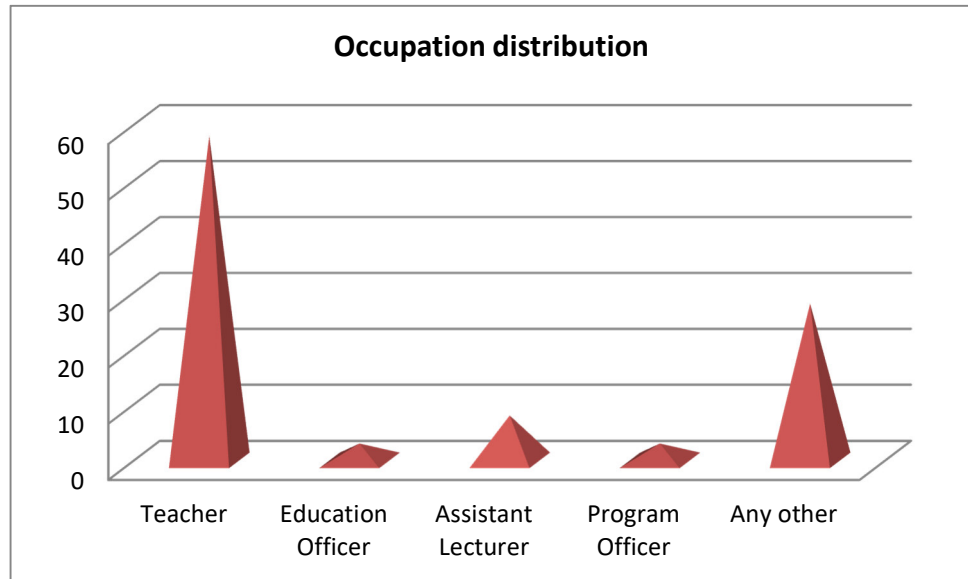


Figure 4. 4 Percentage distribution of Occupation of the Respondents

Source: Researcher (2019)

The study findings from figure 4.4 indicate that majority of the respondents were teachers representing 58% (n = 156), 8% (n=156) were assistant lecturer, 3% (n = 156) program officer and 28% (n = 156) did not indicate their occupation other than any other. This shows that the study involved respondents across all the occupations. The results can be attributed to the fact that most music trainers and adjudicators were teachers and had a conversant knowledge on the nature and evolution of political mobilization music after precolonial period. Program officer took a lower percentage as they composed of officers in charge of music who formed little percentage of the respondents.

4.1.5 Relationship with Music

The researcher sought to establish whether there was relationship between the respondents and the music. The figure 4.5 displays the responses collected in the field;

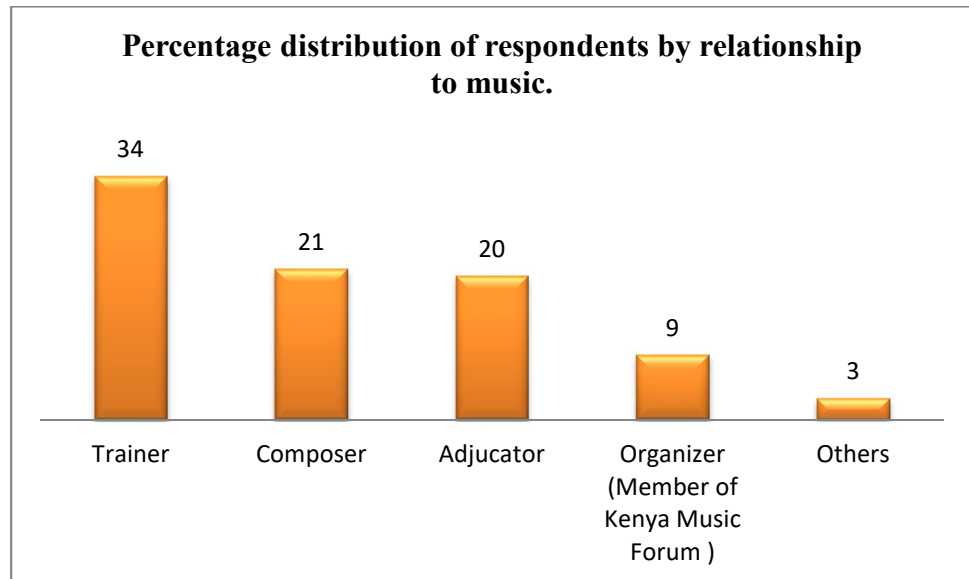


Figure 4. 5 Percentage distribution of respondents by relationship to music.

Source: Researcher (2019)

The results of the study findings above indicate that 34% (n =156) of the respondents are trainer hence they relate with music through the kind of training they offer, 21% (n = 156) of the respondents were composer of music, 20% (n = 156) of the respondents were adjudicator, 9% (n = 156) were organizers of music while 3% (n = 156) of the respondents represented others. The study findings suggests that most of the people who were interviewed use music in their daily line of duty because it brings solace to their

heart making them a good respondent for the study. Similar views, showing that music invigorates people in their daily work, have been shown by other studies elsewhere (Oshin, 2019).

4.2 Nature and evolution of Political Mobilization Music in Post-Colonial Era In Kenya

The study sought to examine the political mobilization music influencing national cohesion in Kenya with specific reference to Nairobi County. It particularly sought to establish the nature and evolution of Political Mobilization Music in Post-Colonial era In Kenya. Results and discussions are elaborated in the subsequent subsections. The respondents were national voters, men and women from Kawangware, Korogocho, Mathare and Kibra FGDs, National Cohesion and Integration Commission, Kenya music festival, Music copyright society of Kenya and permanent presidential music commission formed the key informants.

4.2.1 Nature of political mobilization music in post- colonial era in Kenya

The nature of PMM in post-colonial period that were considered in the study were patriotic songs, solidarity, praising and idolizing songs that were political in nature. Bridgett (2017) indicated that the first American protest songs were crafted for a purpose: to draw people together around a central mission. Grounded in simple verses and refrains, the tunes were often lifted from hymns or remade from songs people already knew, with lyrics frequently written as easy-to-learn call and response. These songs were less about beauty and finesse than about utility and purpose. (Greenleaf, 2014). The postcolonial ruling elite in Kenya has often sought the services of praise singers, and in many instances young children and youths been formed into

well-known school mass choirs for national celebrations and festivities. Commenting on this model of participation in the public sphere, Karlstrom (2003) noted that far from zombifying its participants, however, such ceremonies can and often do have mutually beneficial and empowering effects they also set the stage for communicative interaction between rulers and subjects, (Tillman ,2008).

The study sought to establish the nature of political mobilization songs in post-colonial era in Kenya the findings are as shown in table 4.1

Table 4. 1 Percentage distribution of the nature of political mobilization songs

Nature of Political M music	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Praise songs	62	40.0
Demonizing songs	39	25.0
Idolizing songs	27	27.0
Patriotic songs	8	5.0
Solidarity	5	3.0

Source: Researcher (2019)

According to the table above, praise songs had a highest percentage of 40% (n = 156). Idolizing songs formed 27% (n=156) followed by demonizing songs with 25% (n=156). Patriotic and solidarity songs formed 5% (n =156) and 3% (n=156) respectively. The tabulation was based on all songs that were collected within the post-colonial period. Arguably, there have existed different periods within the Kenyan politics that are responsible for the statistics above. According to the respondents, the early times of the Kenyan nationhood had better cohesion than the latter ones. This was similarly reflected

in the political songs of the time, which communicated messages geared towards patriotism and nation building. They lamented that the time of president Moi experienced more sycophant music in as much as patriotic ones existed too. Seemingly, the idolisation songs marred the responsible ones. It was further revealed that the multiparty era depicted most divisive politics and so was the music of the time.

To understand the sentiments of the respondents better, the researcher transcribed several songs from a range of periods in Kenyan political history. The rationale for the transcriptions was to ascertain whether there was a relationship between the information that the informants communicated and that which was found in the songs. It was revealed that there exist three major political faces in Kenya. That is, the early post-colonial time under the leadership of Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, the president Moi Nyayo era and the multiparty period. Within these phases, there exist numerous songs that were employed in political situations. It was not possible for all of them to be transcribed due to time constraint, but most important, the need to maintain the required size of the thesis. The researcher, therefore, examined several songs from each era, and selected few that represented the character of each phase. With regard to early post-colonial time, the following songs were transcribed;

Wimbo wa historia (chakacha and mwazindika styles)

Kiswahili

*Wimbo huu ni wimbo wa historia,
watu mnaombwa sikize kwa makini.
Ilikuwa Octoba hamsini na mbili,
watu wote tulisikia Kenyatta ameshikwa.*

*Hakushikwa Kenyatta pekee yake,
lakini alishikwa na mabingwa wa uhuru.*

*Oo, oo, oo, ilikuwa kilio nchini Kenya,
watu wote tuliona huzuni mwingi sana.
Wakina baba, wakina mama na watoto,
wote walilia machozi wakisema,
Woi, woi, woi tunataka Kenyatta awachiliwe.
Baba wa taifa alipotoka gerezani,
aliwakuta wajumbe wetu wametengana vibaya sana.*

*Kisha yake baba taifa alikata shauri moja,
kujiunga na chama chetu KANU.*

*Aliongoza wajumbe paka Ulaya,
kufika huko alipigwa na mayai yaliyo oza.
Baba taifa hakujali alisihanda
na kurudi na katiba ya nchi yetu hapa Kenya.*

*Ilipofika desemba kumi na mbili sitini na tatu,
Mzee wetu alinyakuwa uhuru Kenya.
Kisha yake desemba sitini nne
Mzee wetu alipandisha bendera ya Jamhuri.
Mzee wetu alituomba tusahau yaliyopita
badala yake tuijenge nchi yetu.
Alisema harambee tuijunge
na hivi sasa tumejua harambee ni umoja.
Asante baba wetu,
kweli we asante baba wetu.*

English translation

*This is a song of history
All people listen keenly
It was October 1952
We all heard Kenyatta had been
arrested*

*Kenyatta was not arrested alone
He was arrested with other freedom
fighters*

*oh, oh, oh, it was weeping in Kenya
All people were deeply saddened
Men, women and children
wept as they lamented*

*We want Kenyatta released
when the father of the Nation left jail
He found other
leaders divided*

*After that he made a single decision
For all to join KANU (the
main political party)*

*He led other leader to Europe
there, he was stoned by rotten eggs
He did not despair*

*He stayed put and came back with
our constitution*

*on December 12th 1963
He achieved internal self-rule.
on 12th December 1964*

*He attained independence
Mzee asked us to forget the past
Instead focus on nation building
he said we pull together*

*Now we know harambee is unity
Thank you our father
Truly thank you our father.*

(Enock Ondego)

Source : (Mwakigwena Choir, 2013)

The foregoing song was first performed in the early 1970s by primary school children. As shown in the title, it is a historical song that narrates how the detention of Mzee Jomo

Kenyatta and other freedom fighters left the country in mourning. The grief, however, promoted Kenyans to intensify their fight for self-governance and independence. The intensified fight led to the release of the freedom fighters several years later, and the subsequent drafting of the constitution that governed independent Kenya, thereafter. Whereas it focuses on the tribulations of the freedom fighters, the song concludes with a positive message of encouragement. Under the leadership of Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, Kenyans were urged to forget about the colonialists mistreatment and focus on nation building now that they had been freed. To understand the purpose of this song further, it was transcribed on staff notation.

$\text{♩} = 98$

Wi-mbo hu - u ni wi - mbo wa-histo-ri - a wa-tu wo - te ni-na-o - mba m - si - ki - ze kwa ma - ki - ni
 Wi-mbo hu - u ni wi - mbo wa-histo-ri - a wa-tu wo - te ni-na-o - mba m - si - ki - ze kwa ma - ki - ni
 i - li - ku - wa ok - to - ba ham - si' na mbi - li wa-tu wo - te tu - li - si - ki - a Ke - nya - tta a - me - shi - kwa
 i - li - ku - wa ok - to - ba ham - si' na mbi - li wa-tu wo - te tu - li - si - ki - a Ke - nya - tta a - me - shi - kwa
 ha - ku - shi - kwa Ke - nya - tta pe - kee ya - ke la - ki - ni a - li - shi - kwa na ma - bi - ngwa wa u - hu - ru
 ha - ku - shi - kwa Ke - nya - tta pe - kee ya - ke la - ki - ni a - li - shi - kwa na ma - bi - ngwa wa u - hu - ru
 oh oh oh i - li - ku - wa ki - li - o nchi - ni Ke - nya wa - tu wo - te
 oh oh oh i - li - ku - wa ki - li - o nchi - ni Ke - nya wa - tu wo - te
 tu - li - o - na hu - zu - ni nwi - ngi sa - na wa - ki - na ba - ba wa - ki - na ma - ma na wa - to - to wo - te
 tu - li - o - na hu - zu - ni nwi - ngi sa - na wa - ki - na ba - ba wa - ki - na ma - ma na wa - to - to wo - te

Figure 4. 6 Transcription song on Kenya colonial mistreatment

Source: (Mwakigwena Choir, 2013)

The transcription above is a notational representation of the way the song of history was performed. It was transcribed from the original sound recording that has been played on the Kenya broadcasting corporation (formerly voice of Kenya) radio. The transcription

shows two staves, representing the two-part voicing that was employed in the performance. Each complete system of the staff also coincides with a full statement. The five systems, therefore, are the first five sentences of the story, which was narrated in prose. The musical structure was effective in facilitating telling of the story.

This two-part song further profited from the harmony that was created at a tonal interval of thirds all through the song. The harmony gave the song a sense of grief and melancholy. Additionally, performance of the song by primary school children gave it a sense of innocence, to show that the freedom fighters were indeed blameless yet detained without trial. The virgin voices of the children further shows the purity of the people of Kenya and, therefore, the need for their cry to be heard so that their leaders are released. To capture the innocent people's cry, the fourth system shows how the word 'oh' was used on long notes over a scale pattern from C to B flat then A flat.

The study argues that, this song combined emotive text with sound materials that effectively married to bring a sense of grief. The features included text, phrasing, melodic shape combined with harmonic color and the overall form and structure of the song. The compositional technique combined with performance, hence, achieve to unite listeners of this song to empathize what the Kenyan freedom fighters went through. Additionally, the music brought Kenyans together to unite and having endured the struggle to freedom. Based on the shared tribulations, the song further united the people in nation forgetting the past and focusing on nation building, an ideology that was championed by the founding leaders of Kenya. The song in essence resonated well with the then political ideology and was effective in its communication.

Apart from the song of history, the study also transcribed another song in the early independence time.

Kenya nchi yangu (twist style)

Kiswahili

*Huu wimbo ninaimba oo
Sio wimbo ni maombi
Nikiomba mwenyezi Mungu oo
Aibariki Kenya yangu
Kwa jina la baba, na la mwana oo
Roho mtakatifu amina
Kwa jina la baba, na la mwana oo
Roho mtakatifu amina*

***Ewe Kenya nchi yangu
Ewe Kenya baba yangu
Ewe Kenya mama yangu oo
Sitakuacha milele***

*Akili zangu nguvu zangu oo
Nimeziweka mbele yako
Bibi yangu na watoto oo
Nimewaweka mbele yako
Taabu zangu shida zangu oo
Ziangalie Kenya yangu*

*Kenya yangu usijali
Ukitukanwa na jirani
Yeye anaona wivu
kwa vile umeendelea
Anakuita nyang'au
Anakuita mnyonyaji
Naye azidi kuporomoka
Wacha yeye aporomoke*

*Kenya we ni baba yangu
Kenya we ni mama yangu
Wacha wao waporomoke
Viongozi wetu tuombeni
Wananchi tuombeni*

English translation

*this is a song I am singing
it is not a song, it is a prayer
as I pray to God, oh
to bless my Kenya
in the name of the father and the son
holy spirit amen
in the name of the father and the son
holy spirit amen*

***you Kenya my country
you Kenya my father
you Kenya my mother
I will forever not leave you***

*my mind and energy, oh
I put them before you
my wife my children, oh
I put them before you
my tribulations and problems
take care of them my Kenya*

*my Kenya do not worry
when you are abused by neighbors
they feel jealous
at the way you have progressed
they call you beast
they call you swindler
as they continue eroding
leave them to erode*

*Kenya you are my father
Kenya you are my mother
leave them to erode
let us pray out leaders
let us pray country men.*

(Mwiruki George)

Source: (Mwiruki George, 1989)

In the preceding song, Kakai Kilonzo shows how dear the Kenyan nation is to him. It is his country, father and mother. That is why he chooses not just to sing but to pray for Kenya, in the name of the Father the Son and Holy spirit. By invoking the holy trinity, the artiste not only gives the song a prayerful dimension, but also attracts the attention of many people who may be of similar belief in the trinity. The song further shows how his body, mind and soul are surrendered to Kenya. His family is committed to Kenya. He scoffs off neighbors that may be jealous of Kenya, and urges his country to move on undeterred.

Whereas the artiste in this song is the persona, he does not sing it for his own sake. He sings it for the people of Kenya. By others singing the song, they take up his role, and more significantly of one feeling obliged and personally responsible to the nation. The song gives the people a sense of ownership, and pride for their country, Kenya. At the time of this song, the political leadership of Kenya was focused on the unity of the people, working together and patriotism. But it can be argued that there can exist no unity, and patriotism when the country men lack a sense of ownership, pride and responsibility to their Nation. In this song, Kakai Kilonzo was, therefore, spelling out the basics for one to be a patriot. In essence, he poetically augments the political desire of the then leaders.

To reach out to the people with ease in this song, the artiste employed twist, a popular style of music then. The catch on style would basically draw people into dancing to the song, in the process of which they would internalize its desired message. Additionally, Kakai Kilonzo invokes a religious undertone in the song. Arguably, the colonial and

missionary work had converted many Kenyans and by extension Africans to religions from the West. A religious dimension would thus draw especially converts to this song, in the process which they would capture the message he sought to communicate. The preceding discussion is supported by the musical ensemble and setup transcribed below, as a pictorial representation of the song *Kenya nchi yangu* by Kakai Kilonzo.

8 $\text{♩} = 85$

Voice

Lead guitar

Bass guitar

Percussion

6

Hu-u wi-mbo ni

11

- na-i - mba si-o wi-mbo ni ma-o - mbi Hu-u wi-mbo ni - na - i-mba

16
8
si-o wi-mbo ni ma-o - mbi kwa ji-na la ba-ba na la mwa-na ro-ho mta-ka-ti-fu

21
8
a-mi - na kwa ji-na la ba-ba na la mwa-na ro-ho mta-ka-ti-fu a-mi - na

26
8
e - we Ke-nya n - chi ya-ngu e - we Ke-nya ba - ba ya-ngu e - we Ke-nya ma-

31
8
- ma ya - ngu si - ta-ku-a-cha mi-le - le

Figure 4. 7: Transcription of the song “Kenya Nchi Yangu.”

Source: (Muriuki, 1989)

The transcription above shows how political mobilization songs equally make use of pop music setup, where a range of instruments are employed. More so, selected styles, in this case *twist*, are employed in order to make the songs captivating for the public to easily consume them. The ensemble in essence supports a dancehall effect that would make the song appealing. Whereas the melody of the song is singable, the artist purposely repeats every phrase in order to make it easily learned by the desired recipients. Observation shows that the song is further performed in unison, a feature that makes it communicate with ease due to the reduced complexity. The above transcription captured only the first stanza and chorus of the song. The subsequent strophes share similar format a characteristic that lends the music to its audience with ease.

Besides *twist* style, the study also learned that political songs at this time also made use of many other styles. The song *Kenya Taifa letu* by Maroon commandos shares in two styles; *benga*, as well as Western classical style. Its duple meter performed on band instruments depicts a *benga* characteristic. The same meter may, however, be seen from a classical tradition especially the marching band style.

Kenya taifa letu (benga style)

Kiswahili

*Kenya, Kenya, Kenya taifa letu
Kenya, Kenya, Kenya nchi yetu*

*Kanyaga nchi yako
Kwa nguvu na raha
Hilo ni hakikisho la rais wetu
Zamani tuliwekwa ati namba foo
Sasa abautani*

English translation

*Kenya, Kenya, Kenya our nation
Kenya, Kenya, Kenya our country*

*walk in your country
with conviction and joy
that is our president's assurance
we were earlier placed at number four
now about turn*

<i>Tuko namba wani</i>	<i>we are number one</i>
<i>Nguvu zetu za Kenya</i>	<i>our Kenyan strength</i>
<i>Ni umoja wetu</i>	<i>is our unity</i>
<i>Mzee alibashiri tukahakikisha</i>	<i>our elder foresaid and we agreed</i>
<i>Vitisho hata vipi sote tu tayari</i>	<i>we are ready for any threats</i>
<i>Haki hatukuomba kwani tupoteze</i>	<i>we did not get justice to lose it</i>
<i>Kenya ni nchi nzuri kushinda zote</i>	<i>Kenya is the best country among all</i>
<i>Baharani hata pwani</i>	<i>rural and coastal</i>
<i>Kwavutia kote</i>	<i>is all attractive</i>
<i>Mashamba hata mbuga</i>	<i>farms and even parks</i>
<i>Ni kunono kote</i>	<i>its all rich</i>
<i>Twaweza kutumia</i>	<i>we can make use of</i>
<i>Pahali popote</i>	<i>all places</i>
<i>Hori zetu za kenya</i>	<i>our kenyan Mangers</i>
<i>Wanyama ni wengi</i>	<i>are many animals</i>
<i>Wageni huwaona</i>	<i>visitors see them</i>
<i>Na donge twapata</i>	<i>and we get money out of it</i>
<i>Ni haki tuwalinde wasiharibiwe</i>	<i>its just to protect them not to be destroyed</i>
<i>Hiyo sehemu kubwa</i>	<i>it is a big part</i>
<i>Uchumi wa Kenya</i>	<i>of our economy</i>
<i>Wako wapi wabeberu waone haya</i>	<i>where are the colonialists to see this</i>
<i>Tuliyo yatimiza kwa miaka chache</i>	<i>we have achieved in few years</i>
<i>Ni wao walisema hatuna akili</i>	<i>they said we have no brains</i>
<i>Na huku watunyonya afadhali kupe</i>	<i>yet they swindle us more than ticks</i>
(Maroon commando)	

The song above sought to describe the beauty of Kenya, ranging from the farms, coastal plains, and game parks. Importantly, the main beauty and strength of Kenya the unity among people, where no one is discriminated on the basis of their tribe, race or color. Seemingly, the assurance that Kenya belongs to its people was an affirmation by the then president himself. Whereas the song focuses on the uniqueness of Kenya based on varied features, it is not lost that all this was to show the colonialists how the country could maintain and develop such without their support. The artiste in this song, therefore, rides on the beauty of Kenya to communicate a pertinent message to the ousted colonial

leadership. Observation shows that the early Kenyan nationhood was typified by onslaught against colonialism, an ideology that was meant to coalesce the country men. The song thus mobilizes the Kenyan people to unity, having fought of the colonialists. To show the musical features, the song was transcribed below;

The musical score is presented in three systems, each with three staves: Voice (treble clef), Guitar (bass clef), and Percussion (treble clef). The key signature is three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat) and the time signature is 2/4. A tempo marking of $\text{♩} = 106$ is shown at the beginning.

System 1 (Measures 1-6): The voice staff contains rests. The guitar staff plays a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The percussion staff plays a steady eighth-note accompaniment.

System 2 (Measures 7-13): The voice staff begins with the lyrics: "Ke - nya, Ke - nya, Ke - nya ta - i-fa le - tu Ke-". The guitar and percussion continue their respective parts.

System 3 (Measures 14-19): The voice staff continues with the lyrics: "- nya, Ke - nya, Ke - nya nchi ye - tu. Ka-nya - ga n - chi ya - ko kwa".

System 4 (Measures 20-26): The voice staff continues with the lyrics: "ngu-vu na ra - ha, hi - lo ni ha-ki - ki - sho la ra - is we - tu, za - ma-ni tu-li-".

27

- we - kwa a - ti na - mba foo sa - sa a - ba - u - ta - ni tu - ko na - mba wa - ni Ke-

34

- nya, Ke - nya, Ke - nya ta - i - fa le - tu Ke - nya, Ke - nya, Ke - nya nchi ye-

41

- tu.

Figure 4. 8 Transcription of Mobilization song towards Kenyan unity

According to the transcription above, the performance employed singing, guitar and percussion playing. It resembles the ensemble setup by Kakai Kilonzo in an earlier

example. A unique feature of this song is the strict duple meter that is typical of marching bands. Like earlier example this song also makes use of a strophic structure. Repetition of stanzas has been used as a way of making the song more singable.

Harambee harambee (twist style)

Kiswahili

*Harambee harambee
Tuimbe pamoja
Tujenge serikali*

*Wengi walisema
Kenya itakuwa matata
Watu wote wastarabu*

*Wananchi harambee
Tuvute pamoja
Muongoze na usalama*

*Watu wa kenya
Hatuna ubaguzi
Kila rangi tunaipenda*

English translation

*harambee, harambee
we sing together
we build the government*

*many said
Kenya will be in trouble
all people are cool*

*country men harambee
we pull together
you lead with security*

*All people of Kenya
we have no segregation
we love all races*

(Daudi Kabaka)

The song harambee harambee, Daudi Kabaka was basically amplifying the message of the founding president Mzee Jomo Kenyatta who believed in the Harambee spirit of pulling together. Based on a twist style, the artiste calls on Kenyans to work sing together, and to build the nation. Like the previous songs, any message at this time could not be complete without the mention of colonialism. By insinuating that “many said Kenya will be in trouble” he was basically referring to the colonial thought that African countries could not lead themselves. Kabaka defeats the colonial notion by calling on the

people to work together through the Harambee spirit. He decries any form of segregation, and calls on concerted efforts to work together with love among all peoples of Kenya.

From the four songs that were transcribed above, several characteristics stand out. They were mainly original compositions that were specific to the message they sought to communicate. The songs also drew style from popular music, with devices that bordered on religious undertones, as well as social and economic issues. The question of colonialism is a common denominator in all the songs. Seemingly, the artistes always took a jab at colonialism as a stepping stone to delivering their desired message. Of importance was the need for unity, peace and working together for the sake of nation building. The study argues that the political songs of this time, in many ways contributed to the unity of Kenyans, advocated for nationhood, patriotism and above all enhanced cohesion of the people.

After the early independence era, the death of the then President Mzee Jomo Kenyatta ushered in a new political dispensation. The incoming president Daniel Arap Moi vowed to take the country in the footsteps of the founding President, what he called Nyayo (a Kiswahili word to mean footsteps). According to the respondents, the Nyayo era was characterized by a dual nature of political songs; patriotic ones that advocated for cohesion and responsible nationhood, as well as those that were full of sycophancy to idolize the president of the time. Similar to the early age, the study transcribed songs from the nyayo era, to help understand the nature of political music within this period.

Tushangilie Kenya

Kiswahili

*Tushangilie Kenya
Taifa letu tukufu
Kenya tunayoipenda daima
Kenya nchi tunayoipenda daima
Twajivunia sana tukijiita wakenya
Nchi yenye baraka daima
Kenya nchi yenye baraka daima
Tumekomboa Kenya taifa letu tukufu
Tumebadili mwendo daima
Tutalinda katiba mpya daima*

*Anayependa Kenya
Ni yule mwenye kutenda
Haki kwa watu wote daima
Mtu mwenye kutenda haki
Na ukipenda Kenya
Ujitengane na mambo
Yenye kuvunja Amani
Hatutaki matata Kenya daima*

*Wenye nchi
Kenya kipenzi chetu
Hatutaiacha milele daima
Kenya kipenzi chetu
Nchi yenye upendo
Hatutaacha Kenya
Daima na milele
Kenya kipenzi chetu
Hatutaiacha milele daima*

*Na nikienda nje
Sitasahau kenya
Na nitabaki mkenya
Daima na milele
Na tumeapa sote
Wenye nchi wa kenya
Kutumikia kenya
Daima na milele*

English translation

*let us cheer Kenya
our glorious nation
Kenya we forever love
Kenya the country we forever love
we pride in being called Kenya
a blessed country
Kenya, a forever blessed country
we have freed our glorious country Kenya
we have changed our ways
we shall defend the new constitution*

*the one who loves Kenya
is the one who does
justice to all people always
a justified person
and if you love Kenya
stay aloof from
activities that undermine peace
we forever do not want trouble in Kenya*

*country men
Kenya is our love
we shall forever never forsake it
Kenya is our love
a country of love
we shall not leave Kenya
forever and ever
Kenya our love
we shall forever never forsake it*

*and we I travel abroad
I will not forget Kenya
I will remain Kenyan
for ever and ever
and we have all vowed
Kenyans
to serve Kenya
for ever and ever*

<i>Sitiacha kenya nchi yangu</i>	<i>I will not leave my country Kenya</i>
<i>Mimi ni mwenye kenya daima</i>	<i>I am forever a Kenyan</i>
<i>Umoja wetu Kenya tudumishe</i>	<i>Let us maintain our Kenyan unity</i>
<i>Mimi ni mwenye kenya daima</i>	<i>I am forever a Kenyan</i>
<i>Sitadanganywa kamwe na porojo</i>	<i>I will not be misled by malice</i>
<i>Mimi ni mwenye kenya daima</i>	<i>I am forever a Kenyan</i>
<i>Wenye kuleta chuki kati yetu</i>	<i>those who bring hatred among us</i>
<i>Mimi ni mwenye kenya daima</i>	<i>I am forever a Kenyan</i>
<i>Nitatetea haki za wakenya</i>	<i>I will defend the rights of Kenyans</i>
<i>Mimi ni mwenye Kenya daima</i>	<i>I am forever a Kenyan</i>
<i>Wala sitakubali ukabila</i>	<i>I will not accept tribalism</i>
<i>Mimi ni mwenye Kenya daima</i>	<i>I am forever a Kenyan</i>
<i>Sitaharibu mali ya wengine</i>	<i>I will not destroy other people's property</i>
<i>Mimi ni mwenye kenya daima</i>	<i>I am forever a Kenyan</i>
<i>Na majirani wangu nitalinda</i>	<i>and I will care for my neighbors</i>

(Thomas Wasonga)

Source: (Wasonga, 1985)

Most of the respondents to this study indicated that the preceding song was the most patriotic that they have ever heard in Kenyan history. It was explained that the song captured values that Kenyans look up to, as well as showing the love of their country. From a rather naive perspective, some indicated that they also appreciate it because it can easily be sang.

From the text transcription, this study found out that the song applauds Kenya and describes the positive aspects of the nation, features that make the people to love their country. Importantly that Kenya is a country of peace, love and unity. The composer of this song goes ahead to highlight issues that could undermine the values of Kenya, and vows never to be distracted by such. To negate any statement that could undermine the values of Kenya, Thomas Wasonga affirms that “I am forever a Kenyan”. A keen look at the overriding message in the song, the composer echoes the ideology of the founding president, of peace, love and unity. This ideology was taken up by the second president

under the Nyayo philosophy. Arguably, this song, therefore, bears two dimensions of being patriotic but also mobilizational. The song carries desires and aspirations of Kenya, but also the dogmas of certain leaders.

Apart from carrying ideologies of given leaders, it was found out that the song was also performed in different occasions as a call to patriotism amid cries against dictatorial leadership of the time. It may be deduced that the song in a way was used to cover up the ills of a despotic leadership in the guise for a call to patriotism. This study, therefore, learned that whereas a song may have positive values for a people, its contextual use may be significant to its mission, or otherwise employed as a cover up and propaganda. To understand this praise song further, it was transcribed as shown below.

TUISHANGILIE KENYA

for SATB with Tenor Solo

Words & Music By
Thomas Wasonga, OGW, SS
1985

1 **Moderato** (♩ = 110)

TENOR SOLO

1. Tu - i - sha - ngi - li - e Ke - nya ta - i - fa le - tu tu - ku - fu,
2. Twa - ji - vu - ni - a sa - na tu - ki - ji - i - ta wa - ke - nya,
3. Ke - nya ma - ka - o ye - tu ni n - chi ya u - sa - la - ma,
4. A - na - ye - pe - nda Ke - nya ni yu - le mwe - nye ku - te - nda,
5. Na u - ki - pe - nda Ke - nya u - ji - te - nga - ne na ma - mbo,

SOPRANO
ALTO

TENOR
BASS

6

Ke - nya tu - na - yo - i - pe - nda, Ke - nya n - chi tu - na - yo - i - pe - nda,
n - chi ye - nye ba - ra - ka, Ke - nya n - chi ye - nye ba - ra - ka,
ka - mwe ha - tu - ta - i - a - cha, ka - mwe Ke - nya ha - tu - ta - i - a - cha,
ha - ki kwa wa - tu wo - te, m - tu mwe nye ku - te - nda ha - ki,
ye - nye ku - vu - nja a - ma - ni, ha - tu - ta - ki ma - ta - ta Ke - nya,

Da - i - ma

13

Ke - nya n - chi tu - na - yo - i - pe - nda.
Ke - nya n - chi ye - nye ba - ra - ka.
ka - mwe Ke - nya ha - tu - ta - i - a - cha.
m - tu mwe nye ku - te - nda ha - ki.
ha - tu - ta - ki ma - ta - ta Ke - nya.

Da - i - ma

17 1.2.3.4 5.

We - nza - ngu,

Da - i - ma. Da - i - ma. Ke - nya ki - pe - nzi che - tu,

23 1. 2.

We - nza - ngu

ha - tu - ta - i - a - cha mi - le - le da - i - ma, le - le

29

1. Ke - nya ki - pe - nzi che - tu n - chi ye - nye u - pe - ndo ha -
 2. Na tu - me - a - pa so - te wa - na - n - chi wa Ke - nya, ku -
 3. Ke - nya ni ma - ma ye - tu te - na ni ba - ba ye - tu, ha -

da - i - ma.

34 1.2. 3.

tu - ta - a - cha Ke - nya da - i - ma na mi - le - le. mi - le - le.
 tu - mi - ki - a Ke - nya da - i - ma na mi - le - le.
 tu - ta - a - cha Ke - nya da - i - ma

Figure 4. 9 Transcription for Tuishangilie Kenya

Source: (Wasonga, 1985)

From the transcription, the song is based on a solo-chorus structure, that was designed specifically for choral performance. The solo part take a long duration, whereas the chorus mainly took one word, *daima*,. At the later stage, the chorus was lengthened on the phrase *Kenya kipenzi chetu, hatutaiacha daima na milele* (Our beloved Kenya, we shall forever never leave/forsake you). Seemingly, the lengthened chorus is the core of the song, where the composer sought to incorporate all singers and or participants in emphasizing their love for Kenya.

In terms of harmony, the song employed chordal approach over a homophonic texture. Such movement of voices in the same direction is seen as an effort to achieve utmost communication of the message in the song. The study argues that, a different texture like polyphony would inhibit especially the textual exposition of the song hence lack of communication. Rhythmically, the song makes use of simple trotting as well as syncopated patterns that enhance the singability of the song. Over and above, the song borrows from African characteristics of solo-chorus structure, under-elaborated harmonies, rhythmically captivating, features that make the song to appeal to the general public. The use of Kiswahili language (the Kenyan national language) further lends the song to public with ease, hence achieving its communicative purpose. Informants to the study further revealed how the single national radio (voice of Kenya), the lone media then supported marketing of this song and many others of the time.

Apart from the foregoing highly patriotic song that shares in other dimensions, Thomas Wasonga an artiste who received immense support from the then president, equally composed songs of sycophancy. In the song “tawala Kenya” he expressed utmost praise of President Moi, how his leadership was, and that Kenya was stable and peaceful under Moi. The transcription below shows some of the features this artiste brought out about president Moi.

TAWALA KENYA (RULE KENYA)

Kiswahili

*Tawala Kenya ,Tawala,
Tawala Kenya Tawala,Rais Moi ,
Tawala Kenya Tawala.
Unaongoza vyema
Unaongoza vyema,
Rais Moi unaongoza vyema.
Peleka Kenya mbele,
Peleka Kenya mbele,
Rais wetu Peleka Kenya mbele
ahead
Tunamsifu Moi
Tunamsifu moi
Rais wetu tunamsifu sana
alot
Rais Moi baba taifa Kenya
nation
Ongoza Kenya nchi yetu
Ee baba tawala
Tangu ulipo shika uongozi kenya
of Kenya Umoja umeongezeka
Ee baba tawala
Juhudi zako za kuleta amani
Dunia yote apongeza
Ee baba tawala
Tuna imani na uongozi wako
leadership
Rais wetu mpendwa
Ee baba tawala
Moi ongoza kenya
Tawala kenya tawala
Rais wetu tawala kenya tawala
lead*

English translation

*lead Kenya, lead
lead Kenya, president Moi
Lead Kenya lead
you lead well
you lead well
President Moi you lead well
propel Kenya ahead
propel Kenya ahead
president Moi, propel Kenya

we praise Moi
we praise Moi
our president, we praise him

president Moi, father of the

lead our country
oh father lead
since you assumed leadership
unity has been enhanced
oh father lead
your efforts to bring peace
the entire world recognizes
oh father lead
we have faith in your

our beloved president
oh father lead
Moi lead Kenya
lead Kenya lead
our president lead Kenya,*

<i>Baba unapenda Amani</i>	<i>father you love peace</i>
<i>Tawala kenya tawala</i>	<i>lead Kenya, lead</i>
<i>Rais wetu tawala kenya tawala</i>	<i>our president lead Kenya,</i>
<i>lead</i>	
<i>Kweli Kenya ina amani</i>	<i>truly, Kenya is peaceful</i>
<i>Tawala kenya tawala</i>	<i>lead Kenya, lead</i>
<i>Rais wetu tawala kenya tawala</i>	<i>our president lead Kenya,</i>
<i>lead</i>	
<i>Sote twakuunga mkono</i>	<i>we all support you</i>
<i>Tawala kenya tawala</i>	<i>lead Kenya, lead</i>
<i>Rais wetu tawala kenya tawala</i>	<i>our president lead Kenya,</i>
<i>lead</i>	
<i>Kweli sote tu nyuma yako</i>	<i>we are all behind you</i>
<i>Tawala kenya tawala</i>	<i>lead Kenya, lead</i>
<i>Rais wetu tawala kenya tawala</i>	<i>our president lead Kenya,</i>
<i>lead</i>	

(Wasonga Thomas)
Source: (Wasonga, 1981)

The praise song above shows how pure and blameless Moi was. By showing that Moi had not shortcoming, the composer of this song equates him to purity, a characteristic that may be contested of any human being. He is called father, who is also praised for all his great deeds. One may, however, argue that the word praise was used in a manner equal to the way a deity would be praised. Additionally, the word *tawala* may mean lead, but also prevail or otherwise do not stop (keep on). The word *tawala* has, therefore, been used to depict absolute power for this leader. This study posits that this is a praise song that was only meant to show how able a leader Moi was. It also advocated for the support of Moi without any form of questioning of his leadership. That is why the study views this as a form of sycophancy, given that many questioned Moi's leadership in many ways.

Performed in a purely choral structure, the transcription in figure 4.10 shows the form and structure of the song.

3.

TAWALA KENYA

(S.A.T.B with Tenor Solo)

Composed by:
WASONGA Thomas
1983

Musical score for the first system of 'Tawala Kenya'. It features five staves: Tenor Solo, Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The Tenor Solo part begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 4/4 time signature. The lyrics for the Tenor Solo are '1. Ta - wa - la Ke - nya ta - wa - la,'. The other four parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) enter with the lyrics 'Ta - wa - la Ke - nya'.

Musical score for the second system of 'Tawala Kenya'. It features five staves: Tenor Solo, Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The Tenor Solo part begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 4/4 time signature. The lyrics for the Tenor Solo are '2. U - na - o - ngo - za'. The other four parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) enter with the lyrics 'ta - wa - la Ra - i - s Mo - i ta - wa - la Ke - nya ta - wa - la.'.

vye ma.
 U - na - o - ngo - za vye ma Ra - i - s Mo - i u - na - o - ngo - za
 U - na - o - ngo - za vye ma Ra - i - s Mo - i
 U - na - o - ngo - za vye ma Ra - i - s Mo - i u - na - o - ngo - za
 U - na - o - ngo - za vye ma Ra - is Mo - i o - ngo - za

3. Pe - le - ka Ke - nya mbe le,
 vye ma. Pe - le - ka Ke - nya mbe le Ra - is
 Pe - le - ka Ke - nya mbe le Ra - is
 vye ma. Pe - le - ka Ke - nya mbe le Ra - is
 vye - ma. Pe - le - ka Ke - nya mbe le Ra - is

Figure 4. 10: Transcription for Tawala Kenya

Source: (Wasonga, 1981)

From the transcription, the song *tawala* Kenya makes use of a solo-chorus, a typical African structure where a lead artiste directs others in performance. The part taken by the chorus is three and a half bars, whereas the solo is one and a half. Compared to “tushangilie Kenya” this form would be its opposite. The structure is further complemented by the strophic form, where the melody is maintained but text is altered. Such structure and rhythmic formation as in the earlier song, makes easily taken up by other singers, a characteristic that makes it a praise or cheer song.

Apart from the may choral music that typified the Nyayo, few pop songs were also composed and performed. Joseph Kamaru was a an influential artiste in this regard. According to the respondents, this artiste was popular yet met with sustained censorship due to his controversial messages in selected songs. An example is the song ‘*safari ya Japan*’, in the text transcription below.

Safari ya Japan

Kiswahili

*Mtukufu rais twakupongeza
Kwa ziara zako kote duniani
Baba mzazi mwema
Yule hushughulika na watoto wake
Rais wa vitendo hivi majuzi tu
Ulienda Japan bila wasiwasi
Wana nchi wa Kenya,
Majeshi yetu Kenya
Wana Imani kwako
Safari ya Japan tulifanikiwa
Baba mzazi mwema
Moi wa vitendo
Kaleta mamilioni
Tujenge gala nyingi za kuweka mahindi
Mpende kenya yetu
Mwito wa rais*

English translation

*Holy president we praise you
for the many trips abroad
father, a good parent
you fight for you children
action-oriented president
recently you fearlessly went to japan
the people of Kenya
our Kenyan defense forces
have faith in you
we achieved on our trip to Japan
father, a good parent
an action-oriented Moi
you brought millions
we build silos to store maize
love our Kenya
our president’s call*

<i>Amani na upendo</i>	<i>peace and love</i>
<i>Umoja wa taifa ndiyo maendeleo</i>	<i>the unity of the nation is the</i>
	<i>prosperity</i>
<i>Kuchimba wenzenu viongozi muache</i>	<i>leaders stop backbiting each other</i>
<i>Moi songa na mbele</i>	<i>Moi move forward/on</i>
<i>Tujenge Kenya yetu</i>	<i>so that we build our Kenya</i>
<i>Safari ya japani tulifanikiwa</i>	<i>we achieved on our trip to Japan</i>
<i>Moi songa na mbele</i>	<i>Moi move forward/on</i>
<i>Tujenge Kenya yetu</i>	<i>so that we build our Kenya</i>
<i>Tulipofika bombay niliona mengi</i>	<i>in Bombay I saw alot</i>
<i>Nikajua kenya tumeendelea</i>	<i>I knew Kenya was doing well</i>
<i>Moi songa na mbele</i>	<i>Moi move forward/on</i>
<i>Tujenge Kenya yetu</i>	<i>we build our Kenya</i>
<i>Pongezi kwa madereva</i>	<i>we praise our pilots</i>
<i>Wa ndege zetu za kenya</i>	<i>of our Kenyan jets</i>
<i>Moi songa na mbele</i>	<i>Moi move forward/on</i>
<i>Tujenge Kenya yetu</i>	<i>we build our Kenya</i>

(Joseph Kamaru)

The first part of this song praises Moi for his efforts to defend Kenya, care for the citizens and above all assume a father figure to all. These features were depicted in his efforts to visit many countries in such of money to support Kenya. Joseph Kamaru focuses on Moi's trip to Japan where many millions were gathered to support building of maize silos. After all the praises, the second part that was performed in *benga* style, either urges president Moi to move forward/on with his development agenda for the country, or for Moi to get out of the scene so that the people can develop Kenya. The controversy of this second part is compounded by the artiste's citation of the trip to Japan. In saying "our trip to Japan we achieved" then followed by Moi move on so that we build Kenya, the artiste basically isolates Moi from the achievements that were realized during the trip to Japan. The isolation is also realized in telling Moi to move on so that the people can develop Kenya. It was revealed that the controversial nature of the song lead to Kamaru being censored and his music not being aired for many years.

Based on the foregoing information, it can be deduced that the Nyayo era was mainly a period of choral music. Many political songs were composed and performed in choral style. There existed few pop music that were highly censored by the then authoritarian leadership. Seemingly the then president Moi loved choral music and supported and that why it flourished more than any other genre of music. Additionally, it was easier for choral music to be regulated so that they do not communicate anything against the regime of the time. The control of choral music was achieved by the Permanent Presidential Music Commission (PPMC), whose officers visited the performing groups to vet them ahead of any performance. this ensured that no information against the Moi regime was disseminated by the performing groups.

In 1991, the constitution of Kenya was changed from a one-party to multi party state. The period between 1992 and 2002 saw Moi as the president of Kenya under immense pressure from the then opposition parties. The change to multipartism ushered another era of political music in Kenya, where the songs then were part of the ploy to keep Moi in power. The respondents described how songs of this time bordered on absolute sycophancy and propaganda for the sake of Moi's political survival. It was revealed how choral music grew bigger at this time, where not just single choirs were employed to performed. Many groups were brought together (what was called the mass choir) especially university students, church and parastatal choirs members. The mass choirs were assembled to create a bigger effect of communicating the songs that praised Moi's leadership. Among the leading musicians of Kenya who trained and performed with these mass choirs were the late Dr. Aurthur Kemoli a professor at the University of

Nairobi then, Prof. Fredrick Ngala, then of Egerton University and the late Boniface Mghanga the then director of Muungano national choir.

The songs performed in the mass choirs were a buildup or of similar characteristic as the earlier ones by Thomas Wasonga. Among the popular songs of the time were;

Moi umefanya mengi – Moi you have done so much
Gari la enzi ya Nyayo - the Nyayo wagon
Fimbo ya Nyayo - the Nyayo stalk
Hongera Moi - well done Moi
Meli ya Nyayo - the Nyayo ship
Kweke zelimwe - uproot all weeds in the Nyayo farm

Examples of the songs above show how composers sought to describe Moi as an able leader who had done so much for Kenya. They urged Moi to keep directing the Nyayo wagon and/ship so that Kenya may achieve more. The stalk that Moi carried was seen as a symbolic sign for leadership. The composers similarly urged any weeds (people who were against Moi's rule to be uprooted. The term uprooting was not clear whether it meant chasing them from the party KANU, or getting them out of Kenya, or others eliminating them completely. Such songs are a clear show of how propaganda, idolisation and rallying behind a leader may be employed in political music.

Another phase of multipartism was realised in the run upto to 2002 when Moi's second term as president in the multiparty democracy was coming to an end. From organised choral music that was used to entertain the president, came spontaneous pop music and street chants that were against the Nyayo regime, which urged the public for change. The spontaneity of such performances saw adaptation of songs from especially religious institutions, where words were changed to suit given situations. A typical case in time was the song *yote 'yawezekana'*. This is a religious song that is performed in many

evangelical churches. It means, by faith everything is possible. The song was, however, changed to '*yote yawezekana bila Moi*' to mean either, everything is possible without Moi or without Moi, everything is possible. Interestingly, the song was never thematically or melodically developed further than the statement '*yote yawezekana bila Moi*' that was sung repeatedly by irate Kenyans who sought for political change. since then, the song is used whenever Kenyans are dissatisfied with a certain personality. Whenever it is used, they replace the name Moi with the person they do not want. It was argued that the song's continued use in political and activism scenarios has basically robbed it from the church that hardly uses it. It is currently known as an activism song. For the younger people who never heard it in religious institutions, they may well know the song for activism.

At a similar time, songs were drawn from pop scene for use in political situations. A group of musicians by the name Gidi and Maji, adapted their song *unbwogable* (a Luo word changed to sound English) into politics. The word *bwogo* in Luo language means unfearful, unshaken and not threatened. This song was, therefore, adapted into the then main opposition coalition NARC (National Rainbow Coalition), to communicate to the Moi's team that they were not afraid of them, neither were they shaken by the fact that Moi had a preferred candidate for presidency. In the run up to the 2002 general elections, the song was popular among Kenyans, and was a main chant for the opposition rallies.

The study established that adaptation of songs was a concept that continued over time. From 2005 another sacred song '*bado maapambano*' took Kenyan politics by storm. The

song is originally a scared one to mean that Christians were still fighting in their pursuit for salvation and eternal life. For political purpose, the song was changed to ‘*wakenya msilale, bado mapambano*’ (Kenyans do not sleep, the fight is still on). The song was popularised by one member of parliament who lead it with a raised fist, with his deep voice. In performing this song, it is not clear what form of fight was still ongoing. It is possible that the fight meant the oppositions role of checking the government of the time. It could also mean the fight to remove the sitting government from power or otherwise an impending revolution. Hellena Ken’s *Mambo Yabadilika* song which is a Christian song was loosely means that ‘Things are changing’ was largely used in the political campaigns in 2017 elections. The study was short of establishing the exact battle that this song sought to communicate. Additionally, performance of the song employed raised fists and stamping of feet. Such actions could mean *aluta continua*, the fight is still on, or a form of rebellion against something. Performance of this song depicted mixed messages that could not be truly ascertained.

Since 2002, adapting of songs from sacred and pop institutions has been a norm in political music making. During the latest general elections for instance, songs such as ‘*mambo yabadilika*’ (things do change or have changed), a sacred song by Hellena Ken, and *bindu bichenjanga* (things change) by Amos Barasa were used to propel the agenda of the main opposition party/coalition. The overriding theme for the opposition party was “things have changed”, a statement had resonated with what the two artistes had previously performed. The songs were, therefore, used to market the agenda of the main political party during the 2017 general elections in Kenya.

Apart from adapting songs from pop and sacred institutions, the study learned that this period also encountered songs composed specifically for political purposes. Ben Githae for instance composed a song titled “*Uhuruto tano tena*” which was transcribed below.

Uhuruto tano tena – Uhuru and Ruto, five more years

Kiswahili

*Nina sababu nyingi
Kupigia kura jubilee party
Wakenya twasema
Uhuru Ruto tano tena
years
Kazi wemafanya
Inaonekana na wakenya wote
Wakenya twasema
Uhuru Ruto tano tena
years
Ndani, ndani, to the statehouse
Uhuru Ruto, tano tena
Wamejenga reli
Kupanua usafiri Kenya
Wakenya twasema
Uhuru Ruto, tano tena
Barabara Kenya
Hadi mashinani kote*

English translation

*I have many reasons
to vote jubilee party
we Kenyans say
Uhuru and Ruto, five more
years
they have worked
the work is visible
we Kenyans say
Uhuru and Ruto, five more
years
inside, inside to the statehouse
Uhuru and Ruto, five more years
they have built the railways
to expand transport
we Kenyans say
Uhuru Ruto, five more years
Roads in Kenya
are all over the rural areas*

(Ben Githae, 2017)

This song highlights reasons as to why Kenyans were being urged to vote Uhuru and Ruto for a second time. They bordered development agenda in terms infrastructure, among other issues. The study, however, established that the respondents had mixed opinion over the supposed development agenda of Uhuru and Ruto. A section of them supported it whereas others did not and instead indicated that it was propaganda. Whether true or not, the song employed an approach of showing the ability of the two leaders as reason for them to be re-elected. The study views this as a form of idolisation of the leaders through the song, and by extension propagandist approach to wooing voters.

Whereas, there existed songs that were adversely political during the multiparty era of Kenya, the study established that there existed other songs that defied political overtones, and instead sought to show the positive aspects of Kenya and the need for peace, unity and cohesion of the people. Eric Wainaina is one artiste who performed such songs as early as when Moi was still in power, but his songs were suppressed. After Moi's rule, such songs were re-popularised, especially during the 2007 post-election violence, where the song *daima mkenya* (forever Kenyan) found utmost importance.

Daima Mkenya (forever Kenyan)

Kiswahili

*Umoja ni fahari yetu
Undugu ndio nguvu
Chuki na ukabila
Hatutaki hata kamwe
Lazima tuungane, tuijenge nchi yetu
Pasiwe hata mmoja
Anaetenganisha
Naishi, Natumaini,
Najitolea daima Kenya,
Hakika ya bendera
Ni uthabiti wangu
Nyeusi ya wananchi na nyekundu ni ya damu
blood
Kijani ni ya ardhi, nyeupe ya Amani
Daima mimi mkenya
Mwananchi mzalendo
Kwa uchungu na mateso
Kwa vilio na uzuni
Tulinyakuliwa Uhuru
na mashujaa wa zamani
Hawakushtushwa na risasi
au kufungwa gereza
Nia yao ukombizi kuvunja pingu za ukoloni
colonialism
Naishi, Natumaini,
Najitolea daima Kenya,*

English translation

*unity is our pride
brotherhood is our strength
hate and tribalism
we do not want it
we must unite and build our country
let there not be even one
who divides
I live, I believe
I give myself to Kenya
the meaning of the flag
Is my strength
black for the people, red for
green for vegetation, white for peace
forever Kenyan
a true patriot
the bitterness and trails
the cries and grief
we got independence
with the freedom fighters
the bullet did not cow them
neither was detention
their resolve to redeem us from
I live, I believe
I surrender as Kenyan*

<i>Hakika ya bendera</i>	<i>the truth of the flag</i>
<i>Ni uthabiti wangu</i>	<i>is my strength</i>
<i>Nyeusi ya wananchi na nyekundu ni ya damu</i>	<i>black for the people, red for</i>
<i>blood</i>	
<i>Kijani ni ya ardhi, nyeupe ya Amani</i>	<i>green for vegetation, white for peace</i>
<i>Daima mimi</i>	<i>forever Kenyan</i>
<i>Mwananchi mzalendo</i>	<i>a true patriot</i>

(Erick Wainaina)

The song describes how hard fought the Kenyan independence was. The flag as a national symbol has colors with deep meaning to the people of Kenya. The artiste, therefore, uses the fight against colonialism and the flag to remind Kenyans of the need to be united, peaceful and importantly, true patriots. The song was performed in a pop style, where Eric Wainaina sung it to a piano accompaniment.

Apart pop style that was synonymous of this era, choral music did not completely die. Many songs were performed in choral style, that on the contrary defied political overtones, and instead focused on urging Kenyans to be peaceful. The researcher came across such a song by Sylvester Otieno, who borrowed the message of St. Francis the great (Lord make me an instrument of peace), and adapted it to fit the Kenyan situation that was in similar need. The transcription below shows this song.

Chombo cha Amani

For Mixed Voices

A song for peace and national healing

Composed by Otieno R. Sylvester

Chakacha Style
with a sense of patriotism (♩=114)

Lead Voices

Soprano
mf
 Mu - ngu ni - fa - nye ni - we cho - mbo cha a - ma - ni ya - ko ni - sa - mba - ze a - ma - ni du - ni

Alto
mf
 Mu - ngu ni - fa - nye ni - we cho - mbo cha a - ma - ni ya - ko ni - sa - mba - ze a - ma - ni du - ni

Tenor
mf
 Mu - ngu ni - fa - nye ni - we cho - mbo cha a - ma - ni ya - ko ni - sa - mba - ze a - ma - ni du - ni

Bass
mf
 Mu - ngu ni - fa - nye ni - we cho - mbo cha a - ma - ni ya - ko ni - sa - mba - ze a - ma - ni du - ni

- a - ni ko - te Mu - ngu ni - fa - nye ni - we cho - mbo cha a - ma - ni ya - ko ni - hu - bi - ri a - ma - ni kwa wa -

- a - ni ko - te Mu - ngu ni - fa - nye ni - we cho - mbo cha a - ma - ni ya - ko ni - hu - bi - ri a - ma - ni kwa wa -

- a - ni ko - te Mu - ngu ni - fa - nye ni - we cho - mbo cha a - ma - ni ya - ko ni - hu - bi - ri a - ma - ni kwa wa -

- a - ni ko - te Mu - ngu ni - fa - nye ni - we cho - mbo cha a - ma - ni ya - ko ni - hu - bi - ri a - ma - ni kwa wa -

Pa - li-po chu-ki na u-go-mvi ni - le-te u-pe-ndo
 - ke-nya wo-te. I - li wa - ke-nya wo-te wa-i-shi kwa u-

ke-nya wo-te. I - li wa - ke-nya wo-te wa-i-shi kwa u-

ke-nya wo-te. I - li wa - ke-nya wo-te wa-i-shi kwa u-

ke-nya wo-te. I - li wa - ke-nya wo-te wa-i-shi kwa u-

Pa - li-po chu-ki na u-go-mvi ni - le-te a-ma-ni
 - pe-ndo wa kwe-li I - li wa - ke-nya wo-te wa-i-shi kwa a-

pe-ndo wa kwe-li I - li wa - ke-nya wo-te wa-i-shi kwa a-

pe-ndo wa kwe-li I - li wa - ke-nya wo-te wa-i-shi kwa a-

pe-ndo wa kwe-li I - li wa - ke-nya wo-te wa-i-shi kwa a-

Po - po-te pa-li-po na u-te-nga-no ni - le-te u-mo-ja
 - ma-ni te - le I - li wa - ke-nya wo-te wa-i-shi kwa u-

ma-ni te - le I - li wa - ke-nya wo-te wa-i-shi kwa u-

ma-ni te - le I - li wa - ke-nya wo-te wa-i-shi kwa u-

ma-ni te - le I - li wa - ke-nya wo-te wa-i-shi kwa u-

Figure 4. 11: Transcription of chombo cha amani

Source:

The song above was based on a *chakacha* style, solo-chorus format and performed by choir in four part (soprano, alto, tenor, bass). The song is a prayer for national peace and healing, that called for all Kenyans to be instruments of peace. It called on Kenyans to sow love where there was hatred, pardon in instances of injury, hope for despair and above all maintain peaceful co-existence. Seemingly, the song was a reaction to the lawlessness that was realised after the infamous 2007 general elections.

The preceding section has shown the nature of political music in the post-colonial era of Kenya in terms of style, structure, performance, themes and text. Importantly, that the post-colonial era in Kenya was characterised by three major phases, each with distinct political music features that were fundamental to the politics of the time. Among the common features were, pop music vs choral music, organised group against mass performance and varied thematic tendencies.

4.2.2 Evolution of political mobilizations songs in post-colonial era in Kenya

Based on the foregoing section on the nature of political mobilisation music, a significant feature in its manifestation is transformation. This section purposed to discuss how the music has undergone transformation over time. The table below, summarily shows the political periods that Kenya has undergone over time. The phases were similarly a basis upon which the study considered transformative features. To determine how the respondents evaluated the levels of conformity the study made use of a Likert scale with the parameters little, moderate and great.

Table 4. 2 Percentage distribution of the evolution of political mobilization songs

Statement	Little Extent	Moderate Extent	Great Extent
<p><u>Early Independent Kenya</u> <u>1963-1980</u></p> <p>Songs within this era, focused on political mobilization to unite the people having prevailed over the colonial government. Example; <i>Harambee harambee tuimbee pamoja ,Wimbo huu ni wimbo wa historia.</i></p>	2% (n=156)	8% (n=156)	90% (n=156)
<p><u>Moi Era 1980-1992</u></p> <p>The need for continued togetherness for the sake of national unity.</p> <p>The struggle to praise Moi for the sake of his continued rule of Kenya</p> <p>Example; <i>tawala Kenya (Rule Kenya) BIM end Bim (A baboon is a baboon).Fimbo ya Nyayo</i></p>	5% (n=156)	9% (n=156)	86% (n=156)
<p><u>Multiparty era 1992-2000</u></p>	26%	32%	42%

<p>A period of political mobilization for the sake of Moi's political survival. Music was never used for cohesion. It was employed as a survival tool against its intention of creating cohesion.</p> <p>Example <i>Moi amefanya mingi Kenya, Ongoza gari la Nyayo, Moi amefanya mengi Kenya, Bado Mapambano, Mnataka Nani-Raila?</i></p>	(n=156)	(n=156)	(n=156)
<p><u>The millennium age.</u></p> <p>Music is a tool for political assassination and falls short of cohesion</p> <p>Example; Bindu bichenjanga, Uhuru Ruto tano tena,</p>	10% (n=156)	36% (n=156)	54% (n=156)
<p>Currently PMM is dynamic and has grown due to digital times.</p> <p>People are enlightened on the right and freedom of expression through music.</p>	11% (n=156)	10% (n=156)	79% (n=156)

Source: Researcher (2019)

The findings from the table 4.2 shows that immediately after independence, respondents agreed to a great extent by 90% (n = 156) that songs during that time focused on political mobilization to unite the people having prevailed over the colonial government. 86% (n=156) agreed to great extent that during Moi's era before multiparty, patriotic music were composed together with praise songs to praise Moi for the sake of his continued rule of Kenya. With the rise of multiparty, averagely, respondents confirmed that praise songs for Moi president was so dominant and respondents felt that political mobilization music had nothing to do with national cohesion. This was an indication that during Moi's time political mobilization music was partly political propaganda. 79% (n = 156) of the respondents to a great extent agreed that currently PMM is dynamic and has grown due to digital times and that people are enlighten on the right and freedom of expression through music.

4.2.2.1 Ensemble-based evolution

The study found out that the composition of groups that perform political mobilisation music have been changing over time. A review of such music that was performed during the early independence times showed that they were mainly pop bands of up-to five people. In a few instances though there were choral groups that performed such songs. On the contrary, the Nyayo era showed more choral groups performing political music as opposed to the pop music. Like it was the case of Joseph Kamaru, the study established that most pop groups were suppressed by the then ruling class due to the fear of dissenting views. During Moi era, there were a lot of political mobilization songs which were full of

praises for his ruling. Musicians were rewarded both monetarily, materially and promoted for those who were working. It is seen by these that the President of the time valued and promoted music industry as well as encouraged the teaching of music in schools. The choral groups were instead vetted to determine the content they sang about. The multiparty era was characterised by yet another formation of performing groups. There came spontaneous mass performances on streets or, a speciality group/persons leading the masses in performance. This was shown in the previous section where songs as '*bado mapambano*' was led by one member of parliament as the masses sang along. In a different instance, the *gidi gidi maji maji* group led the song '*unbwogable*' as the masses joined in the performance. For the song '*yote yawezekana*' it needed one person to start and the entire mass in attendance responded.

Whereas there existed organised groups (choral and pop) during the multiparty era, the voice of the spontaneous mass performance on streets and political rallies overshadowed any other performance groups. During the fieldwork, it was interesting to learn that the respondents knew songs that were performed in mass street and political rallies, as opposed to pop and choral ones. In the instance of the song '*chombo cha amani*' by Sylvester Otieno, it was known to performing groups more than the public, yet it carried an important message for the people of Kenya.

The evolution of performing groups described above shows that the earlier times of independence had a better sense of cohesion, and that is why groups were organised to make music that equally highlighted the need for peace, unity and cohesion. The study

posits that, organising groups to perform before an audience was a sense of acceptance, contentment and cohesion where they all communed of the same music. On the contrary, the spontaneous mass performances on the streets and rallies was a form of venting the frustration and dissatisfied of the people. It further indicated a lack of cohesion and that is why they sought to *enmasse* communicate their messages through song. Such mass assemblies may be likened to protests groups as opposed to performing groups. The study posits that the transformation of groups that made political music was an indicator of how cohesive the Kenyan society was. It further influenced how cohesion was achieved and transformed.

4.2.2.2 Socio-political evolution

The songs that were transcribed in the previous section may be seen as a mirror image of the socio-political milieu of the Kenyan society. As socio-political issues changed, so were the themes and texts of the songs that were performed over varied times. In the early independence time for instance, most musicians sung about the need for unity, peace and nation building. But whenever such information was communicated, they never missed to refer back to colonialism. In the song '*Kenya nchi yetu*' by Maroon commandos for instance, the main theme is show how great a nation Kenya is. But the band did not forget to say 'where are the colonialists to see what we have achieved over a short period of time'. Colonialism in this case was a social issue that hardly evaded the people's minds as reflected in the songs.

In a different era, tribalism was an outright issue in the Kenyan society. This was reflected in the way songs in the multiparty era were composed in the respective native

languages as opposed to the national (Kiswahili) or official (English) language. This was the case in the instance of Muigai Njoroge's song '*Uhuru ni witu*' to mean Uhuru is ours. In singing this song in a language that is not spoken by all Kenyans, it isolates many from the intended message. Communicating such political messages to few people may be viewed as suspect, and not in good faith. Additionally, it means Uhuru only belongs to certain people and not the entire nation, even if he was the leader of Kenya. This may well be interpreted as a an indicator of tribal feelings being ventilated through song. In essence, tribalism was a social issue that may have been manifested in other ways, but in this instance depicted in political music.

The two preceding examples show how music is society oriented. It reflects the socio-political issues of what the people undergo. Importantly, that as socio-political issues change, so does the music. Formation of performing groups changes, text and themes change and so is the way people perform the music. A unique feature, is how the changing music influences cohesion and cohesion impacts performance of music.

4.2.2.3 Lingual evolution

The study further ascertained that language was an important medium of communication in political music in Kenya. The use of language in music further showed a sense of transformation over time. Based on the songs that were transcribed in the previous section, it is evident that early independence time was largely characterised by songs in Kiswahili, the national language of Kenya. During the Nyayo era, Kiswahili was still the main language of musical expression. In few instances though, musicians as Joseph

Kamaru performed in their native languages. Their music was, however, censored and hardly aired due to the authoritarian leadership then. In the multiparty era, performers made use of many languages to express themselves.

Apart from spoken languages, the study noted that performed ones were equally important in musical communication. A review performance in the early independence times and Nyayo era showed that people mostly danced to accompany songs. In the multiparty era, the non-verbal language involved dancing, stumping feet, varied gestures and use of props such as twigs, banners, and clubs. An example was cited in the previous section where one of the members of parliament led the masses in a song '*bado mapambano*', with a raised fist, holding a flywhisk, and moving with power. Such non-verbal language showed resistance, readiness to fight on, defiance and resilience.

Whether spoken or not, the examples of how language changed over time was an indicator of the levels cohesion among Kenyans. By people composing and performing in their native languages, it was an indicate of independence and lack or regard for others and that is why they communicate to their own community only. It was a show of lack of unity and cohesion. In the earlier times when cohesion was evident, they musically expressed themselves in languages that majority of the people could understand. The evolution of language as depicted in political music in Kenya was an indicator of how cohesive their society has been over time.

4.2.2.4 Structural-based evolution

It was also found out that structuring of political songs was yet another factor for evolution. A keen look at the songs during early independence and the Nyayo time showed that they were original compositions by respective artistes. The melodies were composed to marry with the respective texts in order to effectively communicate. During the multiparty phase, it was realised that people adapted existing songs especially from religious and pop songs. The adaptation was done either by maintaining the melody and completely or partially changing the words, or a total lifting of the song without any change.

Such was seen in the way the song '*yote yawezekana bila Moi*' was adapted from the religious song '*yote yawezekana kwa Imani*'. Another case in time was the song '*wakenya msilale bado mapambano*', from a religious song '*wakristu msilale bado mapambano*'. This is what the study considered partial adaptation, because minor changes were made to the songs. In other instances, songs were fully adapted and employed in political situations without any change. This was the case in the song '*bibindu bichenjanga*' (things do change), which was performed to push for the political agenda of the opposition coalition during the 2017 general elections. Such use of a song without alteration is what the study regarded as full adaptation.

The preceding shows how songs were structured for political purposes. It shows a shift from original composing for the sake of political purposes, to adapting existing songs. It may be argued that, a peaceful and cohesive society allows for musicians to purposefully

settle down to compose for varied reasons especially political ones. An unstable society on the contrary, spontaneously draws their emotions into existing music material with partial or no changes, to suit varied political situations. Drawing from religious situations may also be viewed as a form of desperation to the extent that people fall back to their spiritually affiliation for possible redemption. In as much as the songs may be changed, they still carry with them a sense of spirituality, a thought that supports the argument that a less cohesive society resorts to help from above. All reasons for where songs are adapted or composed from, the study was privy to the fact that structurally, political music had been evolving over time.

4.3 The influence of nature of political mobilization music on national cohesion in Kenya.

4.3.1 The current music songs are mostly idolizing political personalities.

In African countries, musicians were often the first to react, and ultimately often suffer for their critical and contentious messages. In some cases, despotic African leaders strived to maintain good relationships with musicians who supported them and become their cheerleaders, but in others political decay and political shifts were too extreme to win over any musicians. Nonetheless, a love/hate relationship had often existed between many of Africa's musicians and their governments (Karlstrom & Mikael 2003).

Are artistes composing songs with no intention of bringing national cohesion rather idolizing political personalities? Do we have a voice of "let us come together for a common good?" Are musicians concentrating on fame or on bringing people together?

The study sought to find out whether current political mobilization music idolized political personalities. Table 4.3 presents the findings.

Table 4. 3 Percentage distribution of music idolizing political personalities

Responses	No of respondents	No in Percentage
Strongly Disagree	2	1.0
Disagree	5	3.0
Neutral	8	5.0
Agree	90	58.0
Strongly Agree	51	33.0
Total	156	100

Source: Researcher (2019)

The findings from table 4.3 above indicates that 1 % (n=156) of the respondents strongly disagree with the notion that current music are mostly idolizing political personalities. Three % (n=156) disagree with the notion that music idolizes political personalities. 5% (n=156) of the respondents were neutral to the notion, 58% (n=156) of the respondents agree that music idolizes political personalities which in turn enhances solidarity amongst the people of common ethnicity around their perceived ethnic leaders, while 33% (n=156) strongly agree that music idolizes political personalities who ensure national cohesion.

This was justified by the fact that current music composed during political campaigns had nothing to do with national cohesion. A similar interview done by nbs TV at

Entebbe Airport to PLO Lumumba when addressing public lecture said, the Kenya scenario politics are all about Raila Odinga and Uhuru Kenyatta. The African believed that the political leaders are messiahs to be compared by Moses in the holy bible holding the rod in his hand and parting the red sea. That democracy is a competition of ideas, those who have ideas put them in the market place, and the people choose. Unfortunately, in many African countries we are wedded to ethnicity and idolizing political leaders. Once you treat them like gods for too long, they start thinking they are gods. Africans allowed themselves to be defined by others on the matters of democracy and some are not listening to the voice of reason other than being driven by what has been put there long time ago. (PLO Lumumba). A similar study done by Osiebe (2016) showed how Nigerians political songs had nothing to do with music rather than idolizing its political leaders.

In my view, I agreed with the findings and other studies done on the fact that current political mobilizing music are idolizing political personalities.

4.3.2 Idolizing and praising songs against specific political leaders cause unrest and conflict.

Gecau (1993) As Moi's regime became more repressive, and as the economy sank deeper into a black hole, Osumba Rateng' released the song Baba Otonglo that detailed the economic hardships ordinary Kenyans were facing. In the song, a family is forced to adopt severe austerity measures, which were presented in a humorous manner, but which were painfully true. Baba Otonglo parodies the rigmarole surrounding the presentation of the annual budget in Parliament. Economic policies were singled out as sinking the ordinary Kenyan deeper and deeper into despair. He sings, "*Budget iko high, vyakula*

vimepanda, ukame umezidi, vitu vyote vimepanda” (The budgeted cost of living is way too high, price of foodstuff has escalated, the drought has persisted, the cost of everything has risen.” Keith (2015) asserts, the state responded to this song in the usual brutal fashion. When the song was released, it was considered to have political undertones. The thin-skinned politicians lobbied to have the song pulled off the air. Osumba was visited by police and questioned. He detailed his experience in an interview. ‘Four police officers came to my house in Baba Dogo Estate, Nairobi and arrested me. They accused me of criticizing the Government and composing a song that incited people.’ To save his skin, Osumba insisted that the song was just a creative spin at the hard economic times. He escaped without charges being preferred against him were the songs composed to mock down the politicians and those that revealed the governments’ ill motives put musicians in danger? Do the listeners reacted to what the song contained? Generally, did they bring about conflict and unrest?

The research sought to investigate the impact of songs on a specific leader as shown in table 4.4

Table 4. 4 Percentage distribution of Idolizing and Praising songs causing unrest and conflict.

Responses	No of respondents	No in Percentage
Strongly Disagree	0	0.0
Disagree	3	2.0
Neutral	8	5.0
Agree	56	36.0
Strongly Agree	89	57.0
Total	156	100

Source: Field data (2019)

The results from the study findings from table 4.2 above indicate that 57% (n=156) of the respondents strongly agreed to the notion that songs against specific leader causes unrest, 36% (n=156) of the respondent's agree, 5% (n=156) were neutral to the notion while 2% (n=156) disagreed with the notion. In the interviews, some respondents were of the opinion that directly music did not play any role in the political unrest of the communities, however it catalyzed leaders to have mechanism to support the unrest.

Example: *Tawala Kenya Tawala, Rais Moi, Tawala Kenya Tawala. (Rule Kenya President Moi, rule Kenya)* This could bring unrest to those people that did not support the president of the time. From the year 1978, President Moi took over the Presidency

following the death of the first President. It was still one party government. The political mobilization Music was more of idolizing one person that is the president of the time and gave him assurance that he was the best and needed to rule forever. The president ruled for many year {24years} since there was no constitution on age of ruling limit. This was termed “*enzi ya nyayo*” *era of nyayo.*” Example: *Enzi ya Nyayo Enzi ya Umoja* by David Okuku. The late David Okuku Dzalo was a renowned musician and composer who was praising the president insinuating that era of Moi was a period of Peace.

Other example is the case of D.O, Miasian when he disappeared into Tanzania during Mzee Jomo Kenyatta when he composed a song in luo that causes unrest among people. He was referring to the leadership of the time in satire form and before he was arrested, he escaped and went to Tanzania where he stayed and came back when President Moi left power (Douglas, 2010). According to the study done by Edmondson (2007) the case of fiery Josiah Mwangi Kariuki (JM), who had served as Kenyatta’s personal secretary, when he was murdered. Joseph Kamaru, a personal friend of JM and a popular Benga musician, used his music to protest the killing of the politician. Kamaru’s song was banned by the Voice of Kenya (later known as the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation) on June 20, 1975 and Kamaru is reported to have been arrested and, along with his collaborators, and whipped by the president himself. Notes Wekesa (2002:12). Such kind of a song caused unrest among the political leaders and citizens.

4.3.4 Solidarity music stimulates activism in people

Solidarity PMM bring about political or social change among the citizens. Gray (2008) the Mavrix, a South African band, are known for their solidarity with the Palestinian

cause. The founding members, composers/musicians, Jeremy Karodia and Ayub Mayet, floated in and out of their roles as activists and artists, artists and activists, finally settling as activist artists writing music that reflected life in apartheid South Africa. During that period, The Mavrix consisted of Karodia on guitar/vocals and Mayet on vocals. Styled in Western Folk and fused with African and North Indian rhythms and melodies, the band recorded their first album, “Guantanamo Bay”, in 2004 as a response to the growing phenomenon of global poverty, political detentions, drug abuse, domestic violence, child abuse and occupation/invasion and war. The album fused Western instruments with Indian and African instruments. Reza Khota on guitar, Godfrey Mgcina on African percussion and Marc Duby on bass played as session musicians on the compact disc.

Bado Mapambano

*Watumwa,
Labalaa, Okay,
Yeah!
Nimeamua leo, sita ogopa tena,
Nime amua leo, sita nyamaza tena
Nime amua leo, sita lala tena,
Nime amua leo, hauniibii tena,
from me
Na tena x3...*

CHORUS LYRICS:

*Wakenya musilale x2
Bado mapambano, mapambano, mapambano x2.... The struggle is still on*3,*

The struggle is on

*Slaves,
An issue, Okay
Yeah
I have decided today, I would not fear again
I have decided today, I would not be quite
again
I have decided today, I would not sleep
again
I have decided today, You would not steal
And again.....*3*

(Mr. Majani)

The song stimulates mentality of people to look at the evils the society especially leaders in power who wanted bribe from other people for them to sort them. The researcher

sought to find out if solidarity music stimulates activism in people and the result findings was as shown in figure 4.6.

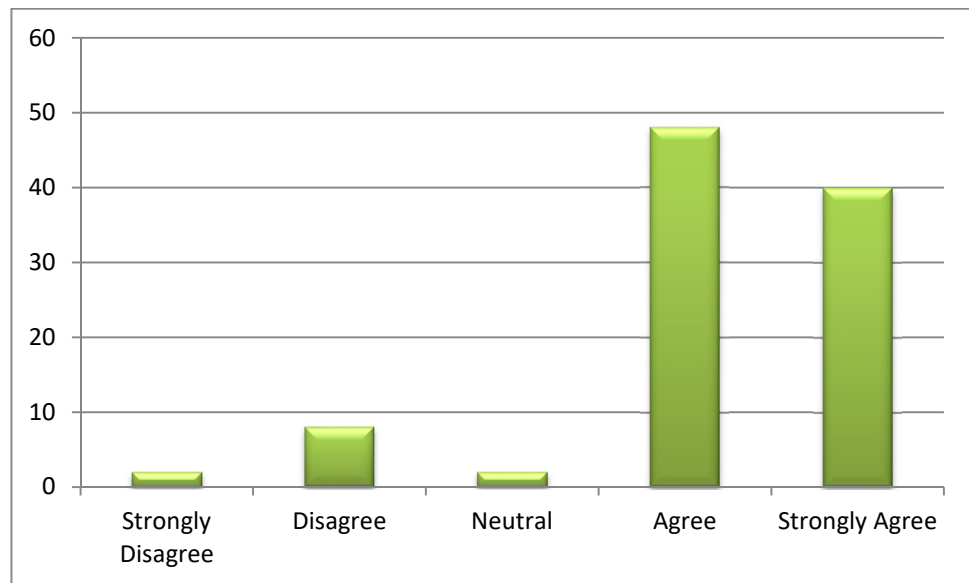


Figure 4. 12: Percentage distribution on whether Solidarity Music Stimulates Activism.

Source: Researcher (2019)

Study finding in figure 4.6 showed that music was found by majority being 48% (n=156) of the respondent who agreed that patriotic music stimulates activism. Also, 40% (n=156) of the respondents strongly agree that patriotic music contributes positively on activism, 8% (n=156) of the respondents disagree that patriotic music does not stimulate activism, 2% (n=156) of the respondents strongly disagree with the notion while 2% (n=156) of the respondents were neutral.

Averagely, 88% (n=156) of respondents agreed that Solidarity music stimulates activism in people. In view of these findings, solidarity music would be either be praise or idolizing songs depending on the composers side of support when it comes to political affiliation. This were songs like *Bado Mabambano Mapambano x2 Vijaana msilaale x2 bado mabambano x2* composed by the late Hon Otieno Kajwang. He amused the crowd at Kasarani when he reported to the then opposition leader Raila Odinga on His arrival from abroad by saying; ‘ Baba while you were away 90 people died of “Changaa haramu” (illicit liquor) Baba while you were away, your people died of hunger, Baba while you were away, your people were killed by the police’. He went ahead to explain to the supporter; ‘Uhuru told me to cool down but I told him that it get hotter’. This was during 2013 campaigns and the opposition supporters were charged by these sentiments of Solidarity Music that stimulated activism among supporters as indicated by the study findings.

Other studies by other scholars agreed with these findings by writing that Nina Simone who sang *Mississippi Goddam*. The song was riveting, bold, defiant and ‘*in your face*’. Her song, sung in 1964 at the height of the American Civil rights campaign, was exceedingly bold (Osborn, *et ell* (2010) and (Buddha (2012). This boldness is similar to what the late honorable Kajwang exhibited in His song during campaigns.

Similarly, Bob Malley redemption song from Caribbean that goes;

*Old pirates, yes they rob I
Sold I to the merchant ships
Minutes after they took I
From the bottomless pit
But my hand was made strong
By the hand of the Almighty
We forward in this generation
Triumphantly.*

(Isabel Carvalho Published on Dec 21, 2012)

Another case of same school of thought in regards to Solidarity Music stimulating activism in the support of the study findings is Bob Wines' Music from Uganda that goes'

Meaning

<i>Twakoye Ebinyigiriza obulamu bwefu</i>	<i>This is a message to the government</i>
<i>Nabulikitumalako Endebe Lyafe</i>	<i>Expressing what is exactly on the peoples</i>
<i>mind</i>	
<i>Kabale, Rukungiri, Mbarara Kasese</i>	<i>we are fighting for freedom</i>

(Bobi Wine 2017)

All these lyrics are campaigning songs of solidarity that stimulates activism among supporters as revealed by the study.

4.3.5 Patriotic songs call for National cohesion.

Globally and in African countries that were colonized, after the independence citizens of those particular countries and especially artistes, composed patriotic songs that brought together people that were divided before independence. For instance in USA, patriotic songs were composed to make citizens proud of their country:

America

*Let us be lovers, we'll marry our fortunes together
I've got some real estate here in my bag
So we bought a pack of cigarettes and Mrs. Wagner's pies
And we walked off to look for America
Cathy, I said as we boarded a Greyhound in Pittsburgh
Michigan seems like a dream to me now
It took me four days to hitchhike from Saginaw
I've gone to look for America*
(Simon & Garfunkel)

Respondents were asked to indicate patriotic music has a lot to do with non-violence and those patriotic songs calls for cohesion. Figure 4.7 presents the results.

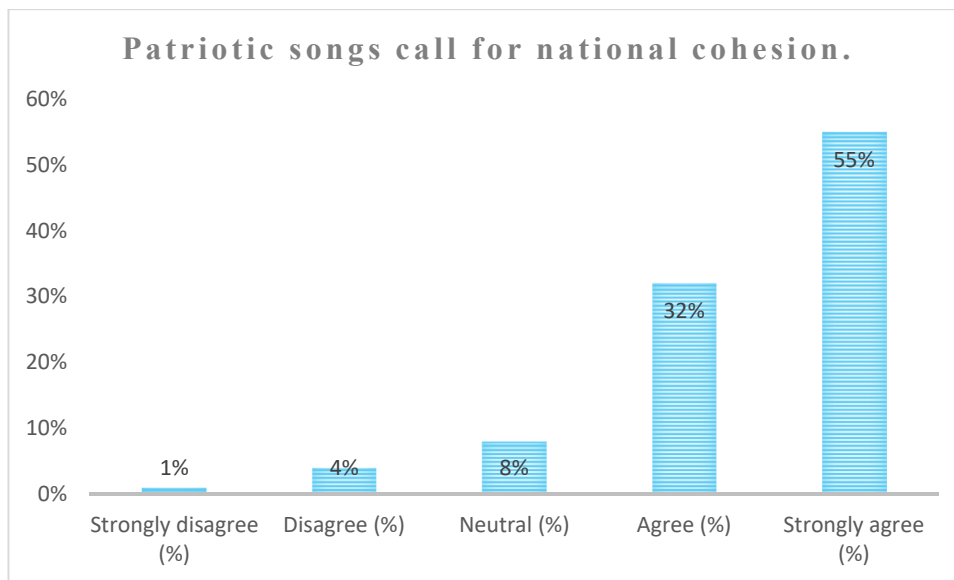


Figure 4. 13: Percentage distribution on whether patriotic songs call for national cohesion

Source: Field data (2019)

Figure 4.7 shows that respondents 55% (n=156) strongly agree that patriotic songs calls for cohesion, 32% (n=156) agree to the notion that patriotic songs calls for

cohesion, 8% (n=156) were neutral to the notion and 1% (n=156) disagree with the notion. These results show that patriotic songs recorded the highest level of cohesion 55% (n=156). The Kenyan independence acted as a revelation to Kenyans as they came together to celebrate the independent country. The way leaders struggled to gain the freedom gave composers an urge to compose songs that brought people together after a long time of separation (Gatheru, 2005). A song by Daudi Kabaka “*Harambee*” (Let us come together) gave people a need to reunite and rebuild the country that was separated before independence.

Meaning

<i>Harambee harambee tuimbe pamoja *3</i>	<i>let's come together and sing</i>
<i>Tujenge serikali</i>	<i>We build the government</i>
<i>Wengi walisema Kenya itakua matata *3</i>	<i>Many said we will have troubles in Kenya</i>
<i>Watu wote wastaarabu</i>	<i>All learned people</i>
<i>Wananchi harambee tuvute pamoja *3</i>	<i>Kenyans come we pull together</i>

A similar study done by Ace (2003) states how patriotic songs brought people together in America after independence 1776. The songs were used to bring about national cohesion in America. The *Liberty Song* is an early American ballad composed by John Dickinson, and is often attributed as the origin of the phrase: "United We Stand, Divided We Fall."

*Then join hand in hand, brave Americans all,
by uniting we stand, by dividing we fall;
In so righteous a cause let us hope to succeed,
For heaven approves of each generous deed.*

Similarly, Gatheru (2005) did a study on how patriotic songs brought national cohesion in Tanzania. He believed that songs have long encouraged social movements against conflicts or perceived injustices. He further said that during the 1950s, songs allowed

people to actively analyze the distortions of power presented in colonial administrations. Music was used to gather people together and support the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), which was a pro-independence party of African leaders. Bibi Titi Mohammed, one of the leaders of independence efforts, stated, “To mobilize the women, I went to the *ngoma* [traditional music] groups. First, I went to their leaders. The leaders got together in a meeting, and after I spoke to them, they told me that on a certain day at a certain time they would call all their people so that I could come and talk to them about TANU – what it does, what it wants, where it is going” (quoted in Geiger 1997: 58). Many events occurred under the pretext of attending or participating in musical celebrations, but which actively pursued opportunities for independence from colonial rule Perullo (2005). Generally, the findings and other studies done within and outside the country agreed with the notion that patriotic songs called for national cohesion.

4.3.6 Patriotic songs creates empathy

Some people prefer music that is loud, percussive, fast, intense, and aggressive, as in the heavy metal and rock genres. Lawrence (2008), at these concerts fans can be seen jumping up and down, forming mosh pits, and lifting each other over the crowd. Others prefer music that is slow to medium speed in tempo, and which has mellow, gentle, and romantic characteristics, as in the R&B and soul genres. At these concerts fans dance to the music and sing along with the lyrics and some prefer music that is more instrumental, complex, and varied, as in classical and jazz genres. At these concerts fans are often sitting down and listening intently to the music, and waiting for either the composition or improvised solo to be finished before applauding or cheering. What determines these marked differences in musical preferences? Is this what we can then call empathy?

The researcher sought to investigate whether patriotic songs create empathy and invoke national feelings among citizens. Table 4.5 presents the results.

Table 4. 5 Percentage distribution on whether patriotic songs creates empathy

Responses	No of respondents	No in Percentage
Strongly Disagree	2	1.0
Disagree	2	1.0
Neutral	3	2.0
Agree	68	44.0
Strongly Agree	81	52.0
Total	156	100

Source: Researcher (2019)

The results from table 4.6 indicate that, 52% (n=156) of the respondents strongly agreed that patriotic songs create empathy. Again, 44% (n=156) of the respondents agreed that patriotic songs create empathy, 2% (n=156) of the respondents were neutral to the notion, 1% (n=156) of the respondents disagree to the notion while another 1% (n=156) of the respondents strongly disagree with the notion. This was be interpreted to mean that those respondents' who listen to patriotic songs more often believed that it creates empathy as compared to those who hardly listen to the patriotic songs.

Empathy is a fundamental feature of human interaction. It requires both cognitive (Dennett, 1989; Baron-Cohen, 1995) and affective (Davis, 1994) components that enable

people to recognize the emotional and mental states of others, and to respond to these with appropriate emotions (Harris, Johnson, Hutton, Andrews, & Cooke, 1989; Baron-Cohen & Wheelwright, 2004). Empathy allows for the perception of another's thoughts and feelings, and allows one to predict how they will behave (White 2005) and (Wöllner 2012) showed that people with higher levels of empathy are able to perceive and identify a musician's intentions with greater accuracy than those with lower levels, and Egermann & McAdams (2013) demonstrated that perceived and induced emotion from music is moderated by empathy.

The patriotic songs especially those that reminded Kenyans how hard it was to fight for independence and the difficulties that leader underwent create empathy for them.

Example:

*Wimbo huu ni wimbo wa historia watu mnaombwa sikize kwa makini,
Ilikuwa Octoba 1952 watu wote tulisikia Kenyatta ameshikwa,”*

It is a delineation of the tribulations of Kenyatta and the other Kapenguria Six detainees when they were apprehended in 1952 and detained without trial. (Makobi 2017).

Greenberg *et al* (2015) recent research has provided evidence that musical interaction can promote empathy. This study intentioned to examine which types of music increase empathy and which types decrease it; what role, if any, does empathy play in determining individual differences in musical preference, perception, and performance.

Another study contradicted to the findings that group musical interaction promotes empathy (Rabinowitch, Cross, & Burnard, 2013), but it is still not clear what types of

music increase empathy, and whether music listening alone can increase empathy. Kidd and Castano (2013) conducted a series of internet studies that showed that reading literary fiction could improve both cognitive and affective theory of mind as opposed to reading non-fiction. The question remains, which types of musical stimuli are likely to increase empathy. Ziv (2017) had an answer to this. The research done by Ziv (2017) on suggested that political songs cause's empathy. Music is commonly used in political contexts, to strengthen attitudes and group cohesion. The reported research examined reactions to music representing national values or contesting them in individuals with different political orientations, on issues related to national pride, cohesion and free expression. Certain number of participants heard three "patriotic" or "protest" songs and rated their agreement with statements regarding them. They agreed that patriotic music increased pride whereas protest music increased shame and fear of social disintegration. Others said protest music led to higher agreement with the right to free expression. According to the findings and research done by scholars generally not only patriotic songs but also all other political songs cause empathy.

4.3.7 Praising and Demonizing Songs Shape Citizen Political Decisions

Music helps to shape identity and culture, and was extremely important for providing our lives with inspiration. It can help us find our voice to fight against injustice. It is imperative that attempts to halt and reverse the cycle of violence draw on the widest possible range of peace making instruments and mechanisms. Of all the arts, music was undoubtedly the art form with the potential to affect people more immediately and more deeply than any other. It can stir the emotions as nothing else, inspire people to the loftiest thoughts and sentiments, and bring them together in indissoluble bonds. These

remarkable and unique attributes of music had long been recognized and not least in the forging of armies, with military bands boosting unity and morale. The potential of music for peace making rather than war-making has been little explored and was in need of more research (Dungen, 2008). From this schorlanship findings, can we conclude that praising and demonizing songs shape citizen political decisions?

The study sought to find out the respondents view on praising and demonizing songs composed in a prevailing political context shape citizen political decisions especially during General elections in Kenya the results is as shown in figure 4.8

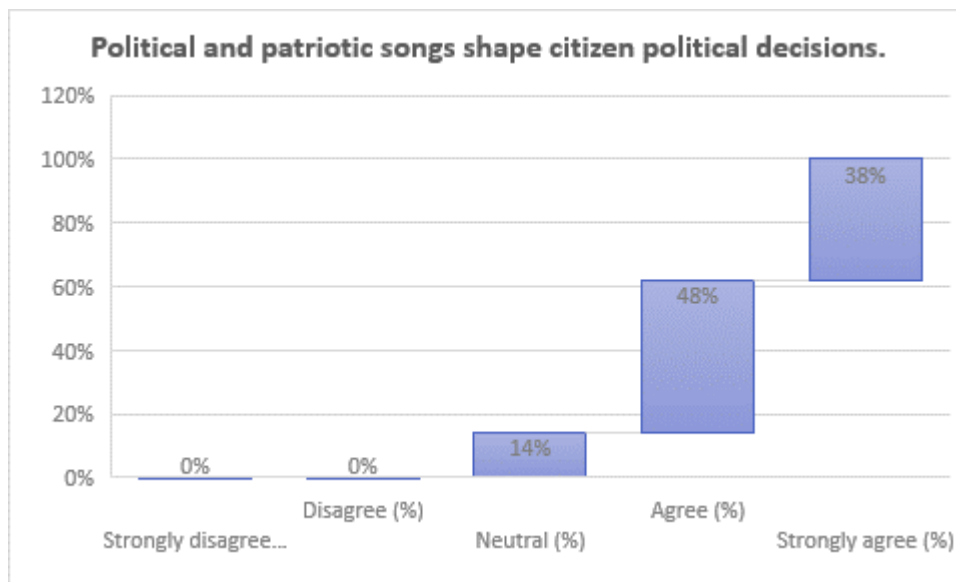


Figure 4. 14: Percentage distribution on whether Praising and Idolizing Songs Shape Political Decisions.

Source: Field data (2019)

The study findings as presented in figure 4.9 indicated that there was a mixed reaction

from the respondents to the notion that both political and patriotic songs shape political decisions of the citizens. 48% (n=156) of the respondents agreed to the statement and 38% (n=156) of the respondents strongly agreed in support of the statement while 14% (n=156) of the respondents were neutral to the statement. This is so because most of the respondents interviewed have strong believe in political songs, which help shape their political decisions.

Similar study was carried out by Osborn, *et ell* (2010) in support of this study's findings which indicated that Praising and Idolizing Songs Shape Political Decisions. He wrote that at one point, he was touched by Nina Simone who was hunched over her piano, singing *Mississippi Goddam*. The song was riveting, bold, defiant and 'in your face'. Her song, sung in 1964 at the height of the American Civil rights campaign, was exceedingly bold. Nina was a rising star and a commercial success, but her musical career took a different tangent after the release of *Mississippi Goddam*.

Buddha (2012) adds that the song was banned from the airwaves, supposedly because of the cuss word, 'goddam', an unacceptable term for the time. However, that did not stop the song from becoming the Civil rights' anthem and receiving more resonance than the popular gospel turned protest song, 'We shall overcome' mainstreamed by Pete.

Nina's song, spoke truth to power, the power of the white supremacist, segregationist intent on denying African Americans their human rights. In a sense, Nina committed commercial suicide in order to gain her political voice Osborn *et ll* (2010). This led to my reflection on the role of music in political protest in Kenya, and left me wondering, when did the voice of protest music in Kenya fall silent? Do praise and idolizing political songs

form part of protest songs? This personal psychological prompts led to the research whose findings agree that these kind of songs shape political direction and decisions in political arena.

Mutonya, wa Maina (2004)' study too asserted that, immediately after independence, there were "patriotic" songs composed to celebrate the newly attained *uhuru*. Musicians created songs reminding Kenyans of the independence struggle and the sacrifices that had resulted in self-rule. But as President Kenyatta consolidated power, the timbre of praise songs rose; the person of the president and the aspiration of the nation became one. It was the beginning of court poetry and a hero-worship culture. This period was marked by assassinations, formation of new parties which later led to multi- parties.

These events according to a study by Von and Ralf (2015), fermented the beginning of protest music in Kenya as artists began to respond to the political contestations. Either this was through praising or idolizing songs of the preferred politicians depending on which side, the composer was coerced for different reasons. The state came down viciously on its critics and opponents, signaling the narrowing of democratic space. This confirms that praising and idolizing which forms protest Songs indeed Shape Political Decisions.

4.3.8 Political mobilization Music Has Supernatural Power to Communicate Specific Messages to People's Minds.

Considering United States of America, extraordinary musicians and songwriters, over the decades, brought about great social evolution with story-songs and political messages that

have moved hearts and changed minds. When Woody Guthrie sang “Roll On Columbia” about the enormous Columbia River, he was expressing his love for the natural landscape of the American West. When Pete Seeger wrote “My Dirty Stream,” it was his alarm call to the industrial pollution that was destroying the Hudson River, a song that sparked the modern day clean-up of the Hudson River Valley (Seeger, 2016). In Kenya, solidarity music may at a time, have supernatural power to communicate specific messages to people’s minds. These were according to the findings in literature review, does the findings indicate the same?

The researcher sought to find out if Music has supernatural power to communicate specific messages to people’s minds. The study findings was shown in figure 4.2.



Figure 4. 15 Percentage distribution on whether political mobilization music has supernatural power to communicate specific messages to people’s minds at ago.

Source: Researcher (2019)

The results from figure 4.20 above shows that majority of the respondents from Kenya

Music Festival, permanent presidential music commission and national commission were in agreement that Music has supernatural power to communicate specific messages to people's minds at ago, this is supported by 66% (n=156) and 22% (n=156) of the respondents who agreed to the notion. This was because more of the respondents who filled the questionnaire were more conversant with the area under study. While 4% (n=156), 4% (n=156) and another 4% (n=156) of the respondents were neutral, disagree and strongly disagree with the notion respectively.

The effect of political music on cohesion of national unity was responded by different focus Groups as follows;

The songs are good but people's minds are corrupted by politicians e.g. "mnataka nani"uhuru ni withu" Hague bond" Ngatha wa gichugu" praise Martha Karua to president it causes division that had negative impact on the women agenda. (FGD 1, Kawangware peace initiative, 2019)

A study by Buddha (2008) agreed with FGD 1 findings that music has supernatural power to communicate specific messages to people's minds. He found out that as a communicative device, songs are employed for inspiring warriors and for launching verbal assault in inter-personal conflicts. He went on to urge that in many instances verbal assaults often result in physical assaults such that thought is provoked about the linguistic process that accentuates a conflict.

Responded from Kibra Peace Initiative had this to say:

There is good music (patriotic) on national occasions but sometimes once the occasions are over the music is not sung anymore e.g. "Kenya nchi yetu x2 Kenya tunayoipenda song" (FGD 2, Kibra Peace initiative, 2019)

According to a study by Dunn (2008) songs of assaults are usually accompanied by cheering, laughing and savoring of the exchanges, until the conflict intensifies into brawl. What this implies in my opinion is that the metaphors or linguistic devices employed in songs are not innocent and should be taken seriously. These findings are in line with FGD 3, Mathare Slum Peace ambassador, 2019

Mathare Slum Peace ambassador had this to say:

Political mobilization music through road sideshows, dialogues, theater/ school performances, forums, activities reduced tension hence building national cohesion and peace in Kenya (FGD 3, Mathare Slum Peace ambassador, 2019)

Olanrewaju, (2011), advances this argument by saying that songs of assault have a long history, and can function not only on a personal level but also as politically effective weapons.

This communication through artistic medium open up danger and provocation against the person the artist sing about. This advances are in agreement with this study findings which indicate that music has supernatural power to communicate specific messages to people's minds hence should be composed consciously to avoid conflicts. Other scholars like Odidi (2014) and Cumm (2015) contradict the above findings by writing that the Late Fela Anikulapo-Kuti, used his music to preach against political domination, oppression, economic hardship, unemployment and nepotism.

In the same vain I agree to disagree with these scholars since in my view, music plays a highly important function in creating awareness in the framework of mass mobilizing the populace towards every general election in Kenya and the entire world. It is also true that

whether music has supernatural power to communicate specific messages to people's minds.

If music is used as a cross-fertilization of ideas through the medium of television or radio, then the electioneering campaign will be made easy to reach the teeming population who are willing to hear what each political party need to deliver to electorate. What the people hear or listen must have a communicative power and this is one of the reasons politicians had used music to their advantages as per the study's finding. Whatever message to be set into music must have common objectives of attracting positive reaction and which will work with the people for the upliftment and good of the citizenry and national cohesion.

Serge (2015) agreed that information must be of relevance to the genuine, development and also involve social participation. This implies that music as He considers it "is a useful tool in dissemination of information". It is only through it that the electioneering campaign can reach the grass root. This should too apply to Kenyan context.

National anthems were composed based on liberations of all Nations and in praise of patriotism nationalism, solidarity, togetherness and national cohesion within Nations. Most National Anthems covers the nature of political Mobilization music discussed in this study.

National anthems area all composed with deferent themes as discussed in literature review; some display the might of their people and to mobilize for development. Similarly others are composed to petition God the Almighty to intercede and bless their

nations and their people. The ideal wish featuring in some anthems display the aspect of living in peace, love, harmony and unity to perpetuate the common good for all in the various nations

Some scholars agree that all these compositions have one thing in common. They are mobilization songs which call for national cohesion and integration for a common goal which is in agreement with most of the findings discussed in the chapter.

4.4 Chapter Summary

Objective one endeavored to examine the nature and evolution of political mobilization music in post- colonial Kenya in Nairobi County. From the findings, it was concluded averagely 75% (n=156) of all respondents agreed to the facts that; Praise songs have in nature been political mobilizing songs in post-colonial era in Kenya, evolution of PMS has been observed, that music idolizes political personalities, that songs against specific political leader causes unrest, abuse of political songs causes conflict, patriotic songs stimulates activism in people, patriotic songs call for cohesion and creates empathy, political songs craft praises for political candidate, both political and patriotic songs shape political decision, political songs has the power to communicate hidden political directions of a community and finally music has supernatural power to communicate specific message to people's minds at ago. The findings were discussed in comparison to other studies from global regional and national. The next chapter assesses the status and levels of national cohesion in Nairobi county, Kenya.

CHAPTER FIVE

INFLUENCE OF POLITICAL MOBILIZATION MUSIC ON STATUS AND LEVELS OF NATIONAL COHESION IN NAIROBI COUNTY, KENYA

This chapter presents the findings on the influence of political mobilization music on the status and levels of national cohesion in Nairobi County, Kenya. The percentage calculations for table and graphs were based on 156 respondents out of which 100 respondents were available for the study. This translated to 87% (n=156) response rate which is scientifically acceptable for any research. Specifically the chapter presented the findings of the status and levels of national cohesion in Nairobi county under two variables. Regarding the status, the findings on the following themes were explored; Influence of PMM on the status of National Cohesion, PMM enhances the status of togetherness towards national cohesion, PMM possess a strong sentimental value that enhances the status of national cohesion.

On the levels of national cohesion the findings were discussed as follows; Influence of PMM on the levels of National Cohesion, PMM enhances awareness on the levels of national cohesion, PMM preach against social political vices towards enhancing the levels of national cohesion, PMM have been used over the years to enhance the levels of national cohesion through identity creation.

5.1 Influence of PMM on the status of National Cohesion in Nairobi County, Kenya

The study sought to find out the influence of political mobilization music on the status of national cohesion in Nairobi county Kenya under various variable. The findings are discussed in the subsequent sub headings.

5.1.2 Influence of PMM on the status of National Cohesion in Nairobi County, Kenya.

The study sought to investigate the influence of Political Mobilization Music on status of national cohesion in Nairobi County. Nairobi was the most cosmopolitan City in the entire nation with a general population of 3,138,369 (KNBS, 2009). Nairobi has been bedrock of political mobilization music during every general elections period in Kenya. Political mobilization music has also been known to course conflicts or bring about peaceful co-existence during such times depending on how it is composed either on a positive or negative way.

According to Brown (2008), United States gained their independence July 4, 1776. After independence in 1788 the George Washington's supporters composed, "God Save George Washington". his supporters wrote songs such as "God Save George Washington"—a thinly veiled adaptation of "God Save the King"—and "Follow Washington," which recalled his military leadership and the experience of all veterans of the Revolutionary War.

John Adams and Thomas Jefferson would follow suit and adopt their own campaign songs during the election of 1796, thus establishing a now unshakable precedent. This was the praise song composed to praise Washington (Grand 2003). Indeed it did had no impact on national cohesion of the country but was very divisive instead.

The responses from participants were analyzed and interpreted using frequencies and percentages. The findings are presented in the table 5.1

Table 5. 1 Percentage distribution of influence of PMM on the status of national cohesion in Nairobi County

Status of National Response		Frequency	Percentage (%)
Peaceful coexistence	Yes	84	54.0
	No	72	46.0
Trust among communities	Yes	47	30.0
	No	109	70.0
Tolerance among each other	Yes	101	65.0
	No	70	45.0
Diversity and inclusivity	Yes	97	62.0
	No	59	38.0

Source: Researcher (2019)

As the findings indicated, that the influence of political mobilization music on the status of National cohesion was as follows; on peaceful coexistence 45% (n=156) said yes while 46% (n=156) said no. these findings were backed by a key informant from Kenya Music Festival who said,

To some extent, it can be said that residents of Nairobi live peacefully with one another. This is seen even more when there are calamities etc., there are rarely cases of inter-ethnic fights in Nairobi. Does this mean then that we are cohesive? She queried (Key informant KMF official 2019)

Again, 65% (n=156) respondents said yes on tolerance among each other while 45% (n=156) said no. On diversity and inclusivity, 62% (n=156) said yes while 38% (n=156)

said no. Trust among communities had a negative response of 70% (n=156) since it is hard for people to forget where they come from due to ethnicity. These findings are in line with the reviewed literature that indicated that political mobilization music could be rated in equal measure as a cause of conflict or promotion of peaceful co-existence (O'Connell & Morgan 2010). Music idolizes political personalities, those songs against specific political leader causes unrest, abuse of political songs causes' conflict. An FGD 1 member who quipped echoed this;

The songs are good but people's minds are corrupted by politicians e.g. "mnataka nani"uhuru ni withu" Hague bond" Ngatha wa gichugu" praise Martha Karua to president it causes division that had negative impact on the women agenda. (FGD 1, Kawangware peace initiative, 2019)

Patriotic songs on the other hand stimulates activism in people, patriotic songs call for cohesion and creates empathy, political songs craft praises for political candidate, both political and patriotic songs shape political decision, political songs has the power to communicate hidden political directions. These sentiments were in agreement with those of a member from Mathare Slum Peace ambassador who said:

Political mobilization music through roadside shows, dialogues, theater/ school performances, forums, activities reduced tension hence building national cohesion and peace in Kenya (FGD 3, Mathare Peace ambassador, 2019)

These findings are in line with those of Alusekunye & Obanyi (2012) studies undertaken in Nigeria on Musical Forms in Songs for Political Mobilization during 2011 General Elections in Nigeria. Findings revealed that music performances during the 2011 general election in Nigeria have different musical forms and really helped in mobilizing the citizens.

5.1.3 PMM enhances the status of togetherness towards national cohesion.

Musicians created songs reminding Kenyans of the independence struggle and the sacrifices that had resulted in self-rule. This was more under the rule of the first President Jomo Kenyatta.

The song “*Wimbo huu ni wimbo wa historia*” The song goes by the lines, “*Wimbo huu ni wimbo wa historia watu mnaombwa sikize kwa makini, Ilikuwa Octoba 1952 watu wote tulisikia Kenyatta ameshikwa.*” was particularly known for its emotive tone in expressing the tales of the Kapenguria 6, particularly Mzee Jomo Kenyatta.

It was written in the 1970’s Enock Ondego and was first sang by primary school pupils to President Jomo Kenyatta on his tour of Taita Taveta (Kariuki 2002). This indeed enhanced the status of togetherness towards national cohesion in Kenya. Patriotic songs were composed to show how Kenyans owned the country after struggle to chase colonial rule.

The researcher sought to investigate the performance of patriotic songs enhances a sense of belonging and togetherness. Table 5.2 presents the findings,

Table 5. 2 Percentage distribution on whether PMM enhances the status togetherness.

Responses	No of respondents	No in Percentage
Strongly Disagree	0	0.0
Disagree	0	0.0
Neutral	3	2.0
Agree	33	21.0
Strongly Agree	120	77.0
Total	156	100

Source: Field data (2019)

The results from table 5.3 above shows that 77% (n=156) of the respondents strongly agree that performance of patriotic songs enhances a sense of belonging and togetherness, 21% (n=156) of the respondents' agree to the notion while 2% (n=156) of the respondents were neutral to the notion. This implies that performance of patriotic songs enhances a sense of belonging and togetherness supported by 77%(n=156) of the respondents.

These findings were echoed in a separated study undertaken by Njuru (2012) when researching on the role of music in peace building and reconciliation after 2007/2008 post-election violence in Kenya. Respondents were asked on whether music played a role in conflict prevention. Music was found by majority being 83% (n=156) to contributing

positively in conflict prevention by assessing other elections while only 17% (n=156) objected to it.

It was stated by respondents that music creates awareness on conflict emerging issues and provides alternative solutions among the parties. It also brings solidarity, giving participants a feeling of belonging and a sense of community as Kenyans regardless of tribe, gender, age or social status.

Some respondents gave additional comments. Some stated that music alone cannot play a role in peacebuilding and reconciliation, but it is catalyst to the processes of peacebuilding. Depending to communities, the kind of conflict and extend to which the harm has been caused, it's important that artist work closely with people from conflicting communities to come up with music or songs that helps in addressing their needs and conflict in a holistic manner. Other respondents in the same study argued that more support should be given to local artist who promote peace songs in local language to produce more songs, be invited to many local functions to entertain the occasion.

Also, music and other creative subjects should be brought back to Kenyan school curriculum/syllabus.

5.1.4 PMM possesses a strong sentimental value that enhances lthe status of national cohesion.

Kariuki (2002) quoted Prof Akama encouraging students and political mobilization music composers to compose patriotic songs to enhance national cohesion and integration among the country's ethnic communities in Kenya. He said that besides using the songs to preach peace and harmony, patriotic songs composed by students will inculcate a culture of patriotism among school children thus ensuring students grow up loving their country

and serving it with dedication. Akama underscored the importance of young people composing patriotic songs.

I agree with Agama's sentiments. Indeed the songs should not only be in praise of the country, but also in memory of the country's founding fathers and other heroes who fought for the country's independence from the colonial administrations. Patriotic songs are not only for mere entertainment, but as a symbol of a country's unity and historical memory on the country's struggle and attainment of independence and self-rule from the colonial masters. Patriotic songs composed by students themselves will motivate them to love and defend their country in their various spheres of life. Similarly, such songs will be kept in a bid to enable the future generations learn their country's history.

The researcher sought to find out if patriotic songs possess a strong sentimental value that enhance and direct people's strength towards defending our Country's heritage. The results are as shown in figure 5.1

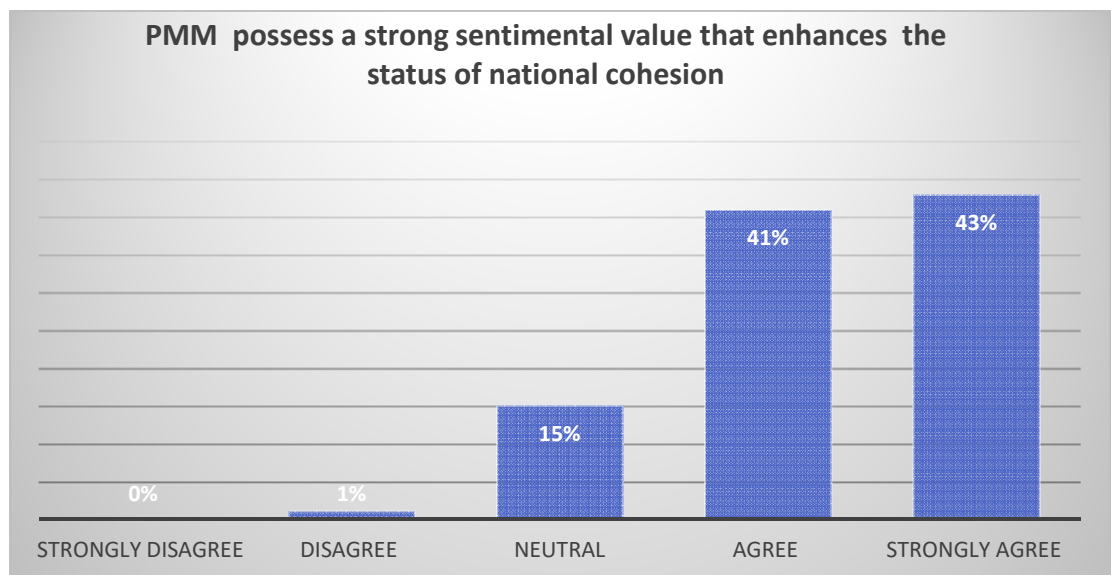


Figure 5. 1 Percentage distribution on whether PMM possess a strong sentimental value that enhances the status of national cohesion.

Source: Researcher (2019)

The study findings from figure 5.1 above depicts that the respondents who listen to patriotic songs possess a strong sentimental value that enhances defending our countries' heritage, this is supported by 41% (n=156) and 43% (n=156) of the respondents who responded in favor of the statement. This is because most of these patriotic songs carry with it a sense of value attached to our county's heritage. 15% (n=156) of the respondents were neutral to the statement because some of them have no sense of heritage with respect to movement from one location to another, while 1% (n=156) of the respondents disagreed with the notion.

Averagely 84%(n=156) of respondents agreed to the fact that Patriotic songs possess a strong sentimental value that enhance and direct people's strength towards defending the Country's heritage.

A key informant concurred with these findings by sharing;

Before Independence, Kenya was colonized by the British. After the independence in 1963, Kenya became a Sovereign State with one president under one Party rule. Music that was composed then was in praise of Kenya our Country for example Kenya nchi yangu (Kenya my country) this was more under the rule of the first President Jomo Kenyatta (Key informant KMF officer 2019)

<p><i>Wimbo huu ni naimba ooh,Sio wimbo ni maombi Tunaomba mwenyezi mungun ooh,Aibariki Kenya yetu Ewe Kenya nchi yangu, Ewe Kenya mama yangu, Ewe Kenya nchi yangu ooh,Sitakuacha milele.</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Meaning</p> <p><i>This song I sang is not a song but a prayers. We pray to God to Bless our country Kenya. Kenya my country Kenya my father my Kenya my mother Kenya my country I will never leave you forever.</i></p>
--	---

(Kakai Kilonzo)

A study undertaken in Kenya by (Njuru 2012) in the same vain indicated that **Mungu Baba-** song by Rufftone and The GSU Choir came handy in preaching against political vices and promoted national cohesion. After the 2007/2008, post-election violence, gospel artist Rufftone, real name Roy Smith Mwatia, was inspired to write a song preaching peace, love and unity ahead of the March 2013 elections in conjunction with the GSU choir and National Youth Orchestra of Kenya. This song has become an acclaimed national song for unity and peace today.

Another significant song is **Tushangilie Kenya-** a song by Mwalimu Thomas Wasonga, now the Director of PPMC and a Brand Kenya Ambassador for upholding national values. It is a famous song that reiterates the love for Kenya by its people. It also features in the PPMC’s production of “May We Dwell in Unity”.

Other songs that have become recognized with the call for peace and love for Kenya in both past and present times include *Wakenya Pamoja for Peace-* Various Artists, *Harambee Harambee-* Daudi Kabaka, *Najivunia Kuwa Mkenya-* Trapee and Avril, *Coming Home-* Nameless, *Kenya Nchi Yangu-* Kakai Kilonzo, *My Land Is Kenya-* Roger

Whittaker (also covered by the Moipei Quartet), *Voter vs. Vulture*- Juliani, *Never Again*- Dela, *If You Believe*- Camp Mulla, *Change*- Various Artists, *Marungu*- Jimmy Gait, *Mama Kenya*- Juliani ft Various Artists (translates PEV stories into the song especially from Dagorretti).

These findings are in agreement with Denisoff 2015 sentiments; “ These forays into political philosophy, colonial history and enlightenment thought also help us to understand the peculiar relationship that developed between the Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA) and folk music, a relationship that shaped the production and reception of protest music in the United States from the Great Depression to the present. Like the IWW, the CPUSA viewed music as having great mobilizing and unifying potential but unlike the IWW they did not draw on and modify popular tunes; instead, they turned to “folk” music, music that was created by and for a people. “Folk” material, however, was understood as coming from a rural people inhabiting a pre-modern age. Consigned as such to the historical past it was not a given that such material would appeal to a movement that was fundamentally shaped by a progressive and teleological view of history. According to Denisoff, the success of the Bolshevik revolution in 1917 gave credibility to the idea that a people’s art could be mobilized to agitate people in favor of a revolution, and that a movement could push an industrially undeveloped country to pass over the capitalist stage to socialism—in this paradigm art was a tool to fast-forward the inexorable march of history (Emeka, 2018). These findings supports the fact that Patriotic songs possess a strong sentimental value that enhance and direct people’s strength towards defending a Country’s heritage.

5.2. Influence of PMM on the levels of National Cohesion in Nairobi County

The study sought to find out the levels of national cohesion in Nairobi county Kenya under various variables. The findings are discussed in the subsequent sub headings.

5.2.1 Influence of PMM on the levels of National Cohesion in Nairobi County

Maina (2004) asserts that democracy exists when the relationship between the governed and the government abides by the principle that the state is at the service of the citizens and not the citizens at the service of the state, that the government exists for the people. For a successful transformation of the electioneering campaign, music plays a prominent role in our lives; it is also very functional in enlightening the people. This increases the levels of national cohesion through political mobilization music if positively composed.

A study undertaken by Reeves-Smith,(2007) quoted the Former US Secretary of State Collin Powell ranked the African American civil rights song

We Shall Overcome as his favourite and offered the basic ingredients for an effective campaign song: "It has the simplicity and eloquence that ensures easy adaptability as a mass rendition at rallies".

The former British Chancellor of Exchequer Kenneth Clark cited Mwenesi (2005) on the contrary argues that Kenyan musicians "had been so badly bartered" economically that they may not have the resources and energy to pursue matters legally. Mwenesi thought that composers had to look at copyright violations seriously as they deprive them of income. It is a clear breach and any court should be able to offer due compensation and stop use of the song, if asked to do by the artiste this affects the levels of national cohesion in the country.

The study sought to understand the influence of political mobilization music on levels of

National cohesion in Nairobi County. The findings was presented in table 5.3

Table 5. 3 Percentage distribution on levels of national cohesion in Nairobi County

Responses	No of respondents	No in Percentage
Very Low	2	1.0
Low	2	1.0
Moderate	4	3.0
High	68	44.0
Very High	80	52.0
Total	156	100

Source: Field data (2019)

The finding indicates that PPMC has positive impact on the levels of National Cohesion in Nairobi County. This was indicated by 1% (n=156) low, 3% (n=156) moderate, 44% (n=156) high and 52% (n=156) very high responses. This averagely translates to 96% (n=156) high influence of political mobilization music had very positive impact on the levels of national cohesion in Nairobi County.

This could be explained by the fact that initially after 2017 elections, the country was divided in two main opposing political parties with disputed election results. These caused a lot of tension, conflicts which resulted in loss of lives, displacements and destruction of properties in strong hold areas. However after the handshake (which literary translates to two main opponents of the opposition parties (NASA) and Jubilee) working together towards common goals. This has brought about what some term as positive and negative peace among Kenyans. One of the key informants who quoted when asked whether peaceful co-existence Kenyans exist said affirmed this claim;

To some extent, it can be said that residents of Nairobi live peacefully with one another. This is seen even more when there are calamities etc., there are rarely cases of inter-ethnic fights in Nairobi. Does this mean then that we are cohesive? (Key informant KMF 2019)

Another Key informant from political mobilization music on the same note debated;

The attitudes people express directly or not in the estates and at work may indicate that we still do not appreciate our diversities as a people. There is apparent deep-seated ethnic hate among us. (Key informant PMM 2019)

These findings concurs with those of Hill (1998) who believed that music had an intrinsic power to propagate. Unlike a political pamphlet, it was entertaining. Unlike a stirring speech, its echo could last beyond the origin-point of the pulpit. Unlike a manifesto, it could be memorized, repeated and disseminated. “The power of song will exalt the spirit of rebellion,” Hill claimed:

A pamphlet, no matter how good, is never read but once, but a song is learned by heart and repeated repeatedly. And I maintain that if a person can put a few cold common sense facts in a song, and dress them up in a cloak of humor to take the dryness off of them he will succeed in reaching a great number of workers who are too unintelligent to too indifferent to read a pamphlet or an editorial on economic science.

Hence, depending on how music is packaged, it will bring about either cohesion or disintegration among communities.

Another Key informant respondent from Permanent Presidential Music Commission had this to say;

In Nairobi, it has created cohesion and co-existence by bringing people coming together as one bring unity. The influence of PPMC on the level and status is therefore high which leads to translation. When people come together, they tend to accept one another not considering the culture (Key informant PPMC 2019).

In my opinion therefore, Nairobi is yet to achieve cohesiveness, in my view. There are

many challenges that still need to be addressed that border on the role of the national government in fostering national cohesion because cohesion in Nairobi is a factor of national cohesion.

5.2.2 PMM enhances awareness on the levels of national cohesion

According to Gatheru (2005), immediately after independence, there were “patriotic” songs composed to celebrate the newly attained uhuru. National Anthem for instance was written by the Kenyan Anthem Commission in 1963 to serve as the anthem after independence from the British. Ever since it have been used to help evoke feelings of patriotism among the country's citizens and reminds them of their nation's glory, beauty, and rich heritage.

Kenya National Anthem
Oh God of all creation
Bless this our land and nation
Justice be our shield and defender
May we dwell in unity
Peace and liberty
Plenty be found in our borders
(KLRC, 2013)

The Kenya National Anthem is a patriotic song that enhances awareness on the levels of national cohesion in the country todate.

The respondents were asked to indicate if patriotic songs enhance awareness; the results are shown in Figure 5.2

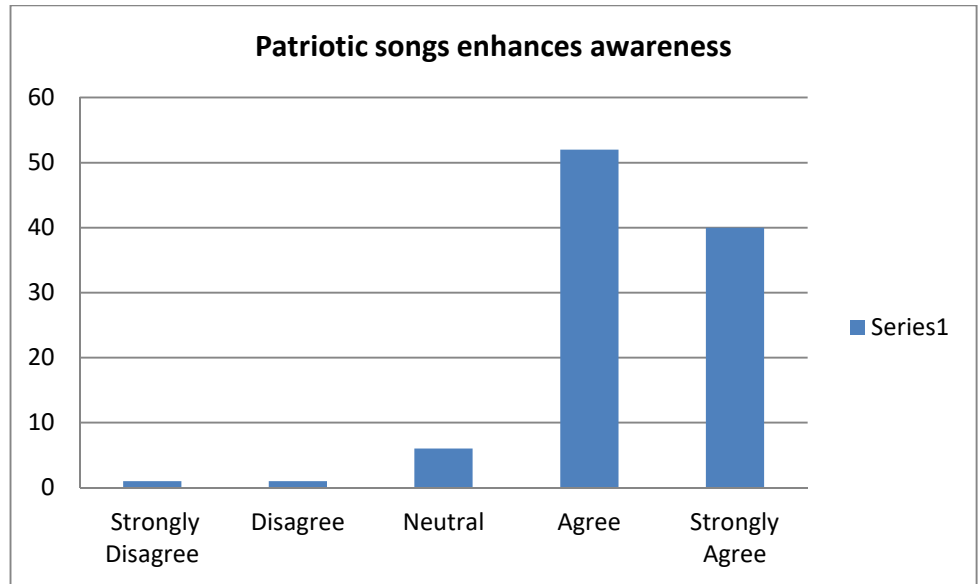


Figure 5. 2 Percentage distribution on whether PMM enhances awareness on the levels of national cohesion.

Source: Researcher (2019)

The findings in figure 5.2 above insinuate that political songs enhances awareness amongst citizens, this is supported by 52% (n=156) of the respondents who respondents in support of the statement with another 40% (n=156) strongly agreeing with the notion. Again 6% (n=156) of the respondents showed mixed reactions, 1% (n=156) of the respondents disagreed while another of the respondents 1% (n=156) strongly disagreed with the notion. This could be attributed to vast knowledge of respondents concerning patriotic songs. From the findings, its averagely 90 (90%) respondents indicate if political songs enhance awareness. A member of Korogocho peace initiative Focus Group Discussion had the following to say:

Politicians play a big role in determining the songs therefore through entertainment that are not easily forgotten by their supporters and can be sung many times to create awareness whatever theme set to achieve the purpose its intended for. A moving caravan can make songs reach many people enhancing popularity (Korogocho Peace initiative FGD 4 2019)

A study by Nyairo, & Ogude, (2014), had the same findings that indicated that African music has indeed played big role in objectifying, unifying and bringing peaceful co-existence among African communities. In Kenya for instance, political mobilization music has influenced National cohesion by bringing out messages that showed Kenya to be one and people need to live together regardless of their political and cultural diversities for example; Daima Mkenya composed by Eric Wainaina that goes;

Table 5. 4 Daima Mkenya

	<i>Translation</i>
<i>Umoja ni fahari yetu, Undugu ndio nguvu</i>	<i>Unity is our pride, brotherhood our</i>
<i>Chuki na ukabila, Hatutaki hata kamwe</i>	<i>strength</i>
<i>Lazima tuungane, Tuijenge nchi yetu,</i>	<i>Enmity and ethnicity we avoid</i>
<i>Pasiwe hata mmoja, Anayetenganisha</i>	<i>We must unite to build our Country</i>
<i>Naishi, natumaini, Najitolea daima Kenya</i>	<i>Not even one should separate us</i>
<i>Hakika ya bendera, niuthabiti wangu</i>	<i>I live, I believe and forever I am a</i>
<i>Nyeusi ya mwanachi, na nyekundu ni ya</i>	<i>Kenyan</i>
<i>damu</i>	<i>Truly the flag is my pride</i>
<i>Daima mimi mkenya, mwananchi mzalendo</i>	<i>Black is our skin and red our blood</i>
	<i>Forever I am a Kenyan, patriotic citizen</i>

(Eric Wainaina)

The above music gave the importance of Unity and goodwill. It discouraged hate and ethnicity and urges Kenyans to love one another and there should be no one to divide Kenyans. The song made Kenyans think like one especially reflecting on the black color of their skin, Red signifying the blood Kenyans shed while fighting for freedom and independence, green signifying their vegetation that needs to be safeguarded and white color for peace.

These findings are in line with research findings undertaken in Nigeria by Olusegun (2012) who quoted a song composed by Ege Wa Niyio Wole that created awareness by asserting that the party will win the election. See the song

<p><i>Egbe wa ni o wole</i> <i>Egbe wa ni o wole</i> <i>E ba na 'wo na 'wo ke d'onigbese</i></p>	<p><i>Translation in English</i> <i>The victory of our party is certain</i> <i>The victory of our party is certain</i> <i>You can overspend and go bankrupt</i></p>
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(Ege Wa Niyio Wole)

5.2.3 PMM preach against social political vices towards enhancing the levels of national cohesion.

Political Mobilization Music influenced National cohesion by bringing out messages that showed Kenya to be one and people need to live together regardless of their political and cultural diversities. For example; “*Daima mkenya*” (Forever a Kenyan)

Daima mimi Mkenya (Forever a Kenya)	Translation
<i>Umoja ni fahari yetu</i>	<i>Unity is our pride</i>
<i>Undugu ndio nguvu</i>	<i>Brotherhood is our strength</i>
<i>Chuki na ukabila</i>	<i>Hatred and tribalism</i>
<i>Hatutaki hata kamwe</i>	<i>We don't ever want</i>
<i>Lazima tuungane, tuijenge nchi yetu</i>	<i>We have to come together,</i>
<i>build our nation</i>	
<i>Pasiwe hata mmoja</i>	<i>Let there be no one</i>
<i>Anaetenganisha</i>	<i>Who will dispute</i>
<i>Naishi, Natumaini,</i>	<i>I live, I hope</i>
<i>Najitolea daima Kenya,</i>	<i>I volunteer forever for Kenya</i>
<i>Hakika ya bendera</i>	<i>Sure to the flag</i>
<i>Ni uthabiti wangu</i>	<i>Is my identity</i>
<i>Nyeusi ya wananchi na nyekundu ni ya damu</i>	<i>Black for the people and red</i>
	<i>for the blood</i>
<i>Kijani ni ya ardhi, nyeupe ya amani</i>	<i>Green for the land and white</i>
	<i>for peace</i>
<i>Daima mimi mkenya</i>	<i>I'm forever Kenyan</i>
<i>Mwananchi mzalendo</i>	<i>A patriotic citizen</i>
<i>Kwa uchungu na mateso</i>	<i>In pain and suffering</i>
<i>Kwa vilio na uzuni</i>	<i>In tears and sadness</i>

*Tulinyakuliwa Uhuru
na mashujaa wa zamani
Hawakushtushwa na risasi*

*Our freedom was won for us
By our ancestral heroes
They were neither frightened
by bullets*

(Erick Wainaina)

The composer's music gave the importance of Unity and brotherhood. It discouraged hate and ethnicity and urges Kenyans to love one another and there should be no one to divide Kenyans. The song made Kenyans think like one especially reflecting on the black color of their skin, Red signifying the blood Kenyans shed while fighting for freedom and independence, green signifying their vegetation, which needs to be safeguarded and white color for peace.

Other patriotic songs like "Kenya My Country" composed by Kakai Kilonzo.

KENYA NCHI YANGU (Kenya my country)
*Wimbo huu ni naimba ooh, Sio wimbo ni maombi
Tunaomba mwenyezi mungun ooh, Aibariki Kenya yetu
Ewe Kenya nchi yangu,
Ewe Kenya mama yangu,
Ewe Kenya nchi yangu ooh, Sitakuacha milele.*

This is about Kenya which is very popular . Its normally sang during Madaraka day celebrations to enhance the status of national cohesion in the country.

The study sought to find out if patriotic songs preach against social political vices such as corruptions, the results is as presented in table 5.5

Table 5. 5 Percentage distribution on whether PMM preach against social political vices to enhance the levels of national cohesion

Responses	No of respondents	No in Percentage
Strongly Disagree	3	2.0
Disagree	6	4.0
Neutral	28	18.0
Agree	53	34.0
Strongly Agree	66	42.0
Total	156	100

Source: Researcher (2019)

The findings as indicated in table 5.4 above indicate that political songs preach against social political vices such as corruption. This is due to a majority of the respondents 42% (n=156) and 34% (n=156) agreed and strongly agreed in support of the notion while 18% (n=156) were neutral to the statement and 4% (n=156) and 2% (n=156) disagreed and strongly disagreed with the statement. This was interpreted to mean majority of the respondents who listen to political songs do feel that it preaches against political social vices.

The findings in a similar study by Njuku (2012) indicated that the lyrics to the National Anthem originally composed in Swahili- *Ee Mungu Nguvu Yetu*- by locals who based it on a Pokomo lullaby, call for the unity and peace of the country expressing our deepest convictions and aspirations as a people.;

The National Anthem

*O God of all creation
Bless this our land and nation
Justice be our shield and defender
May we dwell in unity Peace and liberty
Plenty be found within our borders
(Daima Kenya, Eric Wainaina)*

In the study, most of the respondents recalled Daima as a positive song that was played during the time leading to the 2013m elections. The song *Kenya Only*, also released in Swahili as *Mkenya Daima*, catapulted was first adopted as the unofficial mourning song after the August 1998 terrorist bombing in Nairobi. To date, the song has become a national song of patriotism. Throughout the 2007/2008 Post-Election Violence period, every Kenyan radio and television station adopted the song as a call for peace.

These are songs that have made a huge impact in advocating for peace and unity in the country particularly during the volatile times of crisis. These findings agrees with those done in a deferent study by Rugove in (O’Connel 2010) who prompted the first musical production of war period in Kosova deemed “ We are the world”, “Kosovo calls for peace” assempled the reggions top pop singers perfoma rock anthem with English lyrics:

KOSOVA CALLS FOR PEACE

*Ever since the ancient times when peace only reigned,
We have loved and will stil love all the people of good will,
Im my lovely motherland, we send songs of life and joy
Happiness have no end for no girl and no boy.
We have never hurt a man, always wached our teas flow,
Conquerors came on and on, never leaving us alone.
Call for peace and make no war
It is the message of Kosova
Only love and nothing more I cannot make men brothers to others.*

(Rugova)

The composer was preaching against social injustices and for peace in Kosova.

A study undertaken by Reeves-Smith (2007) postulates that, the genre of music tended to influence how patriotic songs preach against social political vices to enhance or reduce the status of national cohesion. In His study, music and conflict as a research focus area was a

valuable addition to the growing literature on music in war and peace. The study looked at the ways in which music inflames and justifies conflict. Another study by Bergh, (2006) found out that music as a social activity and distribution mechanism of ideology was often used to foment conflicts. These two findings are in agreement with the notion that patriotic songs preach against social political vices to enhance the status of national cohesion that was explored in this study.

This demonstrated that not utilizing music for peaceful purposes would leave it open to abuse by those who attempt to maintain boundaries between enemies, either by performing music that emerged during a conflict, by creating new music that commemorates a conflict or through music that highlight latent conflicts or peace.

5.2.4 PMM have been used over the years to enhance the levels of national cohesion through identity creation.

According to Ramos (2009), the power of music really is incredible and can really act as a force for good to help others. This particular song offered a hand to a friend in need, a symbol of solidarity in a period of grief and difficulty. Ramos asserts that some songs can offer the sense sense of solidarity, friendship and understanding, to reach out to others in need. Such songs are like solidarity for ever whose lyrics;

*When the union's inspiration through the workers' blood shall run,
There can be no power greater anywhere beneath the sun;
Yet what force on earth is weaker than the feeble strength of one,
But the union makes us strong.*

Chorus:

*Solidarity forever,
Solidarity forever,
Solidarity forever,
For the union makes us strong.
Is there aught we hold in common with the greedy parasite,
Who would lash us into serfdom and would crush us with his might?*

*Is there anything left to us but to organize and fight?
For the union makes us strong.*

Chorus:

*It is we who plowed the prairies; built the cities where they trade;
Dug the mines and built the workshops, endless miles of railroad laid;
Now we stand outcast and starving midst the wonders we have made;
But the union makes us strong.
All...*

(Ralph Chaplin's)

Solidarity Forever is probably the most famous union anthem on the planet. It is almost 100 years old and has been sung at countless union rallies and social justice marches. It is sung to the tune of *John Brown's Body* (John Brown was an abolitionist) which is the same tune as the *Battle Hymn of the Republic*, both popular marching tunes during the American Civil War (Naomi 2015)

Oshin (2019) adds that Ralph Chaplin wrote the lyrics in 1915, while he was covering the Kanawa coal miners' strike in Huntington, West Virginia for "Solidarity," the official Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) publication. *Solidarity Forever* has avoided an association with sectarianism, and can be sung enthusiastically by any union or any groups with similar interests especially during national campaigns. Chaplin denounced the "not-so-needy, not-so-worthy, so-called 'industrial unions' spawned by an era of compulsory unionism." This can be equated to Otieno Kajwang's composition on "Bado mapambano mapambano" that was the solidary song for 2013 Kenya national general elections.

The study sought to investigate if political and patriotic songs have been used over the years to create identity amongst Kenyans, the study findings is as shown in figure 5.3

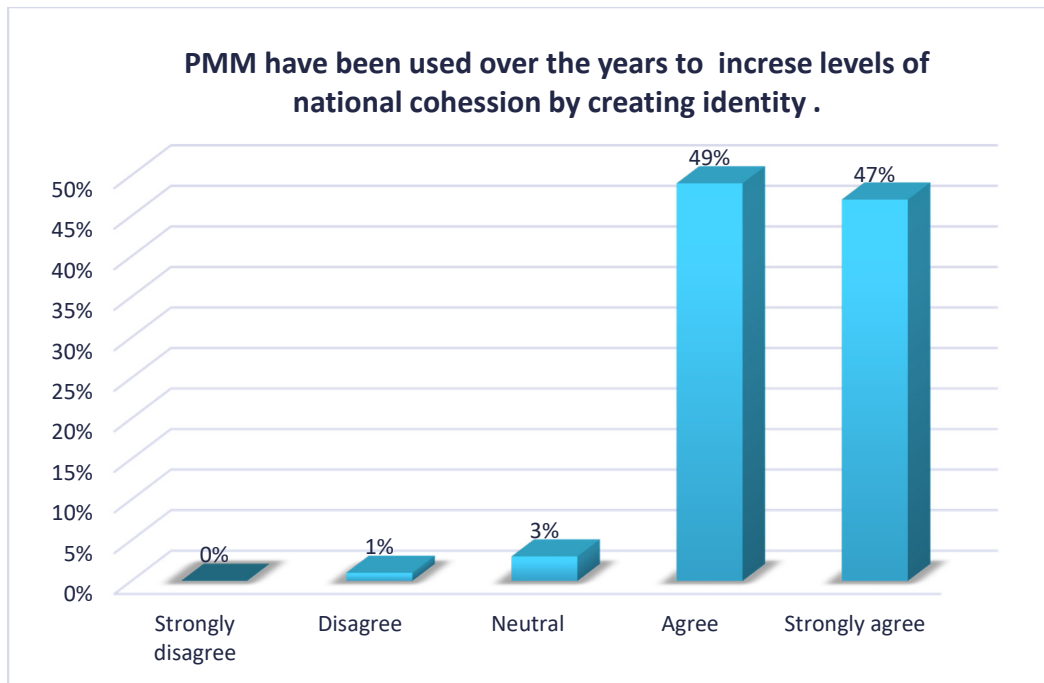


Figure 5. 3 PMM have been used over the years to increases the leves of national cohesion through identity creation.

Source: Researcher (2019)

The study findings above show that respondents agreed that both political and patriotic songs were used over the years to create identity amongst Kenyans. This is supported by 49% (n=156) and 47% (n=156) of the respondents who strongly agreed and agreed with the notion. This is attributed to the fact that this songs are all about Kenyans who associate with the songs with a sense of identity and belonging. There was an equal reaction from the respondents as shown from the study findings above where 1% (n=156) and another 3% (n=156) of the respondents were neutral and disagreed with the statement while none of the respondents were against the statement. The one who agreed had the notion that fact he (she) deemed political songs to be more of ethnic than national identity.

The NCIC officials as one of the respondents had the following response on the influence

of Political Mobilization Music on levels and status of National cohesion:

NCIC has sensitized the nation on the need for music which brings out patriotism, unity and rich cultural diversity of the Kenyan people instead of that which focuses on stereotyping communities and purporting hate speech. (NCIC official, 2019)

Another NCIC officer quipped “in essence, we look at the element in the music to determine if they are a threat to promote equality of opportunity, good relations, harmony and peaceful co-existence between persons of the deferent ethnic and racial communities of Kenya. (NCIC official, 2019)

Kibra Slum peace initiative as a Focus Group Discussion responded as follows;

Songs are a media of communication during politics e.g. Mambo Yakibadilika by Helena Ken (FGD 2, Kibra slum peace initiative, 2019)

Words used like “tialala”tibim” are used with reference to a particular ethic group.
(FGD 2, Kibra slum peace initiative, 2019)

Musicians want to make money but politicians they want to bring conflict.
(FGD 2, Kibra slum peace initiative, 2019)

Music is composed to praise politicians for e.g. 1992 Luo musician benefitted from politics through political mobilization music. (FGD 2, Kibra slum peace initiative, 2019)

Politic mobilization music aims is to have as many people master and spread it therefore brings power and fame.

In the same vain, Olusegun (2012) opine that African music has indeed played big role in objectifying, unifying and bringing peaceful co-existence among African communities.

That the knowledge of the African cultural value systems provides the understanding to interpret African songs and deduce full meanings from the communication experience.

Music has always been the most visible attempt employed by ourselves to listen to

ourselves. African music is a powerful medium of communication, through which human actions and reactions are expressed. It provides a forum to mirror the society so that members could understand things better and learn more about life. African music focuses on the teaching of morality, building restraints in to the psyche of the public and in settling conflicts. This indeed indicates that political and patriotic songs have been used over the years to create identity amongst communities. Obayomi (2012) equally asserts that music centers on folklore which crystallizes the history, philosophy, arts and Literature of the people. Music is a social organizer.

5.3 Chapter Summary

The chapter's focus was on assessing the influence PMM on status and levels of National cohesion in Nairobi County, Kenya. From the findings, that averagely 75%(n=156) of all respondents agreed to the facts that; PMM has influenced the status and levels of National Cohesion in Nairobi County. It has brought Peaceful coexistence, Tolerance among each other, Diversity and inclusivity and that trust among communities is still lower because ethnicity is still considered among the people. The findings also shows that; political mobilization music have very high influence status and levels of National Cohesion in Nairobi County, solidarity songs has enhanced awareness, performance of patriotic songs enhances togetherness among citizens, patriotic songs preach against social political, praise songs possess a strong sentimental value that enhance and direct people's strength towards defending our Country's heritage and finally both political and patriotic songs have been used over the years to create identity amongst Kenyans. The next chapter explores the findings of the challenges inherent in employing political mobilization music in Nairobi County, Kenya.

CHAPTER SIX

CHALLENGES INHERENT IN EMPLOYING POLITICAL MOBILIZATION MUSIC TOWARDS NATIONAL COHESION IN NAIROBI COUNTY, KENYA

This chapter sought to examine the challenges encountered in employing political mobilization music towards national cohesion in Nairobi County, Kenya. All categories of respondents were asked to indicate the challenges encountered based on seven subtopics including, whether political songs portrays biased support, Political mobilization music has been used as tool to cause conflict among communities, the bodies charged with regulating PMM has no power over hateful compositions, Kenya Music Festival Composers do not adhere to Strategic Policies that Encourage Peaceful and Patriotic Compositions. The following were the findings.

6.1 Introduction

The respondents were asked to indicate the challenges encountered in employing political mobilization music based on seven sub-themes and their results are as shown below:

6.1.1 Political Songs Portray Biased Support

The study sought to investigate whether political songs portray bias support. The kind of songs majorly focused here were idolizing, demonizing and praise songs due to the fact that patriotic songs historically were used to bring about togetherness of its citizens. The question for research therefore questions if all political music portray biased support. The results are as shown in table 6.1

Table 6. 1 Percentage distribution on whether political songs portray biased support

Responses	No of respondents	No in Percentage
Strongly Disagree	6	4.0
Disagree	17	11.0
Neutral	27	17.0
Agree	51	33.0
Strongly Agree	55	35.0
Total	156	100

Source: Researcher (2019)

The study findings indicate that 4% (n=156) of the respondents strongly disagree that political songs does not portray biased support, 11% (n=156) of the respondents disagreed, 17% (n=156) of the respondents were neutral, 33% (n=156) of the respondents agree that political songs portray biased support while 35% (n=156) strongly agreed that indeed political songs portray biased support. This can be interpreted to mean that most political songs are based on an individual and in so doing brings about biased support in favor of that politician. Averagely the study revealed that 68% (n=156) of respondents agreed to the fact that political songs portray biased support. These included praise and idolizing songs. For instance tawala Kenya (Rule Kenya) song composed by Tomas Wasonga during Moi's era.

Tawala Kenya (Rule Kenya)

	Meaning
<p><i>Tawala Kenya ,Tawala, Tawala Kenya Tawala,Rais Moi ,Tawala Kenya Tawala. Unaongoza vyema Unaongoza vyema,Rais Moi d vyema. Peleka Kenya mbele, Peleka Kenya mbele,Rais Moi Peleka Kenya mbele</i></p>	<p><i>Rule Kenya, President Moi, You are ruling well, guiding well, President Moi, you are guiding very well. Move Kenya forward,</i></p>

(Thomas Wasonga)

The President was being urged to rule “tawala” and lead Kenya to greater heights

Commenting on the biasness in the above song, one of the Key informants from Kenya

Music Festival commented;

It was hard for political music to give hate speech during this one party rule. There was National cohesion exercised here and anyone found singing music to ridicule an individual or government, the music was destroyed or musician banished. For example D, O, Miasian disappeared into Tanzania during Mzee Jomo Kenyatta when he composed a song in Luo. He was referring to the leadership of the time in satire form and before he was arrested, he escaped and went to Tanzania where he stayed and came back when President Moi left power. (Key informant KMF 2019).

A similar study conducted in Nigeria by Olusegun and Abayomi (2012) had concurred to the fact that political music portrays biased support when the People Democratic Party gubernatorial candidate in Oyo state Alao Akala Christopher had a team of singers that

campaigned for him one of the songs is written in table 6.2

Table 6. 2 Nigerian Patriotic Song

*All- A egbe mi ewa sia PDP lonfe lele, Alao Akala eni Olorun yan kose lekeji,
Egbe olomburela egbe PDP, egbe onire tide kire wole wa,
Solo-Efibo gbe debe kowole, Chorus-Alao Akala leni Olorun yan o,
Solo-Eni olorun yan lawanfe, Chorus-Alao Akala leni Olorun yan o,
Solo-PDP, Chorus- power to the people.*

Translation in English

Oh my comrades see the flag of PDP flying, Alao Akala is the person God has chosen to go for second term, Its umbrella party, it Peoples Democratic Party, A party with a good will, Please use your vote and let him win, Alao Akala is God's anointed.

(Alao Akala Lo'lorum Yan)

6.1.2 Political mobilization music has been used as tool to cause conflict

Music in general is neither inherently good nor bad, neither positive nor negative, in its impact on conflict resolution. Yet there are many examples where music unites peoples, to promote our self-awareness and self-esteem, mutual tolerance, sense of spirituality, intercultural understanding, ability to cooperate, healing (Lawrence, 2008), and there are many studies that illustrate how music can have these effects in certain places and contexts. One of the tunes of the South African, national anthem of the post-apartheid 'NkosiSikelele Africa', was sung as a song of liberation in the era of apartheid and inspired many in the struggle for freedom (Gray, 2008). Kenya faces the challenges when it comes to general elections where political mobilization music seem to have a thin line on whether it promotes national cohesion or it causes conflict among communities. O'Connell et Al., (2010) suggestes that, Music and Conflict reveals how musical texts are manipulated by opposing groups to promote Conflict and how music could be utilized to advance Conflict and resolution.

Respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement on the statement that political mobilization music has been used as a tool to cause conflicts among communities. The Result is as shown in figure 6.1

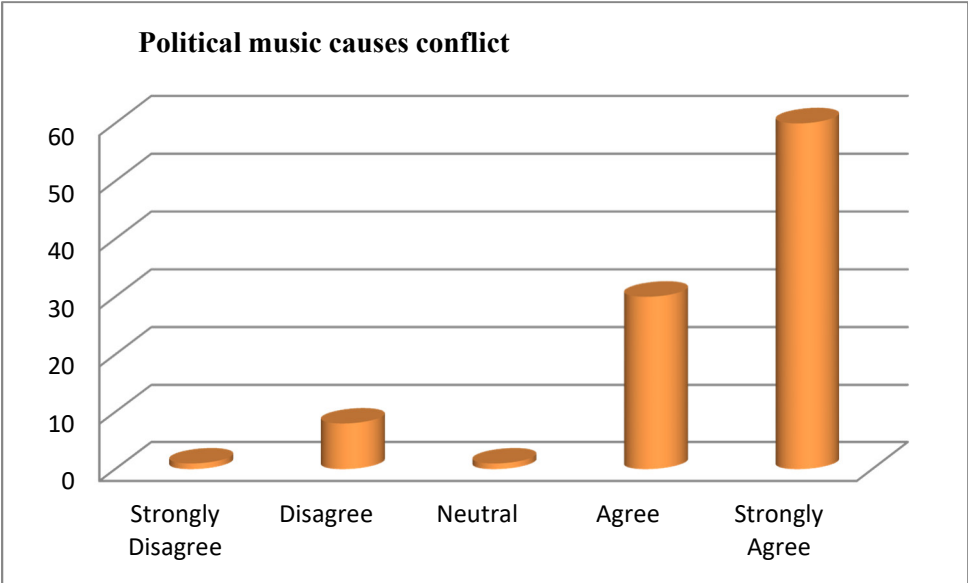


Figure 6. 1 Percentage distribution on whether political music causes conflict
Source: Researcher (2019)

According to O’Connell (2010), conflict can be viewed negatively as the logical outcome of economic equality and social disparity leading inevitably to violent rupture where the status of dominant elite is called into question. This can be because of many causes one being political mobilization music. Similarly, study’s finding Figure 6.1 above shows that 60% (n=156) of the respondents strongly agree that some of political songs causes political animosities leading to conflicts among communities as they in most cases are full of propaganda to mud sling opponents. 30% (n=156) of the 8% (n=156) of the respondents were neutral, 1% (n=156) disagreed with the notion while another 1% (n=156) of the respondents strongly disagreed. Averagely 90% (n=156) of respondents agreed that political

mobilization music causes conflicts among opposing parties. For instance in Bungoma during one of the campaigns, a song was composed to demonize the then incumbent Senator. (*Wekulo omundu omubii ahaaa Wekulo Omundu Omubii huuuu*) To mean (Wekulo is a bad person...) these findings go hand in hand with those undertaken from other counties especially in Nigeria by Olusegun and Abayomi (2012) where a song was composed during political mobilizations for elections in 2011 to demonize presidential candidates for example;

*Olarun opolo
Olarun opolo
Gomina to d'agbale oja
Olarun opolo*

Translation in English
*He is mentally deranged
He is mentally deranged
The Governor who turns a market sweeper
He is mentally deranged*

(Alaarun Opolo)

Similarly, Kawangware Peace Initiative Focus Group Discussion had the following to say on whether music causes conflict:

Some songs were sung for money to be against the opponent e.g. Dagoret .North it was sung against Jubilee while Dagoret South against NASA but they tried to bring people together. However, Esikuti Youth Group took advantage of the situation they sung and robbed from people (FGD 1, Kawangware Slum Peace Initiative, 2019)

A key informant from permanent presidential music commission commented;

Songs really contributed to people's thoughts and actions therefore influencing their choice of their candidate. (Key informant PPMC 2019)

A member from Korogocho slum peace initiative complained;

Songs like tibim put people in the political zone, for NASA supporters so those against NASA were not happy therefore, breeding conflict and a kind of political demeanor brought a feeling of loss. Sometimes the songs influence negatively on peoples way of behavior e.g. some are abused through songs (FGD 4, Korogocho Slum Peace Initiative, 2019).

However, in the traditional Yoruba society, songs and music occupied a unique place in the preparation, mobilization and prosecution of war. The importance of songs in instigating conflict is aptly captured by a Yoruba proverb that says "*orin ni isaaaju ote*", meaning songs herald hostilities (Olawejaju, 2011). Scholars such as Olutoye and Olapade (1998) and Ilesanmi (1998) examine the importance of drums, chants and songs among the Yoruba and aver that more than their entertainment roles; they perform religious, social and military purposes. As a communicative device, songs are employed for inspiring warriors and for launching verbal assault in inter-personal conflicts. In many instances, verbal assaults often result in physical assaults such that thought is provoked about the linguistic process that accentuates a conflict. Song of assaults are usually accompanied by cheering, laughing and savoring of the exchanges, until the conflict intensifies into brawl. What this imply is that the metaphors or linguistic devices employed in songs are not innocent and should be taken seriously. Songs of assault have a long history, and can function not only on a personal level but also as politically effective weapons. Campaign and post-election pretest song in Hausa language songs are situated within this frame, and like war songs. This communication through artistic medium opens up danger and provocation against the person the artist

Sing about. These findings are in line with what an officer from National Cohesion and Integration Commission eluted;

Songs would sometimes bring conflict between different political parties leading to tribal divisions. (Key informant NCIC, 2019)

Contrary to these findings, a study carried out in Tanzania by Perullo (2005) indicated that in 2004, the Tanzanian rap artist Juma Nature released the song “*Umoja wa Tanzania*” (Tanzanian United), [CD track 2]. Nature was hired by the ruling party to tour throughout Tanzania with members of Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) to promote the election and CCM candidates. Olanrewaju (2011) comments the song was Nature’s commentary on the state of politics and ability of the country to remain united despite divisions over the future of leadership. It built on many previous nationalist songs from the socialist period, and added issues related to reforms occurring in Tanzanian society, such as multipatism and conflict between two political parties CCM and Civic United Front (CUF). CCM was the only party or the dominant party in Tanzanian politics since independence.

CUF, however, had quickly gained momentum with each of the previous multiparty elections.

Nature commented on the conflict among supporters of both parties:

*Siasa ukifuatisha sana unaweza hata kulia.
Ubaya upo nchi zote hata kwenye familia.
Tujiulize kuna nini kama sisi wenyewe tutapigana.
Na katika hayo mapigano nani atakayeumia?
CCM na CUF kwa sasa mmeshaelewana.
Haina haja muda wote mkawa mnabishana.
Tumeelewana siyo? Naomba mniazime masikio.*

Translation in English

*If you follow politics it can make you cry.
Bad things are in every county even among families.
Let's ask ourselves what happens when we fight each other
And in those fights, who will suffer?
CCM and CUF they have reached agreement
There is no need to argue all the time.
Do we agree? Please listen to me
(Juma Nature)*

The message of unification between conflicting groups was prominent in the post-independence period, particularly in state efforts to erase divisions between ethnic and religious groups. In the opening to the song, Nature emphasizes the importance of reaching an agreement in order to ensure peace and stability (mentioned later in the chorus), hallmarks of the country and its people.

Kenyans always imagined that they are cohesive but when national elections come we fall apart (present this since the era of multi- party democracy since the scrapping of section 2A which ushered in multiparty politics in the mid 1990's

6.1.3 The bodies charged with regulating political mobilization music has minimum power in apprehending musicians on hateful compositions.

Music copyright society of Kenya aims at building, mobilizing, institutionalizing and supporting the music fraternity within Kenya, integrating, sustaining and enhancing their earning for their works. It is in pursuit of these objectives that MCSK supports artists and bands in peace activities initiated that supports various activities such as the Amka Kenya Initiative of 2013 Murimi (2013).

The study sought to find out if national and integration commission, Kenya music festival, Music copyright society and permanent presidential music commission were not able to undertake censorship on hateful and seemingly provocative compositions as a

measure to enforce proper checks. The results of the finding is as shown in figure 6.2

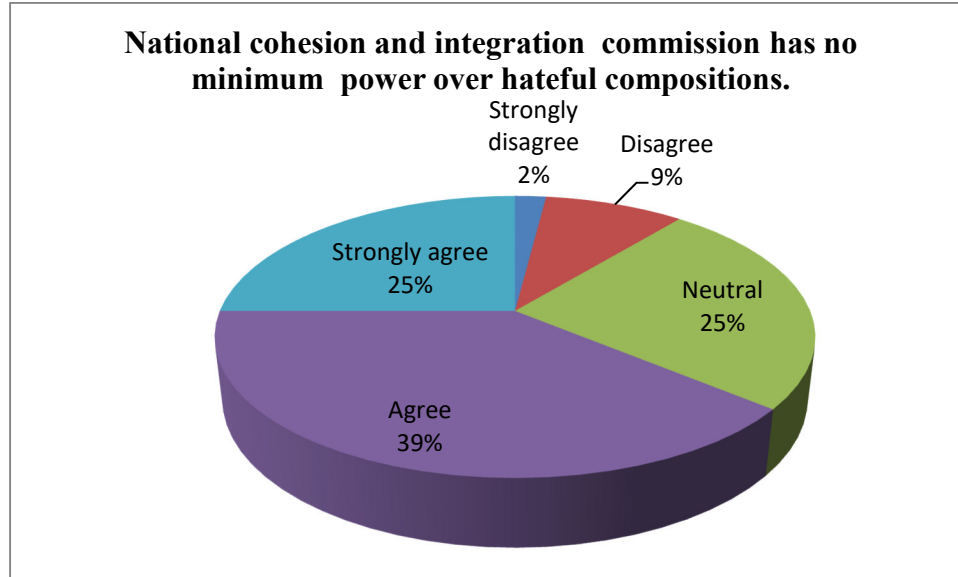


Figure 6. 2 Percentage distribution on whether National Cohesion and Integration Commission has minimum power over hateful compositions.

Source: Researcher (2019)

The results from the study finding in figure 6.2 above shows that majority of the respondents agreed to the notion that national integration commission has failed to undertake censorship on hateful and seemingly provocative compositions as a measure to enforce proper checks. This is supported by 48% (n=156) of the respondents agreed while 14% (n=156) of the respondents strongly agreed to the statement. This is because most of the hateful songs have not been banned and their respective musicians fined by the commission. On the other hand and 22% (n=156) of the respondents were neutral to the notion, 12% (n=156) of responds disagree and 4% (n=156) of the respondents strongly disagreed to the notion. Averagely, 64%(n=156) of respondents agreed to the fact that bodies charged for regulating no power over hateful compositions of music.

The ever evolving nature of our political landscape (coalitions – present the historical perspective of these coalitions and the songs composed to form up support for the various

coalitions hence missing out on patriotism and instead become victims of partisan songs.

According to a key informant from the NCIC, this was attributed to political, economic or social- cultural challenges;

Polarization and division of the country along ethnic lines that determine political opinion and positions coupled with dishonesty and selfishness among leaders who go inciting musicians to compose songs likely to divide the county. Lack of principles and ideologies to define political direction and Weak leadership in governance institutions; together with Proliferation of organized gangs and militia; and control of land, finance capital, technology and communication by the political elites have rendered NCIC toothless given that the constitution has offered too much freedom in the name of human rights hence NCIC has no power over hateful composition of music that supports the mentioned vices. (Key informant NCIC 2019)

An officer from PPMC when asked to comment on the fact that NCIC has no powers over hate composition of music lamented;

NCIC is charged with overseeing a cohesive society yet Kenya has been marred by negative ethnicity, High illiteracy levels; Deteriorating morals and values - higher levels of crime, fear of crime and anti-social behavior; Weakening of the family unit; Pessimistic negative populace - failure to appreciate the good in the country and cultural insensitivity leading to a non- cohesive community. This was attributed to incitements through media and music that NCIC was unable to control through punishing composers of hateful music for lack of power. (Key informant PPMC 2019).

Findings on whether National Cohesion and Integration Commission had power over hateful compositions indicated that the commission had minimum power. Ochieng (2017) in Standard who did an article accusing NCIC chair for laxity echoed this. He wrote “The National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) is not investigating two Kikuyu musicians accused of composing divisive music”.

According to NCIC Chief Executive Officer Hassan Mohamed, defended the commission saying the songs ‘Hakuna Deni’ and ‘Mbari ya Kimenderi’ by Kimani wa Turaco and Muigai wa Njoroge respectively do not incite ethnic hatred and only express the disorder in society.

He said the commission had keenly reviewed the lyrics and found nothing wrong with them, despite raising diverse public opinions. *“One of the songs talks about repaying a debt but does not touch on a specific community and the other expresses a political point that does not amount to hate speech,”* he said, adding that they were, however, investigating individuals who redid the songs to portray a particular community negatively. *“We do not stifle creativity in the name of fighting hate speech but those who have changed the songs to stereotype a particular community will be brought to book,”* he said at a journalists’ forum on hate speech held in Nakuru.

Vershbow, (2010) on America political music disagree with the above findings carries out a study. The findings indicated that political folk traditions also allows us to explore different ideas of what it means to be political, the contours of which are made clear as we move between the two declarations below made by Charles Seeger about American folk music.

“Many folksongs are complacent, melancholy, defeatist, intended to make slaves endure their lot—pretty but not the stuff for a militant proletariat to feed upon

The folk music of America [has] embodied for well over a hundred years the tonal and rhythmic expression of untold millions of rural and even urban Americans. Contrary to our professional beliefs, the American people at large has had plenty to say and ability to say it, so that a rich repertory has been built up—thousands of tunes each for the dance, for the ballad, the love song, and the religious song.” (Seeger 2015)

Seeger's initial assessment of the American slave song—pretty but defeatist—was based on a traditional view of politics (and therefore political music) that addressed itself directly to centers of power, be they government or corporations. In relation to the findings from the study, Seeger seems not to concur that political music necessarily causes conflicts.

According to the roles of PPMC explained in literature review, PPMC is a government Commission established to promote the development and practice of music and dance, spearhead the growth and development of the music industry and to contribute to the understanding and preservation of Kenyan musical arts and expression. The constitution of Kenya had contradicted on this role basing on the fact that freedom of speech was passed on as a right. This makes it a challenge to control regulation of all the music composed.

6.1.4 Kenya Music Festival Composers do not adhere to strategic policies that encourage peaceful and patriotic compositions.

In venturing into Music festivals of other countries, studies show that Music festival has a great inlet into the arts and cultures of the societies that host them, while offering great potential to local economies and countless business opportunities for African artists to grow their bands. However, not all these countries have prioritize music as part of their agendas despite the vast numbers of festival with diverse genres available all around, all over Africa.

The role of Kenya Music Festival is to nurture and develop talent, preserve culture, enhance national unity, cohesion and integration. KMF brings together millions of schoolchildren and adults in education together to sing at one venue regardless of their ethnic backgrounds bringing the element of National cohesion and integration. The teachers and choir trainers under this organization compose music on set pieces, emerging issues and patriotic songs that urge Kenyans to live together in peace and harmony. There had been an argument on whether Kenya Music Festival Composers do not adhere to strategic policies that encourage peaceful and patriotic compositions on what there objectives entail.

The study sought to find out if Kenya Music Festival Composers has failed to adhere to Strategic Policies That Encourage Peaceful and Patriotic Compositions. The result is as shown in figure 6.3

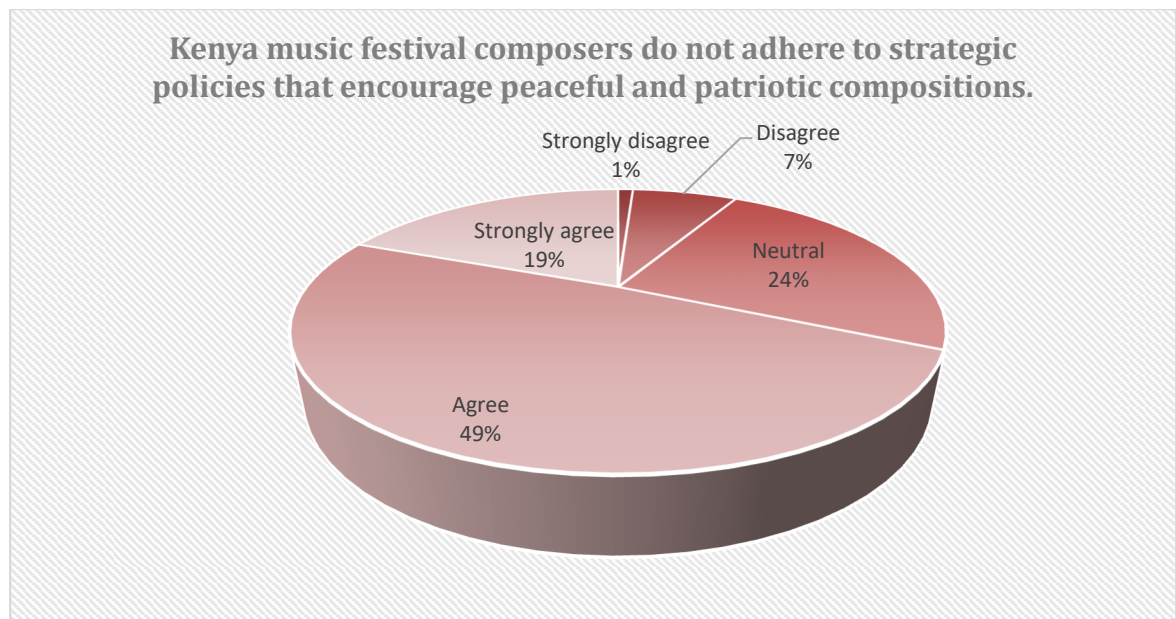


Figure 6. 3 Percentage distribution on whether Kenya Music Festival Composers do not adhere to Strategic Policies That Encourage Peaceful and Patriotic compositions
Source: Researcher (2019)

The study findings from figure 6.3 indicates that there is mixed reaction from the respondents concerning the notion which says that Kenya Association of Music Composers do not adhere to strategic policies that encourage peaceful and patriotic compositions. 49% (n=156) and 19% (n=156) of the respondents agreed and strongly agreed to the statement of the study. This is because those patriotic songs are being used during national celebrations that do not attract any financial gain unlike political music during campaigns where musicians make skills out of such songs. 24% (n=156) of the respondent neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement, 6% (n=156) of the respondents disagreed to the notion while 2% (n=156) strongly disagreed with the notion. This can be attributed to the fact that they do not see the value of patriotic song has on the peace of the state.

An official from National Cohesion and Integration Commission had this to say;

Music copyright society of Kenya, the Kenya copyright board and music publishers association has no power in monitoring and arresting musicians with violent songs. These bodies on the other hand lack the support of music artists because of large royalty charges. On the other hand, controlling and music with hate speech and belittling other communities is not easy. (NCIC official, 2019)

Makobi (2017) in his study writes that one of the inspirations of African art music composition was Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, a son to "... a Sierra Leonean doctor and his British wife. Coleridge-Taylor composed a number of art songs amongst them, five from the song cycle "Songs of Sun and Shade" (Euba, *ibid.*). Euba (*ibid.*) also identifies Fela Sowande as another notable African art song composer. Other African art song composers include: Kwabena Nketia, Akin Euba (Nketia, 2004), Bongoni Ndodana, Fred Onovwerosuoke, Justinian Tamusuza, Joshua Uzoigwe . George Senoga-Zake (Maina,

2012), Timothy Njooora and Sylvester Otieno (Wambugu, 2012). In Kenya, the KMF, has been one of the music institutions in Kenya that have greatly influenced art music composition and performance in Kenya (Kidula, 2008). Kidula, (ibid.) adds that African art music was not featuring in the KMF until 1981 when Arthur Kemoli's choral arrangement Ndio Kwalange was selected as a Set Piece (SP). Kemoli continued arranging and composing for the University of Nairobi Students Choir. At that time, the genre had gained momentum with some of the composers that included Peter Kibukosya, Darius Mbela and Bonface Mganga, starting to compose African art music (Shitandi et al., 2014; Maina, ibid.). Other Kenyan art music composers include: Sam Otieno, Sam Ochieng' MakOkeyo, Samuel Ouya, Daniel Okong'o, David Zalo, Henry Wanjala, Kala Ikutu, Blasto Ooko, Musambi Khadambi, George Muiruki, Humphrey Kisia (Maina 2012), Sylvester Otieno, Wilson Shitandi, Timothy Njooora (Wambugu, ibid.), Thomas Wasonga, Washington Omondi, George Dinda, Khadambi Richard and Timona Makobi (Maina, ibid.). The study compared the findings from the composers mentioned above regard to whether Kenya Music Festival Composers do not adhere to strategic policies that encourage peaceful and patriotic compositions. These findings seemed to agree with the study results.

According to a study findings carried out by Odidi (2013), art songs are meant for well-trained Western voices since the songs are usually a challenge to African singers in terms of tessitura and chromaticism. Nketia (2004) adds that these and more challenges are mostly because Africa has a deficiency of good voice teachers who will train students on good technique. However, these findings implies that indeed Kenya Music Festival

Composers still faces a chain of challenges and therefore do not adhere to Strategic Policies That Encourage Peaceful and Patriotic Compositions as was found out by this study.

6.1.5 Bodies charged with regulating PMM compositions do not fully support and train musicians in composing patriotic songs that promotes national cohesion.

Lack of national cohesion and integration in the country is partially blamed on historical injustices and negligence by successive governments. For instance, policies in sessional paper No. 10 of 1965 which placed emphasis on developing high potential areas at the expense of other places was largely blamed for underdevelopment and neglect of many parts of the country by successive regimes after independence (NCIC, 2011). This policy paper led to unequal distribution of resources between the high potential areas also known as ‘productive’ and the low potential or ‘unproductive areas’ thereby resulting in discrimination in matters of developments.

For the country to achieve sustainable development and growth there is need for citizens to see themselves as Kenyans first, and promote harmonious peaceful coexistence among themselves; and also respect and appreciate their ethnic and racial diversity. Much blame was on national and integration commission, Kenya music festival, Music copyright society and permanent presidential music commission.

The researcher sought to find out if bodies charged with regulating PMM compositions does not fully support and train upcoming musicians into composing nationalistic songs which promote National cohesion. The results are as shown in figure 6.4

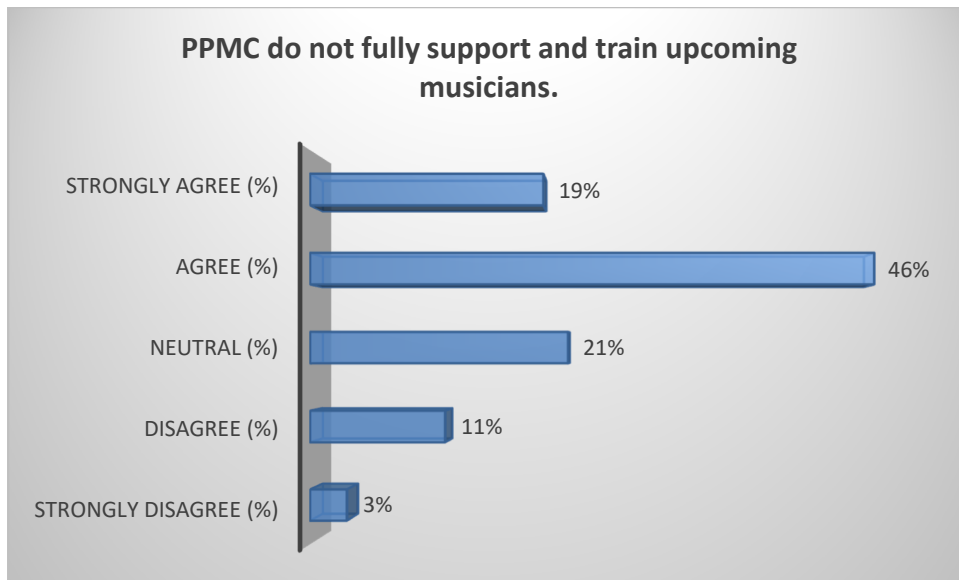


Figure 6. 4 Percentage distribution on whether PPMC does not fully support and train upcoming musicians.

Source: Researcher (2019)

The results from the study findings as shown in figure 6.5 above shows that it was found out that permanent presidential music do not fully support and train upcoming musicians this was supported by 46% (n=156) and 19% (n=156) of the respondents who agreed and strongly agreed with the notion. 21% (n=156) of the respondents were neither in agreement or against the statement. This can be attributed to the fact that most of the respondents who were neutral to the statement had no idea of the role of Permanent Presidential Music commission (PPMC) and that it is more of individual talent than 10% (n=156) and 2% (n=156) of the respondents disagreed and strongly disagreed with the statement.

In view of the above findings, a number of factors must be thought about. Music is an important tool for societal integration. History has a host of examples of the use of music to build cohesion and direct energies towards a particular communal goal. However, a number of challenges show up in the course of using music for political mobilization

(Baron 2016).

Onagiri and Ouida (2014) urge that political mobilization music can be interpreted as instrument for political indoctrination and brainwashing. This can make people change attitude towards music as a whole just like they have done with instruments that are thought to be pro-establishment like KBC/VoK – remember that to date, there are people who do not even listen to the radio station because of such perceptions. Therefore, PPMC should come out strongly to give support.

There is likelihood of growing monotony in melody, rhythm and text leading to reduction in creativity. This is likely to reduce interest in the music and its message in the end. Yet according to Cumm (2015), bodies charged with PMM composition do not seem to fully support and train upcoming musicians. In my opinion, without such support from bodies charged with PMM composition, it may be a challenge to find messages that cut across ethnic and political divides and therefore appealing to everyone. There is the likelihood of different political sections using the same musical strategy to achieve their own political interests resulting in lose-lose situation for everyone.

The findings from the above authors disagree with the Permanent Presidential Music Commission that was established in the year 1988, with an objective to preserve, develop and promote music and dance in Kenya; spearhead the growth and development of the music industry and to contribute to the understanding and preservation of Kenyan musical arts and expression.

Maina 2012 quotes PPMC in agreement with scholars like Ongiri and Ogida (2014), Camm (2015) and (Baron 2016) findings. He quotes “*Our story is one rooted in an*

unwavering commitment to promoting talent in the country, with a sincere focus of helping talented individuals grow themselves. PPMC documents great works from various artists in Kenyan". Yet according to him, bodies charged with PMM composition do not fully support and train upcoming musicians.

6.1.6 Music has power to act as a tool for community engagement but has been misused for political and monetary gains

"They [artistes] don't sing because they truly love those parties. They are looking for money. Personally, I don't sing politics anymore" this was echoed by Bebe Cool, Laura (2018). Artistes were being used by politicians to compose songs to praise their political performance even if nothing had been done by them. In 2011, the trend soared. Some artistes were hired by political parties and other politicians seeking elective positions to compose songs praising them and other politicians, (Askew, 2002). Again, a study carried out in Tanzania by Perullo (2005) indicated that in 2004, the Tanzanian rap artist Juma Nature released the song "*Umoja wa Tanzania*" (Tanzanian United), [CD track 2]. Nature was hired by the ruling party to tour throughout Tanzania with members of Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) to promote the election and CCM candidates.

The state used its economic muscle to appropriate protest music by buying out artists and, in some cases, turning them into total pro-establishment praise-singers. The need for financial success and survival was enough incentive to silence voices of critics. When coercion did not work, the state was willing to "buy out" the artist speaking truth to power. Kamaru's experience with Moi is instructive. Daniel Owino Misiani, another musician who had used his art to consistently critique the political repression by the Kenyatta regime, especially the political assassinations, was imprisoned on various

occasions for his lyrics, which were deemed offensive to the state. He was also threatened with deportation from Kenya on several occasions because he was born in Shirati, which is administratively in Tanzania (Osiebe, 2016.) Are the findings reflect the same things happening in Kenya?

The respondents were asked to comment on the questionnaire if music has power to act as a tool for community engagement but had been misused for political and monetary gains. The results were as shown in figure 6.5

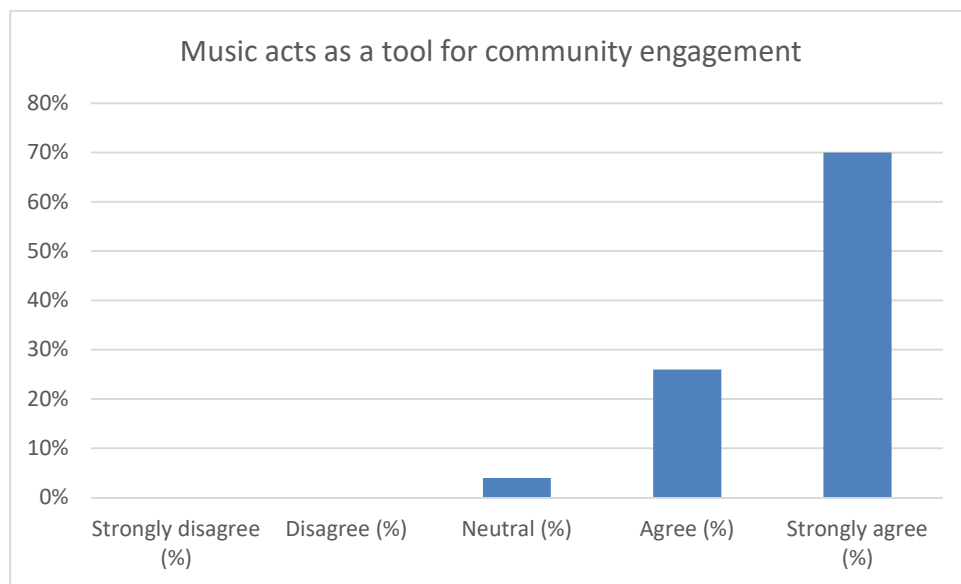


Figure 6. 5 Percentage distribution on whether Music has power to act as a tool for Community Engagement but has been misused for political and monetary gains

Source: Researcher (2019)

From the study, the findings shows that majority of the respondents agreed that music has power to act as a tool for community engagement but has been misused for political and monetary gains. This is supported by 70% (n=156) and 26% (n=156) of the respondents who strongly agree and agree with the notion while 4% (n=156) of the respondents were neutral to the notion. This is attributed to the fact that most songs that are sung are

communal, represents the community, and in so doing engages the community members however, they have been politicized. In view of these findings, the other question would be about the composers' own political and ethnic loyalties. Would they be able to speak in one voice in their compositions?

Kibra Slum Peace Initiative participant had the following to say on challenges encountered by Public Mobilization Music towards national cohesion:

Lack of good will from politicians to encourage musicians to compose music enhancing national cohesion during and after campaigns was experienced hence posing a challenge toward national cohesion (FGD 2, Kibra Slum Peace Initiative, 2019)

Basing on De Mathew song it came out clear that Kenya judiciary system lacked strict laws in regulating music. (FGD 2, Kibra Slum Peace Initiative, 2019)

A music composer of political mobilization music had this to say on how music has power to act as a tool for Community engagement but has been misused for political and monetary Gains;

We charge between 50k and 100k for each song depending on the candidate and the position they were vying for. It was purely business we made the songs and sold them to politicians. Simply because we sang for someone did not mean we supported him or her politically. The payment dependent on what you agreed on with the politician. He could pay in installments during electioneering period. Said a musician who composed and recorded the song for the senate candidate. (PMM composer 2019)

The Korogocho Slum Peace Initiative respondent also felt there is a challenge inherent by PMM towards national cohesion and they had this to say:

There is no law to control the composition of songs or to vet the songs therefore, a lot of freedom in composition of songs through Kenyan constitution that lacks powers to vet before going public. (FGD 4, Koroocho Slum Peace Initiative, 2019)

Mathare Peace Ambassador's participant observed:

The musicians who change the version of their songs to suit their needs that in most cases brings negative effects in politics have abused freedom. Musicians do not out of passion and patriotism but only interested in financial gains (FGD 3, Mathare Peace Ambassador, 2019)

Korogocho slum peace initiative member had shared;

Vetting of music faces challenges of freedom that is overall too much as put in article 34 of the constitution therefore musicians to be sensitization on the type of messages that should come from their songs in order to enhance national cohesion. (FGD 4, Korogocho Peace initiative 2019)

The NCIC officials had the following to say on challenges on the influence of PMM on status and levels of national cohesion:

The office of Director of public prosecution in charge of investigation of cases of music being used to propagate ethnic tension and hate speech has no powers. Lack of public awareness of the NCIC act mandate. We are currently holding sensitization forums to engage the public in this (NCIC official, 2019).

Similarly, a key informant from the permanent presidential music commission observed the following

Ethnicity-politics is still rampant because we have a very volatile political scene in Kenya. Limited cooperation or commitment by people who are aggrieved by insults from the songs may be reluctant to participate in court processes. (Key informant PPMC official, 2019).

Makobi (2017) observed that if this negative ethnicity could be addressed through positive compositions, music would work well to achieve national cohesion in Kenya. I therefore agree with Makobi on the fact that Political mobilization music for national

cohesion in Kenya should be viewed as enhancing national cohesion and not necessarily agitating for it. National cohesion is largely promoted by peaceful and cohesion messages from influencing political leaders. The citizens religiously receive their messages and these are the message that need to be echoed by songs on cohesion.

Main challenges of using these songs are the media of reaching the people. Such songs are played on national radio and televisions whose audience is being competed by other media. Musicians need to be alive to changing and catchy trends of composition so that their songs are not dismissed from the beginning. Therefore, innovative ways of reaching the larger population needs to be sought and be capitalized on in making sure that Music has act as a tool for Community Engagement but not being misused for political and monetary gains. This evidently revealed that politicians took an advantage of unemployment, poverty and lack of finance to lure out Kenyan youths and artists to compose songs on their favour.

6. 2 Chapter Summary

The chapter's focus was on challenges inherent in employing political mobilization music in Nairobi County. From the findings, it was concluded averagely 75% of all respondents agreed to the facts that; political songs portray bias support, political mobilization music been used as a tool to cause conflicts among communitie. That national and integration commission was not able to undertake censorship on hateful and seemingly provocative compositions as a measure to enforce proper checks, Kenya Music Festival Composers has failed to adhere to strategic policies that encourage peaceful and patriotic compositions, Permanent Political Music Commission has not

fully maintained a pro-active music policy, Permanent Presidential Music Commission do not fully support and train upcoming musicians into composing nationalistic songs which promote National cohesion and that music has power to act as a tool for community engagement but had been misused for political and monetary gains.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this study was to examine the political mobilization music influencing national cohesion in Kenya with specific reference to Nairobi County. The next chapter presents the summary of findings after the analysis of the data, conclusion after interpreting the results and recommendations of the findings citing the proposed areas for future study.

The objectives that guided the study were to;

- i. Examine the nature and evolution of political mobilization music in Post-colonial Kenya
- ii. Assess the influence of PMM on status and levels of national cohesion in Nairobi County, Kenya.
- iii. Examine the challenges inherent in employing political mobilization music towards national cohesion in Nairobi County, Kenya.

7.1 Summary of Findings

The analysis of the data revealed the following:

7.1.1 The nature and evolution of political mobilization music in Post-colonial Kenya.

Objective one strived to examine the nature and evolution of political mobilization music in post- colonial Kenya in Nairobi County. From the findings, it was concluded that averagely 75% (n=156) of all respondents agreed to the facts that the nature of political mobilization songs composed of 40% (n=156) praise songs for our county Kenya and of

the preferred leader; 25% (n=156) of demonizing the considered opponent 25 % (n=156) idolizing songs 5% (n=156) patriotic especially after independence while 3% solidarity during one party era.

Similarly, on evolution of political mobilization music, 90% (n=156) agreed to greater extent to the fact that Songs within Early Independent Kenya 1963-1980 era focused on political mobilization to unite the people having prevailed over the colonial government. Example; *Daima mimi mkenya*. 80% (n=156) of respondents agreed largely that during Moi Era between 1980 and 1992, the need for continued togetherness for the sake of national unity music. This in many ways helped to create a sense of togetherness and nationalism. The struggle to praise Moi for the sake of his continued rule of Kenya. This created tension where those who supported Moi rule found this good. The descending voices viewed it as sycophancy. The two sides of the coin in the music did not enhance much cohesion in Kenya. It assert that 42% (n=156) agreed largely that multiparty era 1992-2000 periods, political mobilization was for the sake of Moi's political survival. Music was never used for cohesion. It was employed as a survival tool against its intention of creating cohesion. 54% agreed largely that during Millennium, music was used to claim political ownership versus assassinating the opposing political ideologies. Music in this age is a weapon. It promotes certain political ideologies yet at the same time piercing the opposing ideologies. Finally, 79% of respondents agreed largely that currently, political mobilization music is dynamic and has grown due to digital times. People are enlightened on the right and freedom of expression through music.

7.1.2 Influence of political mobilization music on status and levels of national cohesion in Nairobi County, Kenya.

The second objective's focus was to assess the influence of political mobilization music status of National cohesion in Nairobi County, Kenya. From the findings, it was concluded averagely 75% (n=156) of all respondents agreed to the facts that; PMM on the Status of National Cohesion in Nairobi County has brought Peaceful coexistence, Tolerance among each other, Diversity and inclusivity and that trust among communities is still lower because ethnicity is still considered among the people. On whether PMM brought about peaceful coexistence among Kenyans, 54% (n=156) said yes while 46% (n=156) said no, 30% (n=156) agreed to the fact that PMM brought about trust among communities while 70% (n=156) disputed. On whether PMM influenced tolerance among each Kenyans, 65% (n=156) said yes 45% (n=156) said no. 62% (n=156) of respondents said PMM brought about diversity and inclusivity among communities while 38% (n=156) disputed.

The findings also shows that political mobilization music on have very high influence with 52% (n=156) and high 44% (n=156) on levels of National Cohesion in Nairobi County. 40% (n=156) respondents strongly agreed while 52% (n=156) agreed that political songs enhance awareness. 77% (n=156) strongly agreed, 21% (n=156) agreed while 2% (n=156) respondents where neutral on the fact that performance of patriotic songs enhances togetherness among citizens. On whether patriotic songs preach against social political vices, 48% (n=156) of respondents strongly agreed, 34% (n=156) agreed, 18% (n=156) where at neutral 4% (n=156) disagreed while 2% (n=156) strongly disagreed. 43% (n=156) of respondents strongly agreed, 41% (n=156) agreed, 15%

(n=156) where at neutral position on the fact that patriotic songs possess a strong sentimental value that enhance and direct people's strength towards defending the Country's heritage. Finally, on whether both political and patriotic songs have been used over the years to create identity amongst Kenyans, 47% (n=156) of respondents strongly agreed, 49% (n=156) agreed, 3% (n=156) were at neutral position and 1% (n=156) disagreed.

7.1.3 Challenges inherent in employing political mobilization music towards national cohesion in Nairobi County, Kenya.

The third objective's focus was on challenges inherent in employing political mobilization music towards national cohesion in Nairobi County. From the findings, it was concluded averagely that 75% (n=156) of all respondents agreed to the facts that there were challenges encountered in the employing political mobilization music towards national cohesion in Kenya. On specific themes such as whether political songs portray bias support, 35% (n=156) strongly agreed, 33% (n=156) agreed, 17% (n=156) were at neutral position 11% (n=156) disagreed while 4% (n=156) strongly disagreed. This meant that people have mixed reactions on the mater. On whether political mobilization music has been used as a tool to cause conflicts among communities, 60% (n=156) of respondents strongly agreed, and 30% (n=156) agreed while 10% (n=156) disagreed. 48% (n=156) of respondents agreed, 14% (n=156) strongly agreed, 22% (n=156) took neutral notion, 12% (n=156) disagreed while 4% (n=156) strongly disagreed to the fact that National Cohesion and Integration Commission was not able to and had no power undertake censorship on hateful and seemingly provocative

compositions as a measure to enforce proper checks. Kenya Music Festival Composers has failed to adhere to strategic policies that encourage peaceful and patriotic compositions. This was agreed by 49% (n=156) strongly disagreed by 19% (n=156) while 24% (n=156) took a neutral position and 8% (n=156) disagreed. Permanent Political Music Commission has not fully maintained a pro-active music policy. This was agreed to by 49% (n=156) strongly agreed to by 23% (n=156) while 22% (n=156) took a neutral position. This meant that there were mixed reactions. Permanent Presidential Music Commission do not fully support and train upcoming musicians into composing nationalistic songs which promote National cohesion, had the majority of respondents agree at 46% (n=156) while neutral at 21% (n=156) and strongly agree at 19% (n=156). Finally, on whether music has power to act as a tool for community engagement but had been misused for political and monetary gains, 70% (n=156) strongly agreed 25% (n=156) agreed while 3% (n=156) took a neutral position. This meant that indeed political mobilization music has been misused.

7.2 Conclusion

It was averagely concluded that 75% (n=156) of all respondents agreed to the facts that; Praise songs have in nature been used for political mobilizing. Similarly, evolution of PMM was observed. Music idolizes political personalities. Songs against specific political leader causes unrest and conflict while patriotic songs stimulate activism in people. Again, patriotic songs call for cohesion and create empathy. Finally, political songs have the power to communicate hidden political directions of a community.

PMM brings about peaceful co-existence, tolerance among each other, diversity and inclusivity and that trust among communities is still lower because ethnicity is still

considered among the people. Political songs enhance awareness and cohesion among Kenyans.

Political mobilization music portrays bias support and sometimes acts as a source of conflict among communities. NCIC was not able to undertake censorship on hateful and seemingly provocative compositions as a measure to enforce proper checks. Kenya Music Festival composers have failed to adhere to strategic policies that encourage peaceful and patriotic compositions. Permanent Political Music Commission has not fully maintained a pro-active music policy. Permanent Presidential Music Commission do not fully support and train upcoming musicians into composing nationalistic songs which promote National cohesion and that music has power to act as a tool for community engagement but had been misused for political and monetary gains.

In conclusion, political mobilization music has influence on national cohesion in Nairobi County in Kenya. The findings showed that the influence was on two folds both negative and positive depending on the nature of songs composed and sang. It was either for promotion of national cohesion or promoting conflict.

7.3 Recommendations

The study recommends that more support should be given to local artists who promote national cohesion songs in local language to produce more songs, be invited to many local functions to entertain the occasion. In addition, music and other creative subjects should be brought back to Kenyan school curriculum/syllabus. It is also recommended that Artists need to look into long term projects such as Amani CBO, Ghetto

Classic, Slum Drummers and Spotlight on Kenyan Music to realize effectiveness and sustainability. More activities geared towards peace should increase the use of music as it transcends divides and is understood regardless of invisible barriers. Involvement of diaspora support such as the avenues used by One Vibe, can increase exposure and musical improvement through musical exchanges, festivals, and fundraisings as well as sales. This is particularly so as such initiatives are better recognized in diaspora than locally.

The findings evidenced from the study revealed that Nairobi is yet to achieve cohesiveness, there are many tasks that still need to be addressed that border on the role of the national government in fostering cohesion in Nairobi that is a factor of national cohesion. The study therefore recommends the involvement of government agencies advocating for Peace, such as National Cohesion and Integration Commission, Permanent Presidential Music Commission, Music Copyright Society of Kenya and Kenya Music Festival be fully empowered in regulating political mobilization music in Kenya.

The findings indicated that music has power to act as a tool for community engagement but had been misused for political and monetary gains. It was also evident that Permanent Political Music Commission has not fully maintained a pro-active music policy, nor fully supports and train upcoming musicians into composing nationalistic songs that promote National cohesion. The study therefore recommends that PPMC work towards supporting upcoming political mobilization music composers towards peaceful compositions.

Generally, being patriotic to the country is a one special way of branding the country to the rest of the world. A song like *Nchi ya kitu kidogo* by Eric Wainina is good but this brands Kenya in extremely negative light. Unfortunately the viral nature of communication has made this song to go international and it is like in some quarters Kenyans are seen to be inherently corrupt. There is need of the Wasonga effect and his good patriotic songs modeled in his line of composition to counter this negative script which is already in the international arena. However, KMF is already countering this negative branding by encouraging clean patriotic music/songs to be sang during the festivals.

7.4 Suggestion for further research

Being patriotic to the country is a one special way of branding the country to the rest of the world. Therefore further research should be undertaken on the influence of Patriotic songs on national cohesion in other countries.

Lastly, further research should consider exploring the gaps that emerged from the existing lack of power from NCIC, KMF, MCSK, and PPMC in regulating political mobilization music that causes conflict among communities.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: DISCLAIMER

All the national anthems/ songs presented in this thesis are in their original form. Their creation and formulation to mobilize a people to pledge their allegiance to their nations and to display their patriotism and love for their country is contained in the words which motivate the lyrics as instruments of the nations. Any attempt to re-edit will be going counter to the very spirit of the anthems /songs. By default when these anthems/ songs are subjected on plagiarism software, they will recur as academic work lifted verbatim from the source. However, the composers have been acknowledged all through. As a researcher I am cognizant of this fact and that is why I have scripted this disclaimer. The nature and spirit of my research makes me to acknowledge this default in this particular thesis.

APPENDIX II: INTRODUCTION LETTER FROM THE RESEARCHER

Ms Ruth M. Agesa
CPC/H/201/12
Masinde Muliro University of Science and
Technology
Department of Peace and
Conflict Studies
P.O Box
190
KAKAM
EGA

The County Commissioner,
Dear
Madam/
Sir,

PERMISSION TO UNDERTAKE RESEARCH

I am requesting for permission to undertake research in your County institutions/organizations to gather data towards developing my PhD thesis.

I am a PhD student at the Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology, Department of Peace and Conflict Studies. My study topic is, *“Influence of Political Mobilization of Music on National Cohesion in Kenya with specific Reference to Nairobi County, Kenya”*

The findings of this study are not only of importance to research analysis: they are also of benefit to stakeholders in government public administration.

The study will develop guidelines that the government administration, national cohesion, community, development workers and policy makers could use to build local capacities, capabilities by reducing local vulnerabilities to political violence.

The study instruments for data collection will be questionnaires, interview guides and focus group discussions. Attached, please, find copies of the instruments for your perusal.

I look forward to your positive response soon. Thanking you in advance.

Yours faithfully,

Ruth M. Agesa

RESEARCHER

APPENDIX III: VOTERS' (CITIZENS) QUESTIONNAIRE

My name is Ruth Agesa, a PhD student at the Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology. I am carrying out a study on Music and Conflict Transformation in Kenya: Case of Political Compositions on 2007 & 2013 General Elections. Kindly provide the information as required by the questionnaire. The findings will be used solely for the purposes of the research and no individual shall be intimidated based on their response. The study results shall be availed to the interested parties upon request.

SECTION A

1. Gender of the respondent

Male [] Female [] Other []

2. Age

18-25
34-33
34-41
42-49
50 and above

3. Highest Education Level achieved

Primary [] Secondary [] College []
University [] Any Other

4. Occupation

Musician [] NCIC officer [] Music teacher [] KMF officer []
PPMKC [] Other

5. What is your relationship with music now? Kindly explain.....

SECTION B: Nature and evolution of political mobilization music in post-colonial period in Nairobi, Kenya

6. In your opinion, what is the nature of PMM that have been used since post-colonial period in Kenya? Kindly pick appropriately.

Nature of Political Mobilization Music	Kindly tick appropriately
Praise songs	
Demonizing songs	
Idolizing songs	
Patriotic songs	
Solidarity songs	

7. To what extent has PMM evolved since post-colonial period in Kenya? Kindly tick Appropriately

Statement	Little extent	Moderate Extent	Great Extent
<p><u>Early Independent Kenya 1963-1980</u> Songs within this era, focused on political mobilization to unite the people having prevailed over the colonial government. Example; <i>Daima mimi mkenya</i></p>			
<p><u>Moi Era 1980-1992</u> The need for continued togetherness for</p>			

<p>the sake of national unity.</p> <p>The struggle to praise Moi for the sake of his continued rule of Kenya</p> <p>Example; <i>tawala Kenya (Rule Kenya)</i></p>			
<p><u>Multiparty era 1992-2000</u></p> <p>A period of political mobilization for the sake of Moi’s political survival. Music was never used for cohesion. It was employed as a survival tool against its intention of creating cohesion.</p> <p>Example <i>Moi amefanya mengi Kenya, Ongoza gari la Nyayo, Moi amefanya mengi Kenya</i></p>			
<p><u>The millennium age.</u></p> <p>Music is a tool for political assassination and falls short of cohesion</p> <p>Example; Bindu bichenjanga, , UhuruRuto tano tena, <i>BIM end Bim (A baboon is a baboon).</i></p>			
<p>Currently PMM is dynamic and has grown due to digital times. People are enlightened on the right and freedom of expression through music.</p>			

8. In your opinion, how do you agree with the following statements? Kindly tick the appropriate.

Statement	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
	1	2	3	4	5
The current music songs are mostly idolizing political personalities					
Idolizing and praising songs against specific political leaders cause unrest and conflict					
Solidarity music stimulate activism in people					
Patriotic music call for national cohesion.					
Patriotic songs create empathy					
Praising and demonizing songs shape citizen political decisions					
Political mobilization music has supernatural power to communicate specific messages to					

PART D: Influence of political mobilization music on status and levels of national cohesion of Nairobi, County Kenya.

9. In your own opinion, what is the influence of PMM on the status of

National Cohesion in Nairobi County? Kindly tick appropriately:

Status of National

Tick appropriately

Cohesion in Nairobi

Peaceful coexistence

Yes

No

Trust among communities

Yes

No

Tolerance among each other

Yes

No

Diversity and inclusivity

Yes

No

10. In your own opinion, what is the influence of PMM on the Level of

National Cohesion in Nairobi County? Kindly tick appropriately:

The influence of PMM on the Level of National Cohesion	Extent
Very low	
Low	
Moderate	
High	
Very high	

11. On your opinion, kindly tick appropriately the influence of PMM on the Level and status of National Cohesion in Nairobi County.

Statement	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
	1	2	3	4	5
Political Songs Enhances Awareness					
Performance of patriotic songs enhances togetherness among citizens.					
Patriotic songs preach against social political vices.					
Patriotic songs possess a strong sentimental value that enhance and direct people's strength towards defending our Country's heritage.					
Both political and patriotic songs have been used over the years to create identity amongst Kenyans.					

PART E: Challenges inherent in employing political mobilization music towards national cohesion in Nairobi County, Kenya

12. In your opinion, tick appropriately how you can rate the challenges inherent in employing political mobilization music towards national cohesion in Nairobi county, Kenya

Statement	Strongly	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly
	1	2	3	4	5
Political Songs Portray Biased Support					
Political mobilization music has been used as tool to cause conflict among communities					
The NCIC has no power in apprehending musicians on hateful compositions.					
Kenya Music Festival Composers do not adhere to Strategic Policies That Encourage Peaceful and Patriotic Compositions.					
Permanent Presidential Music Commission has no power to maintain a pro-active music policy.					
Permanent presidential music commission do not fully support and train upcoming musicians into composing nationalistic songs that promote national cohesion.					
Music has power to act as a tool for community engagement but has been misused for political and monetary gains					

APPENDIX IV: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR KEY INFORMANTS

My name is Ruth Agesa, a PhD student at the Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology. I am carrying out a study on Music and Conflict Transformation in Kenya: Case of Political Compositions on 2007 & 2013 General Elections. Kindly provide the information as required by the questionnaire. The findings will be used solely for the purposes of the research and no individual shall be intimidated based on their response. The study results shall be availed to the interested parties upon request.

**PART A.
Demographic Data**

1. Gender of the respondent

Male [] Female [] Other []

2. Age

18-25
34-33
34-41
42-49
50 and above

3. Highest Education Level achieved

Primary [] Secondary [] College []
University [] Any Other

4. Occupation

Musician [] NCIC officer [] Music teacher [] KMF officer []
PPMKC [] Other

5. What is your relationship with music now? Kindly explain.....

PART B:

OBJECTIVE I

Nature and evolution of political mobilization music in Post-colonial Kenya.

6. What is the nature of PMM in post-colonial Kenya?
7. How has PMM evolved since post –colonial Kenya?
8. How has PMM influenced national cohesion in Nairobi?

OBJECTIVE II

Influence of political mobilization music on status and levels of national cohesion in Nairobi County, Kenya.

9. How is the status of national cohesion in Nairobi County?
10. What is the level of national cohesion in Nairobi County? (What are the measurable indicators here?)
11. How has PMM influenced the status and levels of national cohesion in Nairobi County?

OBJECTIVE III

Challenges inherent in employing political mobilization music towards national cohesion in Nairobi County, Kenya.

12. What are some of the challenges inherent (faced) in employing PMM towards national cohesion in Nairobi County?

7. How has PMM influenced the status and levels of national cohesion in Nairobi?

OBJECTIVE III

Challenges encountered in employing political mobilization music towards national cohesion in Nairobi County, Kenya.

8. What are some of the challenges inherent (faced) in employing PMM towards national cohesion in Nairobi County?

APPENDIX VI: KIBRA PEACE INITIATIVE GROUP AFTER THE FGD



The main researcher Ruth Agesa standing position **3** from the right while interviewing FGD

**APPENDIX VII: SOME OF THE MEMBERS OF DAGORETTI, KAWANGWARE
PEACE INITIATIVE GROUP**



**The main researcher Ruth Agesa standing position 6 from the left
after interviewing FGD**

APPENDIX VIII: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION IN KASARANI AT THE SUB-COUNTY COMMISSIONER'S BOARDROOM WITH LEADERS FROM KIAMBU AND MATHARE NORTH SLUMS.



The main researcher Ruth Agesa seating at the front left facilitating an FGD interview.

**APPENDIX IX: MEMBERS OF KOROGOCHO SLUM PEACE INITIATIVE
AFTER AN FGD.**



The main researcher Ruth Agesa standing position 3 from the right after interviewing FGD.

APPENDIX X: AUTHORITY TO CONDUCT RESEARCH FROM UNIVERSITY



MASINDE MULIRO UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY
Tel: 0208045353
Fax: 056-30153
E-mail: mmust@mmust.ac.ke
Website: <http://www.mmust.ac.ke>
P.O. Box 190
Kakamega – 50100
Kenya

OFFICE OF THE COORDINATOR, NAIROBI CAMPUS

REF: CPC/H/201/12/1

Date: 29th November 2018

The Commission Secretary
NACOSTI
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI

Dear Sir/Madam

RE: AUTHORITY TO CARRY OUT RESEARCH – MS. RUTH AGESA, CPC/H/201/12

This is to confirm that Ms. Ruth Agesa, CPC/H/201/12, is a student of Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology pursuing a Doctor of Philosophy degree in Peace and Conflict Studies.

She successfully defended her proposal titled, *“Influence of Political Mobilisation Music on National Cohesion with Specific Reference to Nairobi County, Kenya.”*

She requires permission to collect data towards development of her PHD thesis.

Any assistance given to her will be highly appreciated by this office.

Peter Wawire
COORDINATOR, NAIROBI CAMPUS

APPENDIX XI: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION FROM NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION (NACOSTI)



**NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE,
TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION**

Telephone: +254-20-2213471,
2241349, 3310571, 2219420
Fax: +254-20-318245, 318249
Email: dg@nacosti.go.ke
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke
When replying please quote

NACOSTI, Upper Kabete
Off Waiyaki Way
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref. No. **NACOSTI/P/18/38148/27314**

Date: **11th December, 2018**

Ruth Mmbwaya Agesa
Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology
P. O Box 190-50100
KAKAMEGA

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*Influence of political mobilisation music on national cohesion with specific reference to Nairobi County, Kenya*" I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Nairobi County** for the period ending **10th December, 2019**.

You are advised to report to **the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Nairobi County** before embarking on the research project.

Kindly note that, as an applicant who has been licensed under the Science, Technology and Innovation Act, 2013 to conduct research in Kenya, you shall deposit a **copy** of the final research report to the Commission within **one year** of completion. The soft copy of the same should be submitted through the Online Research Information System.

G. Kalerwa

**GODFREY P. KALERWA MSc., MBA, MKIM
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO**

Copy to:

The County Commissioner
Nairobi County.

The County Director of Education
Nairobi County.

*Approved
ROY
17/12/18*

**COUNTY COMMISSIONER
NAIROBI COUNTY
P. O. Box 30124-00100, NAI
TEL: 341666**

APPENDIX XII: RESEARCH PERMIT

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT: **Permit No : NACOSTI/P/18/38148/27314**
MS. RUTH MMBWAYA AGESA **Date Of Issue : 11th December, 2018**
of MASINDE MULIRO UNIVERSITY OF **Fee Received :Ksh 2000**
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, 190-50100
Kakamega, has been permitted to
conduct research in Nairobi County
on the topic: INFLUENCE OF POLITICAL
MOBILISATION MUSIC ON NATIONAL
COHESION WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE
TO NAIROBI COUNTY, KENYA.
for the period ending:
10th December, 2019

Agesa
Applicant's Signature

Galama
Director General
National Commission for Science, Technology & Innovation

License including cancellation without prior notice.

National Commission for Science, Technology and innovation
P.O. Box 30623 - 00100, Nairobi, Kenya
TEL: 020 400 7000, 0713 788787, 0735 404245
Email: dg@nacosti.go.ke, registry@nacosti.go.ke
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke

Serial No.A 22272
CONDITIONS: see back page

APPENDIX XIII: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION FROM MINISTRY OF EDUCATION



**Republic of Kenya
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
STATE DEPARTMENT OF BASIC EDUCATION**

Telegrams: "SCHOOLING", Nairobi
Telephone: Nairobi 020 2453699
Email: rcenairobi@gmail.com
cdenairobi@gmail.com

REGIONAL COORDINATOR OF EDUCATION
NAIROBI REGION
NYAYO HOUSE
P.O. Box 74629 – 00200
NAIROBI

When replying please quote

Ref: RCE/NRB/GEN/VOL.1

DATE: 17th December, 2018

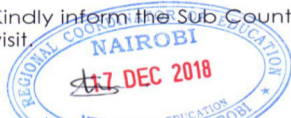
Ruth Mmbwaya Agesa
Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology
KAKAMEGA

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

We are in receipt of a letter from the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation regarding research authorization in Nairobi County on "**Influence of political mobilization music on national cohesion with specific reference to Nairobi County, Kenya**"

This office has no objection and authority is hereby granted for a period ending **10th December, 2019**.

Kindly inform the Sub-County Director of Education of the Sub County you intend to visit



SHINU SINTAYO
FOR: REGIONAL COORDINATOR OF EDUCATION
NAIROBI

CC:
Director Secondary