MUSIC AS A TOOL OF COMMUNICATION IN ELECTORAL CAMPAIGNS: CASE STUDY OF GATANGA CONSTITUENCY, THIKA DISTRICT

BY

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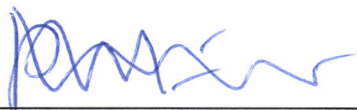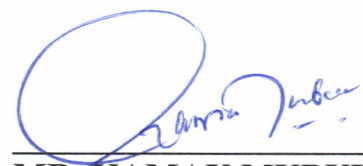
October 2005

DECLARATION

This Research Project is my original work and has not been submitted for award of a degree in any other University

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DEDICATION

This Research Project is dedicated to the musicians from Gatanga who, over the years, have kept Kenyans entertained, informed and educated through their songs.

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I am grateful and heavily indebted to you all. I am sure God will bless you abundantly.

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ABSTRACT

This study examined the role of music and song as communication tools in Kenya's electoral campaigns. The study takes music as a form of communication, to the voters, and therefore sought to establish the role it plays in influencing voters during election campaigns, its effectiveness as a tool for passing campaign messages, and its usefulness in political campaigns.

The study scrutinized the various stages and methods of communication in political campaigns, emphasizing that during such campaigns, the basic idea is to get the message across. It was observed that whereas music has been used in political campaigns in Kenya, no assessment has been done to gauge the effect of such music in making the voter decide to vote for a particular candidate.

Apart from the effect of the music on the voters, the study also sought to establish the opinion of the singers and politicians on the effectiveness of using music and song to pass political campaign messages.

In the Literature Review section, the study looks at music as a genre, proceeding to define music and also looking at the early scholar's views on music, including the Ancient Greek ideas. The section looks at African music, noting that traditionally, music played a very important role in the daily life of the African. Music is thereafter considered as one of the sources of political information in Africa with the study quoting a case study from Nigeria. The review also addresses the use of political and campaign songs in America, noting that in cases, music is not only used *in* politics, but is also used *as* politics. The chapter concludes by a review of political music in Kenya in the 1970's and 1980's and ends by reviewing the use of music in the 2002 general elections in Kenya.

To contextualize the use of music within the area of communication studies, three theories (models) of communication are given and related to the use of music in political

communication. The researcher sees a correlation between use of music in political campaigns and the democratic participant media theory, with emphasis on reaching and dealing with the unsophisticated majority. The agenda setting theory is also highly applicable, where music and song play an agenda setting role when they are used to propagate political candidate's themes and ideas to the target audience.

Chapter three dwells on the research methods adopted, with a detailed description of the research site and the target population. The chapter then gives the sample design and the sampling procedures adopted, indicating that the researcher reached 206 respondents out of a sampling frame of 65,015 in Gatanga constituency. Questionnaires and interviews were the data collection instruments and techniques used. The chapter then gives insights into the constraints and limitations of the study, the main ones being financial constraints on account of having to cover a whole constituency to interview respondents.

Chapter four gives the research findings, and using frequencies and percentages, captures the age profiles of respondents, their level of education, the effect of music on voters and the overall effect of music on the democratic election process. The key finding of the study was that majority of the voters are moderately influenced by music in deciding to vote for candidates. The voters also found music to be a highly useful tool in passing election campaign messages.

The last chapter captures the summary, conclusion and recommendations. The major conclusion of the study, derived from data obtained from voters' responses, was that music has a considerably significant effect on the voter, though by the time the voter decides to vote, he/she may not give an accurate assessment of what influenced him/her more among the many campaign methods used. The general verdict however, is that music and song have a substantial effect in making voters decide to vote for a certain candidate. The final conclusion therefore is that music is an important tool for passing messages in political campaigns.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1   BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY.

Scholars and political commentators have observed that among the critical and most technical tasks of a political campaign is to get the message across to the various target audiences. It has also been suggested that the best way of achieving this is commissioning professionals to do it, such as a good advertising agency (Gitonga: 1991). Indeed, those who conduct sophisticated campaigns hire advertising agencies, who have the task of ensuring that the candidate is portrayed most favourably in the eyes of the voters.

The entire political campaign can, in various ways, be seen as an exercise in "marketing" or selling a candidate to the electorate (Gitonga: 1991). Even campaign rallies, posters, brochures and fliers are all geared towards promoting the candidate or his party in the same way companies promote their products by singing their praises and extolling their virtues.

The essence of the exercise consists of ensuring that the campaign message gets across from the promoter of the product/candidate to the potential consumer/voter. Getting the campaign message across to the voters basically means mastering the art and science of effective communication at each one of the stages that a message goes through as it goes from the sender (in this case the candidate or his agent and supporters) to the people who are meant to receive it (voters).

For the communication to be as effective as possible, the candidate and his campaign team "should use, at each one of those stages, the approach, the methods and the techniques which ensure that the message reaches and is received and understood by as many people as possible" (Gitonga 1991). One method of communicating with voters is through use of song and music.

Kenyans can recall that in the 2002 multi-party elections in Kenya, politicians in the winning party NARC used music extensively in their campaigns. This was notable in presidential campaigns where songs were composed in praise of the presidential candidate, and also in the parliamentary and civic campaigns.

The song "*Unbwogable*" by Gidi Gidi and Maji Maji whose title and lyrics derive from the Luo word "*bwogo*" i.e. shake (therefore "*unbwogable*", taken to mean unshakeable) more or less became the NARC campaign anthem across the country. Senior NARC politicians would be seen on T.V. dancing to this song during the campaigns. Some of them became cabinet ministers after the NARC victory.

Another song "*Yote Yawezekana*" (everything is possible) also gained prominence, at a national level, during the 2002 campaigns. The song, adapted from a popular Christian chorus, had the basic message that all is possible without Moi (the outgoing president, who was identified with all the negative attributes of the then ruling party, KANU).

Music was therefore used extensively as a campaign tool in the Kenyan 2002 general elections. As a communication tool, music has the advantage of having the potential to be received and understood by very many people.

1.2   STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Although music and song have been used in political campaigns, many other tools of communication are also used. In the Kenyan presidential, parliamentary and civic campaigns, candidates also use posters with the portrait/photo of the candidate. They also use brochures, fliers, radio advertisements etc, largely depending on the candidate's financial ability.

Whereas music is now extensively used, no assessment has been done to gauge the effect of such music in influencing the electorate's decisions. Indeed, use of music in political campaigns is largely perceived as entertainment. In other words, music and song are used to attract people to campaign venues after which the main campaign message is given in another form by the candidate's agents or representatives.

Much as the songs that are used in such situations may contain messages in praise of the candidate, or enumerating the development initiatives the candidate promises to put in place, there is a likelihood that the excitement created by dancers, or a live band may be more effective in bringing about an air of pomp and festivity in contrast to the actual messages contained in the songs composed and sung.

On the other hand, there are those who may perceive music and song as a campaign tool for the rich. This is especially so where a candidate hires musicians to compose songs in his/her praise, and then he/she brings the musicians and hired instruments to play music at campaign rallies. The cost of doing this could be fairly high, especially where the musicians have to be ferried to various campaign venues around the constituency. The same would apply when a candidate uses singers of adapted traditional or Christian songs, usually women groups aligned to his campaign team or who may have benefited from the candidate or his party in the past. Such women are normally paid an allowance, ferried to the campaign rally venue and even given food, all at the expense of the candidate. Poor candidates may not afford to do this.

Not much has been done to determine the significance of music in the campaign process. It is necessary to understand how well and what impact musical messages make to the intended audience, as well as the opinion of voters regarding the use of music and song in political campaigns.

The political process and the calibre of leaders elected impact directly on the lives of Kenyans and it is crucial that elections be free and fair, in terms of voters' choices. To the extent that music and song could help determine the direction this process takes (either positively or negatively), then it is important that the actual role of music in political campaigns be established. It is indeed possible for music to be used to derail the democratic process.

This study therefore attempted to answer the following questions:-

1. How do candidates perceive the use of music and song in election campaigns?

2. What, in the opinion of the singers, is the role of music and songs in election campaigns?

3. How effective, according to the singers, is the use of music in communicating campaign messages compared with other strategies and actions intended to popularize a certain candidate?

4. Have the voters been influenced to vote for a candidate by messages in political songs in past elections?

5. How effective, according to the voters, is the use of music in communicating campaign messages compared to other methods intended to popularize a candidate?

By providing answers to the above questions, this study attempted an assessment of the role of music and song in political campaigns. Politicians will, for example, be in a position to know the significance of music and song in political campaigns, in relation to other campaign tools.

1.3   OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1.3.1 Overall Objective

The objective of this study is to consider the role played by music and song in influencing voters during election campaigns, their effectiveness as tools for passing campaign messages, and therefore establish how useful they are in political campaigns.

1.3.2 SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES

The Specific objectives of the study were to:-

- Determine the singers' and the politicians' perceptions of music and song as campaign tools in electoral politics;

- Assess the role of music and song in influencing voters' decisions during elections;

- Establish voters' perceptions on the use of music and song in political campaigns when compared with other methods;

- Determine the influence of music and song in electoral democratic processes in Kenya.

1.4   HYPOTHETICAL ASSUMPTIONS

- Use of music in political campaigns by parliamentary candidates has a significant effect in influencing the voters' choices.

- Use of music and song by politicians in passing political messages is a highly effective tool of communication.

- Voters are highly influenced by music and song as campaign tools in political campaigns.

- Because of its ability to use imagery, riddles, proverbs and other figures of speech, music in political campaigns can be misused to derail the democratic process by misleading voters.

1.5   SCOPE OF THE STUDY

Since the study looks at use of music in political campaigns, it was confined to one rural constituency where the opinion of voters on the effectiveness of using music as a campaign tool was sought and analyzed. As a tool of communication, the study looked at music as used to pass electoral campaign messages. There are indeed several other aspects and fields of social life where music and song are used, but the study dwelt on use of music in political communication. Within the constituency, the study got the opinions of singers, a politician and crucially, the voters.

1.6   SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Communication, including mass communication, is about passing of messages. In this study, music and song are viewed as channels or tools of communicating messages.

Politics is very important in people's lives, as the direction it takes determines how citizens are governed. Indeed, it is through active political participation, by way of voting, that citizens are able to choose their political representatives be it at civic, parliamentary or presidential level. Politicians are the key lawmakers (in parliament), and therefore, each voter has a responsibility to choose a good representative.

Since political candidates are only able to introduce themselves to the voters through political campaigns and also tell them what they intend to do for them and the country, the process of how they go about doing this becomes very important. Use of music and song in passing campaign messages has gained prevalence in the last general elections. It is one way in which voters could be swayed to vote.

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It is therefore possible for music and song to be so skillfully used in campaigns that voters end up voting in fairly incapable or irresponsible leaders. It is also possible that to many voters, music only plays an entertainment role; that they have already decided which direction and who to vote for. The significance of the study, therefore, is to establish exactly what role music plays in shepherding the voters in a certain direction.

Should music be noted to be too influential or critical in passing messages, this could be harnessed to pass similar messages (messages couched in music) regarding other national affairs, like health, security, community development, education etc. It could be used in other realms of Kenyans' lives, including policy and innovations.

The significance of this study therefore largely draws from the fact that there are very few other studies that have looked at music and song as campaign tools in the electoral process. The study sought to establish by collecting data from voters, whether music has a significant, and therefore important role to play in election campaigns as a tool of communication to pass messages to voters. Ultimately the results of the study, within the field of communication, show that music and song are significant, and therefore important tools of communication. The significant role played by music and song in influencing the decision of voters, as seen in the research analysis and findings is the contribution of the study in the field of communication.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1   INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, a broad definition of music is given. The chapter then looks at how music was perceived by early scholars, including the ideas of such luminaries as Plato and Aristotle. There is then an overview of the role of music in the life of the African, where it is noted that many activities were set within a rhythmic framework, setting the basis for music and song. The section goes further to consider the potential of music in politics and its possible ramifications.

Since the research project looks at the part/ role played by music in relaying political messages, a Nigerian study is quoted to give a comparison of other sources of political information to the rural folk. A contrast emerges especially when one compares with the case in the Western world, where newspapers and T.V are the major sources of political information.

The chapter then looks at how music has featured in American politics, from the early years to date. This is meant to provide an international aura on the role of music and song in political campaigns. The chapter then looks at the use of political music in Kenya in the 1970s and 1980s, before zeroing down to how music was used in the 2002 Kenyan elections.

The literature is therefore, reviewed under the broad themes/ topics of general music, music in Africa, political music in the Western World, political music in Kenya and campaign music in Kenya. The chapter thereafter looks at the theories and models of communication

considered relevant to the study, and ends by seeing music and song as playing an agenda setting function among the target audience, that is, the voters.

2.2   WHAT IS MUSIC?

Music is a general term for many modes of human communication using movements that produce and reproduce sounds. The term designates not only "knowledge of moving well" (St. Augustine), but also the exercise of such knowledge and the results of the exercise, all three of which are interdependent (International Encyclopedia of Communication. Vol.3)

Musicians are here seen as human beings who communicate by "moving well" to produce and reproduce sounds, and each instance of such communication is a *performance*.

The term *musical instrument* applies to all tools and mechanisms used in transmitting, retaining and exercising musical knowledge.

2.3   EARLY SCHOLARS' VIEWS ABOUT MUSIC

The early philosophers and thinkers in Europe conceptualized music as an art. It was seen as an art that, in one guise or another, permeates every human society. Modern music was therefore, according to the scholars, heard in a bewildering profusion of styles, many of them contemporary, others engendered in past eras.

Throughout history, music has been an important adjutant to ritual and drama, and has been credited with the capacity to reflect and also influence human emotion. Commenting on music in China, Confucious (551-479BC) assigned an important place to music "in the service of a well-ordered moral universe." He saw music and government as reflecting one

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another, and believed that only the superior man who can understand music is equipped to govern.

Music, Confucius argued, reveals character through the six emotions it can portray: sorrow, satisfaction, joy, anger, piety and love. According to him, great music is in harmony with the universe, restoring order to the physical world through that harmony. Music, as a true mirror of character, makes pretense and deception impossible.

2.4   ANCIENT GREEK IDEAS

The Greek term from which the word music is derived was a generic one, referring to any art or science practised under the aegis of the *muses*. Music was, for example, virtually a department of mathematics for the philosopher Pythagoras (C.550BC) who was the first musical numerologist, and who laid the foundation for acoustics.

Plato (428-348 BC) looked at music as a department of ethics. Referred as a "stern musical disciplinarian", Plato saw a correspondence between the character of man and the music that represented him. Plato argued that rhythmic and melodic complexities were to be avoided because they led to depression and disorder. But Plato also distrusted the emotional power of music, arguing that the sensuous qualities of certain modes of music were dangerous and that censorship needed to be imposed on them.

Aristotle, following Plato, thought that music had power to mould human character, but he was ready to admit all the modes, recognizing happiness and pleasure as values to both the individual and the state. He advocated a rich musical diet and went further to distinguish those who have only a theoretical knowledge and those who produce music, maintaining that persons who do not perform cannot be good judges of the performance of others.

To-date, the effects of Greek thought are still strongly evident in the belief that music influences the ethical life, in the view that music has specific effects and functions that can be appropriately labeled, and in the recurrent observation that music is connected with human emotion.

2.5 THE STUDY OF AFRICAN MUSIC

One feature which African music traditions seem to have in common is the depth of their integration into the various patterns of social, economic and political life. In its own way, the astounding diversity of musical situations and musical activity seem to offer support for a unified conception of African music. The aesthetic principals of African music are to an extent dependent on how the music can become socially relevant.

According to some scholars, the fact that most people in Africa do not conceive of music apart from its community setting and cultural content "means that the aesthetics of the music, the way it works to establish a framework for communal integrity offers a superb approach to understanding Africans' attitudes about what their relationship to each other is and should be" (Chernoff, 1979:36).

The study of African music, especially of the traditional variety, therefore can reveal a great deal about the nature of culture and community life. Here, culture may perhaps best be considered not as an abstract idea or as a basic formal structure, but as a dynamic style with which people organize and orient themselves to act through various mediators i.e. institutions such as language, production (e.g. of food), marriage, folklore, religion and art.

When one is looking from a point of view of a social scientist, one of the most noticeable features of African cultures is that, "traditionally, many activities – paddling a canoe, chopping a tree, pounding grain, smashing up yams for dinner, digging or simply moving seem set within a rhythmic framework which can, and often does, serve as the basis for music and songs" (Chernoff 1979:37)

Music therefore plays a very important role in the daily life of the African. It has a social function, so much so that it can hardly be either understood or estimated correctly. To be understood, one would need to "enter", or be part of the spontaneous expression of the feelings or events that the music seeks to express or emphasize. "Music is often the interpretation of a course of events, and when nothing is happening, the music is usually missing" (Weman, 1959:73).

The spontaneous ability is a characteristic of everyday African music. It will usually "take the most delightful forms, as when a newly heard melody is at once sung, not merely in its original form, but together with other melodies. So a second or third part is added

immediately to the melody, without any form of instruction being given on how this should be done. This improvisation seems to be an in-born [African] ability." (Weman, 1959:75)

2.6   MUSIC AND PEOPLE

Why do people need music and how do they use it?

Music is vital in the lives of people. Firstly, it can be a background accompaniment for activity. There are people who want sound around them all the time.

Another use is to provide a particular atmosphere for a non-musical situation e.g. the presence of music in motion pictures. On its part, sacred music promotes a feeling of worship in religious ceremonies. It is designed to encourage an attitude of devotion and commitment to religious beliefs.

Music is also used to promote a feeling of group identity. People often prefer a type of music (just like clothing or hairstyle) because it associates them with certain persons or ideas.

Music is also used for emotional release. People vent their feelings about all sorts of things through the medium of music. It seems to make the world a little brighter and to ease the hurts of life. Love songs are normally expressions of deep and personal feelings.

There is another kind of music that people listen to because they find it intellectually fascinating and emotionally satisfying. It is music that is contemplated i.e. thought about studiously and considered with undivided attention. The valuing of an object for its

intellectual and psychological satisfaction is a distinctly human activity calling for a high degree of mental activity.

Music (and other arts) is created by people for people. Since music is a creation of man, it is a part of man's culture. This means that understanding a culture requires at least some understanding of that culture's music, and vice-versa. "The inter-relationships between the fine arts and culture are important to the extent that if a person is ignorant of his culture, he is not in the mainstream of its life and feels alien and out of place" (Hoffer 1974:3).

As a part of man's culture, music ends up being a carrier of a community's folklore. Often times, the messages and ideas contained in music and song are indirect, weaved through riddles, parables and proverbs.

Good intentioned politicians have managed to exploit this innate character of music to conscientize people on the various facets of the political process, including educating voters on voting arrangements, warning them against election malpractices and even supporting the manifesto of particular parties. Others have used music to exert political pressure and spread political propaganda. Ultimately, the effectiveness of music is either positive or negative, for by using music to talk about someone and portraying the person negatively, this has the potential of having tempers flaring up (among sections of voters) leading to violence. This may have adverse ramifications not only to individuals, but also to the whole election process.

2.7 SOURCES OF POLITICAL INFORMATION IN AFRICA

The following section will look at the various methods used to transmit political information in Africa, quoting a study done in Okpala, a rural town in Imo state, Nigeria. The study sought to establish which sources of information had the greatest impact among voters during political campaigns. The study has been quoted here, not to show that music plays a significant role, but to show that in a typical African rural setting, conventional media sources do not rank high as sources of political information. The only exception is the radio, with good reasons.

Charles Okigbo, who quoted the study in his paper *"Sources of Political Information in a Rural Nigerian Community"*, compares the study results with the situation in Western countries, where television and newspapers are the major source of political information.

Okigbo starts by observing that since the evolutionary study of voting behavior by Lazarsfied, Berelson and Gaudet (1944), political communication research has focused mostly on predicting voting outcomes, "with little attention given to the sources of political information and the perceptual dimensions voters employ to make sense of the complex of political communication assaulting them". The writer further notes that in a review of mass media and political campaigns, Atkin (1981:18) had noted: "most mass communication researchers studying political campaigns recognize that media messages significantly influence voters". The modern political campaign is therefore a major media event, deliberately planned not only to attract the attention of voters, but also to get their ballots. Indeed, according to Okigbo, "selling a candidate has been observed not to be significantly different from positioning a new product through media advertising".

But whereas the above scenario obtains in the developed countries, it is quite different in the developing countries where high illiteracy militates against extensive media use. Expectedly therefore, the major sources of political information is not the modern mass media, since these are limited. Some countries have few wide circulation newspapers, with a few not even having a television station. In these African countries, political campaign has its base on other important sources of political information and influence. Non-media, or pseudo-media sources therefore become important in dissemination of information and influence about political campaigns.

So, while political communication scholarship in the developed world is concerned with the power and impact of modern mass media, especially television, the concern in the developing countries is more on informal and non-institutional channels of communication. Indeed, the dominant pattern of voting has been found to be based on group membership and ethnic cleavages.

2.7.1 The Okpala Study

In this study quoted by Okigbo, there was a sample of 300 people, of which 163 (54.3%) were women, while 137 (45.7%) were men. 110 people (36.7%) had some education while 190 (63.8%) could neither read nor write, though some could understand "pidgin English".

The respondents ranged in age from 18-61 or above. Nearly a third i.e. 89 people (29.7%) were in the 41-50 age bracket, followed by the 18-30 bracket with 79 people (26.3%). The 61+ group had only 23 people (7.6%).

2.7.2 Findings

Among the *General sources of political information* to the rural community, the highest scoring source was radio, with 94.7%. The attraction radio had for rural dwellers was derived from its cheap price and cost of operation. Radios are also easily portable, and can be used by both the educated and the illiterate. At the state level, it was noted that some radio stations broadcast more than 80% of their programmes in vernacular languages.

On the question of the *Perceived influence of the sources,* the most important was radio news, followed sequentially by relatives, friends, campaign workers, radio advertisements and the candidates themselves. (The distinction has to be made between radio news, which the people probably perceived to be more objective, and radio campaign advertisements, which took the fifth place in the hierarchy of influential sources).

2.7.3 Conclusion

The dominant feature that emerged is one that showed radio as the most important channel for disseminating political information to influence rural voters in a developing country, (case of Nigeria). Friends and relatives are also important, as are traditional rulers.

The point to note is that radio was perceived as more important than primary group members, who were themselves seen as being more important than newspapers, magazines and television.

Okigbo's paper does not indicate when the study was conducted, but quotes the 1979 general election, implying the study was in the 1980's. What is intriguing is the very high levels of illiteracy (63.7% could neither read nor write). It is probable that such statistics could have been obtained in some rural villages in Kenya in the 1970's among the voting adults. It is

however, unlikely that there are many Kenyan rural constituencies with such high levels of illiteracy among the voters currently, unless the very remote districts.

If such a study was to be done in Kenya today, radio would most likely lead, but the performance of the other parameters in not easy to predict.

2.8 POLITICAL AND CAMPAIGN SONGS IN AMERICA

Prior to the civil war era in America, political songs appeared in the mid 1700s in response to injustices and political issues. Songs were circulated that emphasized the struggle between classes, the "Whigs and Tories" and issues like the Stamp Act. The earliest known American election campaign song was *"God save George Washington"*, issued in 1780 and sung to the tune of *"God save the Queen"*. Most political songs were in fact based on already well-known music.

The year 1840 marked a watershed as in that year, the campaign song came of age with a series of songs in support of William Henry Harrison, America's 9th president. The most remembered song from this period was *"Tip and Tye"*, based on their campaign theme (Harrison was identified, as a victor of the battle of Tippicanoe (Tip), while his running mate was John Tylor (Tye)). This song and the others like it are said to have had a sweeping effect on the outcome of the election, the first political song to have such an impact. It is noteworthy that the writer of the song remained unidentified except for a club affiliation, possibly to avoid problems at home or work for such political statements.

Most of us know from our own experience how a good song or jingle can get stuck in your mind, sometimes to the point of insanity. A speech we don't remember; a good song we

remember and spread around. Politicians and their campaigners have long recognized the value of good song to cement a message about a candidate in the public's mind. The result is a long history of political songs in America.

The new Grove dictionary of America says:

> "While much of American political music has roots in traditional song and balladry, the category includes many other kinds of music from electoral songs of the 1730s to punk rock protests of the 1980s. Political music belongs to no one form nor does it fall entirely into any one category of popular, traditional, or art music. Music is said to be political when its lyrics or melody evoke or reflect a political judgement in the listener"

Considered broadly, there are situations where music is used *as* politics (in contrast to use of music *in* politics). In this case, the performance of the music becomes a political fact. It is neither the lyrics, metaphors of the music nor its association with political issues. It is its performance that becomes a political statement. In other words, performing the music "functions" as a political act.

Some examples are as follow:

- *"We Shall Overcome":* During the civil rights struggle in 1945 in South Carolina, the song was used for a political protest. This music (song) actually changed people's minds and lives to the extent that currently, simply singing the song is considered a political act.

- *"God Bless America":* After the attacks of September 11, 2001 perpetrated against the United States, performing the song was in itself a political act conveying American pride and patriotism.

2.8.1 Multiple Genres

Political song ranges through all genres of music through all ages and all cultures. It is used as a tool for campaigns and causes across the whole political spectrum.

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In the western world, there is much evidence of a long tradition of political song with the common denominator of motivating, provoking, stimulating, nourishing, educating and sustaining all those coming under its powerful spell.

No one can deny the cultural significance of song or that politics and song are historically inseparable. In the words of Irish Republican, James Connolly:

> "No political movement is complete without its popular poetic expression. If such a movement has caught hold of the imagination of the people, they will seek a vent in song for the aspirations, the fears and the hopes, the loves and the hatreds engendered by the struggles"

2.8.2 Leaders' Comments

When in July 2002, the *BBC World Service Today* programme asked eminent figures to name their favorites political song, the then U.S Secretary of State Collin Powell selected, "*We Shall Overcome*", generally regarded as an obvious example of political songs. From its origins as a gospel song, "*I'll Overcome Some Day*", the simplicity and eloquence of the song ensured its popularity and consequently it was adopted as the unofficial anthem of the Civil Rights Movement. According to Powell, the song "...captures the struggle, it captures the promise and captures the hope of, as we used of say, the Negro people."

However, the popularity of the song does not stop there. Not only is it the rallying cry of the left but also it is a useful tool for the underdog, whoever that may be.

Former British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Kenneth Clarke selected Paddy Ryan's 1938 song, "*The Man Who Waters The Workers Beer*", sung thus:

> *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.*

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The song has been interpreted as an example of use of humor in political song writing on the one hand, and as a serious attack on capitalist brewers. It is clear that political music has been there in the western world for eons, and has been used in political campaigns all through. Indeed, since the inception of politics, musical sentiments have been an important way of conveying messages about candidates and issues and it is already acknowledged that before TV and radio, songs were a significant form of mass media in America.

2.9   POLITICAL MUSIC IN KENYA IN THE 70'S AND 80'S

On the Kenyan scene, Mburu wa Mucoki (1991), conducted a study on the use of music in politics. The study, a communication research project, was for his Post-Graduate Diploma in Mass Communication at the School of Journalism, University of Nairobi. Mucoki justifies his study by noting that although it is not a traditional form of mass media, music, as a form of pop culture can be used very effectively to influence people's views. "Due to it's packaging in sweet melodies and use of instruments, music is ear-catching. Thus messages passed through song can have far reaching effect. It can be used as a tool for development just as it can be used for subversion".

Mucoki's project addressed itself to political themes in Kenya's pop political music over the previous 15 years. Looking at the themes and messages contained in such songs, the study sought to find out why political music is popular only at certain periods and why the musicians composed those songs in the first place.

The researcher focused on musicians who once in a while, or almost throughout, sang political songs. He therefore interviewed singers Joseph Kamaru, D.O. Misiani, D.K. Kamau, Sammy Muraya, Thomas Kimani, Timona Mburu, John Nderitu wa Munene and Owino Rachar (Baba Otong'lo). He also considered songs by Kakai Kilonzo, who used to sing political songs, but who had passed on years earlier.

From the results obtained, the researcher was able to make a number of observations. He noted that the political songs studied showed a strong correlation between their messages and whatever was going on in the country at the particular time of their release. For example, the murder of minister Robert Ouko in 1990 and the events leading to the *Saba Saba* riots in July 1990 saw "a mushrooming of political music cassettes which were selling like hot chips at lunchtime in Nairobi".

After the murder of J.M. Kariuki in 1975, the song that hit the market instantly, *Mwendwa ni iri J.M.* (Deceased J.M., the beloved), was a bitter song. Mucoki's analysis goes as follows:

"The musician kept posing the question; why was J.M. murdered? A man loved by the people of Kenya, murdered..." The song condemned those who killed J.M. and challenged the government to do all it could so as to expose the murderers. The song was immediately banned from airplay on the only radio station owned by the Voice of Kenya.

After the death of Kenya's founding president in 1978, musicians recorded mournful songs. They dealt with Kenyatta's suffering at the hands of colonialists, his achievements, and the

big gap his passing on had left. The researcher noted that the songs, which also urged people to ensure there was a peaceful transition, were not banned.

In the following year, other political songs in support of the establishment were released. These included *Fuata Nyayo* (follow the footsteps) and *Mbemba Kitambulisho* (carry the ID card), by Kakai Kilonzo, among others. These songs urged people to support the new president (Moi) and his polices, and though quite popular and always played on national radio, they never hit the top ten charts.

After things settled down following the attempted coup of 1982, Mucoki observed that musicians went to the studios and recorded songs. One song quoted was *"Kenya ya Ngai"*, that is, "God's Kenya". Using figures of speech and coded language, the Kikuyu song opens: "Is this my Kenya, which I suffered for, which was shaken like elephant grass as though it has no owner; from today I will deliver Kenya unto the hands of God …". The song proceeded to challenge politicians, asking them whether they have no mercy for the children, the women and the aged who may suffer as a result of the power hungry, and ended up by saying that if they (politicians) were in Nairobi during the time of 'Power' (i.e. the attempted coup), they would know that power is God given. Mucoki noted that such patriotic songs were never given airplay, for the policy makers felt that such songs were undermining their positions.

Mucoki's conclusions are that as a form of pop culture, music in Kenya, especially political music, follows the agenda set by the prevailing political and social actors. Mostly the agenda setters are the politicians. He noted that musicians compose pop political songs as a form of expressing their anger, protest, or just to caution the politicians and Wananchi on certain issues. "Nevertheless, political music is popular mostly when critical and does very well only at certain times when the political climate is volatile. The fact that these songs and others with some political bearings are banned, signifies that music, if used as a tool for mobilization, can be quite powerful", Mucoki concludes.

It is clear that though Mucoki's study addressed the use of music in politics, it delved largely in how such music has been used to communicate to the people in times of political upheaval, either occasioned by political murders, agitation for change e.g. *Saba Saba* riots, or the example of the attempted coup; he did not deal with music as used for political campaigns.

Obviously, the popularity of pop political music, when gauged in terms of sales, is different form a scenario where music is offered for free. This could be the main reason why people bought the music when the incident e.g. murder, was still 'live' in their psyche. On the other hand, there is the issue of banning of music on radio. This, during a period of political repression, was an attempt at self-preservation by the political policy makers, to ensure that Wananchi did not get incited against the government of the day. In a situation where a government is unpopular and people are agitating for change, critical political music becomes popular.

The study, for our purpose, is useful in showing how music has been used to pass critical political messages in times of political turmoil, or where the government is implicated in evil deeds. It compares well with political music used to popularize candidates during political campaigns. The study is significant viewed from the circumstances obtaining when the study was conducted.

2.10   MUSIC IN THE 2002 KENYAN ELECTIONS

Many Kenyans saw victory in the 2002 general elections as the second liberation, the first having been the one against the British colonialists. The fight against the ruling party, Kenya African National Union (KANU) in 2002 was therefore a difficult undertaking. Knowing this, the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC), politicians and their supporters used songs in their campaigns so that they can have courage, inspiration and assurance that they could win.

It is noteworthy that most of the songs that were used were adaptations from Christian tunes. In his paper, *Dawn of a New Era? Song and Dance in Kenya's Multi-Party Elections, 2002,* Dr. Ezekiel Alembi sees a divine motivation in the struggle:

> "The NARC leaders and their supporters saw their struggle against KANU as being divine. That there was an enemy…the enemy that had ruined the economy by officiating the looting and stashing of Kenya resources in overseas countries, abused the rule of law and instituted dictatorial leadership, jailed critics and generally spread a regime of terror in the whole country and discouraged foreign investors and donor support. Because the majority viewed KANU as the enemy, the NARC leaders saw their war as justified. There was divine intervention and …because of this, they were sure to win".

I will hereunder quote a few songs and choruses, as recounted by Alembi, which formed part of the "divine struggle". The first is the NARC "chorus", *Yote Yawezekana* (All is possible), in Kiswahili, thus:

Yote yawezekana, bila Moi	All is possible, without Moi
Yote yawezekana, bila Moi	All is possible, without Moi
Kibaki atashinda, kwa imani	Kibaki will win, by Faith
Kibaki atashinda, kwa imani	Kibaki will win, by Faith
Watu watalipwa, kwa imani	Workers will earn their salary, by faith
Watu watalipwa, kwa imani	Workers will earn their salary, by faith
Watu watasoma, kwa imani	Children will get education, by faith
Watu watasoma, kwa imani	Children will get education, by faith
Kazi tutapata, kwa imani	We shall get jobs, by faith
Kazi tutapata, kwa imani	We shall get jobs, by faith

In the above song, the people are assured of victory through faith. They seem to leave every thing to the divine. It is not that people had surrendered, but given the immense resources at KANU's disposal, they did not fight it directly, but used faith as a shield. Psychologically, faith shielded the NARC leaders and their supporters against all attacks from the KANU government.

Another chorus *Winner* was also very popular:

"Winner eh eh, winner (x2)
Kibaki you are a winner, winner
Battle, battle you won forever, winner.
Loser oh oh Loser (x2)
Uhuru you are a loser, loser

Battle battle you lost for ever, loser".

In the tune, Kibaki (the NARC Presidential candidate) is perceived to stand for Jesus, while Uhuru (KANU presidential candidate) stands for Satan.

It is to be noted that at that time, majority of Kenyans saw Moi, the outgoing president and his government as the destroyers of the people and the nation. That explains why Uhuru is portrayed as Satan. On the other hand, the fact that Jesus was a winner meant that Kibaki would also win the battle. The song therefore gave NARC supporters confidence and determination, which contributed to their winning of the presidential elections.

Other songs were adapted to illustrate that Uhuru was not an intelligent man. The following song is relevant:

"Nilimuuliza Uhuru Kenyatta   "I asked Uhuru Kenyatta
Rafiki zake ni kina nani   Who his friends were
Alipotaja rafiki hao   When he mentioned who his friends were
Ilikuwa huzuni kubwa"   His list was pathetic (saddening)"

"Mbele yake rais Moi   "Infront of him president Moi
Nyuma yake ni Biwott   Behind him was Biwott
Kando yake ni Ole-Sunkuli   On his side was Ole-Sunkuli
Na mungiki wakishangilia"   With mungiki praising him/cheering him."

Uhuru's perceived lack of intelligence is portrayed by the fact that people who had been implicated in several scandals in Kenya surrounded him. In the eyes of the Kenyan public therefore, these were the enemies of the country, and anybody who associated with them was equally hated.

To show that they thought that Uhuru and KANU had no prospects of making it in the elections, the NARC politicians went a notch higher and used adapted dirges to show they were determined to kill them politically by voting them out of office; indeed, to show that they regarded them as politically finished, therefore dead. This is captured in the following adapted Luhya song:

Luwele khulanga Moi, luwele	It is the end of calling Moi, it is the end
Luwele x2	It is the end x2
Luwele khulanga Moi luwele	It is the end of calling Moi, it is the end
Luwele Nyasaye akhulinde	It is the end, may God take care of you
Atawacha kiti chake ataenda	He will leave his seat and go
Ataenda x2	He will go x2
Atawacha kiti chake ataenda	He will leave his seat and go
Ataenda nyumbani Baringo	He will go back to his home in Baringo
Atawacha State House ataenda	He will leave State House and go
Atenda x2	He will go x2
Atawacha State House ataenda	He will leave State House and go
Ataenda kwao Baringo	He will go to his home in Baringo
Atawacha project yake ataenda	He will leave his project and go
Ataenda x2	He will go x2
Atawacha project yake ataenda	He will leave his project and go
Ataenda nyumbani Baringo	He will go to his home in Baringo

The above dirge showed that Moi was to leave everything that made him powerful. In the first stanza, he will leave his name (the name Moi was associated with power). It meant it was the end of Moi having a lot of power. He would also vacate his throne (seat) and be evicted (through the ballot) from State House (2nd and 3rd stanza).

As for the word 'Project', this was coined by NARC politicians to show that Uhuru's candidature, propped up by Moi, was bound to fail. It was being compared to several Nyayo projects started with a lot of fanfare by Moi, but which failed. These included the Nyayo Bus Service, Nyayo Wards, Nyayo tea zones etc. When the singers refer to Uhuru as a project, they were using a metaphor meant to evoke to Kenyans powerful negative images, that like all the Moi projects, Uhuru would also fail. By extension, there was no need to vote for him and give him the mandate to further ruin the economy. Possibly as a sign of confidence that their party was bound to win, the NARC composers of adapted songs also picked another Christian song *Mugithi* (Train) to make their point. The song run thus (in Kikuyu):

Mugithi uyu mugithi uyu mugithi uyu x3	This is the train x3
Mugithi uyu ee wa NARC	This train of NARC
Kibaki niwe ndereba mugithi uyu x3	Kibaki is the driver, this train x3
Mugithi uyu wa NARC	This train of NARC
Inyuothe, ni mugatite mugithi uyu x3	Have you all bought a ticket (for) this train x3
Mugithi uyu wa NARC	This train of NARC
Ithuothe ni tugatite mugithi uyu x3	We have all bought tickets for this train x3
Mugithi uyu wa NARC	This train of NARC
Uthiaga ukigambaga kuchu kuchu x3	It moves (making sound) kuchu kuchu x3
Mugithi uyu wa NARC	This train of NARC

Na NARC yugirwo ngemi mugithi x3	Let NARC be hailed, this train uyu x3
Mugithi uyu wa NARC	This train of NARC
Kibaki ni oigirwo ngemi x3	Let Kibaki be hailed, this train x3
Mugithi uyu wa NARC	This train of NARC

In the above song, the anticipated voting pattern in support of NARC and its presidential candidate was compared to an unstoppable moving train. The train *'NARC Express'* has Kibaki as the driver. The singer is therefore asking potential passengers (voters) if they have bought travel tickets to be able (allowed) to board the train. All say that they have tickets for the NARC train. As it moves, the train makes the usual sound of wagons on rails (kuchu kuchu). Finally, the travellers are asked to shout praises (ululations) for Kibaki and NARC, presumably as the train starts off on its victorious journey.

The Mugithi song has, notably, been used in other forums, again adapted to suit the circumstances. It is e.g. popular in nightspots, sung by so-called one-man guitar singers, where themes generally border on romance and fun.

 The song, as used above, exhorts voters to join the NARC bandwagon and get its train ticket i.e. vote for the party, otherwise they stand to lose out by being left behind in the dark ways of KANU. Metaphor and imagery are once again used in song to praise NARC and its presidential candidate.

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2.11   COMMENTS ON THE 2002 CAMPAIGN SONGS

Although Dr. Alembi has put great emphasis on the 'divine' orientation of the adapted songs, there were also many songs which were not adaptations of Christian songs e.g. the song *'Nilimuuliza Uhuru Kenyatta rafiki zake ni nani'* is adopted from an old secular Kiswahili song of the zilizopendwa variety, while the *'Luwele khulanga Moi'* song is an adapted Luhya dirge (funeral song).

Kenya being a country with a heavy Christian bias, it is normal for people to use popular Christian tunes, especially in times of problems or adversity. The struggle to remove KANU from power, as rightly observed by Dr. Alembi, apparently needed divine intervention, even when the ones singing are either not serious or practicing Christians. It has indeed been observed that even in bars and discotheques, revellers respond very well to Christian music even when they are totally drunk. It is as if such music has a cleansing effect.

Another observation is that the songs analyzed by Dr. Alembi were those sang at the 'national level', i.e. songs either in praise of NARC as a party, or in praise of the party's presidential candidate, or songs meant to portray Uhuru Kenyatta or KANU in bad light.

Songs like *"Yote yawezekana"* actually acquired a national image. These were songs sung by NARC leading lights at big campaign rallies, where speakers would not necessarily understand the local/regional vernacular. It was therefore appropriate to sing such songs in Kiswahili. Even the *'Luwele'* Luhya dirge was largely composed in Kiswahili, apart from the first stanza.

Depending on the expected audience, other songs in vernacular also came handy, like the *Mugithi* song in Kikuyu. This could be played in Kikuyu land, Embu, Meru and the Kikuyu diaspora – a fairly expansive area.

The songs presented by Dr. Alembi could therefore be contrasted to other songs, either composed within certain localities, or adapted from existing songs in the localities, which were used especially by parliamentary and civic candidates.

Though the 'national' songs analyzed by Dr. Alembi were still applicable, and were used at constituency level, in many cases parliamentary candidates would have their own songs composed, mostly in the local vernacular, to "particularize" the campaign and tackle issues the local voters could identify with.

2.12   STEPS IN PASSING ON MESSAGES

Gitonga (1991) identifies five major steps in the communication exercise. The first step involves formulating the message. This means the candidate getting it very clearly in his/her mind what he would like the public to know and understand. *It means identifying the content or substance of the message and organizing or arranging the ideas, facts and figures in a presentable, acceptable and intelligible form.* As far as possible, the message *"should be simple, precise and to the point, without too much beating about the bush or room for misinterpretation or misunderstanding".* The message should come out in a clear,

straightforward and unhesitating manner, and *"ring true"*. This helps to ensure that once received, it will be easily digested and assimilated.

The second step involves coding the message. This means putting the message into a form that can be carried across, sent or transmitted to the person whom it is supposed to reach. It means putting the message into a *language* or a system of words, images, pictures, signs, signals and symbols; whether spoken, written down, sung, signaled or drawn – a language that is understood by the people of the constituency. Indeed, according to Gitonga, such words, expressions, images etc should be chosen having in mind the cultural particularities of the people of the area, their beliefs, values, attitudes and norms, so that the message does not become offensive, ridiculous, silly or tactless.

The third stage involves transmitting the message. This is done using any of the several means, devices or media of communication (i.e. channels), the most common being Radio, TV, newspapers and magazines, written/printed material (posters, brochures etc), mobile loudspeakers (including music) and personal contact (direct or through agents, emissaries or representatives).

Whatever medium is to be used, it should be one most likely to get the message received by the largest number of voters. As a rule, therefore, a candidate should ensure he/she uses several types of media. A candidate should also send or repeat the message as many times as possible, and select the days or times of day or night when the message is most likely to be

received by the biggest number of voters. By the nature of its composition (being melodious, using instruments etc), music is able to be very suitable as a mode of message transmission because a song carrying a certain message can be played very many times without being boring or repetitive, unlike the spoken word.

The fourth step involves decoding the message. This is the responsibility of the person to whom the message is being sent. It means he/she is getting the message *"loud and clear"*. If it is a spoken message, it means he/she hearing the words clearly. It does not mean understanding the message. The last step involves internalizing the message. This means *understanding the meaning* of the words, signals, images, etc. by the person receiving the message. It means grasping what the sender of the message wanted him or her to know.

What has to be noted is that at the receiving and decoding stages, how well a message is received depends very much on the receiver/interpreter, in this case the voter and his/her reception equipment. The voter may fail to receive the message due to inattention, or inability to read if the message is in written form. She/he could also misunderstand or misinterpret the message due to personal biases, state of mind etc.

In a country like Kenya, when the message is delivered in the form of a song, such handicaps like illiteracy can be overcome by having the songs sung in the vernacular language. Melodious and catchy beats, which capture the attention of a listener – even when he/she does not deliberately listen, will also most likely overcome personal biases.

One way to increase the chances of the message being received is therefore to time its transmission, and to design and locate or place it in such a way that it reaches the voters when the attention in most likely to be drawn to that particular medium e.g. when a pick-up with mounted loud speakers stops at a market place (on a market day) and belts out songs in praise of a candidate, enumerating his achievements and what he wants to do for the constituency once elected.

As can be discerned here, in a constituency where the majority of the voters are illiterate – especially the elderly, (who normally are among the most dedicated voters), advertisements in newspapers and written pamphlets may not be of much use.

On the other hand, although using the radio has the advantage of being able to reach a lot of people at relatively low cost, it has the disadvantage of being rather impersonal, therefore making the candidate seem remote and faceless.

Campaign posters and such literature have the advantage of being a constant reminder and also appeal to many voters. But some voters find them rather pompous, full of self-praise and self-importance, with the risk of offending the voters' sense of modesty.

Use of songs, either at public campaign *barazas*, on mounted loudspeakers, or even bringing the actual musicians to sing, has the advantage of giving the campaign an air of festivity and

cheerfulness. Since the songs are not sung by the candidate, this eliminates (to an extent), in people's perception, the aspect of self-praise and self importance on the part of the candidate.

2.13 THE UNIQUE NATURE OF MUSICAL COMMUNICATION

As already indicated, one stage of message formulation involves coding the message. This means putting the message into a language or system of words, images, signals and symbols understood by the target audience. The words, impressions and symbols should ideally be chosen having in mind the cultural peculiarities of the people, their beliefs, attitudes and norms.

As a method of passing messages, especially of a campaign nature, music is able to embrace all these, and has been exploited to the maximum. In the African (and Kenyan) context, music is rich in parables, riddles, proverbs and tongue-twisters. Depending on the aim of the composer or the candidate, these are either used favourably in respect of the candidate, or unfavourably to portray the opponent in bad light.

It happens that by the very nature of music, voters can easily be swayed by music composed using local values, but which has the intention of attacking one candidate. Good musicians are able to do this so well that it ends up having the desired effect, even when the person so attacked is not necessarily a bad person. The family background of a candidate, his/her level of education, even the person's gender can be used in the song to portray the candidate negatively, and some voters are likely to be carried away and take the songs as sound advice.

It is therefore important that the intentions of music composers and singers be recognized by the target audience, because of the potential of music to be used negatively. This has indeed happened and some candidates have had to find ways of fighting back when confronted with such music.

The unique nature of musical communication should not be exploited to erode democratic ideals, or confuse voters. Though this attribute is not a preserve of music, its ability to use symbols, imagery, metaphors and other figures of speech make it a handy tool for politicians. It turns out to become a problem in itself. But there is need to emphasize that on most occasions, the politicians are out to use music for self praise; not all want to use it to criticize opponents.

2.14   THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As observed earlier, music is viewed as a tool of communication in the sense that messages are relayed through the medium. This is so even if music is not highly acknowledged as a form of mass communication, and has largely been seen as a form of entertainment. This is in contrast to other forms like newspapers, magazines, radio, T.V. etc. To the extent that music and song are tools of communication, then theories and models of mass communication can and should apply.

There are various varieties of communication. There is *intrapersonal* communication, which involves one individual as he thinks or talks to himself. There is also *interpersonal*

communication, which involves an individual with more than one person and in close physical proximity. Finally, there is *mass* communication, which involves a communicator (who may, or may not be an individual) with large numbers of people. Many different kinds of models are used in mass communication. In this section, an attempt is made to capture a few that would embrace music in their conceptualization.

2.14.1 The Laswell Model

The American political scientist, Harold D. Laswell in 1948 gave the most famous simple phrase in communication research: "A convenient way to describe an act of communication is to answer the following questions" Who?, Says what?, In which channel?, To whom? and With what effect?"

This has ever since been known and cited as the Laswell formula, shown graphically thus:

Who	Says what	In which channel	To whom	With what effect
Communicator	Message	Medium	Receiver	Effect/product

A particular type of analysis is visualized at each stage:

Who	Says what	In which channel	To whom	With what effect
Control studies	Content analysis	Media analysis	Audience analysis	Effect analysis

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The first table shows the Laswell model with corresponding elements of the communication process, while the second shows the formula with corresponding fields of communication research. Braddock R. (1958) in his paper on "*An Extension of the Laswell model*" quoted by Macquail D. and Windahl S. (1981:11) found out that there were more considerations to work with than those five presented by Laswell. He added two more facets of the communication act, namely; the circumstances under which a message is sent, and for what purpose the communicator says something.

The Laswell formula shows a typical trait of early communication models. It more or less takes for granted that the communicator has some intent in influencing the receiver, and hence the communication should be treated as a persuasive process. It also assumed that messages always have effects.

Macquail *et al* however argue that this in not surprising since "we know that Laswell's interest at the time was political communication and propaganda. For analysis of political propaganda, the formula is well suited" (Macquail 1981:11).

Viewed against the Laswell formula, use of music to communicate messages, especially of a political nature would fit very well since with music, there is the composer or singer (who) with the message in the song, (what), in which channel (radio, open air singing etc). Then the listeners, (to whom) and the interpretation or actions of the listeners after they hear the music (that is, with what effect).

For the purpose of this study, the communicator may not necessarily be the musician or singer/composer, but would be the politician contesting the election, with the singer taking the role of the medium, and by extension, the songs being the channel of communication.

Laswell has been criticized for omitting the element of feedback. The model also assumed that messages always have effects. Such models have had the tendency to exaggerate the effects, especially the effects of mass communication. Laswell's is strictly a model of communication depicting the communication process, and not a theory of communication.

2.15   DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPANT MEDIA THEORY

This is another communication theory that has relevance to political participation. Like many theories, it arose both as a reaction against other theories and actual experience, and as a move towards new forms of media institution. Its emphasis is on the 'basis' of society, on the value of the horizontal rather than vertical communication.

The central point of the Democratic Participant Theory lies with the needs, interests and aspirations of the active 'receiver' in a political society:

> "It has to do with the right to relevant information, the right to answer back, the right to use the means of communication for interaction in small scale settings of community, interest groups, sub-culture. The theory rejects the necessity of uniform, centralized, high cost, highly professionalized, neutralized, state-controlled media. It favours multiplicity, smallness of scale, loyalty, disinstitutionalization, interchange of sender-receiver roles, horizontality of communication links at all levels of society, interaction, commitment". McQuail 1987:122.

According to the proponents of the theory, media institutions constructed according to the theory would be involved more closely with social life and be more directly in control of

their audiences, offering opportunities for access and participation on terms set by the users rather than the controllers.

The practical expressions of the theory are varied, and include the underground press, pirate radio, community cable TV, micro-media in rural settings, street and neighbourhood sheets and political posters.

A summary statement of its principals, as enumerated by McQuail (1987) are as follows:

- Individual citizens and minority groups have rights of access to media (that is, right to communicate) and right to be served by the media according to their own determination and needs;

- The organization and content of media should not be subject to centralized political or state bureaucratic control;

- Media should exist primarily for their audiences and not for media organizations, professionals or clients of media;

- Groups, organizations and local communities should have their own media;

- Small-scale, interactive and participative media forms are better than large-scale, one way, professionalized media;

- Certain social needs relating to mass media are not adequately expressed through individual consumer demands, nor through the state and its major institutions;

- Communication is too important to be left to professionals.

2.15.1 Relevance of the Theory

The Democratic Participant Media Theory is obviously a radical one, adopting a 'grassroots' approach and aimed at the masses or the "small-scale settings of community", and rejects "uniform, centralized, high cost professionalized-media". At a glance, it seeks to oppose the influence of and control by big media houses, the conglomerates, especially those that are state controlled. It proceeds to put a case for local community media and as noted earlier, it has manifested itself in such non-institutional media like pirate radio, underground press, political posters etc. The latter feature gives the theory a revolutionary orientation, as if it were meant for resistance groups or rebels. It has anti-establishment undertones and could easily be used to incite the people against an oppressive or conservative government.

It is easy to relate music, as a medium of communication to the democratic participant media theory. Music, when used in political campaigns is meant to reach the masses at the grassroots, and many a time the messages contained therein are couched in a language that people can easily identify with.

It is, therefore, important that local people are able to identify music as part of their own media, as opposed to the 'large scale, one way, professionalized' media. The professionalism referred here is not an attempt at looking down on properly trained media personnel, but a way of showing that sometimes the issues addressed by the highly professionalized media are far removed from the aspirations and worldview of the common man.

In the context of music as used in political campaigns, it is democratic when the organization and content of such music (here seen as a medium of passing political message) is "not subject to centralized political or state bureaucratic control".

The democratic-participant media theory is quite radical as already noted, and at a certain point, appears meant to embolden the small-scale media to incite the people against oppressive governments. It also fails to give any credit to the big, professionally run, centralized media, even when it is known that these big media also play a significant (and positive) role in the political process. It relates to music in its thrust and emphasis on reaching and dealing with the unsophisticated majority.

2.16   AGENDA SETTING THEORY

Among the several hypotheses about the effects of mass communication, one that has survived and flourished holds that the mass media, simply by the fact of paying attention to some issues and neglecting others will have an effect on public opinion. People will tend to know about those things, which the mass media deal with, and adopt the order of priority assigned to different issues.

The best known of the more recent proponents of the agenda setting hypothesis are the American researchers Malcolm MacCombs and Donald Shaw (1972,1976). They wrote:

> "Audiences not only learn about public issues and other matters through the media, they also learn how much importance to attach to an issue or topic from the emphasis the mass media place upon it. For example, in reflecting what candidates are saying during a campaign, the mass media apparently determine the important issues. In

other words, the mass media set the agenda of the campaign. This ability to affect cognitive change among individuals is one of the most important aspects of the power of mass communication"

Most agenda setting research has concerned itself with election campaigns. In the typical modern election campaign, it has become a common strategy to establish the image of a given candidate by association with certain positions on the perennial problems of society, and with certain special issues of the candidate's choice.

The theory is that if the voters can be convinced that an issue is important, they will vote for the candidate or party which has been projected as being most competent to deal with it.

McCombs and Shaw (1976) took the American Watergate Affair as an illustration of the agenda setting function. Though there was actually nothing new in uncovering political corruption, the intense press exposure and the televised US senate hearings that followed made it the topic of the year.

Nevertheless evidence from research does not always confirm the existence of a powerful agenda setting process. According to McQuail (1981), "the authors of the model report some

confirmatory evidence, but others (e.g. McLeod et al: 1974) warn against uncritical acceptance of the agenda setting as a broad and unqualified media effect."[1]

2.16.1 Relevance of the Theory

To the extent that politicians and others use music to pass messages, and viewed in the context of the fact that such messages are favorable to the politicians, then music has an agenda setting function. This is so because the opinions held by the political candidate, and the set of activities he/she wishes to engage in after being elected are contained in the musical messages, with the intention of having the same agendas understood, internalized and viewed favorably by the voters. Voters are therefore made to view things from the point of view of the candidate or singer (who represents the political candidate). The songs therefore help to identify and determine the important issues, and since the music is able to effect change among the voters, then the music is an effective tool of communication and agenda setting.

As seen earlier, music was used in the Kenyan elections of 2002 with an agenda to convince the voters that voting out KANU was a 'divine' mission. The songs deliberately set out to propagate the agenda, which apparently the voters were willing to adopt and use, and in the end they voted KANU out.

But as a theory, agenda setting has been found to have certain unresolved problems, e.g. it is not always clear whether we should look for direct effects from the media on the personal

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[1] McCombs, M.E. & Shaw, D.L. (1976) Structuring the Unseen Environment; Journal of Communication, Spring: 18-22, quoted in McQuail Et al (1981).

agendas of individual members of the audience, or whether agenda setting works through interpersonal influences.

Another issue has to do with the different kinds of agenda involved. We can e.g. speak of the agendas of individuals and groups, or we can speak of agendas of institutions, e.g. political parties or government. There is a difference between the notion of setting personal agendas by communicating directly to the public, and of setting an institutional agenda by influencing the politicians and decision makers. In other words, agenda setting can work in stages or levels.

Another theoretical ambiguity concerns the degree of intention, which may be attributed to the medium. At times, agenda setting has to be seen as a more or less conscious or systematic process of attention-directing by the media, but at other times, agenda setting is closely associated with a functional approach, According to Shaw (1979), "Agenda Setting theory of media effects is indebted to this [uses and gratification] research tradition for its starting points: an initial focus of peoples needs". [2]

Consequently there is some uncertainty as to whether agenda setting is initiated by the media, or by the members of the public and their needs. This applies to music and song, for it requires that a singer or political candidate understands and appreciates the people's (voters) needs, before deciding the kinds of messages to weave into the songs.

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[2] Shaw, E.F. (1979) 'Agenda Setting and Mass Communication Theory' Gazette xxv, 2: 96- 105

This paper takes the position that music and song play an agenda setting function when they are successfully used to propagate political candidates' themes and ideas to the target audience, that is, the voters, to a point where the voters adopt such themes and ideas. As a form of communication, music will here espouse either the agenda of the political party, the political candidate or even the musician. The agenda setting role of music and song arises from the fact that voters not only learn about issues through the music, they also "learn how much importance to attach to an issue" from the emphasis the music has placed upon it.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1   INTRODUCTION

This chapter looks at the process and method of data collection adopted. Specifically, it describes the research site, giving a justification for its selection for the study. An overview of the target population is given, as well as the sample design and sampling procedures. Sources of data and data collection methods used have also been described, together with data collection instruments and techniques. The chapter also explains the method of data analysis adopted for the study.

3.2   THE RESEARCH SITE

Research for this study was carried out in Gatanga constituency, Thika District, Central Province. The constituency, which is approximately fifty (50) kilometers from the city of Nairobi, encompasses the whole of Gatanga Division and part of Kakuzi Division. It is predominantly inhabited by members of the Kikuyu ethnic group, with a sizeable portion of Kamba speakers in the eastern end.

The constituency borders the following other constituencies:- Kandara, Kigumo and Maragua to the North; Masinga and Yatta to the East; Juja and Gatundu North to the South, and Lari and Kinangop to the West. Long and narrow, the constituency touches the Aberdares Mountain to the west, therefore bordering Nyandarua District, going down to touch Yatta and Masinga in Machakos District, Eastern Province. It passes through a portion of Kandara

Division (Samuru) through the Del Monte pineapple plantations, avoiding Thika town, which is in Juja constituency.

The major reason why this constituency was selected is that its electorate may have diverse reasons for their choice of political leaders. This is partly explained by different economic activities in the constituency as dictated by different climatic zones. For example, the uppermost (Western) part is a tea-growing zone, bordering Aberdare Forest. The middle zone where majority of the voters come from is a coffee growing area mixed with subsistence farming of maize, beans and potatoes. The lower zone has the large coffee plantations owned by white farmers and a few indigenous Kenyans. The lowermost zone has the Del Monte pineapple plantations, plus a few small-scale farmers, mostly composed of members of the Akamba community.

The Gatanga people are therefore economically and (fairly) culturally divergent due to different geographical zones. Convincing voters who have different priorities in such a contrasting area is therefore quite a task for a parliamentary candidate. Being a rural constituency (the majority of Kenyans live in rural areas where most constituencies are located) Gatanga, with its divergent climatic, geographic and demographic zones is therefore a good representative of constituencies in Kenya. The findings and recommendations may therefore be generalized to other constituencies in the republic.

The researcher also considered the fact that Gatanga has the biggest percentage of secular Kikuyu singers from one area. Among the prominent musicians from the area are Daniel (DK) Kamau, Peter Kigia, Timona Mburu, John De Mathew, Joseph Kariuki (Kiarutara), Kimani Thomas (currently sings gospel music) and the late John Ndichu of the *'Cucu wa Gakunga'* fame. These are some of the singers who compose or have composed songs aimed at praising politicians during the electioneering period, in the constituency and beyond.

3.2   POPULATION CONCENTRATION IN THE CONSTITUENCY

According to the 1999 census, the constituency had a total population of 155, 707 people, distributed in locations/ wards as indicated here below, with the matching area in square kilometers:

Table   3.1: Population Density of Gatanga Constituency (1999 Census).

Location	Population	Area (Km^2)
Kariara	17, 277	116. 6
Kigoro	18, 865	45.6
Kihumbuini	36, 306	50.9
Gatanga	30, 600	36.0
Samuru	8, 389	61.6
Mitubiri	11, 387	89.0
Kakuzi	14, 666	129.1
Ithanga	18, 217	71.5
Total	**155, 707**	**603**

Kigoro, Kariara, Kihumbuini and Gatanga fall under Gatanga Division proper, while Samuru traverses both Gatanga and Kandara Divisions. Mitubiri, Kakuzi and Ithanga fall under Kakuzi Division.

As can be observed, the greater population comes from Kihumbuini, Gatanga and Kigoro locations. These have largely small-scale farmers with coffee and tea in parts of Kigoro being the main cash crops. Kariara location, though expansive, has relatively low population as a big portion is taken up by the Aberdare forest. Also, the colder tea zone (as Kariara is) tends to have lower concentrations of people.

Samuru, Mitubiri and Kakuzi are in the coffee and pineapple plantations adjacent to Thika road, therefore the low population figures while Ithanga, which borders Ukambani, has a mixture of Kikuyus and Kambas. The terrain is close to semi-arid, with most people having bought land and migrated there. The population density is therefore comparatively low.

3.3   TARGET POPULATION

The target population for the study were the registered voters in the constituency as per figures obtained from the Electoral Commission of Kenya (figures updated in August 2004). According to the figures, the constituency has 65, 015 registered voters, distributed as follows per location/ ward:

Table 3.2: Registered Voters in Gatanga Constituency (August 2004)

Location/ Ward	Registered Voters
Kariara	7, 808
Kihumbuini	14, 392
Gatanga	13, 290
Kigoro	8, 416
Mitubiri (Samuru)	7, 566
Kakuzi	6, 429
Ithanga	7, 114
TOTAL	**65,015**

NB: For voting purposes, Samuru location is merged with Mitubiri to form one ward.

3.4   SAMPLE DESIGN AND SAMPLING PROCEDURES

The study was designed to establish the opinion of constituents of Gatanga regarding the use of music and song in political campaigns. The actual design was as follows: -

- To interview two musicians who have composed political songs in support of parliamentary candidates. This would give the opinion of the singers on the perceived effectiveness of using music to pass political messages.

- To interview the sitting MP on his views about the contribution of music in political campaigns.

- To interview up to 206 voters from the constituency, purposively selected, to indicate what they think was the effect of music in making them decide to vote for a candidate or

not, especially in comparison to other methods e.g. use of posters, radio advertisements etc.

Due to the numbers involved, the questions to voters sought both quantitative and qualitative information while those meant for the musicians and the MP largely sought qualitative data.

The initial idea was to use the voters register as a sampling frame, but it was realized that this would be hampered by voter mobility, for voters register at any nearby polling center (not necessarily the nearest). Also, identified respondents are likely to be absent since they are not aware they are required to be around to answer questions. There are also many voters who register in rural constituencies but reside in urban centers where they work.

The sample of voters was purposively picked, based on the figures of registered voters in the wards / locations. However, since the sampling was ward-based, all wards / locations were allocated roughly an equal number of respondents, even though some locations had up to two times the registered voters compared to others. The effect of this was that the responses by respondents from the more populous wards / locations would have "double" the weight of those with lower registration figures. The number of respondents selected averaged approximately 0.42 % of the registered voters in the ward / location.

In the end, the sampling was as follows: -

Table 3.3: A sample of respondents based on wards/locations.

Location/ Ward	Registered Voters	Sample Picked
1. Kariara	7, 808	20
2. Kihumbuini	14, 392	34
3. Gatanga	13, 290	30
4. Kigoro	8, 416	30
5. Samuru	7, 566	30
6. Kakuzi	6, 429	32
7. Ithanga	7, 114	30
TOTAL:	**65, 015**	**206**

At the point of selecting respondents, this was done through the method of systematic random sampling, based on homesteads. Research assistants were instructed to pick one homestead as a starting point, and then, in consideration of the total registered voters in the ward/location, interview one voter in every k^{th} case, again considering the concentration of voters in the area. The idea was to have the sample spread out as far as possible, while ensuring that areas with greater concentration of voters got more respondents.

As indicated, the justification for using homesteads to capture cases to interview and not the list of registered voters (sampling frame) was to take care of voter mobility, that is, it was realized that using the list would mean a lot of travel since voters are not registered in terms of homesteads or villages, but how they report for registration. It is therefore possible that

two people to be interviewed come from villages, ridges and kilometers apart. It is also possible, while using the list of voters, to find that some stay in urban areas and only come to vote.

As for the figure of 206 respondents, the researcher considered the expansive area covered by the constituency, the expenses involved and fact that he wanted to have interviewees scattered all over the constituency. This, and the unreliable nature of local transport dictated that the overall figure be reduced, but be generally proportional per ward/ location. Furthermore, since the research assistants were completing the questionnaires themselves, it meant that they could only complete a few per day. The sample picked was therefore thought to be fairly representative of the constituency's electoral voters.

3.5   DATA SOURCES AND DATA COLLECTION METHODS

As already indicated, the data was sourced from the voters of Gatanga constituency, Thika District. The seven wards / locations in the constituency formed the key sampling points, with the respondents purposively sampled, roughly on equal basis, from the wards / locations.

Printed questionnaires were issued to research assistants who would ask questions and fill in the answers themselves. In other words, the respondents would not fill in the questionnaires but only reply to questions. This was deliberate to take care of illiterate voters who may not be competent to fill the questionnaire, ensure that rural folk already attending to their daily chores can become respondents (for example ask questions to one who is digging), and also

save time. Ultimately, it was the research assistants who had to fully understand the way the questionnaire was structured, while ensuring that the respondents fully understood the questions. Respondents with a good educational background like teachers were however, allowed to complete their questionnaires.

Quantitative data, largely from the electorate, were expressed in terms of tables, frequency and percentage distribution, while charts and diagrams are used where appropriate. The data has been put separately per category based on the question at hand.

Qualitative data, arising out of opinions and suggestions is expressed in percentages and graphs, indicating preferences, varying levels of opinion etc.

(i)   *Questionnaires*

As indicated, questionnaires were used by research assistants to record responses from voters forming the sample. Most questions were closed ended for ease of analysis, though targeted to elicit qualitative data, which could then be quantified and tabulated for analysis.

(ii)   *Interviews*

Though the questionnaires were administered as basis for interviews, the researcher also conducted other interviews when he approached the singers and the MP.

A few questions were formulated to elicit information from the musicians and others for the MP. This information was meant to cross-check other sources and served a comparison purpose.

Indeed, the data and results from the voters were meant to either validate, or invalidate the opinions of the singers and politicians. The views of the singers and the politicians

(represented by the MP), which formed part of the qualitative data, are presented before those of the voters.

3.6 DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

Data were analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 10. Statistics were generated and tabulated in terms of frequencies and percentage distributions, graphs, bar charts and pie charts. This was a graphic presentation of the data as sourced from the respondents.

The interpretation of the data was essentially in degrees, emanating from the percentages, whereby the rating by respondents would be in proportions. Respondents would e.g. indicate whether they were highly influenced or not influenced, or whether music as a tool of communication is highly useful, moderately useful or not useful. Data was therefore interpreted both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Since a voter may not ascertain the exact degree of influence, these broad categories were used to identify various "blocks" of influence, and depending on the category with most respondents be able to indicate that the same was leading in that pattern of influence. By having tables indicating the results of the key questions in terms of figures and percentages, one is able to establish the actual pattern and therefore the voters' perceptions regarding the main issues raised in the questionnaire.

3.7   PROBLEMS, CONSTRAINTS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Like all field studies, this one had its constraints and limitations.

The first problem the researcher faced had to do with the dispersal of respondents. Since the interviews were conducted in the whole of Gatanga constituency, there was a problem of the researcher having to cover long distances. From the lowest point of the constituency in Ithanga Location to the highest point in Kariara is a distance of approximately fifty kilometers - the constituency is long and narrow. The researcher had to coordinate the work of research assistants in this large physical area, and it entailed a lot of traveling. The research assistants were also under instructions to get respondents from different villages in a location, and in a situation where public transport is not always available or reliable, this was quite a challenge. Ultimately, the research assistants could only have a few questionnaires filled in a day.

The other problem, related to the first one had to do with financial resources. This research project was not funded by any institution or organization. The researcher had to fund the project from his own salary. With the normal competing demands on ones salary, it meant that he was fairly handicapped in finances. The researcher therefore used purposive sampling, based on the figures of registered voters in the wards / locations. This was meant to enable the researcher have an idea of the distance to be covered, the number of research assistants to engage and roughly the time the whole study would take. These had to tie with the budget allocated, dictated by the available funds.

Related to the issue of funds was also the amount of time available. The researcher intended to complete the project within the allocated semester and therefore programmed the research within a specific timeframe.

Another problem, though not a serious one, had to do with the way the questions were modeled. Some respondents would insist on one answer being the correct one and even when the questionnaire gave some weight to alternatives in a ranking order, some respondents would want to keep discussing what was in their interest. Indeed, many of the research assistants had to spend considerable time explaining what the ranking was all about, why it was there and why each question had different "sub-questions". This however, depended on the level of literacy among the respondents; educated respondents, especially of secondary level and above did not have problems with the "sub-questions", which was about ranking.

One problem which all the research assistants had to reckon was the nature (or perceived direction) of the study. Since the questions portrayed the study to be politically related, many respondents assumed it was a political campaign study, funded by a politician. They therefore sought to be paid for their "service" of being respondents. Even the very cooperative ones would ask for tea after the interview session. Their demands were only mollified when they were shown the copy of introductory letter from the University and informed that they were assisting a University student. Still, in Ithanga Location, there were respondents who refused to participate in a "political" study without permission from the Assistant Chief.

Largely, the above were operational problems, which did not have any notable effect on the overall results. However, the limitations of time and money, which dictated the extent to which the researcher penetrated the depths of the constituency, could have been ameliorated by greater funding. The final result of this could simply have meant enlarging the sample, possibly leading to greater accuracy but not changing the results of the study to a significant degree.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE FINDINGS

4.1   INTRODUCTION

This Chapter presents the findings of the study, derived from the analyzed data, and based on the objectives of the study.

The first objective was to determine the singers' and politicians' perceptions of music and song as campaign tools in electoral politics. For this purpose, two singers and a politician were interviewed. The second objective was to determine the political campaign tools that voters consider to be the most effective in political communication. Data was in this regard collected to establish how voters regarded, by the way of ranking, the main campaign methods. The ones identified were radio advertisements, newspaper advertisements, magazines, posters, brochures, barazas and personal contacts.

The third objective was to assess the role played by music in influencing voters' decisions during elections. This objective was addressed by collecting data on the extent to which the voters' preference for voting for a candidate was influenced by music, the elections referred to being those of 1992, 1997 and 2002. The fourth objective was to establish voters' perceptions on the use of music in political campaigns, compared with other methods. To address this, an analysis is given on how likely the electorate were, to vote for a candidate based on the messages or information they had heard in political campaign songs. Data on this is to be compared with voter's views on the efficiency of other campaign methods listed above.

The final objective was to determine the influence of music and song in electoral democratic processes in Kenya. This was addressed by obtaining data on whether, and how music can be misused in election campaigns, and then getting the opinion of voters on whether music has had a positive or negative impact on the electoral democratic process. The research findings are presented starting with the key characteristics of the sample. The Chapter proceeds to look at the results on transmission and use of music, the effects of music on the voter, other campaign methods, and ends with a look at findings on the effect of music on democracy.

4.2   COMMENTS BY SINGERS AND POLITICIANS

4.2.1 Opinion of Musicians

One of the objectives of this study was to establish what was the opinion of the singers on the role played by music and song in election campaigns and its effectiveness in communicating campaign messages.

The researcher therefore addressed the following question to two local, secular musicians.

- When did you start singing for politicians?

- What was your motivation to compose/sing campaign songs?

- What are your major themes?

- How effective is music and song in passing campaign messages to voters compared with other campaign methods?

- Why do you think singers like to use religious and adapted tunes?

The first musician to be interviewed was Timona Mburu. A secular musician, Mburu started singing in 1981, entering the scene with a popular song *Kai utoigaga kwaheri*, i.e. why didn't you say good bye? He first composed political songs together with a group of singers from

Gatanga in 1987, in the run-up to the January 1988 elections. According to Mburu, he had earlier on not thought of engaging in campaigns either through music or anything else, but says he got into political music when the late Hon. John Gachui contested the Gatanga Parliamentary seat in 1988.

Gachui had mobilized ten Gatanga singers and as a way of assisting one another, asked them to compose two songs each, one for the singer to market commercially and one for himself (Gachui) which had to be political. He gave them the general themes for the political songs, but the actual words and tune was to come from the singers. Gachui also funded production and other costs. The Gatanga singers were later to be approached by other politicians in subsequent elections, even from other constituencies.

As for themes, Mburu says that over time, the singers have come to know the main areas politicians like the songs to touch on, indicating that matters to do with education, health and agriculture will always feature in the songs, mostly what the politician wants (or says he wants) to achieve for the constituency. Before it is produced, the song is discussed (as a text) with the politician who gives his input and suggests amendments. This is done even when the song is just for praising the political candidate.

Asked how effective he thinks music is compared with other methods, Mburu says music is highly effective 'by its very nature'. He adds:

> "You see, music is attractive to the ear. You start by being attracted to the tune, the melody and the arrangement. Once your attention is captured, you find yourself listening to the words. Of course this is where the main message is. So you do not have to go out and get the candidate's message, you just listen e.g. as the vehicle with mounted loudspeakers passes by, and the words may strike you. The message is in this case delivered 'unconsciously' ".

Mburu thinks music is many times more effective than e.g. barazas or posters because one can listen while at home (the loudspeakers are really loud), at night or in the shamba. For posters and barazas, you have to make a deliberate effort to go and listen to those speaking or go to where the poster is pasted.

As for use of adapted tunes, Mburu attributes this partly to the time factor, as some politicians want the songs within days, even before good tunes have crystallized in the head. "Other politicians insist on certain tunes, that is, the popular ones they have heard before, and only want you (singer) to insert suitable words. But we cannot rule out laziness on the part of some musicians", he says.

Asked to explain the noted trend of using tunes from gospel music in secular campaign songs, Mburu thinks this is borrowed from a trend in urban night spots where the so called "one-man guitar" plays a mixture of secular and gospel music, and inserts many non-christian words in christian songs. Somehow, the patrons like this and it has ended up being borrowed by composers of campaign music. His final comment is that use of music in political campaigns should be encouraged as this is not only a way of passing messages, but another form of presenting African culture, by using local folk lore and tunes in traditional songs.

The other person to be interviewed was Kamande Kioi. Kioi entered the music scene a few years ago, and is mostly known for the song *Kapusi Gakwa* i.e. My Cat. The singer, who comes from Kambiti in Maragwa constituency (it borders Gatanga to the North East) started

playing political music in the 2002 election campaigns. He has composed songs for politicians in Murang'a and Maragwa districts.

Asked to explain the major themes, he says these are normally given by the political candidates who concentrate on their achievements, if incumbent, and intended actions by up-coming political candidates. Kioi, however, admits that initially, he thought the work of singing for politicians belonged to women groups, as they are the ones he had always seen doing this in his younger days. The aspect of using established musicians and instrumentation is to him a bit novel, at least for Central Kenya. "Even in Western Kenya and Nyanza, where they have been using music in political rallies, the tendency is to use traditional composers and local instruments", he adds. Asked about the effectiveness of using music in campaigns, especially in comparison to other method, Kioi also thinks music is highly effective.

The singer, whose views did not differ much with those of Mburu, sees the strength of using music in political campaigns as being in its ability to relay messages to illiterate voters, mostly the elderly who may not be inclined to attend barazas, and cannot read what is written on posters and brochures. "That is why we have to sing in the local language. Secondly, and also quite important is that messages can be relayed in songs in a hidden manner. By using proverbs and local idioms, we are able to couch the message in a manner locals are able to identify with", he says, adding that this attribute (using hidden meanings) is also used by those who want to attack opponents, something he says he does not ascribe to.

As for use of gospel tunes, Kioi says that rural people are highly religious, and are therefore easily swayed by religious tunes. Through use of such tunes, Kioi says that some voters even believe that a candidate is a believer, or is "nominated by God". He adds that popular gospel tunes are already memorized and are in the voters psyche, and so when one inserts new words, even political ones, voters are able to memorize them with ease.

The singer thinks music is useful in electoral campaigns and should be encouraged. It should also be used in other spheres of life, including campaigns against diseases, insecurity and to forge a feeling of togetherness, He ends by saying that musicians, to be honest, also reap from their effort during elections, as politicians are generous and willing to pay handsomely for songs in their praise.

4.2.2 Comments by Politician

The researcher sought an interview with the sitting MP for Gatanga, Mr. Peter Kenneth, who is an Assistant Minister for Co-operative Development. Kenneth contested the seat for the first time in 2002, and used music, among other media, in his campaign.

The M.P was asked why he used music in his campaigns. He answered that indeed, this was not his idea, but it was sold to him by Gatanga musicians, who indicated they were ready to sing for him, at a fee. He therefore authorized them to compose songs for him. When he listened to the songs, he liked them and bought the master tapes, which he used to produce musical cassettes for his campaigns.

Asked about the usefulness of music in campaigns, Kenneth said he sees the music more as a tool to keep the campaign "alive", and to entertain voters. He says campaigns are tiring, and music fills the interludes, especially before a rally. He called music "organized noise" and though it contains messages addressed to voters, he finds its role supplementary, that is, it goes to complement other campaign methods.

As for the effectiveness of music in making voters decide to choose a certain candidate and not another, he said: "In our area, all candidates use music these days. It is therefore difficult to know how far music contributed, unless the voters were to say themselves. But it must play a part, however insignificant", Kenneth, who perceives the whole issue of campaigns broadly, said all methods are important, adding that people must remember the role of the political party sponsoring the candidate, and the importance of going through the nominations. He added:

> "Music may be important, among other methods, as a campaign tool before nominations. But in present Kenya, once you get nominated by the right party (the dominant one in the region) you are already half way through to parliament. For example, if one secures nomination through an unpopular party, one cannot win whatever kinds of songs may be composed".

The MPs position is that use of music in campaigns should continue, but it should not be over-glorified at the expense of other methods. He thinks barazas and personal contacts are the most effective political campaign methods.

4.3   SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

Among the 105 men respondents, 63 voted in 1992, 79 voted in 1997 and 95 in 2002. For women, 57 voted in 1992, 75 in 1997 and 92 in 2002. So the voter turn-out was increasing per election year. In essence, of the 206 respondents (men and women), 120 voted in 1992, 154 in 1997 and 187 in 2002.

Looking at the age brackets, the respondents within the ages of 20 – 39 years constituted 101 people (both sexes). Those between 40 and 59 constituted 82 people, while those over 60 years were 23 people. The respective percentages were as follows: Those from 20 – 39 years formed 48.0 %, those from 40 – 59 years formed 39.7 % while those with 60 + years formed 11.2 %. This shows that majority of voters are in the younger bracket of 20 – 39 years, while the elderly, though forming a small proportion of the population were well represented at 11.2 %

Table 3.4: The age bracket of Respondents

Age Group	Sex				Total	
	male		female			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
20-24 yrs	12	11.4	7	6.9	19	9.2
25-29 yrs	16	15.2	17	16.8	33	16.0
30-34 yrs	20	19.0	10	9.9	30	14.6
35-39 yrs	8	7.6	11	10.9	19	9.2
40-44 yrs	16	15.2	16	15.8	32	15.5
45-49 yrs	7	6.7	12	11.9	19	9.2
50-54 yrs	8	7.6	12	11.9	20	9.7
55-59 yrs	5	4.8	6	5.9	11	5.3
60+ yrs	13	12.4	10	9.9	23	11.2
Total	105	100	101	100	206	100

When it came to occupation, majority indicated they were farmers, which is to be expected from a rural constituency. There were a total of 87 farmers, forming 42.2 % of the

respondents. Following the farmers were the "others" with 43 respondents (20.9 %). This is explainable as majority of trained workers i.e. teachers, priests, doctors, clerks etc all fell under 'others'. Housewives followed with 28 in total, accounting for 13.6 % while traders were significant with a total of 24 (11.7 %). As for religion, the place is predominantly Christian, with 198 out of 206 people, a whooping 97.1 %. There were 4 Muslims adherents and 2 "others".

As for the level of education, 47 men and 44 women totaling 91 (44.2 %) had primary level education, followed by secondary level with 57 respondents (27.7 %), then college level with 31 respondents (15.0 %) 24 respondents, forming 11.7% had informal education. Only three respondents were university graduates: 2 men, I woman i.e. 1.5 %.

(a) Table 3.5 **Number of respondents per ward (male/female)**

Electoral ward	Sex				Total	
	male		female			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Kigoro	20	19.0	11	10.9	31	15.0
Kihumbuini	19	18.1	16	15.8	35	17.0
Gatanga	11	10.5	17	16.8	28	13.6
Samuru	15	14.3	16	15.8	31	15.0
Ithanga	11	10.5	19	18.8	30	14.6
Kakuzi	19	18.1	12	11.9	31	15.0
Kariara	10	9.5	10	9.9	20	9.7
Total	105	100	101	100	206	100

Table 3.6 Education level Among the Respondents.

Education level	Sex				Total	
	male		female			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Non-formal education	5	4.8	19	18.8	24	11.7
Primary	47	44.8	44	43.6	91	44.2
Secondary	39	37.1	18	17.8	57	27.7
College	12	11.4	19	18.8	31	15.0
University graduate	2	1.9	1	1.0	3	1.5
Total	105	100	101	100	206	100

This portrays fairly low levels of literacy, with only 34 among the respondents having college and university education.

Table 3.7 Number of Respondents per Registration Centre in Gatanga Constituency.

	Sex				
Registration Centre	male		female		
	Count	%	Count	%	%
Giachuki	10	9.6	2	2.0	5.9
Giteme	3	2.9	1	1.0	2.0
Ndunyu chege	2	1.9	3	3.1	2.5
Kamunyaka			1	1.0	0.5
Wanyaga	2	1.9	1	1.0	1.5
Kimandi	1	1.0	1	1.0	1.0
Kiunyu	2	1.9	3	3.1	2.5
Gituamba	3	2.9			1.5
Mbari ya ruga	2	1.9	1	1.0	1.5
Gati-iguru	2	1.9	1	1.0	1.5
Kihumbuini	4	3.8	1	1.0	2.5
Kibaaka			2	2.0	1.0
Githambia	2	1.9	3	3.1	2.5
Kiamwathi	2	1.9	1	1.0	1.5
Paul mbiu	1	1.0	1	1.0	1.0
Nyaga	1	1.0	2	2.0	1.5
Gatunyu	1	1.0	4	4.1	2.5
Kirwara	3	2.9	2	2.0	2.5
Rwegetha	1	1.0	4	4.1	2.5
Kigio	2	1.9	2	2.0	2.0
Chomo	1	1.0	2	2.0	1.5
Mabanda	1	1.0	2	2.0	1.5
Ithangarari	1	1.0	1	1.0	1.0
Gakurari	1	1.0	2	2.0	1.5
Horticulture	3	2.9	6	6.1	4.5
Muteria	3	2.9			1.5
Muthuri	3	2.9	1	1.0	2.0
Gathabara	5	4.8	6	6.1	5.4
Mwitingiri	1	1.0	1	1.0	1.0
Swani			1	1.0	0.5
Mwania mbogo	1	1.0	1	1.0	1.0
Mugumo	2	1.9	2	2.0	2.0
Ngelelia			3	3.1	1.5
Kaguku	1	1.0	1	1.0	1.0
Thungururu	1	1.0	2	2.0	1.5
Kanduri	2	1.9	1	1.0	1.5
Myanyani	1	1.0	2	2.0	1.5
Matiriku	2	1.9	3	3.1	2.5
Ngurunga	1	1.0	1	1.0	1.0
Kirathani			2	2.0	1.0
Kinyangi	10	9.6	5	5.1	7.4
Matunda	1	1.0	1	1.0	1.0
Kitito	7	6.7	6	6.1	6.4
Rubiro	1	1.0			0.5
Kakuzi	1	1.0			0.5
Kiarutara	2	1.9	3	3.1	2.5
Gatunguru	1	1.0	1	1.0	1.0
Mwagu	2	1.9	2	2.0	2.0
Gatura	4	3.8	2	2.0	3.0
Mbugiti	1	1.0	2	2.0	1.5
Total	105	100.0	101	100	100

Table 3.7 above shows the actual number of respondents per registration center. It is put there to give the total picture. Looking at the way respondents were influenced by election campaigns in their decision to vote, the results show that among males, 20 were influenced *very highly*, 62 were influenced *highly* while 23 were not affected. As for women, 15 were influenced *very highly*, 55 were influenced *highly* while 31 were not affected. In total 35 people were *very highly* influenced (7.0 %), 117(56.8 %) were *highly* influenced (56.8%) while 54 (26.2 %) were not affected.

This shows that campaigns in general, even before we zero down to music, influenced 73.8 % of the respondents,

Table 3.8: Election Campaign Influence Among the Respondents.

Election campaign influence	Sex				Total	
	male		female			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
very highly	20	19.0	15	14.9	35	17.0
highly	62	59.0	55	54.5	117	56.8
not affected	23	21.9	31	30.7	54	26.2
Total	105	100.0	101	100.0	206	100.0

4.4   TRANSMISSION AND USES OF MUSIC

Among those who heard and listened to campaign music, the findings were that those who heard the music generally also listened (listening is a conscious effort). Out of 105 men, 101 listened while out of 101 females, 95 listened. The total percentage of those who listened to the music was 95.1 %. Irrespective of the impact of the music to the voters, this shows that the music actually reached them.

As for the language used in the songs, Kikuyu was ranked number 1 by 98 % of the respondents, while Kiswahili was ranked number 2 by 76% of the respondents, with English

being ranked number 3 by 68.1 % of the respondents. This was to be expected from a rural constituency where most people speak Kikuyu. It means that composers of music know that this is the language understood by the people. The flipside of this is that the musicians themselves are Kikuyu speakers and their other non-campaign songs are in the same language.

Among the methods of relaying music, loudspeakers were ranked number 1 by 140 respondents (69.3 %). Radio was ranked number 1 by 50 respondents (24.8 %) while Live Music was ranked number 1 by only 12 respondents (5.9 %). Variously, radio was ranked number 2 by 52 respondents (27.7 %) loudspeakers number, 2 by 63 people (33.5 %) while staging live was ranked number 2 by 72 respondents (38.3 %). This shows that loudspeakers were the main medium of relaying the music, while radio and live music followed.

Apart from being used to transmit messages, voters were also given various uses of music in political campaigns, and asked to rank them in terms of how they perceived such uses. In a scale of 1 to 5 (analyzed in terms of perceived usefulness as lowest, low, average, high and highest) 104 respondents (51 %) ranked as *highest*, use of music to attract crowds, with 11 (5.4 %) ranking it as lowest. 93 (45.8 %) regarded as *highest,* use of music as entertainment, with 16 (7.9 %) seeing it as lowest for this purpose. Only 43 respondents (21.2 %) ranked as highest use of music as a 'curtain raiser' before a politician rises to address a crowd while 67 (33 %) viewed such use as *lowest*. A significant number, 78 respondents (38.6 %) ranked as highest use of music to attack opponents, with 22 people ranking as lowest, use of music for this purpose. This is as graphically portrayed in the bar chart at **Figure 1**

Fig. 1: Other Uses of Music In Political Campaigns
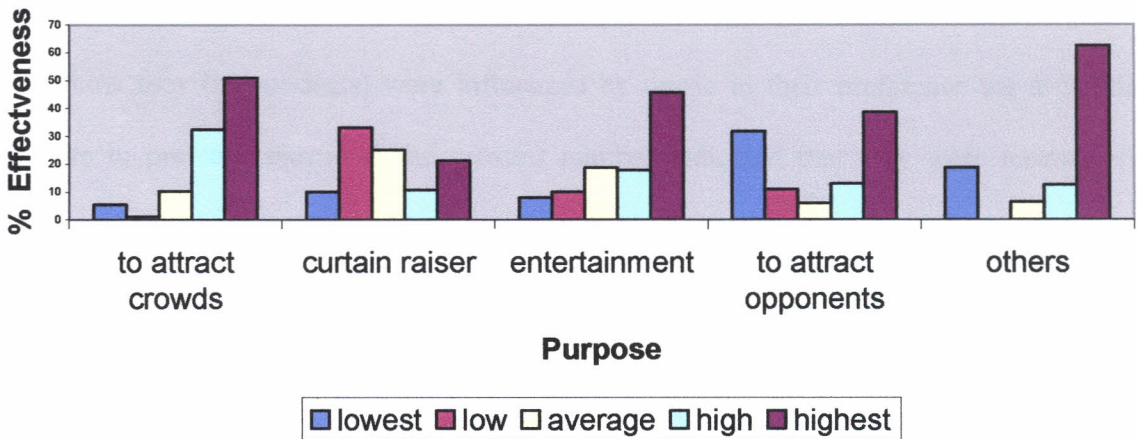
So among other uses of music (other than passing messages), its use to attract crowds is highly recognized, while other uses, that is, as a form of entertainment during campaigns and to attack opponents are regarded significantly. 10 respondents ranked as "highest", use of music for other purposes not specified in the questionnaire. Since only fifteen (15) voters were able to identify such other uses of music, the 10 translates to a whooping 62.5%. Figure 1 gives a graphic representation of these other uses of music, in the form of a bar chart.

4.5 MUSIC INFLUNCE ON VOTER DECISIONS

When asked whether people are likely to vote for a candidate after hearing messages contained in political songs, the greatest number, that is 100 (49 %) responded that this is *fairly likely*, 38 (18.6 %) thought voters were *highly likely* to be swayed by music to vote for a candidate while a significant number of 66 voters (32.4 %) thought people were *not likely* to be influenced to vote for a candidate, after hearing messages contained in political songs. It is important to note that respondents were here giving their opinions on whether voters, generally, could be influenced by music, and not themselves i.e. the respondents.

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As for how they (respondents) were influenced by music in their preference for a certain candidate in previous elections, the greatest number indicated that they were *moderately influenced* i.e. 111 (54.1 %), while 65 (31.7 %) voters said they were *not influenced*. Those who were *highly influenced* were only 29 (14.1 %). The combined number of respondents who were influenced by music was therefore 176 i.e. 68.2%.

The intriguing thing is that in spite of the noted fairly few numbers of respondents who were highly influenced by music in their choice of candidates, a big number, that is 85 (41.5 %) thought music is a *highly useful* tool in passing election campaign messages, closely followed by 83(40.5 %) who found it *slightly useful*, with the lowest but significant group of 37 (18.0 %) reporting that music is *not useful* for this purpose. These percentages are captured in Table 3.9 below.

Table 3.9: Usefulness of Music for Passing Election Campaign Messages.

Usefuness of music	Sex				Total	
	male		female			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Not useful	13	12.4	24	24	37	18.0
Slightly useful	47	44.8	36	36	83	40.5
Highly useful	45	42.9	40	40	85	41.5
Total	105	100	101	100	206	100

4.6   OTHER CAMPAIGN METHODS

The voters also gave their views on other campaign methods used by politicians. Overall, the respondents named posters as commanding the highest figures under *highly effective* i.e. 77.5 %, followed by *barazas* (campaign meetings) at 76.5 %. It is not clear how magazines ended

with a reasonable 40.5 % on *highly effective* since they are hardly used for campaigns in the villages. Brochures, radio advertisements and newspapers scored well as *least effective* methods of campaigning, garnering 45.1 %, 32.8 % and 32.2 % of respondents respectively under the score. It is therefore important to recognize posters and *barazas* as effective tools of political communication in the constituency, as indicated in **Table 4.0**

Table 4.0 Other Campaign Methods Used

		Sex				Total	
		male		female			
		Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Radio advertisement	least effective	30	28.8	37	37.0	67	32.8
	moderately effective	55	52.9	45	45.0	100	49.0
	highly effective	19	18.3	18	18.0	37	18.1
Newspaper	least effective	32	30.5	34	34.0	66	32.2
	moderately effective	57	54.3	54	54.0	111	54.1
	highly effective	16	15.2	12	12.0	28	13.7
Magazines	least effective	14	13.3	24	24.0	38	18.5
	moderately effective	47	44.8	37	37.0	84	41.0
	highly effective	44	41.9	39	39.0	83	40.5
Posters	least effective	5	4.8	7	7.0	12	5.9
	moderately effective	19	18.3	15	15.0	34	16.7
	highly effective	80	76.9	78	78.0	158	77.5
Brochures	least effective	52	50.0	40	40.0	92	45.1
	moderately effective	42	40.4	47	47.0	89	43.6
	highly effective	10	9.6	13	13.0	23	11.3
Barazas	least effective	5	4.8	7	7.0	12	5.9
	moderately effective	17	16.3	19	19.0	36	17.6
	highly effective	82	78.8	74	74.0	156	76.5
Personal contact	least effective	42	40.4	27	27.0	69	33.8
	moderately effective	26	25.0	31	31.0	57	27.9
	highly effective	36	34.6	42	42.0	78	38.2
Total		105	100	101	100	206	100

4.7 EFFECT OF MUSIC ON THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

The voters also gave their opinion on the potential of music being misused in election campaigns. A total of 130 (64%) of the respondents thought music could be misused, with

the rest 73 (36 %) indicating otherwise. These percentages are captured in the pie chart at

Figure 2.

Fig 2: Potentiality of Music Being Misused in Election Campaigns.
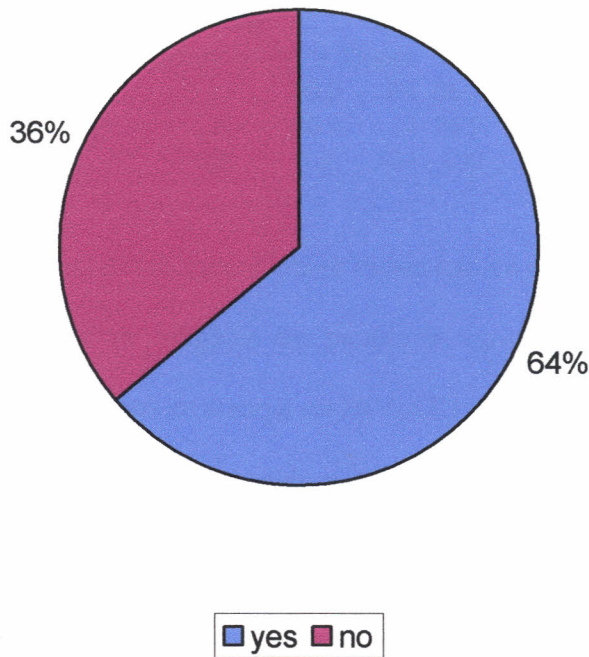
Most respondents thought that music can be misused in terms of unfair criticism of opponents, abusing opponents or misleading or wrongly influencing the voters. It is instructive to note that the voters had been asked if music *could* be misused, therefore the high figure in the affirmative. They were not asked if music *had been* misused, so the fact that respondents also found it to have a positive effect in the electoral democratic process is not a contradiction in results

Interestingly, in spite of many saying that music can be misused, a big number still thought that music has a positive effect in the electoral democratic process (136 respondents, comprising 67.7 %).

Table 4.1: Effects of Music in the Electoral Democratic Process.

Effect of music	Sex				Total	
	male		female			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Positive	72	69.9	64	65.3	136	67.7
Negative	31	30.1	34	34.7	65	32.3
Total	105	100	101	100	206	100

As for other areas of national development where music can be applied, 80 respondents (39.6 %) thought it could be used to enlighten the people in various fields, while 67 (33.2 %) thought it should be used to create awareness on HIV/AIDS. A further 55 (27.2 %) thought it should be used to relay information on health matters. Considering that HIV/AIDS is also a health issue, then a total of 122 respondents (60.4%) identified health as an area where music could be used in intervention efforts.

Table 4.2: Areas of National Development Where Music can be Applied

Other uses of music	Sex				Total	
	male		female			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Create awareness on HIV etc.	42	40.8	25	25.3	67	33.2
Provide health information	26	25.2	29	29.3	55	27.2
Enlighten people	35	34.0	45	45.5	80	39.6
Total	105	100	101	100	206	100

The respondents were finally required to make their own comments or suggestions regarding use of music in political campaigns.

The highlights of their responses were as follows: 55 respondents, representing 31.4 % said use of music should be encouraged, 51 voters (29.1 %) said music should contain truthful information and be relevant, while a significant 29 respondents (16.6%) said use of music in campaigns should be abolished. 25 respondents (14.3 %) said music should not be abusive, while the remaining (8.6 %) said music should be used to promote development.

This last was a general open -ended question and the various opinions were summarized into the five broad areas identified

Table 4.3: General Comments on Campaign Music

Comments on campaign music	Sex				Total	
	male		female			
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Should not be abusive	12	13.0	13	15.7	25	14.3
Truthful information and relevant	25	27.2	26	31.3	51	29.1
Promote development	6	6.5	9	10.8	15	8.6
Encourage use of music	35	38.0	20	24.1	55	31.4
Should be abolished in campaigns	14	15.2	15	18.1	29	16.6
Total	105	100	101	100	206	100

Apparently, most of the respondents thought that use of music in political campaigns should be encouraged, only that such music should contain truthful information and not be abusive. The 16.6% who recommended abolishing of music in political campaigns may have been unduly disturbed by e.g. noise, or know of situations where music was used unfavorably e.g. to abuse others.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1   INTRODUCTION

This chapter summarizes up the research project by looking at the objectives of the study, the results as obtained from the analyzed data and then gives the conclusions. It also delves into the way forward by indicating the proposed areas for further related research.

5.2.   CONCLUSION OF THE STUDY

The key objectives of this study were: to consider the role played by music and song in influencing voters during elections campaigns; their effectiveness as tools for passing election campaign messages and therefore; their usefulness in political campaigns.

Within the context of communication, and the research project being in the field of communication studies, music and song are seen and considered as tools of communication. They communicate messages in various fields of life, including cultural messages and social messages. Use of music and song to carry and pass or relay political messages is only one area where music is used in communication

Having centered on music as used in passing political messages, the researcher sought to establish the role of musical messages in the political campaign process, which role is best established by getting the opinion of the targets of such music; the voters.

The key questions that the researcher dealt with is the language in which the music is played, and the various reasons why one may use music in the political campaign process – apart from passing of the campaign messages contained in the songs. To gauge the effect of music

on the voters, the respondents were required to indicate whether they thought people could vote for a candidate after hearing political messages contained in songs. They were also asked to indicate the extent to which they (actual respondents) had been influenced by music and song in past elections, to vote for a candidate. Voters were finally requested to indicate to what extent they thought music was a useful tool in passing election campaign messages.

The data obtained from the answers to the above questions i.e. effect of music on the voter, showed that 18.6% of the respondents thought that people were **highly likely** to be influenced by music to vote for a certain candidate. The greater percentage (49%) thought that music was **fairly likely,** to influence voters, the combined proportion therefore indicating that music would have a considerable effect in the decisions made by voters.

The respondents also gave the picture regarding how they, as individuals, were influenced by music in their preference for certain candidates in previous elections. The results were that 14.1% were **highly influenced,** 54.1% were **moderately influenced** with 31.7% **not influenced.** In varying degrees therefore, those who were influenced compose a total of 68.2%. On the usefulness of music, it is also to be noted that 41.5% found the music to be **highly useful** in elections campaigns, 40.5 % found it **slightly useful,** with a small but significant group (18%) indicating that they thought music is **not useful** in passing election campaign messages.

The above results therefore show that music plays a significant role in passing of election messages about candidates, and cannot be ignored or wished away. Indeed, most politicians, even without a proper indication of the degree of influence music will have on the voter,

have used music in their campaigns. But since music is used in combination with many other tools for passing political messages, and since the typical voter is reached by the various methods of passing the message, it may be difficult for the voter to isolate and compartmentalize the actual degree or extent that music had in influencing his / her choice. This becomes more complex to decipher because even if music was not used as one of the campaign tools, people would still vote.

It is important to note that when asked about other uses of music – i.e. other than to pass political messages – most voters found music as being intended to attract crowds, or as a form of entertainment, with a significant number (38.6%) also rating music highly in terms of its use to attack opponents. Depending on the political candidate's intention, the inspiration of the singer / musician and the kind of music played, it is clear that music can and does serve all these purposes i.e. can be used to pass political messages favorable to a candidate, can be used to attract crowds, can be used to attack opponents etc. Indeed, one piece of music will serve several purposes, obviously including entertaining sections of the audience (voters).

Another key conclusion from this study based on data from the research, is the apparent known and expressed potentiality of music being **misused** in election campaigns. Up to 64% of the respondents thought that music could be misused in terms of unfair criticism of opponents, abusing opponents or misleading the voters. It is however, a known fact that music has been used to heavily criticize political opponents, so the voters views in this case were not totally unexpected, more so where the issue is on the potential of music to be

misused in election campaigns. For our purpose, the issue of concern is that music, if used to pass messages that are negative, confusing or unfairly influential to the voters, will end up being used negatively in the electoral democratic process. This, again, must have happened in certain areas and constituencies. But since people are generally biased in their political perceptions and beliefs, the aspect of music having been used fairly or unfairly can also be quite subjective. It may depend on other beliefs already held by the respondent at a particular point in time. The study findings do point to music playing a considerably significant role in passing of messages during political campaigns.

It is important to underscore the fact that music and song have previously not received a lot of attention as tools of communication i.e. where they are deliberately used to pass certain messages, beyond their place as communication genres e.g. in literature. Increasingly, and since society is highly adaptive, music is emerging as a reliable method of communicating with audiences. The music and songs referred here are those set and deliberately organized to reach certain audiences with certain messages.

Previously, music was largely used in public functions to entertain the guests; this was largely traditional music, by women groups, with minimal instrumentation. To the extent that politicians and others with various agenda have now reached the point of hiring musicians and studios to compose and produce songs, then music and song emerge as acknowledged tools and medium of communication. It is a medium that should attract the attention of students of communication, not just in politics but also in other social undertakings.

5.3   RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations given here are essentially suggestions for further study in the field of music as a tool of communication and are informed by the researchers experience during the research project.

The first point to note is that the project was limited to one constituency in the country. Whereas the findings may be replicated or be representative of the country, one would like to see a research project in the same study area, but covering a greater geographical area. This would address differences in culture, beliefs and even the economic well being of the people. Possibly people whose economic situation is not very favorable could be more easily influenced by political music – or not. Ideally, a study could be conducted in two districts in two separate provinces where the peoples' beliefs and culture are different. One would also like to see the results of a study covering "national" political songs only, not those that are relevant to one constituency. Though such songs may overlap, it would be good to see the effects of songs (in Kenya) sung in Kiswahili, composed for presidential candidates e.g. what effect, on the voters, did the songs composed in 2002 which had a national outlook, have on the Kenyan voters.

Another area of musical communication recommended for further study is use of religious tunes, and adaptation of the same to suit political scenarios and pass campaign messages. This is currently very prevalent in the country; it is not clear why people want to use religious songs for politics, and the actual effect such songs have on the voting results. A study comparing the effects of such songs and ordinary secular music, quoting data obtained from field studies would give quite interesting insights.

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QUESTIONNAIRE

USE OF MUSIC AND SONG IN POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS: CASE STUDY OF GATANGA CONSTITUENCY, THIKA DISTRICT

Please spare a few minutes to answer the questions here below. The purpose of this questionnaire is to establish if use of music in political campaigns influences voting patterns, and therefore gauge its usefulness as a campaign tool. The research project is being undertaken in partial fulfillment for the award of the Master of Arts degree in Communication Studies at the School of Journalism, University of Nairobi

A.   BIODATA

1.   In the last three parliamentary elections, in which (years) did you vote? (Tick one or more)

    1. 1992   ☐

    2. 1997   ☐

    3. 2002   ☐

    4. None   ☐

2.   Name……………………………………….(Optional)

3.   Sex   1. Male   ☐   2. Female   ☐

4.   Age……………………………….……….(Years)

5.   Occupation

    1) None   ☐

    2) Farmer   ☐

    3) Trader   ☐

    4) Housewife   ☐

    5) Student   ☐

    6) Other (Specify)…………………….   ☐

6.   Religion (Tick as appropriate)

    1. Christian ☐ 2. Muslim ☐   3. Other (Specify)……….. ☐

7.   Level of education

    1) Non-formal education   ☐

    2) Primary Level   ☐

    3) Secondary Level   ☐

    4) College level   ☐

5) University graduate [ ]

8. What location (electoral ward) do you come from?……………………………………..

9. What is the name of your registration center?……………………………………

B. USE OF MUSIC IN POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

10. In a scale of 1-3, indicate how your decision to vote for a candidate was influenced by election campaigns (for parliamentary candidates). I was influenced: (Tick as appropriate.)

    1. Very highly [ ]   2. Highly [ ]   3. Not affected [ ]

11. Among other methods, music has been used in this constituency to do campaigns.

    (a) Have you ever heard such music? (Tick)

       1. Yes [ ]   2. No [ ]

    (b) Did you listen to the music? (Tick)

       1. Yes [ ]   2. No [ ]

    (C) In what language were the songs? (Tick as appropriate, one or more)

       1. Kikuyu [ ]

       2. Kiswahili [ ]

       3. English [ ]

       4. Other (Specify)…………………………… [ ]

12. Indicate, in ranking order, the languages in which most political campaign music in the constituency was played.

       1………………………………………………
       2………………………………………………
       3……………………………………………...

13. How was the music relayed? (Tick one or more.)

       1. On radio [ ]

       2. By loud speakers [ ]

       3. Staged live [ ]

       4. Other (Specify)…………………………….. [ ]

14. Which method of playing music (among those indicated in Q. 13) was used most frequently? Rank them

       1. ………………………………………………………

2. ……………………………………………………

3. …………………………………………………...

4. ……………………………………………………

15. Other than passing messages during political campaigns, music is also used for other reasons as indicated below. In a scale of 1-5 (lowest to highest) please rank such other uses of music.

OTHER USES OF MUSIC	1	2	3	4	5
1. To attract crowds.					
2. Entertainment.					
3. As 'curtain raiser' before politicians address a crowd.					
4. To attract opponents.					
5. Other (specify)………………………………………					

C. EFFECT OF MUSIC ON THE VOTER

16. To what extent, in your opinion, are people likely to vote for a certain candidate after hearing messages or information contained in political songs. (Tick one)

1. Not likely ☐

2. Fairly likely ☐

3. Highly likely ☐

17. To what extent was your preference for voting for a candidate in past elections influenced by music? (Tick one)

1. Not influenced ☐

2. Moderately influenced ☐

3. Highly influenced ☐

18. Do you think music is a useful tool in passing election campaign messages about candidates? (Tick one)

1. Not useful ☐

2. Slightly useful ☐

3. Highly useful ☐

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D. OTHER CAMPAIGN METHODS

19. Apart from music, politicians also use the following other methods in campaigning. Please rank them as either (1) least effective, (2) moderately effective or (3) highly effective.

METHODS OF CAMPAIGNING	(1) Least Effective	(2) Moderately Effective	(3) Highly Effective
(1) Radio Advertisements			
(2) Newspaper			
(3) Magazines			
(4) Posters			
(5) Brochures			
(6) Barazas			
(7) Personal Contacts			

E. INFLUENCE OF MUSIC ON DEMOCRATIC PROJECTS

20. In your opinion, do you think music can be misused in election campaigns? (Tick)

1. Yes ☐   2. No ☐

21. If your answer to question 20 is Yes, in what ways?

....
....
....

22. Has music therefore, in your opinion, had a positive or negative impact in the electoral democratic process?

1. Positive ☐   2. Negative ☐

23. Apart from being used in political campaigns, which other areas of national development can music be applied?

....
....

24. Please make any other comments/ suggestions regarding the use of music in political campaigns

....
....
....

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME.

GATANGA CONSTITUENCY—097

NOT TO SCALE

POPULATION	155,707
AREA	603 KM²

GATANGA CONSTITUENCY – 097

LOCATION	POPULATION (1999 Census)	AREA(KM²)
KIOGORO	18865	45.6
KIHUMBUINI	36306	50.9
GATANGA	30600	36.0
SAMURU	8389	61.6
MITUBIRI	11387	89.0
KAKUZI	14666	129.1
ITHANGA	18217	71.5
KARIARA	17277	116.6
Total	155707	603

NYANDARUA DISTRICT

KIMAKIA

ABERDARE FOREST

KARIARA

KIGORO

GATANGA

KIHUMBUINI

N

MARAGUA DISTRICT

MACHAKOS DISTRICT

GATUNDU NORTH CONSTITUENCY

GATANGA

SAMURU

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MITUBIRI

MAKUYU (PART)

KAKUZI

ITHANGA

NGELELIA

GITUAHBA

JUJA CONSTITUENCY

LEGEND

District/Constituency Boundary	
Division Boundary	
Location Boundary	
Division Name	GATANGA
Location Name	MUGUMONI
Sub-Location Boundary	
Sub-Location Name	KINYANGI
Municipality/Town Boundary	
Polling Station	* 13
Roads	
Trading Centres	
Rivers	

APPENDIX 2