

Dissertation By MBIYU W. CATHERINE

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DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF
NEGOTIATION FOR SOCIAL SPACE
ACROSS GENDERS: MUGITHI SONG AND
DANCE PERFORMANCE IN NAIROBI,
KENYA

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DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF NEGOTIATION FOR SOCIAL SPACE ACROSS GENDERS: *MUGITHI* SONG AND DANCE PERFORMANCE IN NAIROBI, KENYA

MBIYU W. CATHERINE

A Thesis Submitted to Egerton University Graduate School in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in English Language and Linguistics of Egerton University

Egerton University

October, 2013

DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATION

Declaration

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October 2013

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my loving parents Mr. Haniel Mbiyu Kamau and Ms. Emily Wanjiku Mbiyu, who gave me all that I hold dear to me.



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I first of all give thanks to God for the success of this work. In the process of research and writing of this thesis, I have been favoured with enormous gifts of time, expertise and insights for which I am eager to express my sincere gratitude.

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ABSTRACT

This study set out to establish the social relations formed in the discourse of Mugithi songs in order to illustrate how men and women negotiate for social space. Negotiation for social space can be a difficult process especially for women due to gender inequality and influence from the largely patriarchal source culture. Mugithi song and dance performance has come to be recognised as an important genre in social entertainment circles in the Kenyan society but there has not been any serious attempt to investigate and analyse the genre and what it represents in regard to sexuality. This study therefore identified and analysed discourse topics in Mugithi songs which show changing trends in the negotiation for social space across genders, examined the discursive strategies embedded in the Mugithi songs vis a vis gender relations and established the social relations formed in the context of the Mugithi song and dance performance. This study was guided by Wodak's Discoure Historical Approach. Purposive sampling procedure was used to get the sample of three male *Mugithi* artists and thirty participants who appreciate the themes represented in the songs. The data for the study consisted of twelve Mugithi songs which were purposively selected on the basis of their currency and popularity and responses to the themes in the songs from the participants in the entertainment clubs where the purposively selected Mugithi oral artists performed in Nairobi city. Data was collected using participant observation and focus group discussions and performances were recorded using tape recorder and field notes. Qualitative analysis of this data was undertaken. It was found that many of the Mugithi songs examined defined women as deceitful, unfaithful, lustful, hence denigrating femininity and promoting the male gender. However, the context of the Mugithi song and dance performance provided a venue and means of negotiating and accessing power for both men and women and hence gave the women the opportunity to express their views which were closely associated with resistance to oppressive ideologies. This study contributes to Discourse Analysis and Sociolinguistic studies in which particularised socio-cultural contexts may impinge upon language structure and use.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AIDS: Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome

HIV: Human Immunodeficiency Virus

WHO: World Health organization

STIs: Sexual transmitted Infections

UNAIDS: Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter covers the introduction part to this study. It is divided into different sections which include: the background to the study, the statement of the problem, objectives, research questions, significance of the study, scope and limitation of the study and lastly definition of terms.

1.1. Background to the Study

Songs and dances represent the most pervasive genre of literature across both time and space, having many facets and many roles such as enhancing the construction of identity of people in terms of cultural, ethnic, national, religious and gender characteristics. The songs and dances explore social cosmology, worldviews, class and gender relations, interpretations of value systems and other political, social and cultural practices, even as they entertain and provide momentary escape for audience members. In Kenya, songs that are sung are mostly for entertainment but also contain important themes such as social class, love and betrayal, unemployment, politics, HIV/AIDS and sexuality issues. Omosa (2000) observes that songs and dances parade the whole spectrum of traditional life and in most societies; there are songs for every stage and occasion of a person's life from the cradle to the grave. Kenyatta (1971) posits that songs and dances were very significant in the Gikuyu tradition, for it was through words, phrases and rhythmic movements of the songs and dances that news were passed across to people, including the laws of society. Sexual discipline was instilled and maintained through social control mechanisms such as taboos and related beliefs, peer pressure and social organization. Ahlberg (1994) claims that while traditional sexual moves in many communities were highly regulated, during colonialisation, sexuality was dramatically transformed from a context where it was open but kept within well defined social control and regulating mechanisms, to being an individual, private matter surrounded largely by silence.

Language is an important element and a vital tool that conveys culture and is also inextricably linked with the ideological and power structures of society. It was and is still used to pass on beliefs on sexuality and gender attributes through communities' proverbs, narratives, poetry, riddles, songs and dances. Hence, sexuality is perpetuated through language in the life of a community. Chouliaraki, and Fairclough (1999) affirm that language and culture are linked

together in the same expression. Songs form an integral part in our society and hence reflect and shape social life.

Societies are dynamic and this is evidenced by emerging songs and dances which reflect changing trends in most societies. Songs and dances have been very monumental parts of the Gikuyu social culture since the beginning of their history. One way for the people to preserve their history is to remember the singing and dancing. It was common for young men and women to use dancing to mingle and socialise. Although physical contact between the sexes was seen as inappropriate, they were able to converse and relate to each other in this way. The Gikuyu culture has numerous types of traditional dances such as, *Nguchu*, *Nduumo*, *Mugoiyo*, *Gichukia* and *Ndachi ya irua* (circumcision dance) which involves the circumcision of females. During this sacred time, relatives and friends sing and dance about sexual knowledge and the rule governing the responsibilities of social relationships. Songs and dances are also seen as a communication tool for the Gikuyu people. They are more like poetry because they exhibit specific design features of language. Singing and dancing are also important factors in ceremonies and religious events.

To say sexuality is 'discursive oriented' is to say that sexuality does not have meaning outside the socio-culturally defined discourses, hence songs which form an integral part in our society can provide a context where matters pertaining to sexuality can be discussed. The 1990s marked an emergence of a relatively new genre in the Kenyan entertainment industry. The *Mugithi* song, a popular Gikuyu genre, signaled a beginning of new directions largely in Kenyan music in terms of themes and style and it became a window through which gender politics and the discourse of masculinity could be understood. Since women have limited access to social circuits and instruments of production of the popular song, the men folk appear to dominate the genre. Traditionally, Gikuyu folklore and culture had other genres of music out of which *Mugithi* may have developed as an infusion of the traditional lore and the emergent Benga music. Even church and the issue of 'Glory train' is what brought about the idea of *Mugithi*. Njogu and Maupeu (2007) contend that the genre was generated by the depressing socio-economic circumstances in the 1990s. The themes in the genre, which still capture some of the cultural aspects of the Gikuyu society, keep on changing as the society's values and cultures change. Creatively extracted from the evangelical churches and the music about the need to join the 'train to

heaven', the genre has been appropriated by the night spots and has spread out to the secular world. Njogu and Maupeu (ibid) continue to say that the genre, which is made possible through the one-man guitar, has made the bar a site for popular performance capable of blending mimicry, parody and social commentary. Nyairo and Ogude (2005) state that performers like Mike Rua, Mike Murimi and Salim Junior have become big stars in the *Mugithi* circuit while some of the nightclubs where they work have become virtual shrines for devotees of the particular genre.

Lately, the Mugithi songs are mostly sung to express sexuality and are being revived in modern bars and nightclubs. Sexuality is not a mystery in human beings and it forms a central aspect of being human throughout life. Washabaugh (1998) says the styles used in the intersection of sexuality, gender identity and nationalism in the growth and consolidation of the 20th century are created in peripheral social and cultural contexts. Friedman (1993) notes that, sexuality like a nation has rituals and borders. It even has exiles of various types. We know who is "with us" and who is "against us". Sexuality therefore becomes a way of mapping ourselves in social space. Sexual partners become close to each other's relations and friends. However there is limited discourse on sexuality in both private and public spheres. Thus, there is little space allowed for talk on sexuality either at home, in the places of worship and even at schools. According to UNAIDS (2000), many people have a hard time talking about sex and sexual issues at one time or another, but keeping silent about sex keeps people ignorant and potentially leads to negative sexual health outcomes. Khamisi and Maina-Chinkuyu (2003) assert that it is very disturbing that the highest risk for HIV/AIDS infection is faced by the young women. Karlyn (2003) notes that in popular discourse, men conquer and women cede their sexual 'parts'. Women have little or no control over the terms of sexual relations or behaviour of their partners. Negotiation in sexual spaces has not been along similar lines both in statement and interpretation for the two sexes because of the differing social roles each is assigned. That men dominate women is not in question; the point is the source and workings of the domination and other intentions and their effects in so far as sexual negotiations are concerned. Tannen (1993) argues that we cannot locate the source of power/domination in linguistic strategies such as topic raising, directness, silence, interruption and volubility as has been claimed. Similarly, powerlessness cannot be located in indirectness, hesitations, hedges, tag questions, taciturnity and silence. This is because

the linguistic means can have opposite effects in different contexts. Thus a strategy that is intended to dominate may in another context or in another speaker be used to create connection.

Njogu and Maupeu (2007) say that *Mugithi* songs are a celebration of sexuality. According to Khamisi and Maina-Chinkuyu (2003), most females do not feel empowered to negotiate interpersonal relationships that are beneficial for them: when to begin sexual relations, controlling their fertility and practicing safe sex. Men still retain the power and control over relationships, bolstered by the traditional culture that continues to objectify women as sexual beings for men's enjoyment. The *Mugithi* songs and dance performance provide a context where its discourse topics can be identified and described to show the changing trends in the negotiation for social space across genders.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Mugithi songs have come to be recognized as an important genre in social entertainment circles in the Kenyan society. They have become an important aspect of socialization in Kenya. Despite this, there have been no studies focused on Mugithi song and dance, especially in relation to patterns of discourse across genders. Hence there is need to investigate sexuality as engendered in the Mugithi songs and the social relations established in the context of Mugithi song and dance performance.

1.3. Objectives of the study

The objectives of this study included:

- i. To identify and analyse the discourse topics in *Mugithi* songs which show changing trends in the negotiation for social space across genders.
- ii. To examine the discursive strategies embedded in the *Mugithi* songs.
- iii. To establish the social relations formed in the context of the *Mugithi* song and dance performance.

1.4. Research Questions

- i. What are the discourse topics in *Mugithi* songs that show the changing trends in the negotiation for social space?
- ii. What are the discursive strategies embedded in the *Mugithi* songs?
- iii. How are the social relations established between participants in the context of *Mugithi* song and dance performance?

1.5. Significance of the Study

The study involved the analysis of a rich genre which deserves scholastic attention as it reflected the peoples' world view. The analysis helped in showing how men and women related to each other in the context of *Mugithi* song and dance performance. The study is a contribution to applied linguistics, specifically Discourse Analysis and Sociolinguistics, in which a particular social-cultural context impinges upon language use as it manifests the changing socio-cultural trends among the Gikuyu in relation to sexuality. It investigates the discourse patterns in a changing socio-cultural milieu and whether it enables both men and women to negotiate for social space. The study hence helped to create awareness of how *Mugithi* songs construct social space among genders. The research findings, it is hoped, will contribute to an understanding of how language shapes people as particular sorts of social subjects including their gender identities, as men and women.

Further, it is hoped that the findings will contribute greatly to new knowledge in gender and discourse, especially on how to cultivate equity in social space. The results will also help to foreground the linguistic and discursive nature of songs. Understanding the role of language in construction of social space among genders is a powerful and important tool for promoting the access to information by the society.

1.6. Scope and Limitation

The current study targeted *Mugithi* songs and the responses from the participants in the entertainment clubs where the selected *Mugithi* oral artists performed in Nairobi city. The researcher did not consider *Mugithi* songs performed in other social contexts such as weddings, political arena and churches. The researcher concentrated on entertainment clubs because it was in these places where individual freedom is best exercised and other influences of control are not

as apparent. The researcher considered male artists since they dominate the genre and the three selected male *Mugithi* artists are big stars in the *Mugithi* circuit. The performances the researcher investigated did not have female artists and also these artists are very few. The study focused on the discourse topics and discursive strategies embedded in the *Mugithi* songs while being performed which the researcher considered as key sections of the songs and also the social relations established in the context of the performance. It was important to find out how both genders negotiated for social space. The researcher attended each *Mugithi* oral artist's performances twice. There were challenges encountered during the research period. The researcher was not able to observe all the verbal and non-verbal reactions of the participants towards the songs.

However, it was hoped that the reactions the researcher individually observed would be indicative of the whole process. Research assistants were involved with various groups in order to capture as many reactions as possible. Focus group discussions method was also used to correct the above limitation. Data was generated from participants in the formed groups. The researcher initiated the discussions and the participants came up with their own utterances and suggestions used as a way of explicating the discourse related to the songs sang. The researcher attempted to initiate a form of order to contain some kales that emerge from such cases. Another limitation was the fact that the researcher was a young woman. According to Boone (1990), the designation of women in sexuality remains a question as long as men continue to be beneficiaries of unequal power relations. However, seeing the world with unbiased eyes is a task which both men and women must participate in if we are to create a nonsexist society.

1.7. Operational Definition of Terms

The definition of terms given here is per how the terms were used in this study.

Culture: It is the total sum of a people's way of life. It includes norms and values of a society: their language, religion, politics, economics, technology, food habits, medicine, rules of marriage, the performing arts, and law

Discourse topics: Sub-themes in the *Mugithi* songs that pass across messages bordering on sexuality.

Gender: It is a social construct which asserts that the expectations, capabilities and responsibilities of men and women are always biologically determined, but sexually discriminated.

Gender identity: The conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of individuals as a gendered being. Gender identities are not fixed, they are constructed.

Ideology: A set of ideas or beliefs that form the basis of an economic, social or political theory held by a particular group that influences the way people behave.

Masculinity: Qualities and behaviours judged by a particular culture to be ideally associated with or especially appropriate to men and boys

Mugithi songs: A Gikuyu genre of music that is a remix of secular and traditional songs normally embedded with highly sexual connotations in its performance. It is normally sung in the context of nightclubs and danced in the form of a 'train dance'. It is an off-shoot of the Christian dance of 'Glory train'.

Negotiation: A process in which two or more people with different perspectives or interests interact in order to arrive at a compromise on the part of one or all persons.

Negotiation strategy: The way in which one person appeals to another by use of linguistic or other kinds of competence in order to achieve a desired end.

Patriarchy: A hierarchical system of social-cultural organisation in which men control political, social and economic structures.

Power: The process whereby individuals or groups gain or maintain the capacity to impose their will upon others, to have their way recurrently despite implicit or explicit opposition, through invoking or threatening punishment as well as offering or withholding rewards.

Sex: The biological characteristics that define human beings as male or female; they tend to differentiate humans as males and females.

Sexuality: Characteristics of the male and female reproductive elements and sex of the individuals in which reproductive elements arise. It encompasses sex, gender identities and roles, sexual orientation, eroticism, pleasure, intimacy and reproduction. Sexuality is experienced and expressed in thoughts, fantasies, desires, beliefs, attitudes, values, behaviors, practices, roles and relationships. While sexuality can include all these dimensions, not all of them are always experienced or expressed.

Social space: The time men and women allow each other in regard to conversational contribution in social interaction.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This chapter reviews available theoretical and empirical literature on language and sexuality. The main focus is on language and sexuality, the negotiation and discourse strategies that apply in the context of sexuality and the changing trends in the negotiation for social space across genders. The chapter also reviews the theory that will guide this study, Wodak's discourse-historical approach to discourse analysis, itself an off-shoot to Critical Discourse Analysis theory.

2.1.1. Sexuality

According to WHO (2005), sexuality is a central aspect of being human throughout life. It encompasses sex, gender identities and roles, sexual orientation, eroticism, pleasure, intimacy and reproduction. Sexuality is experienced and expressed in thoughts, fantasies, desires, beliefs, attitudes, values, behaviors, practices, role and relationships. Aggleton (2000) draws an important distinction between gender and sexuality. While both are intrinsically connected, gender is about how males and females behave in ways that are associated with masculinity and femininity respectively, and, sexuality is more specifically defined (at least in part) by whom a person has sex with, in what way and under what circumstances. Lwanda (2003) says the unwritten taboo on discussing sexual issues was to be a factor in the HIV/AIDS epidemic.

Once the issue of sexuality is brought up, the first and major thing that comes to the mind is sexual orientation and sexual diversity. This rather narrow definition of sexuality makes it very difficult to break from the narrow perception which has characterized it. Foucoult (1998) argues that the concept of what activities and sensations are "sexual" is historically (as well as regionally and culturally) determined, and it is therefore part of a changing "discourse". The sexual meaning (meanings of the erotic dimension of human sexual experience) are social and cultural constructs. They are made subjective after cultural and social mediation in any social context and the construction of a "sexual universe" is fundamentally linked to the structures of power. The construction of sexual meanings is an instrument by which social institutions (religion, marketing, the educational systems and psychiatry) control and shape human relationships. He asserts that if one wants to identify "the way sex is put in discourse," one needs to discover the positions, viewpoints and institutions who speak about sex. According to Sprank

(2008), there are two major flaws in the health-related approaches to studying sexuality. The first is that the term 'sexuality' has been used in a self evident and instrumental manner, rather than being approached with due attention to the full variety and subjectivity of sexual behavior. Studies that do not take into account the imprecision of the term 'sexuality' start from a flawed position that sees sex simply as an obvious incident or action. The word 'sex' refers to an act, a category, a practice, a gender. 'Sexuality' refers to the quality of 'being sexual'. It is a concept depicting the social arena where power relations and moral discourses are played out, and it also refers to sexual desire. These different aspects of sexuality highlight the need to define the term 'sexuality' in concepts such as sexual practices, categories, desire and identity to clarify what is being studied. A second related flaw is that mainly a historical approach has been responsible for grossly simplifying notions of 'culture'. Much research has been limited by ideas that there is something peculiar about African cultures regarding sexuality. Cultural 'traditions' and 'taboos' are the first things researchers tend to look for, to account for sexual behavior, overlooking the more mundane aspects of life such as the influence of poverty or the emotional weight of sex. The challenge of sex research is to understand the ways that societal factors organize sex and sexuality, and finding out how these processes shape the experiences of people.

Khamisi and Maina-Chinkuyu (2003) contend that it is difficult to separate sexuality from gender roles. Often in society, sexual matters are constructed as being about patriarchy, violence, and rights, not about pleasure. Sexual relations are one way of forming social relations; one gets close to their sexual partner's relations and friends. The sexual partners need to celebrate the positive aspects of their sexuality and be empowered to negotiate interpersonal relationships that are beneficial to them. Kitzinger and Firth (1999) note that it is often suggested that sexuality is a particularly difficult topic for open communication and that young women who might be fully able to communicate their desires (or lack of them) in other situations are unable to do so in the sexual situation with its heavy cultural loading and high level of personal investment.

2.1.2. Language and sexuality

Bucholtz (2004) asserts that within the past decade, the field of language and sexuality has emerged as an important area of research within sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, and social oriented discourse analysis. Lwanda (2003) notes that sexuality and sexual behavior can be easily found in social discourse, from where they can be exploited for health promotion

purposes. Language allows people to say things to each other and express their communication needs. Discourse analysis seeks to investigate the contextually rich language that human beings use to depict, talk about, and describe their sexuality and sexual behaviors. Eyre, Davis and Peacork (2001) argue that the approach has been successfully used to analyze self-justification, negotiation of meaning, imputation of responsibility, constitution of social identities and sexual scripts. By means of these reasons, the study will try to help solving the problem by giving more explanation in the field of linguistics study, particularly in learning slang words that have sexual connotations.

Izugbara (2005b) investigated local erotic songs and chants circulating among adolescent males in Nigeria. He wanted to access the themes which their erotic verses evoke and meanings on the basis of which young Nigerian males constitute their sexual conducts. The data indicated the high levels of awareness and knowledge of local boys' erotic songs and chants which were reportedly used to learn about gender and sex roles, the body, sexuality and for recreation. These songs have been characterized as hidden because the participants did not always perform them when parents or adults were around. Izugbara tried to uncover the meanings which were evoked in the songs and chants, how they negotiate the meanings of sexuality, sex, relationships, and gender, the process of identification and interpretation which they support, and the role of the verses in defining the erotic spaces and meanings on the basis of which young boys organize, constitute and base their sexual conducts. He concluded that songs and chants as a form of communication contribute to the sexual identities of adolescents. Unlike Izugbara's work which investigated sexual relations convened through songs, this study purposed to show how social relations are formed in the context of the *Mugithi* song and dance performance.

Ogechi (2005) identified specific lexemes and language expressions used by the youths in their discourse on sex and HIV/AIDS. He comes up with a conclusion that there is a special code used by the youth. The language used in discourses such as songs adjusts to the changes that a society goes through. The sounds and words in songs are used to communicate essential ideas in a society. Fairclough (1989) emphasizes the dialectic relationship between discursive practice and societal structures and processes of change. Discursive practice must therefore be analyzed as a social practice among other social practices in society. It is important for a song to be placed within the ethnographic background of the society from which it is drawn from since the

language used in the song is used to mirror the society's values and beliefs. Mugithi songs contain condensed experiences from the society's past and portray the richness of the Kikuyu culture. Kuria (2008) claims that the popular one-man guitar, Mugithi songs and dance performance, popular in the Kenyan urban space, are cultural practices that perform global sociocultural discourses, and which can be read for the ways in which they both indicate and formulate contexts. Brady and Laing (2001) contend that academic work on popular music has had a difficult and intermittent relationship with work on gender and sexuality. He concludes that rock has commandeered a modern 'public sphere' of serious, very masculine, intellectual exchange, projecting onto pop all the humor ('fun') and bodily excess (female sexuality) that this excludes. An analysis done on Eminem's rap songs' lyrics, shows that Eminem uses slang language that expresses meanings such as gender identity, sexual attraction, sexual behavior, sexual interest, sexual perversion and sexual organs. The slang language which he uses has orientation mostly in the sexual aspect. The importance of this analysis is that it can be used to obtain information about slang especially to find out and understand the meanings of slang words used to express sexuality in the lyrics of Eminem's rap songs. In Africa you will find that one way of finding out about issues of sexuality is in genres such as proverbs and songs though many artists use hidden language because the African culture is very much linked to naming but saying it in a much cautioned way.

Izugbara (2005b) states in his paper on local erotic songs and chants among rural Nigerian adolescent males, that the themes in the songs were primarily male privileging and penis advantaging, celebrate male sexual activity, desire, violence, ruthlessness and risk-taking as well as male control and subordination of women and their body. The songs and chants depict feminity and female sexuality as inferior to masculinity and male sexuality and tend to objectify women's bodies as facilities for male sexual pleasure. According to Ngugi (1972), language has been used to perpetuate the myth of female inferiority, and he recommends examining social and economic structures of our society in order to place and define women more meaningfully. He further observes that those who control the means of production in a society also control, to a certain extent, the positions and the dominant images of women. He succeeds in showing how language has served as a crucial tool in shaping the image of women in society. Unlike Ngugi's work, the focus of this study was *Mugith*i songs and how social space was negotiated by both men and women in the context of song and dance. Maina (2002) says that the female portrayed

in the Gikuyu popular music of Kenya are almost evil. Women are often viewed as prostitutes who see their sexuality as a commodity to be exchanged for material goods. These portraits create a hostile environment for women to thrive. People's conceptualization of sexuality can therefore be shaped by euphemisms used in various genres such as the *Mugithi* songs

2.1.3. Negotiation

Lewicki et al (1994) describe negotiation as a basic, generic human activity, a process that is often used in labour-management relations, in business deals like mergers and sales, in international affairs, and in our everyday activities. They note that negotiation is not a process reserved for the skilled diplomat, the top salesperson, or the ardent advocate for organized labour; it is something we all do, almost on a daily basis. Because we all negotiate about many different things in many situations, knowledge and skill in negotiation are important to anyone who works with and through people to accomplish objectives.

Lewicki et al (1999) focus on four basic strategies of negotiation which are used for many purposes. These are:

<u>Contending</u>: this refers to any effort to resolve a conflict on one's terms without regard to the other party. Both parties maintain their own aspirations and try to persuade the other party to yield. Some of the tactics employed here are: making threats, imposing penalties, making unacceptable demands or imposing deadline.

<u>Problem solving:</u> this entails an effort to identify the issues dividing the parties and to develop and move towards a solution that appeals to both sides. Parties maintain their own aspirations and try to find a way of reconciling them with the other party's aspirations. Some of the tactics used are: compromise, integrative solution, sending intermediaries to discuss the issue and conceding with expectation of receiving a return concession.

<u>Yielding:</u> this is lowering one's aspirations / partial concession.

<u>Withdrawing and inaction</u>: the two involve termination of efforts to resolve controversy. However withdrawing is a permanent solution while inaction is a temporary move that leaves open the possibility of resuming efforts to cope with controversy.

The above strategic choices are not the only choices that are available to a participant. There may be other strategies that could even be contextualized for particular situations.

Tannen (1994) observes that in analysing discourse, many researchers operate on the assumption that all speakers proceed along similar lines of interpretation as long as they share a cultural background. However, all linguistic strategies are potentially ambiguous. The concept of discourse strategies is relevant within sexual discourse and particularly the negotiation for space in the context of *Mugithi* song and dance performance.

According to McCarthy and Carter (1994), the concept of discourse strategies refers to "how we make use of linguistic and other kinds of competence in order to achieve our communicative aims, and at the same time present a picture of ourselves". Discourse strategies subsume lexicogrammatical choices and socio-cultural constraints and become the dominating feature in linguistic choice. McCarthy and Carter identify some discourse strategies such as turn taking, topic management, self-help strategies (strategic competence), anticipatory and politeness strategies. The discourse strategies that were useful for the study included lexico-grammatical features such as the strategic use of idiom as well as the use of intensifiers.

2.1.4. Changing trends in the negotiation for social space across the genders

Smita (2007) uses Holi cassettes recordings in North India as the starting point for an investigation into issues of culture and social change, gender constructs, kin-ship norms, lower caste assertion and a range class and gender concerns. The study explores how the themes characterize tradition change and hint at the existence of woman's spaces within the culture of Holi.

In the article Sexual boundaries in urban nightlife: views from the London gay and lesbian scenes, the authors argue that contemporary dance cultures in Britain have fostered new social connections across the social divides of class, gender, ethnicity and sexuality. In particular, it has been claimed that club cultures constitute important sites for reconfiguration of gender and sexuality. It answers the question as to what implications current trends towards the fusion of straight and gay club cultures have for the negotiation of sexual identities. In an article by Dliamini (2009), Swazi women use folk songs to depict gendered power relations as they exist in the Swazi society. Women talk and sing about female sexuality in ways that undercut male-

authored discourses and practices that work to the detriment of women. The songs form a political space in which women oppose patriarchal discourses on female sexuality and a space where power is negotiated. The songs hence form a forum in which women can use to articulate their views.

According to Kenyatta (1971), Gikuyu men find the subject of sexuality to be imperative enough to warrant the creation of the narrative that legitimises their notion of masculinity. They also construct their own ideas of manhood by seeking to legitimize their stranglehold on power, patriarchy over their women and often resort to the folktale of how men took power over the women. Onyango (2007) says that most African societies have always been patriarchal and power ideological structure is always propagated through genres such as songs and proverbs which are used to show gender constructions. According to him, before the advent of colonialism, masculinities were very predominant indeed. In the past and even now, there is a strong link between songs and power. Discussing the position of a woman during the colonial period, Kanogo (2005) shows that the power structure in the society discriminated against the African women. Women were embedded in gendered constructions of power, authority and ownership of and access to property in a manner that publicly diminished their individual agency. Their lives were cast in a host of community moulds that perpetuated unequal gender relations. Numerous studies have illustrated how inequitable access to and control of basic resources such as land and livestock characterized relationships between woman and men.

Izugbara (2005a) delineates two understandings about the male sexual organ that have relevant ramifications on the question of the power that is attached to masculinity: its physical functions and its symbolic function. In physical terms (called expressive), Izugbara contends that to a primitive mind, the erect male sexual organ has power. It is perceived to be hard, bold and strong. The erect male sexual organ is also an element of domination. In his words 'The invasive nature of the penis derived from primitive understanding of the meaning of penetration. The liquid (semen), which it emits during ejaculation, was also viewed as a sort of venom which weakened women. It registered as a tool with which to demobilise, invade and disvalue women.' But if you look at the situation itself, when a man ejaculates, the man himself becomes disempowered. Analyzing the topics in *Mugithi* songs will show whether the genre provides a context where negotiation for social space across genders is along similar lines.

2.2. Theoretical Framework

This study operated within the theoretical framework of Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach. The theory has tenets employed both in the analysing and discussion of results. It was important in analysing the discourse topics and discursive strategies embedded in *Mugithi* songs and social relations established in the context of *Mugithi* song and dance. This provided valuable insights in showing the changing socio-cultural trends among the Kikuyu in relation to sexuality.

According to Reisigl and Wodak (2001), the Discourse-Historical Approach which is committed to Critical Discourse Analysis adheres to the sociophilosophical orientation of critical theory. In orientation, the Discourse-Historical Approach takes cognisance of empathy with the victims of discrimination, principles of justice and principles of rationality. The versatility of the Discourse-Historical Approach is in its encompassing nature in terms of being multi-methodical in the context of empirical data as well as in its provision of historical insight. Wodak (2001) precisely points out that 'In investigating historical, organisational and political topics and texts, the discourse-historical approach attempts to integrate a large quantity of available knowledge about the historical sources and the background of the social and political fields in which discursive 'events' are embedded. Further, it analyses the historical dimension of discursive actions by exploring the ways in which particular genres of discourse are subject to diachronic change'.' This theory perceives both written and spoken language as a form of social practice.

For analysis, the Discourse- Historical Approach (Wodak 2001) underlines establishment of specific contents or topics, discursive strategies (including argumentative strategies) and linguistic means and the specific, context-dependent linguistic realisations (as tokens) of the topic under investigation.

The following five questions are important in analysis in a Discourse-Historical perspective:

- (i) How are persons and things named and referred to linguistically?
- (ii) What traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them?
- (iii) By means of what arguments and argumentation schemes do specific persons or social groups try to justify and legitimise the exclusion, discrimination, suppression and exploitation of others?

- (iv) From what perspective or point of view are these namings, attributions and arguments expressed?
- (v) Are the respective discriminatory utterances articulated overtly, or are they intensified, or are they mitigated (Reisigl and Wodak 2001).

Corresponding with the above questions, there are also five kinds of discursive strategies that are involved in positive self and negative other representation thus:

<u>Referential strategies:</u> they represent social actors, ingroups, outgroups, reference tropes, biological, naturalising, depersonalising, metaphors, metonymies as well as synecdoches

<u>Predicational strategies:</u> For example, the stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative and positive traits in the linguistic form of implicit or explicit predicate.

<u>Argumentation strategies:</u> they occur where we have the topoi through which positive and negative attributions are justified.

<u>Perspectivation, framing or discourse representation:</u> these are the means with which speakers express their involvement in discourse and position their point of view in the reporting, description, narration or quotation of discriminating events or utterances

<u>Intensifying strategies on one hand and mitigation strategies</u>: Both of them help to qualify the epistemic status of a proposition by intensifying or mitigating the illocutionary force of racist, gender, anti-semitic nationalist or ethnicist utterances.

The questions and strategies are important in the Discourse Historical Approach. All of them will be of the same concern to the study.

CHAPTER THREE METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter is divided into two parts; data collection and data analysis. The data collection part examines the location of study, research design, the population, the sample size, sampling procedures and the data collection tools. Data analysis covers data presentation and data analysis.

3.1. Research Design

The study used a descriptive research design. Kasomo (2006) says that in descriptive research, data analysis answers questions concerning the current status of a programme, project or activity. In this study, data analysis dealt with the interpretation of discourse topics passed across in *Mugithi* songs and the participants' reactions to these topics in regard to whether both genders negotiated for social space along similar lines or not.

3.2. Location of Study

The study was carried out in entertainment clubs in Nairobi city where the three purposively *Mugithi* performers habitually engage their patrons. The location was chosen because it is mostly the place where the renowned *Mugithi* artists carry out their live performances and Nairobi city is a typical representative of other towns in Kenya.

3.3. Sample and Sampling Procedure

The target population of this study consisted of *Mugithi* oral artists and participants in the entertainment clubs where the *Mugithi* performances took place. The accessible population was three renowned *Mugithi* oral artists and thirty participants in the *Mugithi* performances. The researcher used purposive sampling to identify the three *Mugithi* oral artists who are big stars in the *Mugithi* circuit and organized to attend their performances two times each in the entertainment clubs where they performed in Nairobi city. The thirty participants, fifteen males and fifteen females in various entertainment clubs, were also purposively selected according to the researcher's experience. Contact persons had requested the participants to sit together. Purposive sampling was used in both cases of selecting the *Mugithi* oral artists and the participants because they had the required information with respect to the objectives of the study. The population was drawn from Nairobi city and the researcher's findings will be replicated in

other regions in the country. Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) say that in purposive sampling, cases of subjects are handpicked because they are informative or they possess the required characteristics. The disadvantage of this method of sampling is that the results may be easily dismissed for being extreme although they may be representative of an extreme group, however small. The participants were in their natural setting as this helped them talk freely and not feel intimidated by strangers.

3.4. Data Collection Tools and procedure

Data constituted of *Mugithi* songs and responses to the themes in the song from the participants which reflected changing trends in the negotiation for social space across genders. To get the data required in this study, participant observation was the main tool of data collection. This method was reinforced by focus group discussions for the participants who were in the *Mugithi* performances. Tape recording and field notes were used to harness data from the participant observation and focus group discussions.

3.4.1. Participant observation

The researcher was keen to note the verbal and the non-verbal reactions of the participants to the discourse topics brought out in the *Mugithi* songs as they were performed by the three purposively selected *Mugithi* oral artists. This technique helped the researcher to get an optimal learning situation and to record *Mugithi* songs within their own socio- cultural contexts. The observed data was recorded in the form of field notes. This method was important in capturing first hand information in a natural setting. It also formed the basis from which the researcher identified the thirty participants who were involved in focus group discussions. The participants' verbal reactions were tape recorded. This method was important for purposes of transcription and also the researcher was able to go through them over again later for clarification and verification. Kothari (2004) states the main advantage of observation is that subjective bias is eliminated if it is done accurately. Secondly, the information obtained under this method relates to what is currently happening and the method is also independent of respondents' willingness to respond. However, observation method has various limitations. It is an expensive method, there are sometimes unforeseen factors which may interfere with the observational task and the information provided is very limited. Research assistants were used to capture the reactions not

captured by researcher and this method was reinforced by focus group discussions for the participants who were in the *Mugithi* performances.

3.4.2. Tape recording

The songs were collected through active participation in actual live performances. The songs performed by the three purposively selected *Mugithi* artists were tape recorded. This enabled the researcher to not only save time but also get the data verbatim and therefore get the songs without any alterations. They were later transcribed and translated into English from which the researcher got the discourse topics brought out in the songs. The translation of the songs represents a compromise between preserving as closely as possible the original meaning of the text and making it comprehensible to English language readers not familiar with Kikuyu language. Research assistants were used in recording the songs. Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) affirm that the tape recorded data can be played back and studied more thoroughly and tape recording also makes it possible to reanalyze the data in order to test objectives which may not have been there originally. The main disadvantage of tape recording is that transcribing the tapes and then analyzing the information is time consuming and tedious.

3.4.3. Focus group discussions

Three focus groups were formed and carried out with key informants. They included men and women of approximately 28 years to 50 years. Each discussion group consisted of ten members, five males and five females, and lasted an hour. This method was used to get the participants' interpretations of their reactions to the discourse topics brought out in the *Mugithi* songs. The researcher preferred this number since small focus groups are less dynamic while larger groups are difficult for everyone to participate. This technique also helped to obtain information on widely shared norms, beliefs, practices and assumptions towards men and women. The participants were briefed on the importance of their contribution to the research. During the group discussions, participants sat around a table, a move which helped to ease interaction. The researcher performed the role of focus group moderator guiding the proceedings and dealing with group dynamics. In each session, members were asked questions and given time to discuss them according to their knowledge. This method was used because it was flexible; the questions were informal and conversational, hence helped the respondents open up. The discussion between the researcher and the participants was invaluable to the construction of this work. On top of this, this technique helped the researcher to strengthen and verify the data collected from

participant observations. Kombo and Tromp (2006) say it is useful in studying sensitive topics such as sexuality and politics. It is also important as it builds on observation. The researcher also noted how both genders viewed the discourse topics and how they related with each other during the discussion. This helped test the objective on whether social space is opening up or not. It was also chosen because it saved time and created ease among the participants. Questions were directed to everyone in the group which was made up of mixed genders. Such discussions constituted major type of unstructured interviews because they depended on the reactions of the participants. Kothari (2004) posits that focused interview is meant to focus attention on the given experience of the respondent and its effects. Under it, the interviewer has the freedom to decide the manner and sequence in which the questions would be asked and has also the freedom to explore reasons and motives. The main task is to confine the respondent to a discussion of issues which the researcher seeks conversance. The discussions were tape-recorded to avoid interruptions when the researcher had to write down the responses.

3.5. Data Analysis Procedure

The data was analysed qualitatively by describing the findings of the study. The *Mugithi* songs, the participants' verbal and non-verbal reactions and the participants' responses to the questions formed the data required in this study. In the first step the researcher listened to and transcribed the tape recorded data and timed it with the observed data. In the second stage, literal translation of the *Mugithi* songs was carried out because the data were collected in the Gikuyu language. Using Wodak's Discourse-Historical Approach, all discourse topics in *Mugithi* songs, the discursive strategies embedded in the songs and the social relations established in the *Mugithi* context by the participants which showed changing trends in the negotiation for social space across genders were identified, described and analysed.

Steps in Data Analysis

Listened and transcribed information from the tape recorder and timed it with observed data. Translation was done since the major language used in the songs was Kikuyu. An interpretation of each song was done taking into consideration the stylistic features and language use. The theoretical framework was employed in order to arrive at the analysis and interpretation of the data. The discourse topics in *Mugithi* songs which showed changing trends in the negotiation for social space across genders were identified and described.

In examining the discursive strategies embedded in the *Mugithi* songs, the researcher was interested in answering the following questions:

- (i) How are men and women named and referred to linguistically?
- (ii) What traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them?
- (iii) By means of what arguments and argumentation schemes do men and women justify and legitimise the unequal power relations in their utterances and as reflected in the *Mugithi* songs?
- (iv) From what point of view are these namings, attributions and arguments expressed?
- (v) Are the respective discriminatory utterances articulated overtly, or are they intensified, or are they mitigated? (Adapted from Wodak 2001)

Below is an excerpt of a sample song and its subsequent analysis:

Example

...eeh Rua, hindi ciothe Rua hindi ciothe Rua araikia gichuthe (artist using his own name)

...njuguma nene njuguma nene njuguma nene, ndina mucuthe ona we, wena mucuthe

...Ominjaga cha cha ominjaga cha cha

Sample analysis

Translation

Rua, all the times Rua uses his penis...big penis big penis big penis, I have a penis, and you also have a penis (referring to the male participants)...it produces semen in a certain way...

The bolded term is a metaphor. It is an indirect comparison of a penis to a club which was mostly used during war. The male sexual organ symbolises power to invade women and the semen which it emits during ejaculation is seen to weaken women. This particular message is repeated for emphasis and it promotes the phallus. Hence the male sexual organ is an element of domination. A Kikuyu myth illustrates this. The myth claims that at one time women were very

powerful in the community and the men conspired that to reduce the women's power they had to impregnate them. The strong message in this myth is that a man's penis can be an important instrument of enhancing a man's domination over a woman

The above text and analysis exemplifies how the rest of the songs and utterances were analysed and findings presented.

The researcher then made a summary and conclusion about the different interpretations of the linguistic features used in the sexual discourse topics and how they showed changing trends in the negotiation for social space across genders and also how the social relations were established in the context of the *Mugithi* song and performance.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

This chapter presents the results of the study. It presents the discourse topics established in the focus group discussions and the social relations formed in the context of the *Mugithi* song and dance performance and a brief analysis of these topics. The results from the study are also discussed. The linguistic analysis of the discourse topics and the discursive strategies embedded in the songs are given. The interpretations made by the researcher as well as the interpretations given by the participants involved in the focus group discussions are also formulated.

4.1. Data Presentation

This section shows the discourse topics that are brought out during the *Mugithi* songs and dance performance. The first part presents the discourse topics while part two shows the summary of the discourse topics. In each case, there is a reflection of the responses to the discourse topics in the *Mugithi* songs by the participants in the focus group discussions.

4.1.1. Discourse topics established in Focus Group Discussion A

The researcher presented the songs 'Mama Kiwinya', 'Ihikania' (Marriage), 'Mwana na Taulo' (A child and a towel) and 'Mutumia Murogi' (A witch) all in appendix 5 to the focus group discussion and the participants said the topics that mostly came through the songs are sex relations, marriage issues, ideology and power. The song 'Mama Kiwinya' was first presented and the contributions made to refer to the discussion which ensued were that sexual relations, which were seen as an important topic in the affairs of men and women in the Gikuyu society, should not be along similar lines. The man should be the one negotiating for sex and the woman demanding for it is regarded as too forward and viewed with suspicion. The artist used subtle terms to refer to the sexual act which he termed as 'stock ya K' meaning vagina. 'K' stands for keino (vagina). The men claimed that it is natural for the man to be in control of any sexual relationship and not the other way round. From this argument, the issue of power and ideology came up and the woman who comes out too strong and demanding what she wants was considered as loose by the male members.

The female participants indicated that women are free to do whatever they want though not exclusively since most African societies are still patriarchal. They claimed there is still an element of control by men.

In the song '*Ihikania*' (marriage), marriage and family issues came up and the participants agreed that the song highlighted the setbacks of most women especially among young couples. As reflected in the song, the men complained that most women do not take their domestic roles seriously as expected of them. The woman is brought out as irresponsible and careless in the manner of doing her things such as in the line,

she goes to the shamba wearing on her shoes

The artist in a way uses language to mock those women considered lazy in marriage. In the song 'Mwana na Taulo' (A child and a towel), the woman is brought out as irrational especially in forming hurried decisions as conveyed in the line

since you got angry and left for your father's home

The participants especially the men claimed that the woman did not carry out her roles as required.

In the song 'Mutumia Murogi' (A Witch) appendix 5 song 4, the participants agreed there is a subtle gender ideology passed through the song. Women are seen as evil and need constant surveillance from the men. The witch signifies the evil and the cruelty of a woman, a fact that is unacceptable. They agreed the message passed across is that men should be watchful and weary of women. The women participants however disagreed with this opinion saying the term 'witch' or a 'devil' is not something amusing neither is it a spectacle worthy of their fascination.

4.1.2. Discourse topics established in Focus Group Discussion B

The songs entitled 'Kahora Nginya Rwenje' (Slowly till Rwenje), 'Niwandunyire Mwana' (You snatched me my child), 'Muthuri Angiuka Iguru' (When a man's temper goes up) and 'Wakini' (My fellow man) were presented to the focus group discussion and these were the responses that

the participants gave. The participants agreed that intimate relationships between men and women were the common issues expressed through the songs but betrayal was common especially by the woman as clearly brought out in the song 'Niwandunyire Mwana'. The woman came out as manipulative and used her body to achieve what she wanted. She is actually considered to be loose and unfaithful in a marriage as brought out clearly in the song 'Kahora Nginya Rwenje' when the man asks,

Then you give birth to another one who looks like you, do you betray me when I'm on a journey away?

Appendix 5 song 5 page 91

The woman's foolishness and carelessness is also another issue brought out. In the song 'Kahora Nginya Rwenje', the woman is castigated for not taking care of the child properly as expressed in these two lines.

If Nyakairu was clever,

She would have given the child cow's milk

Appendix 5 song 5 page 91

The issue of leadership also came up. The male participants seemed to agree with the message expressed that a man often makes the right decisions to save his relationship. This is expressed in the song 'Muthuri Angiuka Iguru' (When a man's temper goes up) when the man says'

And before a man leaves his wife

He should ask himself

Where will the children go

Appendix 5 song 7 page 93

The song 'Wakini" (My fellow Man) also conveys the same message where the man says,

Young Woman, remove your hands from my shoulders...

You know I haven't paid fees

And I haven't bought uniform yet

Appendix 5 song 8 page 94

The male responses stamp the masculine ideology that elevates man in a position of decision making but the female participants negotiated for the benefit of being recognized and aired their views to show the unfairness of the situation. This means that culture serves as a background against which negotiations occur. From this discussion, it is clear how gender dynamics in context import the underlying premises for understanding the process of negotiation for space. By the male participants assuming that a man is seen as a decision maker legitimately attached to the role, it was understood how gender play out in negotiations to achieve status and establish boundaries of authority and responsibility.

4.1.3. Discourse topics established in Focus Group Discussion C

The participants in the focus group discussion made responses in reference to the songs 'Simple Heart', 'Mombasa', 'Wendo ni Wendo'(Love is love) and 'Kanyina Kanini' (Young Girl). The issues that emerged mostly dwelt on men and women relations, sexual relations and prostitution. The female participants felt that in the song 'Mombasa', the woman is considered an object of pleasure since she is brought out as a prostitute who makes the man squander his wealth. This is clearly expressed in the line,

I had befriended a prostitute who made me escape from home

Appendix 5 song 10 page 96

They said that the discourse that describes women often floats between naming the woman as victims or agents, that is, complying prostitutes. The man is only seen as a client. It clearly presented provocative situations and the stimulations of sexual desire women can create in men, which may result to adultery. The woman is the temptress who poses a threat to a man since he laments that he squandered cash while in Mombasa.

Male participants also highlighted the issue of betrayal in relationships which was seen as common and was regarded as an urgent issue. The song 'Kanyina Kanini' (Young Girl), portrays this where the man laments.

In our meeting we passed that it's better lover

But you embarrassed me later...

And the way I was proud of you

Appendix 5 song 10 page 97

The participants, especially the male, agreed that the woman is said to destroy the love that the man has built. By the woman having a simple heart as implied in the song 'Simple Heart', she is conveyed as destructive and careless while the man is caring and constructive. The lines below illustrate this,

Since you went and left me...

I don't sleep because of many thoughts

Appendix 5 song 10 page 95

The female participants made contributions that suggested that men use songs to reconstruct and reinforce the patriarchal ideal of women to propagate that they are submissive and helpless, that their sexuality including pregnancy makes them vulnerable and that they require the protection of men. This is captured in the song 'Wendo ni Wendo' (Love is Love),

See how she cries when she hears you're leaving her

Because she has a child

Don't leave her, marry her instead and live together...

Appendix 5 song 11 page 97

The female participants argued that they brought out the image of girls as fragile, vulnerable and weak, both physically and mentally.

4.2. Data analysis

The *Mugithi* artists sing about matters affecting most people in their everyday lives. The language used in the songs confirms that culture discrimination, especially against woman, is rampant and it manifests itself in the form of the gender sources of discrimination. It emanates from social formations such as sexual relations, marriage relations and family issues which conditions its members to conform to socially acceptable gender role.

For instance in the excerpt below,

Mama Kiwinya, kwaheri bye bye,

You behaved like a surveyor

And measured me like boundaries...

Appendix 5 song 1 page 87

The imagery used in the song expresses the lamentation of the man towards the woman, who is his superior, for using him as a sex tool for her own satisfaction.

You lied to me so that I could spend in your place

So that I could help you take 'stock ya k'

When I leave, why don't you look

For a 'mechanic' who will service your 'garage'

Appendix 5 song 1 page 87

The letter 'k' stands for 'keino', meaning 'cunt' and the man is tricked by the older woman so that his work can only be to satisfy her sexually. This also applies to the next stanza where the man uses imagery to tell the woman to get another man who will satisfy her sexually.

The language also used in the songs helped bring out how genders feel about each other. In the song 'Mutumia Murogi' (A witch), this is clearly expressed.

A woman who is a witch

A woman of witchcraft

A woman who does not behave like a human

Is like a wild animal

Appendix 5 song 4 page 90

The term 'witch' is an offensive term that deliberately insults a woman regarded as ugly, vicious or malicious. This means she can use her seductive powers to enslave a man. The song is meant to warn men not to enter in the traps laid out by most women.

From the discussion among the participants of the various focus group discussions, various discourse topics were brought out in the songs examined. These were sex relations, marriage and family issues, leadership, prostitution and social regard for boy- or girl-child. For sex relations, various participants especially the male, suggested that the man should be the one negotiating for sex. The man is considered a leader and if a woman approaches a man she admires, she is viewed with suspicion and hence the man should initiate a relationship.

In terms of leadership, woman should not be given any chance to come to power. The decision depicts woman from a man's point of view and presents the exclusion of woman from power as justifiable though most female participants refuted this claim. For the theme of boy and girl child, a man is seen as a symbol of protection and security. He is also seen as the provider of the family. The women are generally portrayed as people who can be very destructive, dangerous and unreasonable. The image of the women as a dangerous element is captured in one of the songs and does not take her responsibility as a wife very seriously.

For marriage and family issues, it is established that the image of the woman is line with the roles assigned to her which affirm her place in the hierarchical arrangement of society. A woman is also defined by her role as a wife. A woman is worthy only if she realizes her potential to play the role of a wife and by extension, mothering. The wives are expected to be good and responsible wives to their husbands. For ownership and inheritance, men were considered to be the providers and had the right to control women. According to the female participants, male dominance has been cited as the major obstacle to gender equity. Cultural institutions and positions in communities play a role in elevating men over women.

4.3. Linguistic Background of Songs

The data analysis made in this study was grounded in discourse analysis. It is therefore imperative to give importance to some approaches to discourse in which songs are part of. Fairclough (1992) states that discourse is socially constructive, constituting social subjects, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief. *Mugithi* songs in this study constitute

social subjects which have been identified as male and female participants in the performance. The social relations between the participants is that of sharing the social space. The systems of knowledge and belief among the different participants lead them to form their opinions on discourse topics brought out in the *Mugithi* songs. Songs are a large part of the African culture. History and tradition have shaped the particular language and styles used in songs. Songs today might be seen as a combination of entertainment and social commentary delivered in various performances. Texts are analysed in terms of a diverse range of features of form and meaning appertaining to both the ideational and interpersonal functions of language. The meaning potential of a form is generally heterogeneous, a complex of diverse, overlapping and sometimes contradictory meanings. Hence, texts like songs can be sometimes ambivalent and open to multiple interpretations. To overcome the pitfall of ambivalence, multiple interpretations and ambiguity, the study relied on Wodak's Discourse Historical Approach.

Songs are a part of discourse that the artists use as a medium of expression and also a means of establishing and maintaining relationships among the participants. For a long time they have been recognized as channels for communicating messages and space for the construction and mediation of meaning. Songs can tell us about a community's cultural values. Songs have been used as vehicles of transmitting people's philosophy, beliefs, values and sometimes their historical development. Songs are socially significant as they carry serious implication of society's beliefs. According to Lusweti (1984), the lifestyles, customs and literature of a people including songs, are known and shared throughout the community. Kabira and Mutahi (1988) say that the song is the most flexible genre of oral literature. This characteristic hinges on the fact that the song is capable of taking new ideas or words and fit them into a song without changing its structure, rhythm or body movements involved. This enables the song to be a genre which is responsive to changes in everyday life of the community. Very little attention has so far been paid to the agency of songs in the social construction of gender identities in Africa, despite the fact that it represents one of the simplest and most popular forms of social commentary. Songs and dances also tend to represent values and beliefs of various communities. Dance, which is also emphasised as movement, is regarded as an important mode of communication. Artists sing the songs to bring out topics that reflect the changes in the dynamic society. There are various aspects of songs that are of interest. For example, there is the social aspect; establishing and maintaining relationships. However, for the intent and purpose of this research which falls under

the linguistic aspect, the *Mugithi* songs were studied in the aspect of language use. According to Ngugi (1981), the choice of language and the use to which language is put is central to a people's definition of themselves in relation to their natural and social environment. Language in this way therefore is a carrier of a people's culture. Artists and participants are part of people who have unique culture they want to perpetuate and experience through songs which use language.

The use of metaphorical language among the Mugithi artists in Kenya today enables them to express themselves in songs. Mugithi song and dance performance is performed in a cosmopolitan environment where the patrons identify with its sexual expression. This research found out that Kikuyu was the most pervasive language in use. However, there was a lot of code switching and mixing since artists also used English and Kiswahili. The artists' choice of the vocabulary used greatly influenced by the discourse topics in the songs. They borrowed words from English and Kiswahili to add onto or supplement the Kikuyu vocabulary they had at their disposal. This was a trend observed from many of the songs. The focus group discussions carried out helped to verify that the artists used metaphorical language in some instances for emphasis and also circumrotate around some terms considered taboo or embarrassing. Also by focusing on the Mugithi songs, the researcher intended to unravel how gender identities are formed, negotiated and recreated within the realm of social space and also how the songs provide a platform for the understanding of identities and social relations in contemporary Africa. The analysis of the Mugithi songs was done in two parts. The first was the analysis of the discourse topics brought out in the songs while the second part concentrated on the discursive strategies employed in the songs.

4.4. Linguistic description of discourse topics in Mugithi Songs

Mugithi songs were analysed using Wodak's Discoure Historical Approach. Description of the theory is to be found in chapter two under 'Theoretical framework'. Wodak's theory is designed to describe the discourse topics and what is implied. However, further explanation depends on more than linguistic factors found within the theory. Mugithi song and dance performance can be described in such cohesive terms as a popular consumer entertainment medium. Mugithi song and dance is also notorious for the lewd terms, especially late into the night. The themes and the artistic styles that have spawned the song can merely be refined and redefined by the artists. The songs, as part of popular culture present a platform where gender relations are represented in. It

was important to describe the songs as a text as this study is linguistic in nature and establish the social relations formed in the context of the *Mugithi* song and dance performance. This fulfilled the first and the third objectives of this study. Five discourse topics of sex relations, boy and girl child, marriage and family issues, leadership, ownership and inheritance brought out in the songs were examined.

4.4.1. Sex relations

Contemporary music and singing in various contexts propagate sex relations by describing bodily excitement. Among many African communities, including the Kikuyu, sex is regarded as a very private matter and thus it is a taboo subject for public discussions, particularly for women. *Mugithi* songs performed in the style of one man guitar represent metaphors that are overwhelmingly used to describe sex relations among genders. This is evident in a vast range of euphemistic expressions and vague references for human genitalia and sexual activities which are used to negotiate sexual meanings.

Example 1

When I came to you, I had planned to ask for a job I had just completed form four.

You requested me to look after your shop

And you lied to me so that I could spend in your place,

So that I could help you take 'stock' ya 'k'.

You confused me by giving me money
When I requested you to allow me visit my parents
You did not accept.
So you married me
And yet you haven't taken dowry?
There is no young woman who can accept me
Because they know your 'dance'.

Excerpt from Mugithi song 1, appendix 5 page 87

The excerpt is about a naive man who claims to have been lured into a love relationship by an older woman when he had come desperately looking for a job. The Kikuyu term of the term 'vagina' for example is derogatory and therefore taboo. The artist has therefore used metaphorical terms 'stock ya k' and 'dance' meaning the sexual activities they had as lovers. The song also reflects the changes in sex role relationships and appropriate interpersonal behaviour. The overt picture obtained of the women when they do not play their designated roles is that they are untrustworthy, careless, cold-hearted hence displaying a high degree of emotional instability by taking advantage of younger naive men.

Example 2

MP 3: Sex negotiations for one are common in the songs, for instance, where a man accuses the woman for using him for her own sexual satisfaction. This clearly brought out in the song 'Mama Kiwinya'.

MP 2: The women represented here are the ones who are financially stable and lure the men who are less financially stable.

MP 4: A man should be the one negotiating for sex. If a woman is too forward, she is considered loose.

R: Is it wrong for the woman to have what she wants?

MP 3: The man should be the one to approach the woman since he is considered the leader. If a woman approaches the man, she is regarded with suspicion and seen as too forward.

R: Do you agree with that point ladies?

FP 2: I think the society is changing and women are becoming more liberated. They can do whatever they want.

Excerpt from FGD 1 appendix 3, page 76

This sample song drew various responses from the participants of the focus group discussions and majority of the participants, especially the men, argued that the man should be the one negotiating for sex. If a woman is too forward, she is considered loose. They claimed that a man

is also considered a leader and if a woman approaches a man she admires, she is regarded with suspicion and hence the man should initiate a relationship. The female participants, however, disagreed with this opinion and expressed their views that a woman should have the liberty to do what she wants with her life.

In a number of African countries, the emphasis on sexual abstinence is a challenge to notions of masculinity and self-control. Kenyatta (1971) describes non-penetrative sex (nguiko) among the Gikuyu. Nguiko (fondling) followed a well-regulated code of convention. According to Kenyatta, the Gikuyu man had been taught to "develop the technique of self-control in the matter of sex, which enables him to sleep in the same bed with a girl without necessarily having sexual intercourse." He would not dare pull out a girl's garment because it was taboo (thahu) which could lead to a long process of purification and social stigmatization by the community and his age-mates (riika). In nguiko, the man squeezed his penis between his thighs and fondled the girl until they were both satisfied, without penetrating. The girl was also barred, by custom, to touch the man's sexual organ with her hands. Full penetration, a rare occurrence, never took place between casual lovers because of consequences stipulated by culture. For instance, a man who attempted to loosen a girl's garment during nguiko, would be reported and ostracized by girls and boys alike for bringing shame to them.

Example 3

My breast gets touched, then my vagina

My vagina gets touched, then my buttocks

My buttocks get touched, then my clitoris.

Excerpt from Mugithi song 1, appendix 5 page 87

From this excerpt, the male power is reflected in numerous expressions and the images infused in the song. The underlying ideology is to portray the male above the female, physically, intellectually and emotionally. The sexual images particularly make the female the passive recipient or victim to the male's action. The references make a woman an object or victim to the man's action.

R: What do you guys feel about the *Mugithi* artists including sexual terms in their songs?

MP4: They express what most people would not especially in public places and these terms are part of us. And they carry very deep messages.

R: Meaning? (Some murmuring)

MP4: Sexuality is part of us whether we like it or not.

MP2: That is right. That's why most of us we're here enjoying ourselves since it's not every time you come across such a context. Listen to that song.....

FP4: (Blushing) ...Ok.. We've gotten the point. But in most cases they don't express them outright; they coat them to sound less explicit.

R: Just one more thing, why do you seem to enjoy such songs compared to other genres?

MP2: We love listening to them and we get excited and even sing along especially when those terms are said out aloud since this is the right place and time. It would be embarrassing if said somewhere else. And again most guys are drunk so they don't feel embarrassed.

MP3: And in any case, these artists sing what patrons love hearing and hence can't go out of business.

Excerpt from FGD 3 appendix 3, page 84

In regard to the sample song above, the participants agreed that the *Mugithi* artists indulge in taboo subjects like sex. They deal with issues pertaining to sexuality and the songs are notorious for the lewd terms, especially late into the night. They further explained that the songs are performed for a cosmopolitan audience likely to embrace its sexual expression which is opposite of traditional contexts that forbid sex talk which is seen as taboo. Hence, there are no inhibitions on matters of sex and sexuality which as the participants, both male and female say convey very deep messages and are part of humanity. The female participants, though, felt as if the woman is used as a sex object for a man's pleasure.

You have a simple heart
You were cheated and you left me
You have forgotten our love
You have a very simple heart

I don't want to talk to you again
Don't make me tear up,
My love, go in peace
One day you'll remember me.

Excerpt from Mugithi song 1, appendix 5 page 95

Women are seen as unreliable and untrustworthy because one can never predict their behaviour unlike men as shown in the song above.

Example 6

FP 3: ...Marriage isn't about dominance or submission and both parties ought to have equal weight in the relationship.

MP 6: What! (Laughter). Men and woman cannot be equal as they are different, with different roles in the society. It's not in our place to change these roles. It's unorthodox!

MP 4: The songs also bring out the women as irresponsible and do not carry out their roles as it is expected of them.

MP 2: In fact there is a sense of betrayal which is not expected from an African woman

Excerpt from FGD 1 appendix 3, page 76

According to the male participants, they claimed that status remains a vital defining factor for a man. Having been married gives a woman a sense of security of the family property and a woman ought to be submissive to her man. A sense of betrayal is not expected from an African woman but the female participants agreed that a woman should be assertive and have a say in a relationship.

I met with a young woman

Who looked like a ghost

When I saw how she had painted herself,

I saw a real devil.

When I winked at her, she just laughed.

I was not myself

And even if you asked me my name

I couldn't remember.

After exchanging two words,

She told me there's nothing she doesn't like

Other than sex.

If the nail gets blunt in the course of its work,

It gets sharpened.

Excerpt from Mugithi song 4, appendix 5 page 90

Just as food satisfies the belly, the woman satisfies the needs of a man. Such needs include social material, and sexual satisfaction. A woman is seen as an object to satisfy the needs of a man just like food satisfies the belly whenever one is hungry. This expression brings out another aspect of a woman as a man's object who should be ready to meet all his needs. This is also brought out in the discussion below.

Example 8

MP 6: The songs clearly bring out the woman as a bad element especially in marriages. She is actually considered to be a witch as brought out in the song 'Mutumia Murogi' (A Witch).

MP 3: In fact her beauty is to be admired which attracts many men and makes them weak thus making irrational decisions sometimes.

MP 4: The man is also cautioned to think clearly before undertaking a major step in marriage.

Excerpt from FGD 1 appendix 3, page 78

From the discussion among participants in the focus group discussion, at times the female participants appeared to accept their situations and the male participants were dominating the discussion. It was agreed that in the Gikuyu community, girls are regarded as investments or commodities for sale. The girl who is beautiful means that she can get many suitors. Conversely, public spaces are often associated with men and thus perceived to be politically important.

Example 9

I had befriended a prostitute

Who made me escape from home

And embrace life there in Mombasa.

We always went to the beach to swim

And then we rented taxis and slept in lodgings

Which were very expensive, there in Mombasa.

Excerpt from Mugithi song 10, appendix 5 page 96

In the excerpt above, women are portrayed as temptresses who pose a threat to a male. The man laments that the woman is instrumental in leading him to a reckless life hence she is blamed for brewing trouble. Women are blamed for most evils that pervade society. Men are portrayed as innocent victims of women's machinations.

Example 10

MP1: But you women 'bewitch' us with your looks until a man gets confused. In fact the song 'Mombasa', the man laments that a prostitute lured him from his family and squandered his wealth.

R: So the male gender is still favoured as was in the traditional society?

MP3: You should not forget that we are still in a patriarchal society, so men have got more rights and still have the say.

FP1: Although we can still say things are not as they were back then. Women have become quite independent. Look at us; we are in this context at this time which could not be possible some time back. We are not considered prostitutes because we're here. So I believe women are becoming liberalised, though we are still not equal with men.

MP2: <Yea> I still insist we're not equal.

FP1: We may be one day!

Excerpt from FGD 3 appendix 3, page 84

Despite the intensified state and social control, female participants felt that women should be able to speak out their views through their social interactions. They argued that women should construct their own social spaces to reveal their sense of self and cultural awareness of the interrelated sociocultural and political forces. They are in a position to negate what they term as

discriminatory.

Circumcision among both boys and girls was a very important custom in various African societies including the Kikuyu. It is argued the main reason for female genital mutilation has been to exert patriarchal control of women especially for their sexuality. According to Kennedy (1970), the reason for circumcision by the Egyptian Nubians is reduction of female sexuality, cleansing, prevention against sexually transmitted diseases, promotion of fertility, attainment of adulthood, preparation of marriage and aesthetic improvement among people who tend to describe the uncircumcised genitalia of both men and women as revolting. Circumcision as the case widely in Africa, not only was a preparation for marriage in due course but immediately lifted the ban on sexual activity so that many found the period after initiation and before marriage the happiest time of their lives.

One event that was considered very important in the communal calendar among the Kikuyu was circumcision of boys and girls. It was a mandatory rite of passage into adulthood. On the most basic level, the social consequence of a boy's circumcision meant that he would now become a warrior, and would spend several years in the service of the entire people to defend and protect, and occasionally attack neighboring tribes. For an uncircumcised boy, he would remain a boy even if he lived to ninety years and would also be barred from getting married and raising children. The 'Ndachi ya irua' (circumcision dance) involves the circumcision of females, meaning the marked cut-off point between child and female. During this sacred time, relatives and friends sing and dance about sexual knowledge and the rule governing the responsibilities of social relationships. For a girl, circumcision meant that she was able to bear children, and

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marriage was usually swift to follow. A sexual as well as a social act, the circumcision marks a woman's assumption of her female identity, allowing her both to procreate, and to take part in traditional rituals and traditional governing councils. It is also the time when initiates are instructed in the rules and regulations of their society, and their responsibilities within it. The circumcision season involved a lot of singing and dancing before, during and after the actual ceremony. After the ceremony, the initiates were enlightened about their roles as men and women in the society.

With the introduction of Christianity in Kikuyu land there was disagreement on the issue of female circumcision. Strayer & Murray (1978) say there was resistance from the Kikuyu's parents who argued they did not wish their girls to remain children forever in the eyes of the tribe. The uncircumcised girls were viewed as irresponsible and immature. These sentiments are expressed through songs and they aim at resisting all forms of foreign domination. The Kikuyu had group circumcision with a festive atmosphere celebrating the dawn of sexuality with young newly circumcised girls and boys joining in songs and dances and it was seen as an educational process. Hence a woman who was bold enough to broach matters of sex was viewed with suspicion since it was unexpected.

4.4.2. Social regard for boy- or girl-child

Demand for children is firmly rooted in indigenous social institutions which are prone to external forces of change. Muriuki (1974) says that the male children were very important since they were expected to carry on the line and to increase the number of people in the family because the Gikuyu believed that if a man died without a male child, his family would come to an end and this would break the continuity among the living, the dead, and the unborn. Mugo (1982) affirms that male children were also preferred to female ones because the males would remain in their homes for the rest of their lives, mostly helping the family. The females, on the other hand, would eventually get married and hence abandon their homes. This often led to the fear that if a man died without a male child to perpetuate his lineage, it would very likely bring an end to his family since all his daughters would get married. According to Wambugu (2006), although the Agikuyu were very anxious to have children of both sexes, the male child was preferred because they said, the males were the mainstay of the stock, while the females were like bees who sooner or later would swarm away leaving the beehive deserted. Hence the preoccupation in Gikuyu and

many African societies on the continuity of the family line is not just with a desire for children but a preference for sons.

Example 11

Eeh Wakini, finish your beer we go home Remember we have children and wives waiting for us

The bar is a home for someone

Who has no wife and children

Or someone who is unconcerned

Who doesn't know who sleeps in his home.

Wakini you know it's bad

To get late before we reach home.

At least we know what happened in the course of the day

And our wives are still waiting for us.

Excerpt from Mugithi song 8, appendix 5 page 94

In the above excerpt, a man is seen as the symbol of protection, security and permanency. He is also seen as the provider of the family. This is because in the traditional Gikuyu society, one of the jobs of men is to provide for the family. A boy is therefore considered as a future provider of the family. A family without a son is regarded as lacking in a future provider since girls could not undertake such roles of protecting, providing, and continuing the fathers' family line.

Example 12

MP 3: The songs also clearly highlight the wise decision made by men especially in regard to his family welfare.

MP4: Men are trained to be strong and aggressive whereas women are trained to be dutiful, submissive, patient and faithful.

R: So this argument also applies to leadership?

MP1: We might say that things have changed over time and most women are becoming more independent but she is still in charge of domestic activities such as child rearing, cooking, washing.... men still have more leadership positions in various places in the society. And in any case most people are not comfortable with women becoming leaders. The leadership positions are not yet shared equally.

FP3: I think people should be sensitised on gender equality so that women are given more space to exert themselves.

MP2: (laughter)...ok...ok...my friend, please understand we'll never be equal. Even from the Biblical and biological point of view, that's not possible! (More laughter)

Excerpt from FGD 3 appendix 3, page 82

From the discussion among participants based on the song above, it was clear how gender dynamics in context impart the underlying premises for understanding the process of negotiation for space. By the male participants assuming that a man is seen as a leader legitimately to the role, it was understood how gender play out in negotiations to achieve status and establish boundaries of authority and responsibility. Cultural texts still view a man as the ideal leader and powerful. The female responses raised issues associated with challenging men's views pertaining to such issues as their current roles in society, ownership of property and express displeasure at being considered an object of pleasure for men.

A high premium is put on male children in Gikuyu society. A lot of institutional support for high fertility in Africa such as lineage-based descent systems, polygamy, bride wealth, extended kinship structures and communal land tenure are being eroded. Men were and still are custodians of the African culture whereas women are wives and mothers in the role of the transmitters and emblems of African norms and thus responsible for bearing and raising children and teaching them about beliefs and obligatory customs for continuation of the African social norms and values. Through the process of socialization within the family, in educational institutions and other social spheres, boys and girls are conditioned to behave in certain ways and to play different roles in society. In the Gikuyu society, women are generally portrayed as people who can be very

destructive, dangerous, and unreasonable. There are several *Mugithi* songs that point to this attitude.

Example 13

When she's given an axe to get firewood

When there are visitors, so that she can cook for them,

She gets very angry.

She serves you very hot tea

And when you complain it's hot,

You're asked to cool it yourself.

You're served with a plate

That hasn't been washed well

And the cups aren't washed inside

And your clothes are never ironed

And the house is never swept.

These people are disobedient

And when she goes to the shamba

She goes wearing her shoes.

Excerpt from Mugithi song 2, appendix 5 page 88

This image of women as a dangerous element is seen in the song above where the woman does not take her responsibility as a wife very seriously. This song also stresses the unforgiving nature of women. Since women can keep their anger inside them for long, it makes them engage in endless fights and quarrels. Women are encouraged to conform to established cultural norms by being rewarded or punished for their behavior.

Example 14

MP 5: Marriage issues are also deliberated upon in the songs and the main issue mostly brought out is the woman sometimes not honoring her position in marriage especially among young couples. This is highlighted in the song 'Ihikania' (Marriage).

MP 3: I believe marriage is part of our culture and should be regarded with respect.

R: So is there any gender in particular who is given a certain status?

MP 6: Of course! Status remains a vital defining factor for a man. Having been married gives a woman a sense of security of the family property.

R: You mean both the man and woman are not equal partners in the relationship?

FP 3: ...Marriage isn't about dominance or submission and both parties ought to have equal weight in the relationship.

Excerpt from FGD 1 appendix 3, page 76

In the focus group discussions based on the song above and also sample song 15 below, it was clear than men attempted to place the dictates of the Gikuyu traditions as a competitive force in the face of the negotiation process but the female participants employed the changing sociocultural forces as a bargaining power against restrictive men. The women were already embracing change regarding female power in the society.

Example 15

Young men of my age

When you are ready to get married

It's better when you ask God to help you

Because the young women we have nowadays

Are more clever than Delilah

They're friends who call you 'sweetie' only.

A woman who is a witch

A woman of witchcraft

A woman who does not behave like a human

Is like a wild animal

Excerpt from Mugithi song 4, appendix 5 page 90

The excerpt could be understood as suggesting that women are cunning and dangerous. The song reminds us of the story of Delilah and Samson in the Bible. Samson was a powerful and successful warrior but a woman, Delilah, caused his downfall and destruction. Also a witch, known as *murogi* in Gikuyu culture emanates from oral narratives where a woman was seen to ensnare a man especially in situations where the man was shared among many wives.

When it reaches noon,

She hasn't cooked lunch

And the goats are still in the pen

Making noise because they're hungry.

And when you pick a quarrel with her,

She takes a mirror

And sits outside making her hair.

Excerpt from Mugithi song 2, appendix 5 page 88

Apart from being destructive, women are portrayed as stubborn. This aspect of their personality is brought out in the excerpt above. The above song shows that women cannot be convinced to do something that they are against irrespective of whether it is good or bad. This implies that once women form an opinion, it would take a lot of persuasion to change their mind or to make them think otherwise. They are also seen as unreliable and unpredictable in their actions and behaviour. This image is illustrated in the song above.

Example 17

R: So, what is the position of the woman in a marriage?

MP 6: I believe that a real woman ought to be submissive to her man. A man wants a woman who allows him to take control and of course women are attracted to a very strong man.

FP 5: But a woman should also have a say in marriage.

MP 7: We respect women who are independent and have a strong passion but she must be submissive to her man.

Excerpt from FGD 1 appendix 3, page 76

From the discussion based on the song above, women should not be given any chance to come to power. The decision depicts women from men's point of view and presents the exclusion of women from power as justifiable since woman make irrational decisions sometimes. True to the patriarchal ideal of the female sex, thus, she is portrayed to lack strength, commitment, self control, seriousness of purpose and rational judgment to make good decisions as a wife. But from the female's response, she expressed her opinion in regard to gender and her expectations.

In her study of socialisation among the Igbo, Duro (1980) observes that a majority of women interviewed reported that their main objective in life was marriage and that glory was in their children. While discussing the importance of children, her respondents agreed that childlessness is the most serious misfortune that could befall a woman. Women who were identified to be barren suffered the consequences of childless marriages, not sterile men. This is because society blames barrenness only on the woman and never on the man. Consequently, the worth of the woman in the Gikuyu society is measured in terms of her ability to give birth.

According to Neil (1996), considering changes in the value of children among the Kikuyu of Central Province, social institutions have traditionally supported high fertility and this has persisted. In most African cultures, the birth of a male child is often heralded with greater joy than that of a female child. Ukonu's (1989) study of Igbo and Ibibio names has shown that male children are named to represent strength, hope, and fulfillment. Ukonu establishes that the longer it takes to have male children the more anticipation, if not anxiety, mounts in the home. Wambugu (2006) affirms that although the Agikuyu were very anxious to have children of both sexes, the male child was preferred because they said the males were the mainstay of the stock, while the females were like bees who sooner or later would swarm away leaving the beehive deserted. Girls were a source of income through marriage contracts which increased the possession of the family and provided means to enable the sons to marry. It is through socialization into the culture that inequalities are planted. The socio-cultural meanings shape behavior, attitudes and beliefs. The male child is clearly an important object of huge social and emotional investment in most African cultures. He is valued more than the female child quite early on, his worth and superiority over the female child is made clear to both him and the girl. Most African cultures tend to frame male and female children as separate people with different capabilities, potentials, and constitutions. Their socialization also tends to be tailored to produce them as different persons. While male children are socialized to see themselves as future heads of households, breadwinners, and owners of their wives and children, female children are taught that a good woman must be an obedient, submissive, meek, and a humble housekeeper.

Young girl stop lying to me, I'm a clever person

When you wanted me I knew

And I had experience in many 'things'

When you looked at me you saw me as a 'wire'

I could not give you enough beer

You saw you'd rather go your way

To cheat other young men with your youth.

Excerpt from Mugithi song 12, appendix 5 page 98

In most songs, many men prefer to marry the most beautiful girls in the community. The song above depicts beautiful girls as being targeted by many men. As a result, these beautiful girls get drunk with pride and arrogance and start asking for the impossible or difficult things from the prospective husbands. When the man does not fulfill such unrealistic demands, she targets other richer men.

Example 19

MP 4: The woman is seen as manipulative and uses her body to achieve what she wants. She is considered loose, unfaithful...

FP 3: That's not entirely true. You cannot generalise!

MP4: But most women "bewitch" men and that's why they end up spending much money on women. And in any case, women are meant to be seen since they are objects of beauty.

Excerpt from FGD 2 appendix 3, page 78

As responses to the songs 18, 20 and 21 below, the participants in the focus group discussion, especially the male participants felt that culture has a number of beliefs and customs handed down by our forefathers to the next generations and thus we must learn to respect our cultures. In that case, women must know their positions in relationships so as to avoid any misunderstandings. They also said that men are trained to be strong and aggressive whereas women are trained to be dutiful, submissive, patient and faithful. The female participants seemed less assertive at this particular part of the discussion.

Before we had a covenant

When you want to leave me you tell me first

In our meeting we passed that it's better lover

But you embarrassed me later

And the way I was proud of you.

You left me without any goodbye

And your heart misled you

You forgot our love, which was pure.

Excerpt from Mugithi song 12, appendix 5 page 98

From the excerpt above, women are portrayed as people who cannot honour a promise. They are depicted as dishonest, ungrateful and betrayers who are swayed by worldly things.

Example 21

When you give birth to a child who looks exactly like you,

Then you give birth to another one who looks like you,

Do you betray me when I'm on a journey away?

Go slowly fellow man,

I'll ask what the tribe said concerning the matter.

Excerpt from Mugithi song 5, appendix 5 page 91

The image of women as betrayers is also brought out in the song above. The man laments of travelling and leaving his wife behind who cheats on him with another man who impregnates her. It is also emphasized that women do not have a strong heart and that all men need to do to induce them into unfaithfulness is to flatter them and their thinking goes out of their heads. Many songs emphasize the fact that women are bound to be unfaithful no matter what you do to them.

Sunday (1981) suggests that each culture must select a sex-role plan, that is, a template for the organization of sex-role expectations. Sex-role plans form one kind of symbolic template. Such plans help men and women orient themselves as male and female to each other, to the world around them, and to the growing boys and girls whose behavior they must shape to a commonly accepted mold. Women are key in transferring these interpretations of the world because of their role of bringing up families and teaching languages to their children.

4.4.3. Marriage and Family issues

Gender relations are as central to lineage and clan politics now as they were in the past. The Kikuyu, in the same way as most African societies are a patriarchal society in which the institution of marriage and family is of paramount importance. The family is ideologically and politically constituted along patriarchal and hierarchical lines enforced by a fusion of African culture maintained by the society. According to Stamp (1991), women have always played a vital role as wives of patrilineages; both in creating networks of social and economic ties and in providing certain material social benefits (the institution of bride wealth).

Kanogo (2005) says that dowry, commonly referred to as bride wealth or bride price, entailed the delivery of livestock by a suitor to the father of his prospective bride in exchange for the woman's reproductive and productive labour. It established the alliance between two families or clans, compensated the bride's family for loss of labour and assured them of the bridegroom's family goodwill towards the bride. A close scrutiny of the *Mugithi* songs reveals that the image of the woman is in line with the roles assigned to her which affirm her place in the hierarchical arrangement of society. A woman is also defined by her role as a wife. A woman is worthy only if she realises her potential to play the role of a wife and by extension, mother. In the Gikuyu society, both men and women are encouraged to get married. Women are expected to be good and responsible wives to their husbands. A good wife, first and foremost, is supposed to take care of her husband, attend to all his needs and desires, and then play the rest of the household roles. As a good wife, she is also expected to obey the husband, share his likes and dislikes and respect his relatives.

Example 22

This marriage between very young people

Let me tell you it's already going downhill

When it gets dark, the young couple sits in the kitchen

The man is told to start the fire

And during bedtime, the bed hasn't been made yet

And when the bride is asked, she just sneers.

Does it mean that men are being controlled?

When the bride gets up and she hasn't made fire yet,

She goes to her friends

And when you ask her where she was

She does not lack something to say.

She replies she was at her friend, Muthoni

To get her hair made.

Excerpt from Mugithi song 2, appendix 5 page 88

This excerpt depicts women as stubborn, rebellious and wayward. The patriarchal logic of this song is that constant guidance for wives is critical for the well being of the family. Chesaina (1994) says that according to studies carried out on the image of women, there is no doubt that the woman has been given a negative image. She has been depicted as an idler, gossip, cowardly, foolish, to name but a few characteristics.

From the focus group discussions (FGD 2 appendix 3 page 80) in response to the above song, it became evident that for a relationship to work, both the man and woman should discuss together especially if there is a crisis, but the man should have the final say. Marriage should not be a battle field to prove one's strength. Even a woman's opinion can matter but it depends on how much respect she has for her man. In any case, a woman is always expected to submit. The male participants said that from the song, it was clear that woman are considered emotional beings and cannot make a valid decision.

Example 22

I've come to get you and I'm not leaving without you It's a must we return home, my love
Since you got angry and left for your father's home,
What I've experienced it's me who only knows.

Wrap the child with a towel, While I carry your suitcase Stop telling me to apologise I'll say sorry later, sweetie.

Excerpt from Mugithi song 3, appendix 5 page 88

As minders of children, mothers are not expected to desert their homes for the sake of their children. The society expects self sacrifice of a woman as a mother. Despite all the problems a woman may face in her home, she has to stay for the sake of her children so as to bring them up and ensure their welfare because a mother is expected to have unwavering devotion towards her children.

In response to the song above, the participants in the focus group discussion (FGD 3 appendix 3, page 82) agreed that a man sometimes cannot do without a woman since she has a major role to play in marriage. This is especially in domestic issues such as washing clothes and kitchen work. The female participants however said that since the society is changing, most women are becoming more independent but they are still in charge of domestic activities such as child rearing, cooking and washing. They agreed that men still have more leadership positions in various places in the society which are not yet shared equally. It is clear that women are dislodging the men's social control over their lives and negate what is demeaning.

Example 23

When you left, I missed you

I knew you had remarried

I said in my heart

I would never shower you with my love

I have never refused to give you anything

Respect or money

Now you compare me

When other young men get interest in you.

Excerpt from Mugithi song 12, appendix 5 page 98

Portraying women as unfaithful is very prevalent in many Gikuyu songs. As noted in the song above, women are depicted as weak, easily cheated and untrustworthy. These images are extended in the songs. It is emphasized that women are easily cheated and flattered by men due to their weak nature.

The sample songs 23 above and 24 below, drew various responses from the participants of the focus group discussion (FGD 1 appendix 3, page 77), the patriarchal nature of the society is evident because of the views of both men and woman which stand in direct opposition. Male participants complained of the woman not being committed to the relationship and was considered a passive, submissive, helpless, naïve and vulnerable who lacked rational judgment. The female participants refuted this by saying a woman should be capable of making her own decisions regarding her stand in a relationship. Kenyan communities are predominantly patriarchal societies and the male worldview is predominant and decisive but it was clear that women who have traditionally been demoted socially as submissive to men, plot to find freedom.

Example 24

How do you feel, Wambui,
When you walk together with him
Knowing you took my child against my will

I heard that you had been rushed to the maternity ward

And when I arrived, I heard news, Grace,

That another man had come for you.

I gave out the napkins I had carried to the hospital.

Wambui, know that you made me crazy.

Excerpt from Mugithi song 6, appendix 5 page 92

In the song above, we have a man who is lamenting that he has done everything possible to please his wife but despite his efforts, the wife leaves him for another man. The message in this song is that women are hard to please and due to their weak biological make up, they are likely to become unfaithful no matter what you do for them. This ideology is emphasized in other songs too. Men are warned that women should be treated with caution for they are untrustworthy.

According to Wambugu (2006), to be childless was the worst fate for a Gikuyu woman. She was regarded as a useless creature, one who had failed in the one thing expected of her. Seldom was she tolerated at home, in most cases the husband endeavored to return her to her parents and to obtain the repayment of the dowry paid by him before the marriage. Marriage is necessary for procreation. It also conveys status. It is within this institution that gender roles are determined in

household productive activities. Both men and women play a significant role. Women do much of the domestic work and this gives them power over the home. Although Kikuyu is a patriarchal society, there is a clear division of labour between the sexes. There are specific tasks carried out by each of the sexes. A woman's reputation in society is judged on the basis of her monogamous sexual behaviour and any sexual misconduct.

4.4.4. Leadership

Clark (1980) says women are seen as actors with resources important in the political field and to broaden the concept of political system to include the activities of women. In many societies, women's resources differ from those of men in such cases; women are not direct participants in political situations. These trends, combined with a tendency to perceive the male-dominated domain as politically important and the female-centered domestic domain are extraneous to political activities. A man became a leader by virtue of his position in the kinship and age. In African communities, men and women substantially occupy different positions, most of which are culturally determined. In a number of cases, due to relations of power, women occupy subordinate positions.

Example 25

See how she cries when she hears you're leaving her Because she has a child Don't leave her, marry her instead and live together You may bring yourself luck

Others marry with 'pants' only

And their homes are always in trouble

If you tell her you can't marry her because she has a child

And if you love her, accept her child also

A fertile garden is known by its harvest.

Excerpt from Mugithi song 11, appendix 3 page 97

This song is used to show that a woman is a weak and helpless creature and therefore must be protected, as she is incapable of defending herself. The woman must also be protected because she is the procreator and the lifeline of the community. This is because the society looks upon the

woman as the symbol of fertility and vitality. In contrast to this weak image of woman, men are portrayed as strong, brave and assertive since they are capable of taking care of any vulnerable woman.

Responding to sample songs 25, 26 and 27, the female participants in the focus group discussion (FGD 3 appendix 3, page 83) said that a woman is able to impose her vision of the social world and discard gender inequalities and free herself from social control and construct social space that she chooses. At the beginning of the discussion, it is observed that most men are not accompanied by their wives since women in the context of the *Mugithi* song and dance performance are viewed differently, as too liberal and doing contrary to the conventional expectations of a wife.

Example 26

Nyakairu, a young woman, killed her child.

She said she doesn't have breasts for breastfeeding

If Nyakairu was clever,

She could have given the child cow's milk.

A fool is bad; if he's told to cut a banana,

He goes for an axe and a panga.

If he's told to climb a tree,

He climbs the tree wearing shoes.

Excerpt from Mugithi song 5, appendix 5 page 91

The image of a woman is brought out as someone with limited knowledge and ignorant. She is also depicted as naïve and a person who cannot think critically or reason. The way a woman carries on her domestic affairs like bringing up a child is compared to a fool who climbs up a tree wearing shoes. The song depicts a man as the one having wisdom and constantly needs to guide the woman.

Kamau (2010) shows that Kenya remains greatly challenged with regard to women's ascendancy into public political leadership positions. The situation has drastically changed with the pulmagation of the new constitution which requires that neither gender can go beyond two thirds

in representation. It has been argued that Kenya has some unique aspects that continue to keep the number of women in public low such as lack of an affirmative action and the gender insensitive male political culture which continues to dominate key social and political institutions. Gender is politically and socially controlled. Power is what determines individual attributes and behaviours. Being female characterizes one as weak, emotional and irrational and is incapable of actions attributed to a man.

Example 27

Sit down and talk

So as to find a solution

Because it's said when you go for a war,

It's good to come together first

Since you can't win with one club.

Talking is expressing love.

Before a woman flees to her father's home,

Let her first ask herself if she'll regret later

Because if she moves out of her husband's home,

She'll meet many men who'll confuse her with sweet words

Like sweetie and honey

She's tempted with sugarcane and then left on the road.

Excerpt from Mugithi song 7, appendix 5 page 93

In the excerpt above, the man is depicted as the decision maker and the woman's negative characteristics are emphasised such as cowardice, unpredictability and stupidity since her wrong decision making would lead her to being taken for granted by other men. This shows woman as easily cheated and swayed.

There is a myth that explains the origin of the patrilineal society among the Agikuyu. This myth of a specific woman who was called Wangu Makeri is used to justify why men rule the Gikuyu community. It is also used to perpetuate the male domination and justify why women have to be content with being ruled by men. Liyong (1972,) says that according to this story, Wangu was a

historical figure who ruled in the days when women were rulers during the era of women rule. Her Government was tyrannical and oppressive to men. The men therefore decided to overthrow Wangu wa Makeri and made sure that women never ruled again. In the myth of Wangu Makeri, it is said that she was a chief in Murang'a who was cheated and lured to dancing naked in public which was an abomination in the Kikuyu culture. Through the image of this woman who was easily cheated and behaved irresponsibly, women have been denied leadership in the Gikuyu society. The myth is used to bar women from ascending into positions of authority. The story of Wangu Makeri is used to strengthen the ideology that women cannot be rulers.

According to Kassam (1996), women's voices tend to be limited by socio-cultural dynamics, such as marriages, education and patriarchy among other factors.

4.4.5. Ownership and inheritance

In the context of economic insecurity, there is lack of access to land especially for women without sons due to manipulation of customary kinship. In recent times, there is markedly less economic insecurity and wage labour opportunities are available and some women have successfully challenged male control over land. African women have borne the brunt of cultural traditions, many of which have been described as oppressive, and which limit the advancement of women. Male dominance has been cited as a major obstacle to gender equality. But it is not just through socialization that inequalities are planted. Glaring gaps in policy, legal frameworks and investment opportunities make it difficult for women to perform to their full potential in social, economic and political spheres.

Friedl (1975) defines male dominance as a situation in which men have highly preferential access, although not always exclusive rights, to those activities to which the society accords the greatest values, and the exercise of which permits a measure of control over others. It is significant that Friedl recognizes that men are favored in terms of accessing certain economically and socially significant materials and rights, such as access to land and property. These institutions and positions in communities play a role in elevating men over women. Apart from their domestic roles, women are also looked upon as economic assets. A woman is an economic asset for her father because the father is paid dowry when she gets married. Bride price in many

African societies is regarded as a major source of family income. It is a token of a union between the two families that is meant to connect and cement their relationship, and paid by the prospective husband and his family to the bride's parents. The Kikuyu myth that Ngugi (1965) recounts in his book 'The River Between', portrays women's pregnancy as an expression of their weakness and as a justification of being overthrown, ruled and denied rights of property (particularly land) ownership. Pregnancy or child bearing experiences are consequently a reason for their subordination. This myth is a real experience of asymmetrical property ownership in many societies and is not only justified but also sustained in that the myth is passed from one generation to another.

Soja (1985) says that social space is perceived to have three layers, that is, physical, mental and lived space. The physical gendered space includes locales, sites and settings such as houses, schools, entertainment clubs through which gender is constructed, contested and experienced. The mental gendered space includes words, myths, songs, literary works and other forms of communication and representation through which ideas about gender are constructed, expressed or communicated. Various physical spaces normally acquire gendered meanings through this mental gendered space. The lived gendered space includes real experiences of individuals who encounter various gendered physical practices and gendered mental representations. The experiences may be physical such as physical abuse, economic hardships, asymmetrical power relations, denial of property ownership or psychological marginalisation and alienation among other experiences. The researcher has emphasised the centrality of social space in shaping people's experiences of gender. It is through this space that gendered stereotypes are constructed, disseminated and sustained. Negotiation and contestation of gendered space was observed in Mugithi songs. Men and woman are exposed to different life experiences and these experiences have an influence on their world view. The researcher analysed how Mugithi songs deal with gender relations as well as the way in which masculinity and femininity are constructed.

Social boundaries and communication codes from the participants brought out gender relations in social space. It helped locate men and women positions in social contexts and identified how power was implicated in interrelationships that existed. Both men and women had a chance to express their views and though the men's arguments were intrinsically related to the patriarchal

structures, women were seen to positively bring out the image of the woman by pinning down any ideology they considered contrary to their beliefs. They considered themselves liberated though it was agreed negotiation for space along similar lines was something that could take a while. Hence, the discussions unraveled and brought to fore expectations on how space is negotiated within the public spaces in performance and how the popular *Mugithi* songs and dance performance provided another platform for the understanding of social relations among genders.

The researcher noted that the participants in the focus group discussions were very revealing, substantive and entertaining as well. Majority of the participants agreed about the noticeable change in the social order that has brought a loss to much control of men over women. What stood out about the focus group discussions participants was their observation of events beyond the context of *Mugithi* song and dance performance. They knew of the happenings in the political arena and marriage life. Represented by those in the focus group discussions, the women assert their positions to claim a new, higher social space. Women are able to impose their visions on the division of the social world, discard gender inequality, free themselves from social control and construct the social space that they choose. It is clear that women have become more liberated and ceased to care about their long term sense of social equality because of their gender.

The research makes it clear that women are able to negotiate certain personal rights that prior to cultural change would have been difficult if not impossible to secure. From the discussions, female participants demonstrated that women appear to have more control of their lives though the *Mugithi* songs still elevated men and suppressed the women. *Mugithi* song and dance performance hence becomes an authority and a social power which ultimately informs the creation of a 'different world' since woman can assert themselves and speak out what is in their mind. Sometimes, though, they let the male participants dominate the discussions.

4.5. Discursive strategies embedded in Mugithi songs

The researcher fulfilled the second objective by analysing the *Mugithi* songs where the researcher was interested in answering the following questions:

(i) How are men and women named and referred to linguistically?

- (ii) What traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them?
- (iii) By means of what arguments and argumentation schemes do men and women justify and legitimise the unequal power relations in their utterances and as reflected in the *Mugithi* songs?
- (iv) From what point of view are these namings, attributions and arguments expressed?
- (v) Are the respective discriminatory utterances articulated overtly, or are they intensified, or are they mitigated?

The idea of discursively constructing women in negative terms and men in positive images can be traced in the patriarchal system in many Kenyan societies. This justification serves the purpose of defending and preserving what might be discriminative, whether that is justifying a social status quo of the past or explaining controversial events. The texts selected for analysis at hand are part of many verses in the *Mugithi* songs because they represent positions in the negotiations of construction of social space across genders. Women and their faults or shortcomings are among the most pervasive themes in the *Mugithi* songs. A number of songs depict the female as creatures with negative traits that make them inferior to men. These songs transmit the stereotyped conceptions and provide evidence that the commonly held views and attitudes towards women are true. The researcher looked at a few examples of verses from the *Mugithi* songs to justify this.

Example 1

When I leave, why don't you look
For a 'mechanic' who will service your 'garage'
A learned person sees ahead

Look for a man who's your age

While I look for a young girl

Who is my age mate, I marry.

Excerpt from Mugithi song 1, appendix 5 page 87

The singer laments at being taken advantage of by an older woman. The singer uses metaphorical language and the presumption is that women are loose whose only interest is sex but in reality,

both men and women engage in multiple sex relations. In terms of power, the man is bestowed the power to reject a woman. The metaphorical words 'mechanic' and 'garage' are referential strategies used to refer to a sexual activity and the meaning is context based. Sexual activity and matters pertaining to the sexual act are mitigated by the use of metaphorical terms. The discourse constructed has to do with garage and mechanics that do heavy duty on vehicles. The young man tells the old lady to look for a person who may be able to accomplish her sexual desires. The frequent usage of sexuality in several songs establishes it as a key word that more reliably and saliently characterises power relations between men and women. There is victim victimizer reversal where the man expected to oppress the woman is reversed. Its metaphorical usage also represents the community's mainstream recognizability as a taboo term.

Example 2

A woman who is a witch

A woman of witchcraft

A woman who does not behave like a human

Is like a wild animal

I met with a young woman
Who looked like a ghost
When I saw how she had painted herself,
I saw a real devil.
When I winked at her, she just laughed.
I was not myself
And even if you asked me my name
I couldn't remember.

Excerpt from Mugithi song 4, appendix 5 page 90

There is a subtle gender ideology passed on to the participants through the song. Women are seen as evil and need constant surveillance by the male members. The term, 'witch,' is said overtly. A witch is a person who alienates the other, that is, entrances. Amongst the Gikuyu, women or men were said to bewitch the members of the opposite sex with love. The witch signifies the evil and cruelty of a woman, a fact that is unacceptable. The message passed across

is that we should be watchful and weary of women. The man is given the power to refer to any woman who displeases him, a witch, which is intensified to bring out the message clearly. Men are portrayed as innocent victims of women's machinations. Many societies argue that a woman is a trickster.

Example 3

You have a simple heart
You were cheated and you left me
You have forgotten our love
You have a very simple heart

Excerpt from Mugithi song 9, appendix 5 page 95

The song conveys a specific gendered message through juxtaposition. The woman is said to destroy the love that the man has built. By the woman having a 'simple heart' she is conveyed as destructive and careless while the man is caring and constructive. Marital infidelity and irresponsibility of women is among the most pervasive and recurrent theme is *Mugithi* songs. In Gikuyu culture, men have always felt that women are easily manipulatable by the wiles of other men. The disguised ideological message is that women should be nothing but nurturing, loyal, selfless, subservient, and pleasant to men. The male is also seen as a victim who disrupts the gender order.

Example 4

I had befriended a prostitute
Who made me escape from home

And embrace life there in Mombasa.

We always went to the beach to swim

And then we rented taxis and slept in lodgings

Which were very expensive, there in Mombasa.

Excerpt from Mugithi song 10, appendix 5 page 96

Life in Mombasa as known in the discourse of Gikuyu commoners is a place of carefree living where there is happiness and one spends all money in leisure. This verse stereotypes women as obsessed only about their sexual gratification, lacking a sense of duty and rational thinking to shoulder social responsibilities. It presents provocative situations and the stimulation of sexual desire women can create in men, which may result in adultery. Hence, Women in *Mugithi* songs are portrayed as temptresses who pose a threat to a male since he laments he squandered cash while in Mombasa. A woman who engages in multiple sex relationships is seen as a prostitute and in reality both the man and woman are involved hence the man is excluded. There is a register of commercialization and serious transaction.

Example 5

See how she cries when she hears you're leaving her

Because she has a child

Don't leave her, marry her instead and live together

You may bring yourself luck

Excerpt from Mugithi song 11, appendix 5 page 97

This is a typical instance of the way men use songs to reconstruct and reinforce the patriarchal ideal; it emphasises that women are submissive and helpless, that their sexuality, including pregnancy makes them vulnerable, and that they constantly require the protection of men. This image of the girls as fragile, vulnerable, weak, both physically and mentally is best captured in the excerpt. A Gikuyu myth illustrates this. The myth claims that at one time women were very powerful in the community and the men conspired that to reduce the woman's power, they had to impregnate them. The message implied is that a pregnant woman is very vulnerable.

Example 6

Young girl stop lying to me, I'm a clever person

When you wanted me I knew

And I had experience in many 'things'

When you looked at me you saw me as a 'wire'

I could not give you enough beer

You saw you'd rather go your way

To cheat other young men with your youth.

Excerpt from Mugithi song 12, appendix 5 page 98

This verse depicts the woman as deceitful, unfaithful, lustful, cruel, and dangerous to men. By so doing, they provide evidence that she is also sexually insatiable. Her preference of money over love is also captured in the metaphorical term 'wire' where she sees the man as not useful anymore. The metaphorical term 'thing' refers to sexual escapades. Women's lustfulness and infidelity is one of the powerful negative stereotypes that occur most commonly in the *Mugithi* songs.

Example 7

This marriage between very young people

Let me tell you it's already going downhill

When it gets dark, the young couple sits in the kitchen

The man is told to start the fire

And during bedtime, the bed hasn't been made yet

And when the bride is asked, she just sneers.

Does it mean that men are being controlled?

When the bride gets up and she hasn't made fire yet,

She goes to her friends

And when you ask her where she was

She does not lack something to say.

She replies she was at her friend, Muthoni

To get her hair made.

Excerpt from Mugithi song 2, appendix 5 page 89

The characters involved in the above song behave in a parallel contrast to the accepted social norm of the society. The singer brings out a situation of an oppressed man who is unhappy, mourns his fate and complains about his wife and subtly demands his rights in a patriarchal society. The husband, as any married man in African culture, is expected to have the upper hand and win his wife's total respect. By the same token, the marital custom of the society to which they belong dictates that a woman should always treat her husband with due respect and be submissive to his words or wishes. It is impolite for a woman to use strong words against her husband. The singer interprets it as shocking and gross vulgarity. Accordingly, sexual fidelity, forbearance, obedience, subservience, deference and respect to men are subtly presented as crucial to proper womanhood.

Mugithi songs are significant in justifying and perpetuating women subordination and are also necessary in contribution of maintaining the gender system status quo though in some songs men are seen as victims and women as oppressors which somehow deconstructs patriarchy.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

In this section a summary of the study results and their implications is presented. The section also contains the conclusion and recommendations based on the study and the field experience.

5.1. Summary

The *Mugithi* song and dance is considered an art form whose performance provides a means of asserting, preserving and transmitting a community's culture. It a sophisticated practice aimed at imparting the ideologies of the society to the audience and also it is one of the simplest and most popular forms of social commentary. Every relationship and action as portrayed in the song and dance is gendered. The images created through the *Mugithi* songs and dance performance as discussed so far clearly depict women as inferior to men, especially in their physical and intellectual capacity. From the study of the songs, it is obvious that the society has given men power to control the social, economic and political structures of the community. This power has been used in the image formation among women and men which seem to emanate from the social roles and their position in the society.

From the analysis of the social space across genders, it is clear that women are depicted positively only as mothers; otherwise, they are seen as dangerous, stubborn and unreliable which are negative attributes associated with their personality. Besides, they are portrayed as inferior and a weaker sex while men are depicted as strong therefore a superior sex. Due to this attitude, they are socialized in such a way that they depend on men for both physical and mental protection. The biological differences between men and women are used to place women in a disadvantaged position. They are also denied opportunities to participate in important matters. This study has attempted to understand the social relations among men and women through the exploration of one vehicle of culture, namely *Mugithi* song and dance performance. In the focus discussion groups, pressure was exerted on men by women questioning their views especially in the era of women's liberation. From the female's responses it was clear that women continue to ask for what they consider their rights although they still trail behind.

The woman's position, which seems to be universally the case with most 3societies, is subordinate to the man's in every aspect of life: economic, social, political, and religious. Gender inequality is a socio-cultural attribute, deep-rooted in widely shared belief systems, ideologies and norms. In relation to this, it is also necessary to pin point how *Mugithi* song and dance performance contributes in maintaining the gender system status quo.

5.2. Conclusion

Mugithi song and dance is a representation of a discourse domain in Gikuyu culture; among other matters, this aspect of social life deals with sexuality. The discourse of the songs represents worldviews, beliefs and concerns of the society as a whole, rather than merely reflecting male ideologies, justifying male supremacy and dominance over women. The findings therefore became important in understanding the dynamics of gendered space. The study mainly concentrated on gender relations as well as the way in which masculinity and femininity are constructed and negotiated. It was established that the Gikuyu community, like many other African communities, is patriarchal and, therefore, the songs perpetuate this dominant ideology. The songs promoted the male and mainly focused on the sorrows of unrequited love, infidelity, sexual promiscuity and exploitations. Though these songs denigrate femininity, some women are liberated and feel free to operate in the context of their performance.

It was also found that many of the *Mugithi* songs examined in this study define women as 'naturally' incomplete, defective, irrational, cruel and inferior creatures, which should be kept under control of. This ideological definition of women enables the dominant male elite to justify and maintain the subordinate status of women.

Similarly, there were also *Mugithi* songs on women obsessed only about their sexual gratification, lacking a sense of duty and rational thinking to shoulder social and political responsibilities. These songs hence depict women as deceitful, unfaithful, lustful, cruel, and dangerous to men. By so doing, they provide evidence that the collectively held beliefs and stereotyped images of women are true, and thus contribute to the perpetuation of gender inequality. The message emerging from the women in the context of the performance of the songs is that they have been dominated, disadvantaged, exploited and excluded in mainstream decision-making. The images associated with women are a reflection of established societal

patterns of behaviours expected of women. However, female responses showed their entrance into traditionally male dominated leisure spheres such as in the context of the popular *Mugithi* song and dance performance and their expressions were closely associated with resistance to oppressive ideologies. Women need to break away from the stereotypic roles. They need to fight traditional forces which have relegated them to an inferior and exploited position. Women need to question the structure and social relations that have facilitated their marginalization.

Mugithi song and dance is discursive of everyday experiences and provided a platform for debates on gender and sexuality. The discussion from focus group discussions provided a venue and means of negotiating and accessing power for both men and women. Space was conceptualised as the process through which women also had claim to the right to express their views and make decisions, hence this gave the women the opportunity to negotiate for power though from the songs and arguments given, men were empowered in the culture of space utilisation. Ultimately, it is power that provides the genders the ability to shape their own identity. Space needs to be re-inhabited to deal with negative aspects of culture that need to be deconstructed to suit the prevailing situations. Mugithi song and dance performance has a tremendous potential for telling truth about inequality in gender relations hence the metaphorical representation of events and contemporary situations could be subverted. There should be special measures to accelerate equality between genders and deliberate effort should be put in place to broaden the negotiating space across genders.

In view of the objectives mentioned before, they were achieved while the research questions were confirmed to be true.

5.3. Recommendations

The study of *Mugithi* song and dance performance leads to the appreciation of emerging social genres of song and dance as a reflection of the social realities. It leads to the study of the genre of music which has been relegated in scholarship and is really an important representative genre studied for people to understand the society. People should actually focus on musicology as part of a dynamic culture.

The study also represents the fissures of a dynamic culture which actually need to be investigated across different Kenyan sub-cultures. If they are focused upon, we will understand the dynamics of Kenyan culture.

From this study, it is clear that oral literature is alive and kicking as opposed to oral literature in the archives. It shows a dynamic oral culture that needs to be investigated and studied as opposed to the conventional oral literature that has always been taught in schools. Hence, it is with us and enables us appreciate other forms that appear to have died.

This work has not explored the varied genres of songs available in Gikuyu language and hence further studies need to be done to reveal the manner in which masculinities, gender ideologies and other identities are representative of cultural affiliation.

It is also recommended that further studies need to focus on songs performed by female musicians and the different perspectives presented on masculinities and femininities.

This study focused on negotiation for social space across genders in *Mugithi* song and dance only. That is, whether space is opening up or still remains limiting as before. It is recommended that further studies deal with how the *Mugithi* song and dance performance encompasses economic and political situations.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Observation Schedule

Some of the elements observed were:

- 1. The audience's involvement or exclusion from the *Mugithi* song and dance performance.
- 2. The themes deliberated upon in the song and how they are appreciated by the participants.
- 3. How men and women within the context think about social issues such as fidelity, family relations as engendered.
- 4. The audience appreciation of the elements that border on sexuality.
- 5. Participants' involvement in regard to gender.

APPENDIX B

Sample Schedule of the Focus Group Guide

The following is a sample schedule to be used in carrying out focus group discussions.

Focus Group Discussion

Entertainment Club		
Focus Group		
Tocus Group	•••••	•••
Date		
Group's Composition		

<u>Instructions</u>

Any participant may respond to any of the questions asked by the researcher. The rest are allowed to respond after the first respondent.

- a) Why do you love attending to *Mugithi* song and dance performances?
- b) There are various themes deliberated upon in the songs. Which are some of the themes brought out in the songs?
- c) What is your take on *Mugithi* artists including elements that border on sexuality?
- d) How are the identities of both genders brought out in the songs?

APPENDIX C

Transcribed Session of Focus Group Discussions

Focus Group 1

Entertainment Club – A

Date-14th October, 2011

Group's composition – both men and women of between late 20s and late 40s mostly belonging in the middle class

Reaction to Mugithi songs 1, 2, 3 and 4 in Appendix 5

KEY

R – Researcher

FP – Female Participant

MP – Male Participant

R: Why do you love attending to *Mugithi* song and dance performances?

MP 1: For entertainment reasons! (As if this is obvious)

R: Could you tell us more?

MP 1: Well...it is a form of relaxation after a long tiring week. In case you are frustrated, it provides a relaxed mood.

MP 2: The lyrics are also interesting. The more lewd the lyrics are, the more the patrons enjoy.

FP 1: I think it is also educative.

R: How?

FP 1: It comments on what is happening in our society like marriage issues...also how to appreciate your loved one.

R: Do the rest of you agree?

MP 2: I can say it depends on the person. For me I believe it enhances socialization. We meet new people, exchange ideas....you know.

R: Which themes or issues are mostly deliberated upon in the *Mugithi* songs?

MP 3: Sex negotiations for one are common in the songs, for instance, where a man accuses the woman for using him for her own sexual satisfaction. This clearly brought out in the song 'Mama Kiwinya'.

MP 2: The women represented here are the ones who are financially stable and lure the men who are less financially stable.

MP 4: A man should be the one negotiating for sex. If a woman is too forward, she is considered loose.

R: Is it wrong for the woman to have what she wants?

MP 3: The man should be the one to approach the woman since he is considered the leader. If a woman approaches the man, she is regarded with suspicion and seen as too forward.

R: Do you agree with that point ladies?

FP 2: I think the society is changing and women are becoming more liberated. They can do whatever they want.

R: What else is evident in the songs?

MP 5: Marriage issues are also deliberated upon in the songs and the main issue mostly brought out is the woman sometimes not honoring her position in marriage especially among young couples. This is highlighted in the song 'Ihikania' (Marriage).

MP 3: I believe marriage is part of our culture and should be regarded with respect.

R: So is there any gender in particular who is given a certain status?

MP 4: Of course! Status remains a vital defining factor for a man. Having been married gives a woman a sense of security of the family property.

R: You mean both the man and woman are not equal partners in the relationship?

FP 3: ...Marriage isn't about dominance or submission and both parties ought to have equal weight in the relationship.

MP 2: What! (Laughter). Men and woman cannot be equal as they are different, with different roles in the society. It's not in our place to change these roles. It's unorthodox!

MP 4: The songs also bring out the women as irresponsible and do not carry out their roles as it is expected of them.

MP 2: In fact there is a sense of betrayal which is not expected from an African woman

R: So, what is the position of the woman in a marriage?

MP 5: I believe that a real woman ought to be submissive to her man. A man wants a woman who allows him to take control and of course women are attracted to a very strong man.

FP 5: But a woman should also have a say in marriage.

MP 1: We respect woman who are independent and have a strong passion but she must be submissive to her man.

FP 4: In the song 'Mwana na Taulo' (A Child and a Towel) it clearly shows a man sometimes cannot do without a woman since she has a major role to play in marriage.

MP 3: This is especially in domestic issues such as washing clothes and kitchen work.

MP 2: The songs clearly bring out the woman as a bad element especially in marriages. She is actually considered to be a witch as brought out in the song 'Mutumia Murogi' (A Witch).

MP 4: The man is also cautioned to think clearly before undertaking a major step in marriage.

R: Moving on, what is your take on *Mugithi* artists including sexual terms in their songs?

MP 1: That is what makes the songs interesting to listen to. The patrons love it.

FP 4: I guess if is hard to hear these terms in other contexts so this is where they are expressed freely.

MP 1: In fact they use words with hidden meanings. They don't say them outright.

R: They are known as euphemisms. So they mostly use metaphorical words?

MP 2: You know most of the sexual terms are considered taboo and that's why they circumrotate. But the songs are exciting. We actually enjoy ourselves since it's hard to do so in other places.

R: Would you be comfortable with saying these words aloud? (some murmuring)

R: Yes?

FP 2: Ok, if I want to and I'm not saying I would... (laughter) ok. Ok...i would only be comfortable in this context only since we all enjoy participating.

R: So it is not considered weird for a lady?

FP 2: But that is why we're in this context, not any other.

R: We are almost done, just one more thing, how are the identities of both genders brought out in the songs?

MP4: Of course the man is seen as powerful and women are submissive and should know their place...

FP 5: But the woman is also seen as a sexual object in most cases.

R: So men and women are not equal?

MP 5: Never ever. It is not possible and the culture is one of the reasons. And the women's orientation into the culture makes them accept their subordination

R: Thanks a lot guys.

Focus Group 2

Entertainment Club – B

Date-21st October, 2011

Group's composition – both men and women of between late 20s and late 40s mostly belonging in the middle class

Reaction to Mugithi songs 5, 6, 7 and 8 in Appendix 5

KEY

R – Researcher

FP – Female Participant

MP – Male Participant

R: Why do you love attending to *Mugithi* song and dance performances?

MP 1: For enjoyment. It's the main social activity especially during weekends.

R: Could you be more specific?

MP 1: The message passed across is especially on cultural values and the songs are also very interesting. They also involve people of different ages. Like for instance, look at those <wazees> enjoying themselves on the dance floor? (pointing)

R: OK. Anyone with a different view?

FP 1: I guess they also provide a context where women are given a chance to express themselves freely without being judged.

R: Elaborate on what you mean by the term 'express'.

FP1: One can dance to the songs; sing along to the tunes however explicit they are. In fact some of the lyrics are obscene.

FP 2: For some messages sang here you cannot here them expressed in another context such as place of work, school...so they provide a free atmosphere to express themes related to sexuality.

R: On that note, which are the main issues brought out in the songs

MP3: The songs are mostly about betrayal in a relationship especially from the woman such as in the song 'Niwandunyire Mwana' You Snatched me my Child)

MP 4: The woman is seen as manipulative and uses her body to achieve what she wants. She is considered loose, unfaithful...

FP 3: That's not entirely true. You cannot generalise!

MP4: But most women "bewitch" men and that's why they end up spending much money on women. And in any case, women are meant to be seen since they are objects of beauty.

R: To bring you back to the original question, you mean the power is not shared equally in various relationships including marriage?

MP 3: There is power relation and mainly men are looked upon to take charge while the woman should be laid back

MP5: The woman's foolishness is also brought out especially when undertaking her duties as a mother. This is clearly highlighted in the song 'Kahora Nginya Rwenje' (Slowly till Rwenje).

MP 3: The songs outline clearly the role of men and women in the society. Marriage issues are also discussed and how both man and women should behave.

MP 4: The song 'Muthuri angiuka Iguru' (When a man's temper flares up) points out the need for both the man and woman to discuss together especially if there is a crisis, but the man has the final say.

R: So a woman can challenge a man's decision?

MP4: It should not be a battle field to prove one's strength. Even a woman's opinion can matter but it depends on how much respect she has for her man. In any case, a woman is always expected to submit.

FP 3: Wait...you should also be considerate. A woman's opinion really matters and that's why they make good leaders, though they are few.

MP 1: From the songs it is clear that women are considered emotional beings and cannot make a valid decision in that state. This is especially brought out in the song 'When a man's temper flares up).

MP 3: The songs also clearly highlight the wise decision made by men especially in regard to his family welfare.

R. It's ok. Do you all agree?

FP 2: Men fear being challenged by women.

R: To divert a little, what is your take on the artist's using sexual terms in their songs?

MP 5: (Laughing) That's what brings us here every weekend. You can't listen to such songs anywhere during the day unless there is privacy.

MP 1: Most of the terms or messages considered embarrassing or taboo in various contexts are brought out openly. In fact most of us appreciate these and sing along.

MP 3: They also comment on various issues that some find difficult saying openly especially in regard to sexuality.

R: So, how are the identities of both genders brought out in the songs?

FP 5: I feel like women are objectified, you know, as sexual objects and yet the male organ is praised.

MP4: But that solidifies the position of a man in the society. Our culture socializes men to be in control and naturally superior to women.

R: Ok. Then what is the aim of female socialisation?

MP4: Of course it aims at making woman submissive, easily controlled and subordinate to men.

R: But does that apply in all contexts, like at work environment?

MP4: <Na> think in short, women should respect men despite any context.

R: Thanks a lot guys.

Focus Group 3

Entertainment Club – C

Date-28th October, 2011

Group's composition – both men and women of between late 20s and late 40s mostly belonging in the middle class

Reaction to Mugithi songs 9, 10, 11 and 12 in Appendix 5

KEY

R – Researcher

FP – Female Participant

MP – Male Participant

R: Why do you love attending to *Mugithi* song and dance performances?

MP1: I guess nowadays many people prefer cultural songs since they make them feel closer to their roots. They are also entertaining and focus on various issues such as societal values, marriage...

R: So, does this mean anyone can listen to them?

MP1: Majority of the patrons are between late 20s and 40s and men are more in number than women.

R: Why is that?

MP2: Most of the women are not comfortable in this context and but those who come enjoy themselves up to the wee hours. Again the messages in the songs make them feel uncomfortable.

R: Please expound on that?

FP1: They are male privileging and I guess the woman is considered inferior.

R: Let's discuss about the themes bought out in the songs such as sex relations.

MP3: The songs focus on sexuality and how we are socialised into our cultures where men and women are given different roles. Men are considered to be always in control.

MP4: Men are also seen as having stronger sexual drive, stronger and their dominance or control should reflect in the sexual act as brought out in the song 'Simple heart'.

R: So, what of women who are not ashamed to express their sexual desires or are sexually active?

MP4: Those women who are considered 'good' women should not be too forward or express their sexual desires openly.

FP2: But that's unfair. We should also be in control of our own bodies.

R: Do you mean it's also wrong for woman to discuss matters relating to sex?

FP2: Nowadays, women are liberal due to influence by Western cultures. We can say can have a say in the sexual relationships we have...like in condom usage.

MP3: I guess such women should be considered loose...not a lady.

R: Are there other issues brought out in the songs?

MP5: Yes. Matters relating to marriage and relationships where the women mostly betray the men as sang in the song 'Kanyina kanini' (Young Girl).

MP4: Men are trained to be strong and aggressive whereas women are trained to be dutiful, submissive, patient and faithful.

R: But we have independent women who are considered strong and even some are single mothers.

MP4: I am trying to explain and I mean that in case of a relationship, such as marriage, the man is the one that has a say and women as we have said earlier should submit since this is as required in our culture.

FP5: You are saying we must follow our fathers' rules, we must follow our culture. So do we have to follow our culture that women are not allowed to challenge men? We don't have to follow that! We are now living in a modern world....we should follow with generation from generation, so we must follow in our generation where we are fighting for equal rights.

R: I also agree that culture does not stand still; it changes and develops and people always adopt new practices from other cultures, such as western cultures where women have become liberalised.

MP3: Our culture has a number of beliefs and customs handed down by our forefathers to the succeeding generations. We must learn to respect our culture. It is not inferior to the Western culture. In some ways it is much better. In order to know who we are and where we belong, we need to know about our own culture....and in that case, women must know their positions at home so as to avoid any misunderstandings.

MP5: I agree with that opinion and again the laws state clearly the boundaries regarding what women can do in the society and to what extent they can go.

R: So this argument also applies to leadership?

MP1: We might say that things have changed over time and most women are becoming more independent but she is still in charge of domestic activities such as child rearing, cooking,

washing.... men still have more leadership positions in various places in the society. And in any case most people are not comfortable with women becoming leaders. The leadership positions are not yet shared equally.

FP3: I think people should be sensitised on gender equality so that women are given more space to exert themselves.

MP2: (laughter)...ok...my friend, please understand we'll never be equal. Even from the Bibilical and biological point of view, that's not possible! (More laughter)

R: So, from the songs, how is the identity of both the male and female brought out?

FP2: When you listen to the songs carefully, women are mostly looked down upon.

R: Would you mind explaining?

FP2: I mean the man is brought out in a positive light and the woman is considered as an object of pleasure...

MP1: But you women 'bewitch' us with your looks until a man gets confused. In fact the song 'Mombasa', the man laments that a prostitute lured him from his family and squandered his wealth.

R: So the male gender is still favoured as was in the traditional society?

MP3: You should not forget that we are still in a patriarchal society, so men have got more rights and still have the say.

FP1: Although we can still say things are not as they were back then. Women have become quite independent. Look at us, we are in this context at this time which could not be possible some time back. We are not considered prostitutes because we're here. So I believe women are becoming liberalised, though we are still not equal with men.

MP2: <Yea> I still insist we're not equal.

FP1: We may be one day!

R: What do you guys feel about the *Mugithi* artists including sexual terms in their songs?

MP4: They express what most people would not especially in public places and these terms are part of us. And they carry very deep messages.

R: Meaning? (Some murmuring)

MP4: Sexuality is part of us whether we like it or not.

MP2: That is right. That's why most of us we're here enjoying ourselves since it's not every time you come across such a context. Listen to that song.....

FP4: (Blushing) ...Ok.. We've gotten the point. But in most cases they don't express them outright; they coat them to sound less explicit.

R: Just one more thing, why do you seem to enjoy such songs compared to other genres?

MP2: We love listening to them and we get excited and even sing along especially when those terms are said out aloud since this is the right place and time. It would be embarrassing if said somewhere else. And again most guys are drunk so they don't feel embarrassed.

MP3: And in any case, these artists sing what patrons love hearing and hence can't go out of business.

R: Thanks a lot guys.

APPENDIX D

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS USED

PARTICIPANTS

R Researcher

MP Male participant

FP Female participant

SYMBOLS AND MARKERS

.... pause: the number of dots indicate the relative length of each pause.

indicates additional information, such as non-verbal actions, e.g blushing, nodding; or verbal information, e,g, laughing or murmuring.

! emphasis: marked prominence through pitch or increase in volume.

< > marks an utterance/expression in Sheng, i.e. code-switch

APPENDIX E

SAMPLE MUGITHI SONGS – TRANSLATED VERSION

MUGITHI SONG 1

Title: Mama Kiwinya

Performer: Salim Junior

Audience: Male and female participants-adults

Place: Reminisce Karen Krave-Karen Shopping Centre

Date: 14th/October/2011

Time: 11.30 p.m.

Mama Kiwinya, kwaheri bye bye, You behaved like a surveyor And measured me like boundaries. You took a plumb and built me like a wall You told me to leave Your age has refused us to be together.

When I came to you, I had planned to ask for a job I had just completed form four.
You requested me to look after your shop
And you lied to me so that I could spend in your place,
So that I could help you take 'stock' ya 'k'.

You confused me by giving me money
When I requested you to allow me visit my parents
You did not accept.
So you married me
And yet you haven't taken dowry?
There is no young woman who can accept me
Because they know your 'dance'.

When you compare my years and yours, You are really like my mother Even though you've bought me a car. When your children return from abroad What will they say? I will go on foot Throwing stones at monkeys and along the way. When I leave, why don't you look
For a 'mechanic' who will service your 'garage'
A learned person sees ahead
Look for a man who's your age
While I look for a young girl
Who is my age mate, I marry.

You showed me a crazy life Even though I did not know How to blow a 'horn'. You made me wear 'spectacles' So that I couldn't see ahead. I had asked for a job not sex.

You showed me a formula of love
That if I see a beautiful lady along the road
I don't approach her.
You can't know a good book if you haven't read it
Penzi na penzi, sweet my lover
Sixteen carry equals, make one madam, forever.
Pili pili hoho, sio kali sana
Na mhepa deni, sio mla chake, daima.

My breast get touched, then my vagina My vagina gets touched, then my buttocks My buttocks get touched, then my clitoris.

MUGITHI SONG 2

Title: *Ihikania* (Marriage)

Performer: Salim Junior

Audience: Male and female participants-adults

Place: Reminisce Karen Krave-Karen Shopping Centre

Date: 14th/October/2011

Time: 11.45p.m.

This marriage between very young people
Let me tell you it's already going downhill
When it gets dark, the young couple sits in the kitchen
The man is told to start the fire
And during bedtime, the bed hasn't been made yet
And when the bride is asked, she just sneers.
Does it mean that men are being controlled?

When the bride gets up and she hasn't made fire yet, She goes to her friends And when you ask her where she was She does not lack something to say. She replies she was at her friend, Muthoni To get her hair made.

When it reaches noon,
She hasn't cooked lunch
And the goats are still in the pen
Making noise because they're hungry.
And when you pick a quarrel with her,
She takes a mirror
And sits outside making her hair.

When she's given an axe to get firewood
When there are visitors, so that she can cook for them,
She gets very angry.
She serves you very hot tea
And when you complain it's hot,
You're asked to cool it yourself.
You're served with a plate
That hasn't been washed well
And the cups aren't washed inside
And your clothes are never ironed
And the house is never swept.
These people are disobedient
And when she goes to the shamba
She goes wearing on her shoes.

MUGITHI SONG 3

Title: Mwana na taulo (A child and a towel)

Performer: Salim Junior

Audience: Male and female participants-adults

Place: Reminisce Karen Krave-Karen Shopping Centre

Date: 15th/October/2011

Time: 11.45 p.m.

I've come to get you and I'm not leaving without you It's a must we return home, my love
Since you got angry and left for your father's home,
What I've experienced it's me who only knows.

Wrap the child with a towel, While I carry your suitcase Stop telling me to apologise I'll say sorry later, sweetie.

I've never washed these clothes
They are very dirty and others are still soaked
Today I said I had to borrow permission from my boss
So as to come and get you, Njeri,
So that I don't get sick because of missing you.

MUGITHI SONG 4

Title: Mutumia Murogi (A witch)

Performer: Salim Junior

Audience: Male and female participants-adults

Place: Reminisce Karen Krave-Karen Shopping Centre

Date: 15th/October/2011

Time: 12.00 a.m.

Young men of my age
When you are ready to get married
It's better when you ask God to help you
Because the young women we have nowadays
Are more clever than Delilah
They're friends who call you 'sweetie' only.

A woman who is a witch A woman of witchcraft A woman who does not behave like a human Is like a wild animal

I'm not giving any one's testimony,
It's my own testimony.
Give me your ears I tell you a secret
Because a wise one is one who listens to advice
So that when you see I've been deceived,
Don't think it's gold.
It is good if you enter a vehicle,
You fist read its number plate.
I met with a young woman
Who looked like a ghost

When I saw how she had painted herself, I saw a real devil.
When I winked at her, she just laughed.
I was not myself
And even if you asked me my name
I couldn't remember.

After exchanging two words, She told me ther's nothing she doesn't like Other than sex. If the nail gets blunt in the course of its work, It gets sharpened.

MUGITHI SONG 5

Title: Kahora Nginya Rwenje (Slowly till Rwenje)

Performer: Mike Murimi

Audience: Male and female participants-adults

Place: Reminisce Bar and Grill – Wilson Airport

Date: 21st/October/2011

Time: 11.30 p.m.

I've just entered, I Murimi,
You told me that when I arrive in darkness,
Let me be given what you've preserved for me.
You told me when I come,
Men fromm Nairobi should be slaughtered for quickly.
I, Murimi can't miss the event of Wangeci which I've been invited.

Tell me what you want Instead of sneering at me

Nyakairu, a young woman, killed her child.
She said she doesn't have breasts for breastfeeding
If Nyakairu was clever,
She could have given the child cow's milk.
A fool is bad; if he's told to cut a banana,
He goes for an axe and a panga.
If he's told to climb a tree,
He climbs the tree wearing shoes.
I visited Laikipia
And I met Waceke, a young woman.

I asked her, Waceke you are sleeping fully clothed? Are breasts eggs or are they glasses so that they don't break? And she asked me, Murimi, You're sleeping fully clothed Is a penis a banana or a sugarcane so that it doesn't get uprooted?

When you give birth to a child who looks exactly like you, Then you give birth to another one who looks like you, Do you betray me when I'm on a jouney away? Go slowly Wakini, I'll ask what the tribe said concerning the matter.

MUGITHI SONG 6

Title: Niwandunyire Mwana (You snatched me my child)

Performer: Mike Murimi

Audience: Male and female participants-adults

Place: Reminisce Bar and Grill – Wilson Airport

Date: 21st/October/2011

Time: 11.45p.m.

You told me you were pregnant
I knew I had nothing
I rushed to my mother
And told her that she had given birth to me
And she had to sell a cow
Because I could bring a curse upon myself,

How do you feel, Wambui, When you walk together with him Knowing you took my child against my will

I heard that you had been rushed to the maternity ward And when I arrived, I heard news, Grace, That another man had come for you. I gave out the napkins I had carried to the hospital. Wambui, know that you made me crazy.

Title: Muthuri angiuka Iguru (When a man's temper goes up)

Performer: Mike Muimi

Audience: Male and female participants-adults

Place: Reminisce Bar and Grill – Wilson Airport

Date: 22nd/October/2011

Time: 12.00 p.m.

Man please,

Even when you conflict with your wife, First talk and find a solution Because when two axes are in one bag, They end up clashing.

When a man's temper goes up
When a man quarrels with his wife
And a woman's temper also goes up,
Who will calm the other
It's good for one of them
To act like a coward

Sit down and talk
So as to find a solution
Because it's said when you go for a war,
It's good to come together first
Since you can't win with one club.
Talking is expressing love.
Before a woman flees to her father's home,
Let her first ask herself if she'll regret later
Because if she moves out of her husband's home,
She'll meet many men who'll confuse her with sweet words
Like sweetie and honey
She's tempted with sugarcane and then left on the road.

And before a man leaves his wife, He should ask himself Where the children will go. And before he separates with his wife, He should ask himself About the feelings of his children.

Title: Wakini (My fellow man)

Performer: Mike Muimi

Audience: Male and female participants-adults

Place: Reminisce Bar and Grill – Wilson Airport

Date: 22nd/October/2011

Time: 12.15 a.m.

Time is not on our side Finish that beer, if you can't ask them to keep it for you It's not a must you drink to get drunk Beer is not soup and it can't satisfy a child.

Eeh fellow man, finish your beer we go home Remember we have children and wives waiting for us

The bar is a home for someone
Who has no wife and children
Or someone who is unconcerned
Who doesn't know who sleeps in his home.

Wakini you know it's bad
To get late before we reach home.
At least we know what happened in the course of the day
And our wives are still waiting for us.

Wakini finish that beer we go home You know we're being awaited to take milk And maybe there's a child who got sick And you're being awaited to bring medicine And when you budget your money, Remember we've children who're in secondary school.

Young woman, remove your hands from my shoulders And be given something to eat meanwhile You know I haven't paid fees And I haven't bought uniform yet.

Title: Simple Heart

Performer: Mike Rua

Audience: Male and female participants-adults

Place: Classic Grill – Thika Road next to Uchumi Jipange

Date: 28th/October/2011

Time: 11.15p.m.

You have a simple heart You were cheated and you left me You forgotten our love You have a very simple heart

I don't want to talk to you again Don't make me tear up, My love, go in peace One day you'll remember me.

Since you went and left me,
Devil, devil you 'put' me
Since you went and left me,
Ah, devil, devil you really 'put' me.
I don't sleep because of many thoughts
Devil, devil you 'put' me
I sleep while restless.

I'm 'put' when I'm not ready
Maybe I'm not in the mood of being put
Ah, devil you put me
Maybe I was in the bathroom
Before I wear my nightgown,
I feel I've already been put.

Title: Mombasa

Performer: Mike Rua

Audience: Male and female participants-adults

Place: Classic Grill – Thika Road next to Uchumi Jipange

Date: 28th/October/2011

Time: 11.30 p.m.

I was born in Ndeya In a house near a river Our people had land That was not productive.

We were born three of us
I was the last born
When others went to look for labour
And my parents attending various activities,
I was always left behind at home.

When I completed school despite many problems, God is good I secured a job.
I worked very hard
But the devil was still upon me
And now I'm in problems.

I've finally accepted
I'm like the prodigal son
Father and mother please accept me
To return in your hands
And you lover bye I've gone back home.

I had befriended a prostitute
Who made me escape from home
And embrace life there in Mombasa.
We always went to the beach to swim
And then we rented taxis and slept in lodgings
Which were very expensive, there in Mombasa.

Title: Wendo ni Wendo (Love is love)

Performer: Mike Rua

Audience: Male and female participants-adults

Place: Classic Grill – Thika Road next to Uchumi Jipange

Date: 29th/October/2011

Time: 11.45 p.m.

Young man I'll tell you love is love It makes someone take a rope and hang himself, It makes someone drink poison To commit suicide because of someone else.

See how she cries when she hears you're leaving her Because she has a child Don't leave her, marry her instead and live together You may bring yourself luck

Others marry with 'pants' only
And their homes are always in trouble
If you tell her you can't marry her because she has a child
And if you love her, accept her child also
A fertile garden is known by its harvest.

That girl truly loves you She is undecided if she'll leave you or her child She can't imagine you marrying someone else She can't imagine sleeping with someone else.

MUGITHI SONG 12

Title: Kanyina Kanini (Young Girl)

Performer: Mike Rua

Audience: Male and female participants-adults

Place: Classic Grill – Thika Road next to Uchumi Jipange

Date: 29th/October/2011

Time: 12.00 a.m.

Young girl stop lying to me, I'm a clever person When you wanted me I knew
And I had experience in many 'things'
When you looked at me you saw me as a 'wire'
I could not give you enough beer
You saw you'd rather go your way
To cheat other young men with your youth.

Before we had a covenant
When you want to leave me you tell me first
In our meeting we passed that it's better lover
But you embarrassed me later
And the way I was proud of you.
You left me without any goodbye
And your heart misled you
You forgot our love, which was pure.

When you left, I missed you
I knew you had remarried
I said in my heart
I would never shower you with my love
I have never refused to give you anything
Respect or money
Now you compare me
When other young men get interest in you.

APPENDIX F

SAMPLE MUGITHI SONGS - ORIGINAL VERSION

MUGITHI SONG 1

Title: Mama Kiwinya

Performer: Salim Junior

Audience: Male and female participants-adults

Place: Reminisce Karen Krave-Karen Shopping Centre

Date: 14th/October/2011

Time: 11.30 p.m.

Mama Kiwinya , kwaheri bye bye Wetwire surveyor ukigiganania ta mihaka Ukioya kabiro ukijaka uta cia mihaka, mami Mama Kiwinya ukinjira cere Miaka yaku niarega tuikaranie.

Nii ngiuka gwaku ndokite kuuria wira Uhindi ndarikia kirathi gia form four Ukinjira nguteithie guikaraga dukaini Na ukihenereria ngomage gwaku Niguo nguteithie kuoya stocko ya k.

Wathukirie mutwe na kuheyaga mbeca Ngakuira ngone aciari akwa nduitikira Kai wahikirie na ndutware ruracio mami Gutire muiritu ungijitikira Tundu nimoe muinirie waku.

Miaka yaku na yakwa kuaria ma uri maitu Una gutuika we niunguriire ngari Ciana ciaku ciauma Mathare cikauga atia mami Thie na maguru, thie by footi Ngihuraga nugu na mahiga, Kiwinya.

Nii ndathi, ndugiethe mekanica Wa garage ciaku kana ukihinge ciothe Muthomi mugi aikagia maitho kabere Ethat muthuri wa rika riaku Jethe karigu ka rika riakwa. Niwakinyonirie mapenzi ma kungurukia Ona gutwika ndioe kuhuha coro Ukinjikira miwani ndikone mbere, mami Ndoritie wira, ndioritie gwikuo.

Niwakinyonirie formula ya mapenzi Ati ndona muthaka njiraini ndigakue Ibuku riega ndogirimenya utathomete.

Ngahutio nyondo, ngahutio kinena Ndahutio kinena, ngahutio matina Ndahutio matina, ngahutio rumuthu, ngarira.

MUGITHI SONG 2

Title: Ihikania

Performer: Salim Junior

Audience: Male and female participants-adults

Place: Reminisce Karen Krave-Karen Shopping Centre

Date: 14th/October/2011

Time: 11.45 p.m.

Riri ihikania ria andu aria anini ii
Rekei ngumuira ni rigeru ngero
Ngirora muhiki kana muhikania ii
Gutiri wa kuuyu ciugo cia maita
Wona gwatukamaikare rikoini ii
Mwanake no kweruo cokereria mwaki
Na thaa cia toro, uriri nduri urarwo ii
Na muhiki ariryo no kuringa iniuru
Ii ukai athuri numuriatho?

Muhiki ukira na ndahuhete mwaki No kuerekera ii kuri rika riake Na wamuria auma ku Ndagiaga wa kuga ii Nyuma kwa Muthoni kucanuruo njuiri.

Thaa thita igukinya Ndarugite ranji ii Na mburi iri kicego Irarira ni kuhuta Na wamunegenia Akuoya gicicio ii Athii guikara njaa Guikundika njwere.

Riria aneo ithanwa riria kuri na
Ageni agature ruku arugire ageni irio
Akarakara muno
Agakurehera cai muhiu muno
Na wauga ni muhiu
Ukerwo wihorerie
Wiihuragerwo thani itathambitio wega
Na ikombe itathambitio thiini
Nacio nguo ciaku citihoragwo fathi ii
Na nyumba ndihatagwo
Ni maremire tene aya
Na athii mugunda athiaga na iratu.

MUGITHI SONG 3

Title: Mwana na taulo

Performer: Salim Junior

Audience: Male and female participants-adults

Place: Reminisce Karen Krave-Karen Shopping Centre

Date: 15th/October/2011

Time: 11.45 p.m.

Nie ndoka gukugira na ndiragutiga No nginya tucoke mucii, mwendwa iii Kuma warakara na ukicoka kwanyu Oria nyonete no nie njue

Oha mwana na taulo ni tuthii Na nii ngukuire ithanduku na kondo Tiga kuga njuge sori Ni nguthi kugira mbere, sweetie

Nguo ici ndire ndahura tarora Cina giko na ingi ituire cireninde Umothe njugire nguhoya muhindi rutha Ndiga ninguka, Njeri Ndikarware ni gukumisi.

MUGITHI SONG 4

Title: Mutumia Murogi

Performer: Salim Junior

Audience: Male and female participants-adults

Place: Reminisce Karen Krave-Karen Shopping Centre

Date: 15th/October/2011

Time: 12. 00 a.m.

Anake rika riakwa
Tundu muakinya kuhikania
Nin kaba mundu akihikania
Orie ngai wake kiuria
Tundu airitu aria me thiku ici
Niogi gukira Delila
Kuri arata mariguitaga 'sweetie' munyendi.

Mutumia murogi Mutumia wa mithaiga Mutumia utahana mundu No ta nyamu ya githaka

Ndiraruta wiira wene Ni wiira wakwa nie mwene Rehe matu ngwire hitho Tundu mugi ni mutare Niguo wona kindu kiahenia Ndugeciirie ni dhahabu Ni wega ukihaica ngari Ukambaa guthoma gibau.

Ndacemanirie na muiritu Wahanaga tari jinni Ndona uria ehakite rangi Ngiona kari bibi zayuni Ndamunira ritho agitheka Ngiaria na rothiomi rueru Ungianjuririe ritwa riakwa ndingiaririkanire. Thutha wa kuaria ciugo igiri Akinjira gutire undu atagienda Tiga mbara ya mwiri Cuma ithireire wiraini wayo Yagiriirwo ni giucongwo.

MUGITHI SONG 5

Title: Kahora Nginya Rwenje

Performer: Mike Murimi

Audience: Male and female participants-adults

Place: Reminisce Bar – Wilson Airport

Date: 21st /October/2011

Time: 11.30 p.m.

Nuhindi ndaigira inii Murimi Mwanjirire ndikanoke na duma Ninengerio kiria mujigeire Huni cia Nairobi cithinjagerwo nyama Nii Murimi ndigitira giathi kwa Wangeci ajitete.

Jira wiga kiria urende Gukira indore manyira.

Muhiki nyakairu niaraitire mwana Na arauga ndari nyondo cia kuongo Koro arari mugi muhiki Nyakairu Niangiameheire iria ria ng'ombe Kirimu ni kiuru kieragwo tema irigu Gikagira ithanwa na fanga Kirwo haica muti Gikahaica na iratu.

Ndathire gucera mwena wa laikipia Ngikora muiritu waceke Ngimuria urakoma na nguo nyondo ni Matumbe kana girathi itigakue Nake akinjuria nii Murimi Urakoma na nguo muti ni marigo Kana ni kiguwa gitikaunwo. Ugaciara mwana akuhana Na ndaciara ungi agakuhana Kai ujokaga nathutha riria ndi thabari Kahora muno wakini uyo Nguria Gikuyu kiaugire atia.

MUGITHI SONG 6

Title: Niwandunyire Mwana

Performer: Mike Murimi

Audience: Male and female participants-adults

Place: Reminisce Bar and Grill – Wilson airport

Date: 14th/October/2011

Time: 11.45 p.m.

Niwanjirire niwagia na nda Nii ngimenya ndire kindu Ngihanyuka kuri mami witu Ngimwira wanjiarire nitwendie ng'ombe Ni tundu ningureherwo irigithathi

Uiguaga atia wambui ii Mugitwarana nake ii Wamenya niwandunyire kana

Riria ndaigwire niwatwaruo maternity Ndakinya ndakorire ndeto cirathi Niugorirwo ni mwanake ongi Na napi ngiheana kou thibitari Wi Wambui menya niwandeithirie mbao.

MUGITHI SONG 7

Title: Muthuri angiuka iguru

Performer: Salim Junior

Audience: Male and female participants-adults

Place: Reminisce Karen Krave-Karen Shopping Centre

Date: 14th/October/2011

Time: 12.00 a.m.

Muthuri nama Unamwahitania na mutumia waku Ambai mwarie Tundu nama mathanwa me kiondo kimwe Matiagaga gukomorania.

Muthuri nagiuka iguru Matumia oke iguru No ungihoreria ungi Nihendaga umwe wao etue kigwoya.

Ikarai thi mwarie
Niguo mucarie aja
Tundu nikwerirwo ugithii kurua
Niwega muke hamwe mbere
Tundu ndungicinda na njuguma imwe.
Bere ya mutumia kurira kwao muci
Niagirirwo ni ambe eorie
Kana niakerira kaba atangiurite
Tundu ekuma gwake atungane
Na arume ainge makamunania
Sweetie, kananio honey
Kahenio na kigwa arekio bara.

Na bere ya muthuri gutiga mutumia Niagirirwo ni kwiuria Kuria ciana cikathii Na mbere ya muthuri gutigana na mutumia Niambe eorie ciana icio cikaigwa atia.

MUGITHI SONG 8

Title: Wakini

Performer: Mike Murimi

Audience: Male and female participants-adults

Place: Reminisce Karen Krave-Karen Shopping Centre

Date: 22nd /October/2011

Time: 12.15 a.m.

Mathaa riu timega Nina cufa iyo waremwo wiigiruo Tu nginya unyue njohi urio Njohi ti thubu na ndikararia mwana. Eeh wakini ndunine tuinuke Ririkana tuina ciana na atumia ituetereire.

Kirabu kiraragwo ni mundu Uria utari na mutumia na ciana Ii kana mundu uirigitwo Utoe kwao kuraragwo nu.

Ee wakini niui ni uru Gucererwo nja tutakinyite muci Ndumenya ma gwatinda atia Niue atumia nu matuetereire.

Eeh wakini iga iyo tuinuke Ririkana twetereirwo tutware iria Na ringi hari mwana uruarire Na niwe witereirwo utware dawa.

Muiritu uyo ndekia kiande Na uheyo kindu uriage reke nyinuke Niui ndire ndirareha fithi Na ndire ndiragura uniform.

MUGITHI SONG 9

Title: Simple Heart

Performer: Mike Rua

Audience: Male and female participants-adults

Place: Classic Grill – Thika Road next to Uchumi Jipange

Date: 28th /October/2011

Time: 11.15 p.m.

Wina ngoro huthu Wahenirio na ukindiga Niuriganiirwo ni wendo witu Wina ngoro huthu

Ndirenda gukwariria ringi Ndugatume ndute riithori Mwendwa wakwa, thii nawega Hindi imwa niukundirikana. Kuma wandiga na ugithii Ngoma niwanjekerire Kuma wandiga na ugithii Ngoma niwanjekerire Ndikomaga ni meciria Ngoma niwanjekerire Ndikomaga wega.

Njikeragwo itehareirie Ringi ndirenda gwikirwo Na ngoma ukanjikira Ringi ndi bafu Itari ndirekera nguo cia toro Ngaigwa ninjikirirwo.

MUGITHI SONG 10

Title: Mombasa

Performer: Mike Rua

Audience: Male and female participants-adults

Place: Classic Grill – Thika Road next to Uchumi Jipange

Date: 28th /October/2011

Time: 11.30 p.m.

Ndaciarirwo Ndeya Nyumbaini akuhe na iria Andu aitu marai na mugunda Utaciaraga.

Tuaciarirwo turi atatu Na ndari wa muico Angi magithi kuria wira Na aciari akwa guika maundu mana Ndaturaga ngigagwo muci.

Hindi ndarikirie cukuru na mathina maingi Ngai niaheire wira Ndarutire wira na kio Nu ngoma nianjethire Na riu ndi mathinaini. Ni ndoka kuona Ndi ta mwana uria worire kwao Baba na mami njoyani ringi Na we mwendwa wakwa, ndacoka muci.

Ndagiire urata na maraya Uria watumire njure muci Na kuria maica Mombasa Twatindaga rui Harafu tugikombora gari Na twakomaga logini Iria ciari goro, kuu Mombasa.

MUGITHI SONG 11

Title: Wendo ni Wendo

Performer: Mike Rua

Audience: Male and female participants-adults

Place: Classic Grill – Thika Road next to Uchumi Jipange

Date: 29th /October/2011

Time: 11.45 p.m.

Mwanake ngukuira ati wendo ni wendo Utumage mundu oe mukwa ecurie Utumaga mundu anyue dawa Erute moyo tundu wa mundu ongi.

Ona oria ararira aigwa ati uramutiga Tundu ena mwana Tiga kumute muhikie muikaranie Wahota kuirehera munyaka mucii

Ni aingi maahikaga mena thuruari Na mucii yao ituraga nguheririo Wamwera ndagihika gwaku ena mwana Na wa mwenda, ona mwana wake mwende Mugunda munoru umenyagwo na magetha.

Muiritu ocio ti itheru niakwendete Ararigwo niwe agute kana ni mwana Ndaraimagini ukimute uhikie ungi Ndaraimagini akihaicuo ni mwanake onge.

MUGITHI SONG 12

Title: Kanyina kanini

Performer: Mike Rua

Audience: Male and female participants-adults

Place: Classic Grill – Thika Road next to Uchumi Jipange

Date: 29th /October/2011

Time: 12.00 a.m.

Kairitu tiga kuhenia, nii ndi mugi Riria wanyendaga ni ndoi Na ndamenyaga waganu muingi Wandorire ukiona ndi 'wire' Ndikuhunia njohi kindu Ukiona kaba guthii maku Kuhenia anake wi muiritu.

Bere nitwari na kiriko
Weciiria kundiga ukanjira
Twahitukirie kaba wendo
Ukijonorithia thuthaini
Na nigwo ndetiaga nawe
Wandigire uteri kwaheri
Na kuhenio ni ngoro yaku
Ukiriganirwo ni wendo
Witu nawe uteri na mwithua.

Riria wathire nii ngikwaga Ngimenya niwahika kungi Nindatuire na ngoro yakwa Ndigakunania 'ndarin' ringi Hatire kindu ndakuimite Gitio kingi kana beca Riu tiga kujiganania Wathukio riri ni mihoni.

APPENDIX G

LETTER OF RESEARCH AUTHORISATION

REPUBLIC OF KENYA



NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Telegrams: "SCIENCETECH", Nairobi Telephone: 254-020-24|349, 22|3|02 254-020-3|057|, 22|3|23. Fax: 254-020-22|32|5, 3|8245, 3|8249 When replying please quote

P.O. Box 30623-00100 NAIROBI-KENYA Website: www.ncst.go.ke

Our Ref: NCST/RRI/12/1/SS-011/1217

30th August, 2011

Catherine Wanjiku Mbiyu Egerton University P.O .Box 536-20115 EGERTON

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "Discursive construction of negotiation for social space across genders: A case study of the mugiithi song and dance performance in Kenya" I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in Nairobi Province for a period ending 30th December, 2011.

You are advised to report to The Provincial Director of Education, The District Commissioners and The Town Clerk, Nairobi before embarking on the research project.

On completion of the research, you are expected to submit one hard copy and one soft copy of the research report/thesis to our office.

P.N. NYAKUNDI

FOR: SECRETARY/CEO

Copy to:

The Provincial Director of Education Nairobi

The District Commissioners Nairobi

APPENDIX H RESEARCH PERMIT

PAGE 2 PAGE 3 Research Permit No. NCST/RRI/12/1/SS011 THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT: Date of issue 30th August, 2011 Prof./Dr./Mr./Mrs./Miss/Institution Fee received KSHS.1,000 Catherine Wanjiku Mbiyu of (Address) Egerton University P.O Box 536-20115 Egerton has been permitted to conduct research in Location Nairobi District Nairobi Province on the topic; Discursive construction of negotiation for social space across genders: The case study of mugiithi song and dance performance in Kenya. Applicant's Signature **National Council** for a period ending 30th December 2011 Science and Techno